DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY.

NOTES.
O già mia donna, e poscia e pria sorella,
Grasia, che della più bramata sorte
Non mi degnò, ch’io ti menassi a Morte
In ciò mi risparmiava, se la fella
Dovei cibar, ahimè, madre novella.
O le speranze nostre cieche e corte!
O braccio pietoso e duro e forte
Del ciel, ch’insieme teco a sè le appella!
Ahi dolce aspetto, ond’io sentia le vene
D’ogni gentil pensier, d’ogni pudore!
Indi la smenticata Fè mi viene,
Con le siroccie, al tenebrato cuore,
Dicendo, Puoi tu non udir la Spene,
Che ti mostra lussuso il caro Fiore?
DANTE'S
DIVINE COMEDY.

NOTES
ON THE TRANSLATION BY
C. B. CAYLEY, B.A.

"Or sì la lingua mia tanto possente,
Ch' una favilla sol della tua gloria
Possa lasciar all' isolana gente."
Par. can. 33.

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New-street-Square.
NOTES
ON
DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY.

HELLO.

CANTO I.

Upon the journey of our life midway.—The measurement of the Psalmist ["The days of our years are threescore years and ten"] must be applied after the very letter, giving thirty-five as the age Dante attained in the year of his vision, which he will appear to have placed in A.D. 1300 [Can. 21], while his own birth is with good authority referred to 1265. It may be seen by his Convito [Tract. i. cap. 4], that he accounted such an age to constitute the prime of life in the best organised natures, and nearly to coincide with that at which our Saviour left the world, whose Descent he has to follow in contemplation. The time is somewhat anterior to the political conjunctures figured towards the end of the canto.

△ 3
DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY.

Can. I. — a darsome wood. — On the general interpretation of the
1. 2. Allegory see my Appendix to the Purgatory, vol. 2.
1. 18. But coming 'neath a hill. — On the hill, as representing the
blessedness attainable in active life (and which Dante hitherto
sought in politics), see App. to Purg.
1. 17. — that planet's rays. — The sun, whose course Dante's guide
elsewhere follows, as preferable where there is no other motive
to determine our direction [Purg. 13, 26], and which appears in
Paradise as the planet of Wisdom [see there Arg. of Can. 10].
1. 27. Which never mortal has with life gone o'er. — How, then, did
Dante? Without true life, one may interpret, in a spiritual or
political sense, but the principal intention may be to show that
the journey was not performed in the body.
1. 30. Keeping my firmer foot. — As on a plain, or gentle acclivity, or
winning obliquely up the hill, on account of the incumbrances
of his path?
1. 32. A lynx [or pard]. — I have, in the Appendix above referred to,
mainly followed their opinions who connect this beast with the
fluctuating democracy of Florence, and who find her mutability,
and the division of the dominant Guelfs into the Black and
White parties, intimated allegorically by the epithets here fol-
lowing. On these factions see Can. 6.

Dante's troubles with his fellow-citizens began from charges
brought against his administration of the Priorate, for in
an office so designated he had governed, with five col-
leagues, the affairs of Florence during the months of June and
July A.D. 1300. In the following year he was thought to have
instigated the new rulers to banish the heads of the two unruly
factions [see on Can. 6], namely, those of the Black Guelfs to
Perugia, and of the Whites to Sarzana. The latter were soon
after recalled for the alleged reason of the unhealthiness of the place, which proved fatal to Guido Cavalcanti [Can. 10, l. 169], while sentences of exile were passed against others of their adversaries, whose partisans therein suspected the influence of Dante, though no longer in office, and by their misrepresentations excited against him a strong popular feeling, so that during the ascendancy of the Blacks under Charles of Valois' protection in 1301, the house of the poet, then absent as ambassador at the Papal Court, was burnt and plundered by a mob, and he himself summoned to trial under various pretences of malversation, and, without having had time to appear, condemned in January 1302 to a fine and a two years' banishment, which was renewed and declared perpetual in the months of March and April following.

The exiles of the White faction for the most part allied themselves to the Ghibellines, who had long been involved in a like calamity with their own. The influence of the poet was practically thrown on the same side of the balance, though he distinguished himself from his confederates by a more distinct and conscientious adherence to the vital principles of the party, in asserting the independence and supremacy of the Secular in relation to the Spiritual Government of the World, on which subject his De Monarchia contains a fully developed theory.

*When rose the sun.*—That is, in the first sign, or Aries, making spring here, and autumn in the southern hemisphere, where Dante will appear to place the terrestrial Paradise; which season we may naturally suppose to have prevailed, when God made for Adam the "herb yielding seed and fruit tree yielding fruit." The date will hereafter be more particularly ascertained.

*—*a* *lion intervene.*—The Lion has been explained as Philippe le Beau's brother, Charles of Valois, who entered Florence in
November 1301, in the quality of pacificator (D. having opposed the invitation sent him), favoured the Black party, and committed the most flagrant acts of violence, tyranny, and extortion.

A she-wolf eke.—The Pope, as a usurping temporal sovereign, whose unbounded pretensions were perpetually disturbing the secular order of government, is imaged by the insatiable animal, whom D. will often introduce as a symbol of cupidity. It was the wolf that had given a name and badge to the Guelf house of Lothaire the Third, a candidate for the empire in 1155, but from the last years of Frederic the Second in the latter half of the thirteenth century, they had distinguished themselves from the Ghibellines at first by supporting the Papal encroachments against the emperors and the royal Suabian line, and afterwards to a great extent by supporting popular government and political independence in the Italian cities and petty states. Boniface the Eighth had injured Italy and the empire by his support of Charles of Valois, and by intrigues and simonies hereafter to be mentioned.

—— of the Lombard state. — The Lombards may be alluded to as the proper founders of the Italian tongue.— See Gibbon on their establishment in the peninsula. Dante's own language is called Lombard. [Can. 27, l. 20 and 21.]

—— sub Julio must be explained, though not classically, as in the first Cesar's lifetime, not in his dictatorship, which began 25 years after Virgil's birth.

Another passage.—Thou must extricate thyself from thy life of error, peril and darkness, not by action, but contemplation.

Of many an animal.—This line, referring to Papal intrigues with European sovereigns (see Purg. Can. 32 and 33), is suggested by the ambiguity of "lupa" as a Latin word, signifying she-wolf or harlot.
HELL. CAN. I. L. 49.—CAN. II. L. 13.

—*that hound.*—Generally understood of Can Grande della Scala, of Verona, Imperial Vicar in 1311 [see Purg. Can. 33, and Par. Can. 17], at this time a boy.

*In land or dress.*—Of Can Grande's early contempt for riches, see Par. Can. 17, l. 84.

—*Feltro unto Feltro.*—Villani [10, 137] mentions the fulfilment of an old prophecy of Michael Scott's, that the Dog (*Cane*) of Verona should be lord of Padua and all the mark of Trevisigo. Dante's hopes extended his conquests yet further south; from Feltro in the mark of Trevisigo to Montefeltro in Romagna (now included in Urbino).

—*Euryalus, Nisus.*—Vide Aen. 9, Aen. 7, sub fin., Aen. 11, 760—830, and Aen. 12. Euryalus and Nisus, friends and brothers in arms, fell on the side of the Trojans, having singly attacked the Rutulian camp by night-time. Camilla, the fleet-footed Amazon, died in behalf of Turnus, whom Aeneas slew subsequently in single combat. [See note on Can. 4, l. 125.]

*A spirit worthier.*—Beatris; see next Canto.

CANTO II.

*Day was departing.*—Observe the first day's close; it was unlawful, by the example of Virgil's Aeneas, for daylight more than once to pass over those visiting the underworld. For the exact time Dante spends in the heart of the earth, a higher example will be quoted in Can. 34.

—*Silvius' ancestor.*—The soul of Silvius, awaiting his birth-hour on the banks of Lethe, is pointed out to Aeneas by his father's spirit, as destined to be the child of his old age by
his Italian bride, Lavinia, and to be founder of Alba Longa, the parent city of Roman empire.

1. 28. —established for the sacred seat.—In speaking of the Empire as subservient to the foundation of the Papacy, though in the Monarchia he seems to consider it just as much an end in itself, Dante suggests, perhaps, the hereditary Guelfism he laboured under before his banishment from Florence. On this subject I transcribe part of a chapter of the Convito (the remainder of which will find an appropriate place under Par. Can. 6).

"It is not to be wondered, that the Divine Providence, which entirely surpasseth the contrivance of men and angels, should proceed oftentimes in a manner to us inscrutable; forasmuch as the purport of human conduct is frequently hidden from mankind themselves; but that is greatly to be admired, when the execution of eternal counsel proceedeth so manifestly, that our own reason may discern it. Wherefore, in beginning this chapter, I may speak with the mouth of Solomon, who saith in his Proverbs in the character of Wisdom, 'Hear, for I will speak of excellent things.' The immeasurable goodness of the Divinity being minded to restore to conformity with itself the human creature, who, by the first man's disobedience had from God been sundered and alienated, it was determined in the most high and indissoluble consistory of the Trinity, that God's Son should come down to effect this reconciliation. And since it behoved, that at his coming into the world, not Heaven only, but also Earth, should be in the best disposition; and the best disposition of Earth, as I have said above, is when she forms a monarchy, that is, belongeth all to one Prince; therefore, the Divine foresight ordained the people and the city that should fulfil this object, even the glorious Rome. And because, like-
wise, the abode in which the celestial King should enter, was required to be most pure and undefiled, a holy lineage was appointed, which, after many meritorious deeds, might give birth to a woman the most excellent of all, who to the Son of God should be a tabernacle; and this lineage was that of David, whereof was to issue the honour and the glad confidence of mankind, that is Mary; and accordingly Isaiah hath written, 'There shall come forth a root out of the stem of Jesse, and a flower* shall grow out of his roots,' and Jesse was father of the above-named David. And it was all in one period that David was born and Rome arose, that is to say, that Æneas came from Troy into Italy, which gave origin, as authors bear witness, to Rome's most noble city. And it may be mentioned incidentally, that, since heaven began to revolve, it was never in a better disposition than when He who made it and controls it came down from above, as mathematicians also may discover by virtue of their science. And the world never was, and never shall be disposed so perfectly, as when it was governed by the voice of a single prince and commander of the Roman people, as the Evangelist Luke bears witness. And, therefore, there reigned universal peace, which thing never was before, and never shall be; for the vessel, whose crew is mankind, was speeding by a pleasant course directly toward her due harbour."

——*the chosen Vas*, or Vessel, as St. Paul is called, Acts ix. L 28.

15. "I knew a man in Christ . . . . whether in the body, or whether out of the body, I cannot tell, God knoweth . . . . how he was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words," 2 Cor. c. xii. v. 2, 4.

* "Branch" in our version.
And she addressed me, O how smooth and sweet.—Signor Rossetti here reasonably quotes one of Dante's sonnets to Beatris, of which I am favoured by a friend with the following translation:—

"So noble, and so winning in her ways
My lady seems, when she may give salute,
That every tongue, trembling, becometh mute,
And eyes upon her never dare to gase;
She walks, and listens to the hum of praise,
With her divine humility attended,
As though she were a creature fair descended
From heaven to show a miracle of grace.
Such charm she beareth, whose passeth by
Beholding, draweth to his heart a sweet
Which none can understand but he who proveth;
And from between her lips a spirit moveth
Gentle, and full of love, that doth repeat
This burden to the soul enamor'd "Sigh."

A friend of mine.—Of Dante's early acquaintance with Beatris Portinari, her age and the date of her marriage and death, see notes on Purg. 30, 31; the subtler association with which he speaks of her must be gradually developed. A connected account of her in Balbo’s Life of Dante has been made accessible to the English reader. The author’s Vita Nuova, which I trust may soon find a discerning translator, the history of his passion, veils with the rigidest modesty the natural desires of his youth, the circumstances he despaired of surmounting, the grounds of a reserved demeanor she adopted towards him, and the growth of the refined ardour with which he pursued her spirit. I quote a passage of this work, that shows how deeply his imagination could endear to him the slightest token of her regard, or only friendliness:—“After the fulfilling of nine years from the above-mentioned appearance of this gentilest one [v. App.
to Purg. p. 28], it came to pass that this admirable lady appeared to me on the last day of this period, clad in the fairest white, between two gentlewomen her seniors, and passing by the wayside turned her eyes towards where I stood in great fearfulness, and by her ineffable courtesy, which is now recompensed in another world, saluted me, so that by the charm thereof I seemed to behold the farthest limits of beatitude. The hour, that her most sweet salutation reached me, was exactly the ninth of that day; and because this was the first time that her words had gone forth in order to reach my ears, I felt a pleasure of such sweetness, that in a kind of intoxication I withdrew to be alone. Having repaired to the solitude of my chamber, I applied myself to thinking of this most courteous one, and in thinking of her there came upon me a soft sleep, in which appeared to me a wonderful vision, for I seemed to see in my chamber a fiery-coloured cloud, in which I discerned a figure of a Lord, of formidable aspect to look upon—[mentioned as Love in the sonnet which follows], and he appeared himself to be so blithe, that it was a marvellous thing; and in his words he said many things, of which there were but few I understood, and among these, *Ego Dominus tuus* [I am thy Lord]. In his arms methought I saw a person sleeping, enwound, without other covering, in a scarlet sheet. I became aware readily that this was the lady of the salutation, who the day before had condescended to salute me. And he, methought, held in his hands a thing that was all burning, and methought he said these words, *Vide cor tuum* [Behold thy heart]; and after a little while methought he awoke the sleeper, and used such efforts, that he caused her to eat of that burning thing in his hand, which she began eating with hesitation. After this it was not long before his blitheness was
changed into the bitterest weeping; and thus weeping, he gathered to himself that lady in his arms, and went away with her towards heaven; whence I suffered so great anguish, that my weak sleep could not hold against it, but was broken through, and I woke up."

1. 76. *O Lady of the puissance*, i.e. of Christian virtue, as Faith, Hope, and Charity are introduced as her attendants, Purg. 31.

1. 94. *A gentle [noble] Lady.* — The Virgin Mary, as explained in App. to Purg.

1. 97. — to Lucia. — Commonly supposed a saint of the Latin calendar, who suffered a cruel martyrdom under Diocletian, betrayed by the resentment of one who had courted her, and found that she was vowed to virginity; but see Appendix.

1. 102. — antique Rachel. — On Rachel as a figure of contemplation, see Purg. 28.

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**CANTO III.**

--- of power divine. — These attributes are throughout employed by Dante to indicate the several Persons of the Trinity, though his allusions elsewhere to the mystery of the subject prove sufficiently that he considered this mode of illustrating it inadequate. [See Purg. 334.]

1. 12. *Their sense is harsh,* i.e. formidable, as bearing perhaps on myself, though invited as a spectator only.

1. 18. *That have the intellectual Good resigned.* — The line may be more clearly translated

"Who lost have Him, that Weal is of the Mind."

Compare Par. 33, 103, and perhaps 1, 7.
— the wretched souls.—An outer limbo, not included in the Circles of Hell, contains the spirits thus plainly characterised, and is gradually traversed, as it appears, by the new comers who descend farther.

Of angels.—Lombardi cites from the Stromata of Clement of Alexandria the opinion, that some angels, from their lukewarmness, had fallen to the earth's surface only, their propensities both to higher and lower things not allowing them to extricate themselves in one and a simple character.

And each accounts.—This punishment, like many that follow, is copied from that incident on earth to such sinners; so is that of the vermin in line 66; but their rapid motion is in direct contrast to their propensities.

Whose cowardice.—The abdicated Pope, Celestine the Fifth, is no doubt defined by this brief intimation, which could not have sufficed but for a modern and well known personage, that had occupied an exalted station. Boccaccio excuses our author, for thus introducing a canonised person, on the ground that the Church's judgment on his sanctity, pronounced in 1313, was posterior to the publication of the Inferno [which probably took place in 1311]. It is more difficult to sympathise with the severity of this judgment on a man apparently well-meaning and conscious of infirmity and incapacity; but the consideration of the abhorred successor he made room for no doubt inflamed Dante's ill opinion of him. [Celestine, otherwise called Frà Piero, with the adjunct of del Morrone, had grown old a hermit on the mountain of that name in the Abruzzi, in simplicness of mind, and highly revered sanctity, which procured credit to his dreams and revelations. In July 1294, the College of Cardinals, who had been upwards of two years disagreed on the appointment
of a successor to Nicholas the Fourth (mentioned in Can. 20),
received a warning of God's displeasure with their delay, com-
municated as if from this solitary, whereat their choice almost
immediately fell on him, and was received with delight by the
King of Naples and his astonished people. It was not long,
however, before Celestine's ignorance of life and business having
forced him to commit the management of affairs to those who
abused his confidence, he conceived a desire of resigning the
papal functions, which was studiously encouraged by Cardinal
Benedict Gaetano. His abdication, having been legalised by a
previous general decretal, was performed in the ensuing Decem-
ber, and Benedict [as Boniface the Eighth] succeeded, whose
jealousy of the old devotee, still regarded by many as true
Pope, kept the latter a close prisoner, and hastened his obscure
death and secret interment at Fiummone in Campania.]

1. 78.  On Acherontine banks.—Acheron, "of sorrow," as Milton calls
it, indicates the first degree of mental pain. The names of the
hellish rivers meet us in Virgil's Æneid with admired confu-
sion; they will here be artistically distinguished, see Can. 12.

1. 88.  An old man white.—This Charon resembles Virgil's in hoari-
ness, fiery eyes, in driving the spirits with his oar, and in all
attributes except the terribilis aqualor of which taste urged the
omission. The well-known opinion, that the gods of Paganism
were demons, is by Dante employed in reference to a certain
class exclusively.
CANTO IV.

Of that abysmal valley.—This valley is identified with the "abyssus" or "deep" of Gen. c. 1. [See Purg. Can. 1, l. 48.] It is surrounded by a series of terraces, one beneath and within another; their breadths, and the heights and inclinations of the intermediate ledges being various, as will appear in detail. The borders of these terraces are circular, and circumscribe a hollow like an inverted cone, whose vertex is at the centre of the globe, while its axis terminates under the city of Jerusalem. [See Can. 34.] The first circle or limbo contains the innocent, and in the castle [l. 106], the well-deserving spirits, who were ignorant of Christianity.

That is Homeræ.—Homer is the only Greek poet quoted by Dante, namely at the beginning of the Vita Nuova.

Horatius the satirist, Ovid, and Lucan seem purposely mentioned in order of time, having died under Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero respectively.

By seven gates.—These, and the seven walls above, correspond to the seven sciences accounted in the middle ages form the basis of education, viz. Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. [See Conv. 2, 14.]

Electra, daughter of Atlas, married to Corytus, king of Aply, and mother of Dardanus founder of Troy,—from which Aeneas, according to our author's De Monarchia, inherited the right of dominion in Africa, Europe, and Asia. Compare Villani, 1, 7, who makes her fourth in descent from Phæt. She here introduces

Hector, the last defender of the Trojans in their native land; Aeneas, by whom they were planted in Italy; and
Cæsar, the heir of all their labours, whose aspect is described,

after Suetonius, "nigris vegetisque oculis." He is introduced here, without a nice scrutiny of private character, as a monarch whose policy Dante admired, and heaven had favoured.

Camilla and Penthesilea.—For the former, see note on Can. 1, l. 108. For the amazon Penthesilea, a defender of the Trojans, Æn. 1, 490.

Latinus, king of Latium, had amicably received the Trojans, and offered Æneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage, who was afterwards disputed by Turnus.

— that Brutus who the Tarquin chased.—The younger Brutus and the violated liberty he avenged, are less liberally considered in Can. 34.

Cornelia is the mother of the Gracchi; Marcia, the wife of Cato of Utica [see Purg. Can. 1]; Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, and wife of Pompey.

Saladdin, Coeur de Lion's rival, is praised by Dante in the Convito for his generosity. He represents the class to whom place of birth, rather than time, had made it morally impossible to embrace Christianity.

And lifting thence my lids.—Mark the superior elevation of the contemplative over the active spirits. [See Convito, Tr. 2.]

The master unto those who know.—The "venerable authority," as the Convito says, "of Aristotle." Brunetto Latini calls him, in the name of philosophers, "our emperor."

Plato there and Socrates are those who nearest approached him in moral opinions.

Zeno, founder of the Stoics, died at Athens, B.C. 264.

Heraclitus, of Ephesus, called the weeping philosopher, flourished B.C. 500.
Emпедокles, of Agrigentum, in Sicily, a Pythagorean, 
flourished b.c. 444, and threw himself into Etna, to "enjoy," 
Milton says, "Plato's Elysium."

Democritus, of Abdera, called the laughing philosopher, died 1.137. 
b.c. 361. I see not how Dante has pardoned him for a doctrine 
that denied God's providence.

Anaxagoras, of Clazomene, a natural philosopher, was tutor 1.138. 
to Socrates, Euripides, and Pericles.

Diogenes, of Sinope, founder of the Cynics, died 324 b.c.

Thales, of Miletus, founder of the Ionic school of philosophy, 1.139. 
died 548. All the principal schools, except that of Epicurus, 
which seemed yet in Dante's time to exercise a pernicious in-
fluence [see Can. 10, l.14], are here represented.

Dioscorides, of Cilicia, physician to Antony and Cleopatra, 1.140. 
introduces the men of special sciences, art, or literature, as 
Orpheus, the musician, so frequently mentioned by Virgil;

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, and Livy the historian, of 1.141. 
the Julian and Augustan periods; Seneca, as a moralist (the 
cotemporary of Nero); 

Euclid, geomert, of Alexandria, who flourished b.c. 300; 1.142.

Ptolemy, of Alexandria, who flourished under Adrian and 
the Antonines, founder of the medieaval astronomy; and 

Galen, and Hippocrates, as physicians; Hippocrates, of Cos, 1.148 
was a cotemporary of Pericles; Galen, born at Pergamus, 
flourished under Antoninus and Aurelius.

Avicen introduces the representatives of Islam, having been ibid. 
an Arab physician of Spain, born A.D. 1040. The last rank 
falls to the celebrated commentator Averroes, or Abn Roshd, 
also an Arab, born at Cordova A.D. 1159, who was distin-
guished in jurisprudence, medicine, and theology, and many years .
occupied, with the interruption of a transient court-disgrace, the
functions of Mufti in Andalusia; died A.D. 1206. He wrote
upon Aristotle's works, and Plato's Republic, and is quoted by
Dante in the Convito.

CANTO V.

So past I.—In the second circle begin the punishments,
over which Minos presides, of positive mortal sins; these are di-
vided into three grand classes [Can. 11], under the names of In-
continence, Bestiality, and Malice, the two last of which kinds
are comprised in the region termed Nether Hell [Can. 8, l. 75].
The sins of Incontinence are punished in four circles; to these
pertain Lasciviousness in circ. 2 [Can. 5], Gluttony in circ. 3
[Can. 6], Avarice with Prodigality in circ. 4, and Wrath
with Melancholy [Accidia, i. e. ἀκριβία] in circ. 5 [Can. 7].
Compare the divisions of Purgatory [vol. 2, contents], and those
of Paradise, in which the virtue of Temperance is opposed to all
the above vices.

There snarling Minos.—It is very well to make demons of the
false gods, and invest them, if convenient, with the voices and
tails of Cynocephali [l. 10]; but the liberty rather startles us,
when applied to a hero and half-historical person, like Minos.
But as Diodorus Siculus [4, 60] distinguishes the elder Minos,
son of Jove, and Inquisitor of Hell, from his grandson, whose
family received an addition in Minotaurus,—a view which seems
favoured by the allusions to this name in Virg. Æn. 6,—Dante
may have counted the latter alone a genuine mortal. Virgil's Phlegyas is also made a demon in Canto 7.

— the land in which theSoldans lead, probably meant in Dante's time Egypt with Syria.

Who broke her faith.—As Virgil's malice against widows who embrace a second alliance constantly imputes to Dido the breach of a vow to the ashes of Sicheus, it is probable that she and Semiramis are represented as heading two distinct bands [l. 85], condemned for adultery and fornication respectively. Helen, for her falsehood to Menelaus; Achilles, for the rape of Deidamia, related by Statins [see Can. 26], the embrace of his captive Briseis, and the love of Polyxena, Priam's daughter, through whom he was surprised and shot in the vulnerable heel; Paris, who slew him, and who by Horace's authority [Od. lib. 1, v. 38] seems to have fallen by Diomed in the burning of Troy; and Tristram, a Knight of the Round Table [see Morte Arthur], "a fellow damned in a fair wife" of King Mark of Cornwall's, his murderer [see l. 69], succeed in the two files alternately. In pointing out those who died for love, Virgil reminds us of the myrtle grove of his own Avernus; I do not know how Helen comes in the number.

The land where I was born.—Ravenna, governed by Guido di Polenta.

The place of Cain, which punishes the betrayers of their kinsfolk, will be described in Can. 33.

There is no pain indeed.—Virgil's "Infandum regina jubes" 1, 121, "renovare dolorum," the expression of pain with which Æneas prepares to relate his wanderings from the beginning, has been thought to have suggested this passage.

One day we had been reading.—"It must be known," says l. 127.
Boccaccio, "that the speaker was the daughter of the aged 'messer' Guido di Polenta, lord of Ravenna and Cervia, and that after long and ruinous wars had gone on between him and the Malatesta lords of Rimini, by the help of certain mediators a peace was arranged and concluded betwixt them. To make which peace more lasting, it seemed good to both parties that it should be fortified by a matrimonial connection; and the connection proposed was, that Guido should give a young and fair daughter of his, named 'madonna' Francesca, in marriage to Gianciotto, son of 'messer' Malatesta. And this matter having come to the knowledge of some of Guido's friends, one of them said to him, 'Look what you do, for if you do not take measures relative to one thing about this connection, it may turn into an occasion of scandal to you. You must know what your daughter is, and what a proud spirit she has; and that if she sees Gianciotto before the marriage be consummated, then neither you nor any one else will ever be able to induce her to marry him; wherefore, I think, under your approval, that this plan should be adopted; — let not Gianciotto come to marry her, but one of his brothers, who as a proxy for Gianciotto may in his name espouse her.' Now Gianciotto was a man of great capacity, and it was expected that after his father's death he would be left lord of Rimini; for which reason, though he was personally ill-favoured and crippled, Guido wished to have him, rather than any other of his brothers for a son-in-law. And being aware of the possibility of the event which his friend had represented to him, he gave secret injunctions that the counsel of the latter should be executed. Wherefore at the appointed time, Paolo, the brother of Gianciotto, arrived in Ravenna with full power to wed madonna Francesca. Now Paolo was a handsome and engaging
man, highly accomplished; and as he went with other noblemen through the court-yard of Guido's dwelling, one of the damsels within, who knew him, pointed him out to madonna Francesca through a window, saying, 'This is he that is to be your husband;' for such the good woman believed to be the case. Whereat madonna Francesca set immediately her mind and her affections upon him. And afterwards, the contract being elaborately drawn up, the lady, having gone to Rimini, was not aware of the deception practised on her, till she saw Gianciotto rise from her side on the morning after the nuptials, whence it may be believed that she, finding herself deceived, was indignant, and did not therefore remove from her mind the love conceived to Paolo.

... And Paolo and Francesca continuing in this intimacy, and Gianciotto having gone in the quality of a Podestà to some foreign city, they began, almost without any apprehension, to indulge their mutual ardors; — which goings-on a trusted servant of Gianciotto's perceiving, went and recounted to him all that he knew of the matter, offering, if he desired, to afford him visible and tangible evidences. Whereat Gianciotto, being greatly troubled, returned secretly to Rimini with the above-mentioned servant, who having seen Paolo entering the chamber of Francesca, led his master immediately after to the door, which Gianciotto finding to be locked inside, pushed vehemently, calling out at the same time to the lady, and was thus recognised by her and Paolo; when the latter, thinking that by escaping suddenly through a trap-door, which led from that apartment into one beneath it, he might wholly or in part conceal his guilt, threw himself down thereby, charging Francesca to open the door. But he did not succeed as he had expected, because, in throwing himself down, he let the lappet of a doublet, which
he had on, catch in a nail that projected from a board in the trap-door; so that the lady having already opened to Giaciotto, thinking she might exculpate herself by reason of Paolo's not being there, Giaciotto came in, and immediately, having perceived Paolo caught by the lappet of his doublet, ran towards him, dagger in hand, to put him to death, when the lady, perceiving his intention, ran suddenly forward and interposed herself between Paolo and Giaciotto. The latter having already lifted his arm with the dagger, and throwing all his force into the stroke, the result was other than he desired; for the dagger pierced the bosom of the lady before reaching Paolo. Whereat Giaciotto, much troubled, as he indeed loved the lady more than himself, drew out the dagger, and struck Paolo afresh, and killed him; and thus having left them both dead, he suddenly departed, and the lovers were buried the next day with many tears in a common tomb.”

1. 187. The book, the author.—The romance of “Prince Galeotto,” whose mediation procured Sir Lancelot du Lake an opportunity to receive the first token of her guilty favour from Arthur's queen, Dame Guenever.

CANTO VI.

Of these kinsfolk, i.e. brother- and sister-in-law.

In the next circle.—The third circle is that of the Gluttonous, whose filthy, aching, and, as it were, bed-ridden condition is not inappropriate.

Cerberus appears not wholly represented as a hound, but as
a demon of mixed human, canine, and serpentine shape. [Comp. l. 16 and 22.]

Those wretches undevout, i. e. whose god is their belly.

Two handfuls.—So the Sibyl in Virgil throws a cake, steeped in honey and herbs of narcotic power.

Save one.—Ciaccio is mentioned as a noted parasite and feast-hunter by Boccaccio, who records a stratagem that exposed him to savage treatment from the passionate Filippo Argenti (a personage we shall meet in Can. 8), the subject of one of the few stories that are poor and decent in the Decameron, [ix. 8]. He admits him, in commenting on Dante, to have been a well-bred and accomplished man for his condition in life; eloquent, affable, and imbued with good feeling; a noble origin was also frequently ascribed to him.

You fellow citizens did call me Hog.—Ciaccio appears also to be a provincial word for James, but the ambiguity was no doubt convenient.

The citizens of our divided state.—The parties that agitated Florence had derived their origin from those in the city of Pistoja, which towards the end of the thirteenth century had been involved in strife from the vortices of a family feud between the so-called White and Black branches of the Cancellieri family (who are said to have descended from the fair and dark wives that the same man had successively). Amadoro, a youth of the Black Cancellieri, having been insulted in a gaming party by Carlino his cousin, of the other branch, had revenged himself on the latter's brother Vanni, whom he assaulted with murderous intention, struck him in the face, and cut off his right hand with his sword. Amadoro's parents, fearing the consequences of this action, sent him to Guglielmo, father of Carlino and Vanni, to
submit himself to their mercy. To the law of mercy the in-
jured household preferred that of retaliation. They struck
Amadoro in the face, and chopped his hand off on a block within
their stable. This revenge gave rise to others, in which one
kinsman suffered for another's outrages; and the White and
Black parties, formed by the adherents of the two houses, com-
prised in a short time a multitude of citizens, who afflicted
Pistoja with sanguinary conflicts. The Florentines, who at that
time exercised a species of guardianship over the Guelf cities of
Tuscany, endeavoured to pacify Pistoja, and caused the heads
of the two factions to be committed to their own custody. But
far from accomplishing the work of reconciliation, they were
infected with the same divisions. The White refugees were sup-
ported in Florence by the Cerchi, a family of wealthy parvenus,
already at variance, for private reasons, with the more aristo-
cratic Donati, who arrayed themselves on the opposite side.
Among the supporters of the Cerchi were most of the ancient
Ghibellines, whose sentiments threatened to revive beneath the
cover of the new movement. In apprehension of this result, the
reigning pope, Boniface the Eighth, sent for Vieri, the head of
the Cerchi family, and urged him to come to an understanding
with the Donati; but could make no impression on the man,
who affected to have no quarrel that he knew of. But shortly
after, an open fray occurred among some youths of the two
families, who had been brought together by the festive dances of
the 1st of May, on which occasion one of the Cerchi had his nose
struck off. Private scandals multiplied; Corso, the leader of the
Donati, a daring, able, and unscrupulous man, spoke contume-
liously of Vieri Cerchi, and was himself on many occasions at-
tacked and defied by Guido Cavalcanti. In June the Pope gave
the mission of pacifying Florence to the Cardinal of Acqua-
sparta, who prosecuted it unsuccessfully, and by his manifest
leaning to the Black party incurred such odium, that he was
soon compelled to leave the city. A short time after, the prin-
cipal citizens of both sides were banished by the priors [see
Canto 1, line 30].

They'll come to blood, and then the mountaineers.—By the
mountaineers are meant the White party, whose leaders, the
Cerchi, were men of rustic manners, though lenient and some-
what weak-minded. The banishments of 1300 comprised Corso
Donati, who was the life and soul of his own party, but not
one man of equal weight among the Whites; hence the latter
gained an advantage, which was increased soon after by the
recall of their exiles at Sarzana, on pretence, as has been said, of
the insalubrity of the place. The Black exiles, however, returned
in the course of the winter, when an encounter among the two
parties, occasioned by a funeral in the suburb of Oltrarno, gave
rise to a severe skirmish, in which the Cerchi were defeated:
another battle took place in the country, when the Donati at-
ttempted to intercept a body of their adversaries returning to
Florence from their villas. On these occasions many of the ci-
tizens were fined and imprisoned, and some of the Cerchi, and
Whites in the latter category, died under suspicions of poison.
In January 1301, a number of the Black party held a seditious
meeting in the Church of the Holy Trinity, where a conspiracy
was set on foot to petition the Pope to yield the city's govern-
ment to Charles of Valois as pacificator. For this offence Corso
Donati and others were again banished, and only recalled about
three years after, when that prince was actually established in
Florence.
From coast to coast, party to party veers.—I have combined two interpretations of the phrase "testè piaggia," which has been referred to Charles of Valois's erratic enterprises in Sicily and Flanders, and again to his trimming between the two parties at Florence. This prince having been entrusted by the Pope, in the autumn of 1301, with the mission of pacifying that city, had with some difficulty obtained from the priors in November a full concession for the management of its affairs, for which they expected a solemn promise from him that he would respect their laws and liberties. His disregard for this engagement, and for all the duties he had undertaken, appeared shortly by his fortifying himself in the suburb of Oltrarno with numerous mercenaries, and by his conniving at the clandestine return to Florence of Corso Donati and other Black exiles, who were allowed to break open the prisons, and commit innumerable outrages on the citizens of the other party [see Purg. Can. 24]. He afterwards extorted large sums of money from the city by condemnations grounded on a conspiracy which was alleged to have been formed against him. On his departure in April 1302, and its results, I shall speak under Can. 10.

Where's Farinata.—Farinata degli Uberti will be found mentioned in Can. 10; Tegghiajo Aldobrandi and Jacopo Rusticucci, under Can. 16. Arrigo was probably Odorico de' Sifanti, who shared in the murder of Buondelmonte [see Par. Can. 16, l. 140] with Il Mosca, mentioned in Can. 28. All these Dante had had some expectation of finding among the gluttons, but learns that they are punished for worse offences, namely, the first for infidelity and epicurism, the next two for unnatural vices, the last for propagating discord.

There the great enemy Plutus.—The god of riches, converted.
into a demon, presides over the avaricious and prodigal sinners of the next circle.

CANTO VII.

Papæ Suthanas Aleph.—The first word has been explained from the Hebrew Peh Peh, here, and from the Greek Papæ, an interjection. The former interpretation gives us the plainest sense for the whole line, "Here Satan is paramount" [Aleph, i.e. princeps], an expression uttered by the God of riches to intimidate the poets, and to proclaim the greatness of his own infernal master.

The craggy beach.—The passage from one circle to another, which will always be more difficult as the offences comprised have less affinity, is here for the first time remarked.

The contumelious rape.—The usurpation of power in heaven, as Shakspeare says,

"To outface infant state, and do a rape
Upon the maiden virtue of the crown."

The fourth lagoon.—This fourth circle contains the avaricious and the prodigal, who transgress the bounds of moderation in the use of money. On their punishment and on the number of Churchmen found among them [line 46] it would be superfluous to dwell.

Consider now, my Son.—The first delicate warning Dantes gets of his impending misfortunes.

Every god in his commands, i.e. the angelic movers of the
Spheres [see the Paradise], who are said in the Convito [Tr. 2, c. 5] to have been called gods by the ancients.

1. 99. Each star is sinking, marks the arrival of the first midnight.

1. 106. A pond below.—"Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate," forms a fifth circle, punishing wrath and melancholy as opposite vices, indicating, according to Greek philosophers, an excess and defect of "Thymos" or Spirit; these are the last vices of incontinence or infirmity, from which we pass to the Nether Hell of presumptuous sinners.

1. 114. And rend each other.—Wrath is the first sin that we imagine eternal as its punishment.

1. 125. Read, This hymn they gurgle in the larynx low.

CANTO VIII.

two small flames.—Announcing two new comers, as it will appear, to a ferryman eager for their arrival. The further tower is in the "City of Dis," beyond the meanderings of the river.

1. 18. Phlegyas, Phlegyas.—This is the presiding Demon of the next great Division of Hell, corresponding to Bestiality or Wicked Folly [see Can. 11], which is exemplified in the form of Misbelief, and punished in the sixth circle, or City of Dis, encompassed by dark fumes arising from the fervours of unruly passion. Phlegyas, who burnt a temple of Apollo's in revenge for his daughter's seduction, and is found in Tartarus, according to Virgil, "most miserable, admonishing all, and proclaiming loudly among
HELL. CAN. VII. L. 99.—CAN. IX. L. 1. 31

the shades, Learn justice, and not to despise the Gods,” makes most appropriate conductor from the fifth to the sixth circle. The following scene will again remind us of Virgil’s Charon.

Indignant Spirit.—Dante attempts to illustrate a righteous indignation, in contrast to that which is punished in these spirits.

The city, which of Dis. So Æneas finds in Hades a walled city, guarded by Furies, and surrounded by Phlegethon, comprising the souls of great offenders. But Virgil distinguishes Tartarus from the City of Dis: Dante identifies them; for to one poet Dis [Pluto] was a God; to the other, the Archfiend. The circumstance that Virgil has not, in his poem, led Æneas personally through these “baleful houses,” is ingeniously alluded to in the difficulty with which the poets will now enter them.

You mosks.—This mode of denominating the towers, gives them a heathenish, unhallowed character.

And thus into the deep-hewn moats.—These are the windings of the Styx, ninefold according to Virgil. The iron walls [l. 78] symbolise obduracy. [See note on Can. 9, l. 110.]

At gate less hidden.—The Gate of Hell [see Can. 3], at which the Demons had opposed our Lord’s descent.

CANTO IX.

My guide.—Virgil conceals his own misgivings in order to allay those of Dante; then [in l. 7] addresses him in en-
courageing words, which he himself interrupts with an involun-
tary expression of apprehension.

1. 16. *The dismal cone,* or conch, or shell. Of the shape of the
abyss, here succinctly alluded to, I have spoken under Can.
4, l. 8.

1. 23. *That stern Erichtho’s spell.*—This Erichtho, by whose aid
Virgil accounts for his acquaintance with the lowest infernal
circles, is a personage imagined by Lucan, and described as a
Thessalian sorceress, who, on the eve of the battle of Pharsalia,
brings a soldier of Pompey’s to momentary life, to foretell
the destinies of the belligerents. It must have been at least
thirty years later, that the shade of Virgil was subject to her
control. [See Phars. lib. 6.]

1. 25. *My flesh without me had some time to dwell.*—The translator
has followed the interpretation of Signor Rossetti, who considers
Virgil’s soul to have performed the journey during his lifetime.
But we may also understand,

“Not long without me had my flesh to dwell,
Ere she, &c.”

i.e. I had not been long dead.

1. 28. *That is the lowest place.*—See Can. 34, and arguments.

1. 38. *Three hellish furies.*—These figures prepare us for the coming
circles of impious and violent men. It appears probable that
Dante takes them to represent the three forms of malevolence
of Purg. Can. 17, viz. Alecto, Pride; Megaira, Envy; and Tisiphone, Revenge.

1. 54. *His outrage Theseus.*—Theseus, according to Virgil, sits fixed
for ever to a rock, for having attempted with Pirithous to carry
off the wife of Pluto.
O you that sound intelligence.—The Gorgon (hard by the Circle of Misbelief) may represent those sophistical incitements to impious sentiments which are presented by our own malignant passions, and from which a wise man is fain ever to turn away his eyes, lest the vitality of moral faith should be petrified by their constant contemplation. [Compare Par. 33, l. 336].

Your Cerberus.—Virgil tells us that Hercules dragged in chains this “guardian of Tartarus,” and Dante perhaps applies the legend to Christ’s “harrying of Hell.”

— a vast and level zone.—The Circle, as above explained, of Bestiality or wicked Folly, including all kinds of resolute misbelief or heresy, which Dante understands pretty strictly in a Church of Rome sense.

Like as at Arli.—Arli or Arles is a city in Provence, near the mouth of the Rhone; Pola is in Istria, on the headland which bounds the Quarnaro [Carnaro], or Gulf of Trieste, toward the side opposite Italy. At Pola, Boccaccio says [Commentary], were remains of magnificent tombs which the rude inhabitants thought to have been erected by Angels, in a single night, for the Christian soldiers who fell there in a sanguinary battle with the Moorish infidels.

—and to the right we took our road.—The poets turn to the right hand as yet to proceed along the circumference of each infernal circle, and to the left as a mechanical consequence when they strike inwards to approach the centre.
CANTO X.

When from Jehosaphat. — The valley near Jerusalem, named of the Judgment of the Lord. [See Joel c. 3. v. 2. and v. 12.]

With Epicurus all his sect. — As Dante does not concern himself with the ancient Epicureans or Epicures, the following passage may be quoted as instancing a medieval revival of their philosophy. "In the year 1117 a fire arose, from which the Florentines suffered grievously; and this came on them, it is believed, by the judgement of God, because the citizens were deeply corrupted with heresies, by the sect of the Epicureans among others, and with the sinful taint of gluttony and lewdness; and so numerous a faction were the heretics, that perhaps the greater part of the citizens used to fight with weapons against each other, on the subject of Faith, in many places throughout the city; and these accursed sects continued a long time in Florence, even till the coming of St. Francis and St. Dominic." [Malespina.]

And that, on which. — Dante's thoughts recur to Farinata degli Uberti, for whom he has already inquired among the gluttons in Can. 6, l. 79.

now and erewhile. Read here and elsewhere. — Virgil, who enjoined the use of few words on the Acherontine bank, has frequently commended it by the interlocutionary formulas of his Æneid, as "Sic breviter longæva sacerdos," &c.

Look, Farinata standeth. — A Ghibelline noble of Florence, who died in 1264. See the following notes.

I scattered them once and again. — That is, at the successive expulsions of the Guelfs from Florence; firstly, in 1248, in the last years of Frederic the Second, who had stirred up the Ghibellines against them (and in this act Villani makes the whole Uberti
family play a conspicuous part, but has no particular mention of Farinata); secondly, in 1260, when the Ghibellines, who had in their turn been expelled [l. 49], re-entered Florence after the battle of Montaperti [l. 85], under the auspices of Manfred, the bastard son of Frederic, who had succeeded to the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia. On Farinata's part in the latter struggle, see l. 85.

Though scattered, they returned. — Firstly, in January 1251 [called 1250 by Villani, who begins the year in March], after Frederic the Second's death, and the establishment of popular government in Florence during the preceding year; secondly, in 1267, when the overthrow and death of Manfred by the arms of Charles of Anjou [Can. 28, l. 15] had intimidated the Ghibellines, so that they allowed a new democracy to be set up under the Frati Godenti [Can. 28, l. 101]. Dante speaks here, as before his banishment, like a hereditary Guelf.

On your side. — After each return of the Guelfs, the adverse party were expelled during the same year. In 1267 their possessions began to be sequestered and confiscated, which made Cardinal Ubaldini [l. 111] predict they would never again return, as has proved pretty nearly the case.

A shade beside the former. — Cavalcante Cavalcanti, a noble Florentine Guelf, whose son Guido [l. 60] had married the daughter of Farinata in 1267, while the two parties were endeavouring to live together in the city.

Where is my son? — "If any human intellect," asks Cavalcante, "can merit that Hell should be revealed to it, why has not this befallen my Guido? why hast thou, the most intimate of his friends, undertaken the journey without him?" Guido Cavalcanti, mentioned as a rare poet in Purg. Can. 11, l. 97,
acquired, according to the Vita Nuova, the first regards of Dante, who was considerably his junior, from a reply he addressed to the latter's earliest sonnet on Beatris, and is spoken of as his chief friend, and a master of the Italian language, in the above named work and the De Vulgari Eloquio. In the dissensions of the Guelfs, he joined the White party, and became a noted opponent of Corso Donati's [on whom see Purg. Can. 24, l. 83], who attempted to get him killed [Dino Campagni]. He was banished in 1301 to Sarzana, where he died of malaria. [See on Can. 1, l. 30; Can. 6, l. 65.] Handsome, accomplished, courteous, eloquent, and daring, he is described as an able logician and a deep inquirer in natural philosophy; but the love of study and abstraction fostered in him a retiring, independent, and perhaps haughty disposition. Dante seems from the present lines to have thought of his death with alarm, considering him inclined to scepticism, as, according to Boccaccio, the common people thought him a thorough Epicurean, and said it was the chief aim of all his lucubrations to prove, if possible, that there was no God.

1. 68. Whom, it may be, your Guido held at nought.— This implies in Guido not so much a particular indifference to Virgil's works, as a strong exclusive bias to the ideal of a modern poetic school [Purg. Can. 26]. The suggestion of a disagreement with Dante, induces a suspicion that they shared not the same enlarged sentiments on Italian politics.

1. 78. But that high-minded comrade.—We must remember Farinata as Guido's father-in-law.

1. 79. But ere that lady's face.—That is within fifty moons. After the White party in Florence had been overthrown under the government of Charles of Valois [see Can. 6, l. 66], who left
the city in 1302, the victorious Blacks were soon divided into new factions by Corso Donati and Rosso della Tosa, whose bloody contentions for supremacy obliged the people early in the year 1304 to entrust the management of affairs for a short time to their allies of Lucca. Soon after this, Pope Benedict the Eleventh sent to them, as pacificator, Cardinal Nicholas of Prato, who endeavoured to negotiate the recall of the banished Whites and Ghibellines, two parties who, from about this time, grew amalgamated, and were soon characterised by a new species of interest in the restoration of Imperial authority. The representatives of the exiles were admitted into the city, and entered into negotiations with the heads of the adverse clans; but no cordial reconciliation being possible, they took alarm shortly afterwards at a rumour of conspiracies against them, and fled back to the Ghibelline cities. The Cardinal's mission had been brought into disrepute by forged invitations issued in his name to the armed forces of this party and their confederates, and by the artifices through which the Pratese and Pistoians, whom he had been led to visit for purposes of conciliation, had been brought to reject his overtures, and the former citizens incited to threatening demonstrations against him. Under these circumstances he was driven to leave Florence (under an interdict) on the 8th of June 1304, or within the expiration of fifty calendar months from the 8th of April 1300 [see on Can. 21, l. 95], from which day we date the Vision. His departure was the signal for murderous contentions and incendiarisms among the divided party that occupied the city. In the following month, the White exiles and Ghibellines, through an ill-concerted and unsuccessful attempt to force an entrance into Florence,
were reduced to a more hopeless condition than they had ever before been placed in.

Say, why so bitterly.—The Uberti were continually excepted from the amnesties granted to the Ghibellines; not only perhaps in remembrance of Montaperti [see the next note], but also of a latter defeat, which the exiles of that clan inflicted on a marshal of Charles of Anjou’s, Guiglielmo di Belselve, at Ponte in Valdarno, in 1268.

The slaughter and the branding fact.—The period alluded to is so interesting in itself, and in connection with many passages of the D. C., that some details may be acceptably quoted. In 1260, the expelled Ghibellines of Florence, finding that the Sienese, among whom they had taken refuge, would not risk much to help them back to their city, applied for the aid of some troops to Manfred, who was then successfully strengthening himself against the hostility of the Pope in Apulia. Manfred being solicited at the same time by other Italian cities in Lombardy and Ancona, kept the ambassadors a long time unanswered; at length, when they would have taken leave, he offered them a hundred German horsemen. So poor an aid would have been disdainfully rejected, had not Farinata’s policy controlled the inclinations of his associates. “Be not dismayed,” he said, “and let us refuse no succours from him, how small soever; ask him only to send his banner withal, and when we come to Siena, we’ll put it for him in such a place, that he’ll be compelled to send a reinforcement.” His advice prevailed; the banner was granted, and the troops entered Siena, under which city soon after marched the Florentine [Guelf] army, and contumeliously erected a trophy. Farinata now feasted his German friends, and when they were fairly drunk, called them suddenly to arms,
and induced them by large promises to fall upon the besieging army, among whom they raised a panic, and committed great havoc; but, being wholly unsupported, were at last overpowered by numbers, and left amid the victors their hundred carcasses with Manfred’s banner. The Sienese and the exiles of Florence hereupon raised money, and sent messengers to Manfred, relating prodigies of valour of his troops, and regretting that, only from the smallness of their number, they had been destroyed, and the enemy were now gone home with his standard. Manfred, indignant at the disgrace of his arms, was readily persuaded to send them Count Giordano with 800 more horsemen; to whom the Sienese added all the auxiliaries they could muster from Tuscany, and the confederates encamped at Montalcino in the Florentine territory. Being short of money for a long campaign, they had recourse to a stratagem to draw the Guelfs into the field. Farinata and Gherardo Lamberti instructed two Friar’s minorites to enter Florence, and offer to the magistrates that Siena should be betrayed to them for 10,000 florins; for “the people,” they had to say, “were discontented from the oppressions of Salvani” [on whom see Purg. Can. 11, l. 121]. To receive these envoys the Florentine ancients appointed two of their number, who, catching eagerly at the insidious proposals, paid the florins, and it was in appearance privately agreed that the Guelfs should come out as far as the river Arbia, under colour of protecting Montalcino, and that one of the gates in Siena should be opened to them. How the proposal to make this expedition was resisted among the nobles will be seen under Can. 16, l. 42, in reference to Tegghiajo Aldobrandi. The concealed partisans of the Ghibellines in Florence sent at the same time to caution the leaders at Montalcino against the overpowering forces of
the adverse citizens, but the prompt policy of Farinata exacted from the messenger that he should make to the army a very different and more encouraging report. His plans entirely succeeded; and the Florentines, encamped at Montaperti, disappointed in their reception towards the Sienese gate, and deserted by many of their own body [see Can. 32, l. 78], were miserably defeated, and left their city at the mercy of the foe.

1. 87. *In our fanes enact.* — The churches in Florence, till about 1282, were very commonly employed for the sessions of judicial or legislative bodies.

1. 91. *But there alone.* — After the battle of Montaperti, and the flight of the Guelfs from Florence, that city was garrisoned by the German troops above mentioned, and reduced under allegiance to Manfred. Count Guido Novello was made Podestà or chief magistrate, and became generalissimo on the retirement of Count Giordano. He held a council, at the small town of Empoli, of the delegates of all the Ghibelline cities, at which it being proposed to demolish Florence, no single voice was raised to defend her but Farinata's, who by a homely and shrewd oration, and still more by his authority and resolution, when he vowed he would resist such a barbarous measure to the last drop of his blood, brought eventually his insolent confederates to abandon it.

1. 101. *"We see," he answered.* — Thus those who delighted to know the interests of the present life, and ignore the future state, are punished by the contrary knowledge and ignorance; and this is the supposed condition, it will be seen, of all under the jurisdiction of Minos, though most appropriately manifested in speaking of heretics and epicures.

1. 105. *— your mortal state.* — I must here apologise for the negligent
omission of some lines, which may be thus supplied, after altering, in line 104, "convey" to "report": —

"Hence may'st thou understand, that all amlost
    Shall be our knowledge after that event
Which of the future shall the march cut short."
"O tell," I said then, as though penitent
    For my offence, "you fallen man for me,
That still his son with living men is blent,
And if my answer lingered, let him see
The cause, for still my thoughts were led astray
    By an error, whereof thou hast set me free."

—— the second Frederic. — As in Dante’s Paradise we find but l. 110. one of those who have governed the “States of the Church,” so this is the only Emperor he shows among the lost, placing even him perhaps with the epicures that none may seek him in a worse part with the tyrants or traitors. For his irreligious, luxurious, adulterous life could probably not be denied; but on his invasions of the Church’s rights, and the perfidy and cruelty with which he warred and governed in Italy, Dante has kept a discreet silence lest he might not sanction the pernicious usurpations of the Popes, who had excommunicated this monarch, and stirred up his subjects to revolt, had after his death persecuted his descendants [see, on Manfred, Purg. Can. 3], impeded the election of an Emperor, and given away the crown of Naples to a Frenchman. Dante speaks with respect of Frederic’s ability and generosity in Can. 14, l. 75, though glancing at his cruelty in Can. 23, l. 66.

Frederic succeeded to the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia [Naples] in 1199, as a minor under the guardianship of the Church. In 1220 he became Emperor by Papal influence, and promised to lead out a crusade, for delaying to do which, and setting up his own bishops, he was excommunicated. The rest
of his reign was occupied with wars against the Popes, by which the contests of the Guelfs and Ghibellines [imperial and ecclesiastical parties] were first inflamed through Italy. Frederic's patronage of literature is praised in Dante's Convito; his learning, especially in languages, expertness in arms, liberality, and magnificence are admitted by Villani, who condemns strongly his profligacy.

1. 111. The Cardinal.—Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, promoted to this dignity in 1245, in some affairs an able servant of the Pope's, but so strongly inclined to favour the Ghibellines, that he is reported to have said, "he had lost his soul for them, if he indeed had one to lose;" for which speech he was considered an infidel. His able conjectures at many a crisis in the history of his party were attributed by the vulgar, and by old historians, to the black arts.

1. 121. When thou shalt stand.—See Par. Can. 17.

1. 127. — its stench abhorred.—From the river of blood, which makes the next circle.

CANTO XI.

——Pope Anastasius I guard.—I believe that the heresy Dante desired to exemplify, and one which it will never appear below the dignity of his poem to have noticed, was that of allowing to the secular authority an arbitration over the doctrines and sentences of the Church. In the instance alleged, he probably gave too much credence to imperfect and malignant accounts re-
specting a pontiff who had maintained pretensions of no unimportant character in a firm though conciliatory spirit. Anastasius the Second, on becoming Pope in 427, found himself involved in a dispute with the Greek court, respecting the censures passed by his immediate predecessors against Acacius of Constantinople, and other patriarchs, as having favoured Nestorian and Eutychian heresies. Anastasius sent letters to Constantinople, desiring that the name of Acacius might be omitted from the Diptychs, but conceding the validity of his ordinations. His ambassadors, however, boasted to the Emperor Anastasius, that they would obtain all the concessions desired by the latter; but the death of the Pope prevented their trying the experiment. It is not clear how far "Photinus" was concerned in these transactions, but the following account of them is quoted in Baronio's Annals of the Church from Anastasii Liber Pontificalis, written in the tenth century. "Many of the clergy and priesthood, withdrew from his communion, because he had communicated, without a council of the bishops, priests, or entire clergy of the Church Catholic, with a Thessalonican deacon named Photius, who was of the communion of Acacius, and because he was secretly desirous of recalling Acacius [already dead!], and could not effect it; wherefore he was smitten by the judgment of God." And a loathsome account follows. [See Notes on the German Translation by Philalethes.]

All malice which.—Malice or deliberate wickedness is punished in the remaining circles, that is, Violence in circle 7, and Fraud in circles 8 and 9.

By force a man.—The first belt of the [seventh] circle punishes man's violence against his neighbour, exercised on his
person or effects, in the Bloody River or Phlegethon. [See Can. 12.]

l. 49. A man against himself.—The second belt punishes man’s violence against self, exercised on his person or effects, as by suicides and spendthrifts, in the Dolorous Wood [see Can. 13], where the above are transformed to plants and pursued by hell-hounds respectively.

l. 46. A man doth violence.—The third belt punishes the violent against God in the Place of Sand; that is, against his person in the prostrate blasphemers [Can. 14]; against his first effect, Nature, in the runners [Can. 15 and 16]; and against Art as the effect of Nature, or second effect of God [comp. l. 103], in the sitting usurers [Can. 17].

l. 50. ——and Cahors.—A city of Guienne in France, proverbially famous for usurers.

l. 52. The Fraud.—Fraud Simple is punished in the eighth circle, "Evilpits;" and Fraud Treacherous in the ninth, the Frozen Lake, "Cocy tus."

l. 56. The knot of love, i.e. the instinct of philanthropy.

l. 58. Flatterers.—As Fraud is susceptible of divisions corresponding to those of Incontinence, as its motive may be Lust, Gluttony, or Avarice, and furthermore to Bestiality and to Malice against one’s neighbour and against God, Nature, and Art, I have endeavoured in the Table of Contents to develop the order, though not very rigid, in which these classes of sinners are arranged. [See Notes on Can. 18.]

l. 63. A link of confidence, from compact or special relation.

l. 65. ——by the seat of Dis, i.e. Satan. [See Can. 32 to 34.]

l. 70. But tell me.—Dante does not inquire generally why there are distinctions in the infernal punishments, but he does not see the
difference between many of the misbelievers, as the lewd and
gluttonous epicures, and those punished for lewdness, gluttony,
&c. in the upper circles (where he at first sought for Farinata).
Accordingly, Virgil will distinguish the frailty of one class, and
the perverse, hardened folly of the other, by the terms inconti-
genence and bestiality.

Incontinence.—In this division of moral evil [Eth. Nicom. vii. l. 82.
1], Aristotle uses the words Incontinence and Malice in nearly
the same sense as Dante, but Bestiality [Θηρίδρης] very dif-
ferently, for he includes under the latter head various sins con-
stituted or aggravated by the violation of self-respect, taste, and
decency, some of which are abominable, and some harmless to
the modern view. But Dante seems to have taken the word, ac-
cording to the Italian idiom, in the sense of Folly, and being
bound as a Churchman to condemn heresy, has chosen to do so
under this title. Those who explain his "Bestiality" as any
quality, such as Treachery or Ferocity, which is not charac-
teristic of the City of Misbelievers, must make it a subdivi-
sion of Malice or Incontinence, and no longer, as our author
clearly means it to be, a co-division of the "dispositions that
Heaven will not allow." It may be added that Bestiality in the
strictest sense, as a life assimilating man to the brutes that
perish, is most thoroughly exemplified in the Epicures, as those
who utterly disregarded their spiritual capacities and responsi-
bilities.

Your art the latter follows.—"Art follows Nature as far as she
is able." [Arist. Phys. ii. 2.]

thy Genesis.—"In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat
thy bread."

For now the Fishes.—As the sun is in Aries [Can. 1, l. 38], l. 113.
this line indicates the approach of morning. The constellation of Charles's Wain, having about the same longitude as Leo, comes beyond the north-west quarter, when Pisces ascends to the horizon, as the celestial globe may illustrate.

CANTO XII.

As is that landslip.—Near Roveredo, where Dante appears to have sojourned, and most probably at Marco [cited as Monte Marco], towards Verona, where a landslip, referred to A. D. 883, has pushed the Adige farther from the mountain.

—the infamy of Crete.—Minotaurus, the anthropophagous monster of Queen Pasiphaë, represents Malicious Violence as the perverse fruit of passions carried to the extreme of Folly or Bestiality. He appears therefore, though within the boundaries of the sixth circle, as presiding Devil of the succeeding one, and as captain, we may fancy, to the congenial natures of the Centaurs and Harpies in the subdivisions.

That great Athenian Duke.—The quaint anachronism involved in this title should not astonish readers of the English Bible, which applies it to Esau's immediate representatives. Virgil, who has given valuable hints to Dante in two scenes, where pictures or bas-reliefs are contemplated [see Purg. Can. 10 and 12], puts before the eyes of Æneas, in the sixth book of his Epic, the similitudes of Athenians shipping their youths and maidens to be devoured by the stepson of Minos; and of Theseus, by a
clue of thread, tracking and killing the latter within his laby-
rinth. Ariadne's part in the affair is alluded to in Ovid, Metam. 
lib. 8, fab. 2.

So trembled.—In the earthquake after the Crucifixion. 

—for thereby some maintain.—Probably the Empedocleans, 
as referred to by Aristotle in the Physics, lib. i., and De Animâ, 
lib. i.

—Centaurs ran.—The Centaurs, whose mouths and aspects 
are human, but motions bestial, represent violence unaccompanied 
by fraud. That this impish brood were capable of different grades 
in morality must be supposed when we reach the separate punish-
ment of Cacus. They are introduced in deference to Virgil, 
who in the sixth Æneid fills with such monsters the entrance of 
Avernus. On Chiron, the instructor of Achilles, and Nessus, slain 
by Hercules, I need not pause; the death of Pholus is referred to 
the same prowess in Virg. Æn. viii. 294, and Georg. ii. 456, 
but has been told otherwise. The three Centaurs are named 
together in Lucan's Pharsalia, vi. 390; the group here appears 
symbolic of Plato's psychologic trinity of Reason, between the 
concupiscible and irascible affections.

Here Alexander and stern Denis.—The first list is of offenders 
against persons rather than property. Alexander is doubtless 
"he of Macedon" (who being a Greek is less spared than 
Cesar); and Denis the elder Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse from 
406 to 368 B.C., whose so-called "Ear," or cavernous dungeon 
framed like a whispering gallery, is well known.

Is Azzolino.—Commonly called EcceUin da Romano, Imperial 
Vicar of the Marca Trevigiana under Frederic the Second, and 
master of a variable domain in Lombardy from 1230 to 1260, 
when he was overthrown by a combination of his brother
Ghibellines, supported by Papal sanction. He practised habitually the most enormous cruelties; and when Padua had revolted against him, collected as many as he could seize from the dispersed of her citizens over Italy, and by some means brought them to an evil end. Villani says, they were burnt en masse along with the Marquis's Secretary, who had prepared a report for their intended execution, and was jocosely dispatched to take it with them before the Lower Powers. An extravaganee of the Guelphish Clio!

Obizzo of Este (i.e. marquis) was endowed by the Ferrarese with despotic government, after the death of Azzo the Seventh, his father, in terms unbecoming to citizens and members of the Empire. In the following year he rendered valuable service to the army of Charles of Anjou, whose claims to the suzerainty of Italy he afterwards supported in the parliment of Lombardy in 1269. In 1288 and 1289 the cities of Modena and Reggio, weary of intestine strife, subjected themselves to his perpetual authority. All these circumstances rendered him obnoxious to Dante, but do not establish against him, or Azzo his son, the charges of tyranny and parricide here brought forward, which are indolently copied by the Commentators, but impugned by Muratori [Antichità Estensi], and ignored by other historians. The frequent attempts, however, which were made on Obizzo's life, may be considered to support the authenticity of Dante's narrative.

A spirit all apart.—Guy of Montfort, Vicar in Tuscany of Charles of Anjou, and son of the well-known English rebel. In 1270, when the Princes, returned from the Tunisian Crusade, were met in congress at Viterbo, he avenged his father's execution on Henry, the King of England's nephew, whom he slew in
a church, and drew into the streets. For this outrage he was removed from the Vicariate, but protected by his sovereign against farther vengeance. Which Prince Edward perceiving to be unattainable, withdrew wrathfully to England, bearing in a golden cup the heart of his murdered cousin, which he exposed on London bridge to the sympathy of their common countrymen.

That Attila. — The Grand Hun introduces the Offenders against Property, chiefly "reavers and robbers," and each example from an enemy of the Eternal City; as Pyrrhus, the Epirot invader; Sextus Pompeius, under whom civil war degenerated into piracy [Lucan vii. 420]; and from times more recent Rinier of Corneto a freebooter, who infested the Maremma; and Rinier Pazzo, of Valdarno, excommunicated for assaults on Roman Prelates, in which he had been encouraged by the second Frederic.

CANTO XIII.

A grove. — See Argument of the Canto.

Between Corneto and Cecina. — The Tuscan river Cecina, flowing under the Volterran hills to join the sea some twenty miles below Livorno, and the city of Corneto in the Patrimonio di San Pietro, bound the landmark of the desolate Maremma, on whose insalubrity see Purg. Can. 5, l. 135. The Marta, flowing by Corneto and the Bolsena lake, which supplies the former with its waters, will be elsewhere mentioned.

Who chased the Trojans from the Strophades. — See Virgil 3; l. 11.
254, &c., which describe the landing of Æneas and his comrades on these isles of the Ionian sea, their discomfiture by the Harpies, whom they vainly scattered by force of arms, and the dismal-sounding prophecy of Celseno that they should one day eat their trenchers. It is not very consistently that the sixth Æneid introduces Harpies in the entrance of Hell.

1. 21. Some credit for my lays.—Virgil in the third Æneid has made the Trojan fugitives find on the coast opposite their city a wood of myrtle and hazel, from whose broken twigs flowed blood, while the voice of Polydore, son of Priam, who had been committed to the guardianship of the Thracian king, related how he had been on that spot treacherously massacred, and

"A thousand lances, in his blood embued,
Again sprang upward by his blood renewed."

1. 58. For I am he. — Piero delle Vigne, of Capuan birth, a distinguished orator, jurisconsult, and poet, was private secretary to Frederic the Second, who had raised him from the condition of a poor student at Bologna, and employed him in the revision of the Laws, and in the weightiest political transactions, as at the Council of Lyons in 1245, where he sought vainly to avert from his master the audacious bull fulminated by Innocent the Fourth. Of Piero’s subsequent misfortunes there are very discrepant accounts; but those that seem most authentic, and consonant with Dante’s information, make his death to have followed quickly upon his loss of the imperial favour, through a voluntary act, to which he was impelled by a sense of disgrace rather than by torment or oppressive punishment, under an impeachment of not the most deadly nature. Accordingly we may suppose he was thrown into confinement or arrest, and sentenced to deprivation of various estates, upon charges of betraying the Emperor’s
interest in his conduct of affairs, or enriching himself at the expense of the Treasury, and that he killed himself in or under a church in Pisa by dashing his head against the wall. On the reports that his eyes were put out, that he perished in casting himself from a dungeon window, while the Emperor was passing, in order to implore his clemency, and that he had attempted (as Matthew Paris affirms) to poison Frederic, perhaps at Papal instigation, see a laborious inquiry in Von Raumer’s Hohenstaufen, App. to vol. iii.

That Whore. — Envy, or, as some say, the Court of Rome.

Two rent and naked souls. — With these begin the spendthrifts.

— thy legs, Lâno. — A Sienese, who having wasted all his substance (perhaps in the Club mentioned by Capocchio, Canto 29, l. 130), sallied in search of death to the field of warfare.

Jousting at Toppo. — Some time after Charles of Anjou’s death, the captivity of his successor in Aragon facilitating many revivals of the Ghibelline interest in Italy, the opposite party were expelled from Arezzo A.D. 1287, but during the next year procured from the Florentines and Sienese an expedition to restore them to their country. The two armies, after various triumphs, advanced successfully under the walls of Arezzo, where the Florentines, having boastingly celebrated their annual foot-race of the Baptist’s day, commenced a retreat homewards, after requesting their allies to accompany them to Montevarchi in Valdarno di Sopra. The latter, however, preferring a direct return to Siena, were routed by an ambuscade in Pieve del Toppo, where the Aretines were commanded by Bonconte of Montefeltro, who the next year fell in the celebrated defeat of Campaldino. [Purg. Can. 5.]

O Jacopo di Sant’ Andrea. — A Paduan nobleman, of whose
prodigality it is recorded that he burnt down a country house of his own to provide a spectacle for his guests.

1. 143. **That city was my birthplace.** — After the foundation of Florence [see Can. 16, l. 61], a temple of Mars was erected there, which the citizens destroyed upon their conversion in the reign of Constantine, in order to substitute the Cathedral of the Baptist; they reserved, however, the auspicated image of the god, to which they attached a superstitious value, to place on a high tower by the Arno.

1. 145. **For which his art.** — So Brunetto Latini says, "The spot on which Florence is founded was once called the House of Mars [Camarte in Villani], that is, of battles. For Mars is one of the seven planets, and was called by the Pagans the God of Battles, as he still is among many nations. Hence it is no wonder that Florence should be always full of broils and discord; for they are governed by this planet. And hereof knoweth feelingly master Brunetto Latini, who was born in that city, and at the time he wrote the present work had been expelled thence by the wars of the Florentines."

1. 150. **By Attila, rebuilt it.** — Florence was said to have been destroyed by Attila (Villani calls him Totila) during his invasion of Italy in 451, and to have been rebuilt in 801 under Charlemagne, who united the remnant of its inhabitants with the settlers in Fiesole. The statue of Mars, after the overthrow of its protecting tower, had fallen into the river; but a fragment was recovered with much rejoicing, and stood in Dante's time at the head of the Old Bridge.

1. 151. **My gibbet of my own house.** — Observe how the penalties of the suicide and spendthrift are combined against this man, as whilom English justice combined those of heresy and treason against Oldcastle.
CANTO XIV.

The third belt from the second belt. — See Arguments, Can. 13 and 14.

On which the feet of Cato. — See Lucan’s Pharsalia (the perusal of which poem will illustrate many subsequent passages) for an account of the Libyan desert, between the Lesser Syrtis and Numidia, across which Cato led the remnants of Pompey’s Pharsalian army to join King Juba, lib. 9, v. 368.

Some lay on ground. — These three classes are, as I have said the Blasphemers, and the violent against nature and art. The great number seen in the second order will be understood from the licentiousness of classical manners, and that which has been said under Can. 10 on the revival of Epicureanism in Florence. The charge, therefore, which Dante in the next Canto brings against his tutor Brunetto Latini, must not be considered, although morally heinous, to have appeared very revolting or dishonourable. The punishment of the Blasphemers seems connected with the text, “He shall rain upon the ungodly [i. e. impious] snares, fire, and brimstone;” the common doom of the violent against nature was suggested by God’s judgment on the Cities of the Plain. The Usurers, or violent against art, occupy in this circle the lowest position; their sin having most affinity with that of fraud, which is next exemplified; nevertheless, the Blasphemers are from their attitude exposed to greater torment.

As Alexander. — This phenomenon is mentioned only in a work professing to be translated by Cornelius Nepos from a letter of Alexander to Aristotle, in which the former mentions,
describing his pursuit of King Porus beyond the Caspian gates, that his troops were assailed by a terrific storm of snow, during which he commanded them to stamp upon the ground, that they might prevent the camp from being covered, and afterwards by one of rain, but lastly by fiery clouds, as here described, which he made them extinguish by their garments (though still, we may imagine, using their feet).

1. 58. *As he hath done at the Phlegraean fight.* — Namely of the Gods and Giants in Thessaly. For Jupiter's demands on Vulcan and the Cyclops see particularly Silius Italicus [9, 304]:—

"Phlegraēs quantas effusit ad Æthra voces
Terrigena in campis exercitus, aut sator ævi
Quantà Cyclopae nova fulmina voce poposcit
Jupiter, exstructis vidit cum montibus ire
Magnanimos raptum caelestia regna Gigantos."

1. 68. *O Capaneus.* — For Capaneus, as a leader in the wars of the sons of Ædipus, the blasphemies he uttered against Jupiter, and his overthrow by the artillery of heaven at the wall of Thebes, see Thebais 10, 845. Statius, whom we shall meet in Purgatory, is the latest Latin poet much alluded to by Dante.

1. 79. *As from the boiling well.* — The Bulicame, near Viterbo, in the Patrimonio di San Pietro.

1. 96. *Beneath whose king.* — See Ovid Met. lib. 1, v. 110, on Saturn as ruler of the Golden Age. The faults arising from Love, being the most venial, a chaste world implies one that is otherwise innocent. On the birth of Jupiter in Crete see Lucr. 2, 635.

1. 98. *and Ida was its name.* — On Mount Ida, as the birthplace of Jupiter, and on the story of Rhea's concealing him from his father Saturn, when his infant cries were overwhelmed by the clamours or clashing shields and helmets of the Curetes and
Corybantes, see Ovid’s Fasti, 4, 197. [I select a Latin authority, such as Dante is most likely to have studied.]

Whose back to Damietta.—This image, representing the general history of mankind, has its face turned in the direction of the spheres, or that which has been generally pursued by the tides of conquest and civilisation. [See Par. Can. 6, l. 2.]

His head is formed of gold.—Here the image of the Four Monarchies, seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his dream [Dan. c. 2], is rendered typical of the whole course of time, and viewed in manifest connection with the reigns of Saturn and Jupiter, and the four ages of the world described in Ovid [Metam. lib. 1]; a grand syncretism, the analysis of which still requires to be more deeply investigated. I shall venture to distinguish Dante’s four ages, as in a manner the periods of four empires, or of so many conditions of mankind in respect to government. The first age was that through which our common parents lived innocently, and in unconstrained obedience to God’s law; this period is represented by the golden head, solid and unsullied by tearshed. In the second age the human family, though corrupt and wicked, had not yet become so disorderly as to submit themselves, from urgent necessity, to the restraints of civil government; this period corresponds to the silver breast and shoulders, from which derives the river Acheron. In the third age began kings to rule, and men exposed themselves to warfare and despotism to escape the more pressing and familiar afflictions of anarchy. Under this state of things, which might be dated from the days of Nimrod, many princes and nations contended for supremacy upon the earth, but Providence had not yet declared in favour of one race, nor erected any rudiments of a legitimate, durable, and universal empire; this age
corresponds to the copper or brazen parts of the image, from which also Phlegethon is derived. The last age is that of the Roman empire, which supplied the desideratum above mentioned, and is represented by the iron limbs and the river Cocytus; this may be considered the period of the greatest offences, for as civil order grows more perfect, so those who violate it must deserve a deeper penalty. In the latter part of this age a spiritual power arises beside the temporal, and is represented by the foot of parched clay. And because men relied more on the Papal than the Imperial authority, though the former had less strength for the support of social unity and order, therefore the weight of the image leans less upon the iron foot than on that which is of weaker material.

1. 116. *Make Styx and Acheron.*— I believe [as above implied] that each river is supposed to flow from a separate part of the image.

1. 123. *Why doth it only.*— Dante inquires why he has not seen the stream intersecting any of the upper circles.

1. 125. *And though upon the left hand.*— It has been observed under Can. 9, l. 132, that the poets have turned to the left to descend across each circle, and to the right in some few circles, where they have surveyed a portion of the circumference. Virgil now shows that whatever progress they have made towards the centre, they have not made a sufficient circuit to meet all the four rivers.
CANTO XV.

As are the bulwarks, i.e. dykes along the great canal from Bruges, running towards the isle of Cadzand.

Or which the Paduans.—The banks of many rivers in Venetian Lombardy being subject to inundations in spring-time from the melting of the snows on the adjacent mountains, the Paduans, who still have a long series of villas and castles along their river, the Brenta, which rises in Mount Chiarentana, have erected mounds for their protection in the manner described.

If Brunetto Latini.—Brunetto Latini, Dante’s tutor, born in Florence, A.D. 1220, was a notary and diplomatist, eminent in oratory and jurisprudence, and for various philosophic writings, of which I shall speak under l. 119. He was attached to the Guelf party, and employed as their ambassador, while Florence was threatened by the power of King Manfred, to petition for the support of Alfonso the Tenth, of Castile. While absent on this mission he heard of the battle of Arbia [A.D. 1260, see Can. 10], and the expulsion of the Guelfs from his native city, in consequence of which events he was compelled to withdraw to Paris. He returned with his party to Florence shortly after Manfred’s overthrow, and was one of the vouchers for their reconciliation with the Ghibellines during the unsuccessful mission of Cardinal Latini from the Pope in 1279. He was again employed as a state-ambassador in 1294, in the negotiations with Genoa against the Pisans, and died in 1296. He is described as a man of great ability and learning, of the most courteous and engaging manners, and of grave but humorous conversation. Villani calls him worldly, with perhaps a worse meaning than we should attach to the expression, and
that such a character was generally attributed to him he himself confesses in his Tesoretto; but none of his contemporaries, excepting Dante, have distinctly brought against him any more heinous charges.

1. 62. That came of old from Fiesola.—Fiesola [or Fiesole], a Tuscan city on the hill commanding Florence, was considered to have been the first ever built in Italy. It was destroyed, according to tradition, by order of the Roman senate in the war with Catiline, and supplied materials and citizens for the foundation of Florence, where a colony was led also from the metropolis. Fiesole was rebuilt by Attila, who destroyed Florence [see Can. 14], and was subsequently, A.D. 1010, itself destroyed by the Florentines, who again mingled with itsburghers. Hence the commonalty of Florence was considered as a mixture of two races, to whose hereditary enmity were ascribed its perpetual divisions and intestine wars; the noble families, however, including Dante's, arrogated to themselves a purely Roman origin.

1. 67. 'Tis their old fame on earth bespeaks them blind.—The nickname of "the blind," which the Florentines certainly bore, has been accounted for by two anecdotes, so that neither of them is likely to be true. Dante indirectly typifies Florence as a blind bull in Par. Can. 16, l. 69, alluding to the violence and shortsightedness with which her government was conducted.

1. 90. — a lady, who the truth will know. — See Par. Can. 17.

1. 99. Well hearkens he that bears in mind. — Virgil considers his pupil to be applying his maxim,

"Superans omnis fortuna ferendo."—Æn. 5, 710.
("By enduring is all fortune to be conquered.")

1. 109. Priscian of Cesarea, a famous grammarian of the sixth century, flourished under Justinian (a severe inquisitor of the sin
here punished). We are ignorant of the grounds on which Dante
has here mentioned him.

And Francis of Accorso.—The son of an eminent Florentine, who professed jurisprudence at the University of Bologna, Francis of Accorso had succeeded to his father’s functions, and written additions to his commentary on the Code of Justinian. He was so valued by his fellow citizens, that they forbade him, under pain of having all his goods confiscated, to leave them at the invitation of Edward the First of England. His death has been referred to A.D. 1294.

One by the servant unto servants.—Andrea de’ Mozzi, removed by the Pope [servus servorum] from the bishopric of Florence to that of Vicenza, A.D. 1298. It is said his own brother procured this translation, having complained to Boniface the Eighth of his dissolute life and extravagant preaching. Notwithstanding the ill character he now bears, he had been chaplain to Alexander the Fourth and Gregory the Tenth, and a deputy, it is said, of Cardinal Latini’s when the latter came to Florence as a pacificator. [See on l. 32.]

There comes a band.—The following band is composed of men whose life has past in action, and perhaps we may suppose married men, as at least was Jacopo Rusticucci. [Can. 16, L 44.]

I leave now my Tesoro.—Latini’s Tesoro [Treasure], treating of all things that appertain to mortals,” is an encyclopedic work, written, during his sojourn in Paris, in the French language, which he considered more universal, and even more agreeable than his own! It begins with an outline of cosmogony, geography, physics, and universal history; comprises next a system of morals, politics, and rhetoric, founded on Aristotle’s corresponding treatises, and terminates in a more original Book of
Precepts for the conduct, and especially the manners, of rulers and magistrates. The Tesoretto, a work in rude Italian rhyme, was destined for an introduction to the above treatise, and comprises an allegorical vision of Nature and her works, of Love, Virtue, and other such personages. The Pataffio, a collection of proverbs and mots, a work of less moral and dignified character, in Italian ternary rhyme, is also attributed to Latini. I have been unable to procure a sight of it.

Of those who for the green cloth have to run, i.e. for an honorary distinction at the annual foot-race, celebrated by Verona in common with various other Italian cities. The agility of Ser Brunetto probably mitigated his pain, and proved his comparative temperance.

CANTO XVI.

Formed in a wheel. — For reasons shown by Can. 15, l. 37.
The grandson of the fair Gualdrada. — Gualdrada was the daughter of Bellincion Berti, who is mentioned in Par. Can. 15, l. 112, as a Florentine gentleman of the old school; she married Conte Guido, then the sole representative of a noble clan, which had been expelled from the government of Ravenna. From their union sprang five sons, the heads of a numerous and powerful family, among whose members were Guido Novello [see Can. 10], head of the Ghibellines in Tuscany after the battle of Arbia; the Guidi of Romena mentioned in Can. 30; and others of the name, who appear in connection with the life or works of Dante.
Villani relates, that when the Emperor Otho the Fourth visited Florence, having met many fair gentlewomen assembled in the church of S. Reparata, he was struck especially by the appearance of Gualdrada, and inquired who she was, as it happened, from her own father. Bellincion answered that she was the daughter of one who would cause that his Grace, if it pleased him, might kiss her: which Gualdrada hearing, was greatly affronted, and said that never should a man kiss her, but if it were her husband. And the Emperor, appreciating this answer, commended her to the noble Guido, whom he had endowed with the lordship of the Casentino, and who then became her suitor, paying no regard to birth or dowry, with the success that has been intimated. This account has been impugned on documentary evidence of the date of Gualdrada's marriage, but may nevertheless have been current in Dante's time, and would not perhaps have lowered his opinion of Bellincion as much as Lombardi judges.

Was Guidoguerra named. — Guidoguerra, though cousin to Guido Novello, was a Guelf leader, and had in 1255 expelled the Ghibellines from the peaceably disposed city of Arezzo, hereby outrunning the zeal or prudence of his own party in Florence, who thought proper to restore them. After the battle of Arbia he commanded the Guelf refugees in Romagna, and joined with them the army of Charles of Anjou, whom he aided at the battle of Benevento against Manfred. [See Purg. Can. 3.]

Was Tegghiayo Aldobrand [Tegghiajo Aldobrandi]. — Behind Guidoguerra is another noble Guelf leader, who is mentioned before the battle of Arbia as having opposed in council the unfortunate sally of the Florentines, which led to their discomfiture and the capture of the city [see on Can. 10]. On this
occasion, one of the ancients [named Lo Spedito], who had proposed this movement in reliance on the counterfeit treaty for betraying Siena, told him, contumeliously, to search in his breeches whether he had any fears. So when another speaker began to support Aldobrandi's opinion, he was commanded by the ancient to hold his peace: there was a fine of a hundred liras for disobeying this tribunitial mandate, and Gherardini offered to pay it, that he might continue his discourse; but was told that it should be doubled, and then that it should be trebled, and at last the threat of capital punishment enforced his obedience to the popular shall.

1. 44. Was Jacob Rusticăcki [cci]. — Of this third personage, a plebeian of Florence, who had been driven to vice as it appears by domestic animosities, I find no historical mention.

1. 70. For William Borsier. — Of him the Decameron relates, that when a noted Genoese miser had showed him over a richly furnished and decorated house, and asked him if he could suggest some new and hitherto unseen subject that he could have painted therein, William answered, "I can tell you something that you certainly have never seen—let Liberality be painted;" by which hint his entertainer was edified.

1. 78. Thy sudden riches. — Compare Par. Can. 16. "During the year 1282," says Villani, "Florence and her citizens were in the happiest condition that ever befell them, which lasted until 1284, when began the division between the nobles and the people." This period had however witnessed some democratic innovations in the government, which were followed in 1292 by the misrule under Giano della Bella, when the old noble families were excluded from the government of the city.

1. 79. If at some other time. — According to Leonardo Aretino,
Dante put himself beyond all hope of receiving pardon by the freedom with which he wrote and spoke against the governing party in his native city.

As the first river. — That is, from the origin or north-west extremity of the Apennines, the first river on their left or western side, which does not mingle with the Po, but finds the ocean by an independent channel, and rises in Monte Veso by the name indicated below.

And after Forli. — Here the Acquacheta [Still Water] assumes the name of Montone.

As at St. Benedict. — A convent situated near a cataract of the above river.

Line 102 might be translated, if we trust the construction Boccaccio puts on it —

"There, where a thousand fairly might be fed;"

insinuating misappropriations of the conventual revenues.

I chanced to have a cord. — This cord Virgil uses as a signal to the Demon of Fraud, presently described, who was accustomed, at the arrival of a sinner in his province, to be thus summoned by his confederates: thus the poets will have entered by force among the violent [Can. 10], and by stratagem among the fraudulent. That Dante should have formerly procured a cord in hopes of catching the pard [Can. 1, l. 32], is a representation, I think, contrived rather for the development of the action than to convey any special allegory.

And as I pen this comedy. — See on Can. 21, l. 2.
CANTO XVII.

And mid yon guzzling Germans.—That our German cousins
should here appear, as Shakspeare has indirectly represented us,—

"For heavy-headed revel east and west
Traduced and taxed of other nations."

will not appear unnatural, if we look back to the anecdote of
Manfred's horsemen which I have quoted in Can. 10.

As the beaver.—Collecting the fish, according to a legend
related by Pietro di Dante, by the unctuous attractions of his tail.

A nation sitting.—Namely the Usurers, or violent against art.

In yellow purse an emblem blue.—The crest of the Gian-
figliazzi of Florence. The armorial bearings of these ungentil
craftsmen remind us of Dante's strictures, in the last Canto, on
the new magnates of his city.

Another ruddier.—The crest of the Ubbriachi of the same city.

In azure tint a teeming sow.—The crest of the Scrovigni of
Padua, probably suggested by their name, quasi scrofà geniti, as
were the three bulls of our Bulken or Boleyn family. Of this
clan Rinaldo was a noted usurer, and left his son a patrimony
out of which the latter endowed a monastery for the Frati Godenti
mentioned in Can. 23.

My neighbour named Vitalian.—Vitaliano del Dente, also a
Paduan, of whom I find nothing interesting.

Let come our sovereign liege.—It is from Florence the usurers
expect this grand-master, called Giovanni Bujamonte de' Bicci,
or degli Irti, in conformity with his crest.

Now, Geryon, go.—The name is taken from a king of Thrace,
destroyed by Hercules for throwing his own guests to his
anthropophagous horses [Ov. Met. 9, 194]. His punishment or
transformation is similar to that of the Thieves in Can. 24.
No greater dread, I think, did Phaethon feel. — Among various explanations given of the phenomenon of the Milky Way, Dante mentions in the Convito, that according to the Pythagoreans the Sun had once wandered from his road, and passing through places not adapted to his heat, had so strongly acted upon them, as to leave a scorched appearance. And I think, he adds, that this supposition led to the fable of Phaethon, which is related by Ovid in the second book of his Metamorphoses.

Nor Icarus ill-fated. — Virgil alludes in Æn. 6 to Icarus, the son of Dædalus, who endeavoured to accompany him out of Crete, flying on artificial wings from the tyranny of Minos; but by soaring too wantonly, allowed the wax with which his plumes were cemented to get melted by the proximity of the sun, and was drowned in the sea which took his name. [Comp. Ovid. Met. 8.]

CANTO XVIII.

There is a place. — The eighth circle, comprising the Fraudulent, who evidently stand in gradations, of which the first five or six are characterised by cupidity, and the others by malice against man or God. The principle on which these classes are subdivided is less clear. The sinners in the first pit, Seducers and Pandars [see the present Canto], have evidently an analogous position to the Lascivious in circ. 2 [Can. 5]; those in the second pit, Flatterers and mostly Parasites, correspond in some measure to the Gluttons in circ. 3 [Can. 6]; the three next classes, Simoniacs, Enchanters, and Embezzlers, to the Avaricious in circ. 4 [Can. 7]; but I know not whether
the Hypocrites in the sixth pit [Can. 23] should be ranked with the Avaricious or the Malignant, or should rather, as men without religion, answer to the Misbelievers in circ. 6 [Can. 9]. On the divisions of the Fraudulent Malicious, see Can. 24 and 29.

l. 5. *There yawns a gulf.*—Continuing the outer border of the abyss from the eighth to the ninth circle.

l. 9. *And valleys ten.*—These form concentric zones like the divisions of circ. 6, but sunk in the ground between high partition-walls, or cliffs, in accordance with the dark and latent quality of the sin punished.

l. 17. *Long spurs out.*—These rocky projections, forming bridges by which the circles are connected, run in radial lines across all the partitioning cliffs, except the outermost and the innermost, in which they merge and terminate.

l. 20. —— and towards the left.—That is, along the periphery of a circle, a contrary course to that previously adopted, tending to bring the poets again under the point at which they entered [see on Can. 9, l. 132], and obviating the necessity of their crossing another river.

l. 26. *Toward us the nearest outside,* i.e. Pandars; *after us the farthest came,* i.e. Seducers [see l. 86 to 97]; *but longer strides they drew,* as more painfully impelled by the scourges presently mentioned.

l. 28. *The Romans.* — On the great concourse that was brought to Rome by the jubilee proclaimed in 1300, see Purg. Can. 2.

l. 80. *To pass their bridge.*—The throngs crossing in opposite directions the bridge of St. Angelo, were kept each to its own side by a partition-wall erected in the middle of the road. It appears that on one hand every face was directed towards the Cathedral
and the Castle of St. Angelo, and on the other towards the hill of Janiculum, which is not, however, visible at this point in the modern city.

_Horned fiends recurred._ — See the Argument in Table of Contents; and with this appropriate construction of a legendary image compare Much Ado about Nothing, Act I, Scene 2, in the fourth interlocution of Beatrix.

_Twas I persuaded._ — Venedico Caccianimico, of Bologna, whose sister Ghisola was lewdly sought after by Obizzo the Second, Marquis of Ferrara [see Can. 12], is shown to have taken a reward for procuring him her favours.

_Sips 'twixt Reno and Savena._ — There have died of the Bolognese, Venedico is made to say, more impenitent pandars than the present generation numbers of adults and children capable of speaking. The neighbourhood of the town and university is indicated by the adjacent rivers, and the dialect according to usage by the word of concession. [See Can. 33, l. 80.]

_A rocky spur._ — Compare lines 17 and 20. This rock nearly chokes up the valley, but is scooped out into a species of arch.

_We parted from._ — In speaking of the everlasting bound, Dante perhaps contrasts its massive irremovable appearance with the precarious and shattered-looking structure of the bridge.

—that other miscreated train._ — The second file is of Seducers.

_Lo Jason._ — On the hero of the Argonautic expedition, see Valerius Flaccus, and Ovid Met. lib. vii.; but for the Lemnian adventure consult especially Statius, Thebais, lib. v.

_When the bold mercy-lacking women._ — Venus had sent on the islanders a spirit of strife, from which this massacre ensued. [See next note.]
Beguiled Hypsipyle.—This maiden had deluded all her comrades by sparing and secreting her father Thoas. On her adventures after Jason had risen from her side to pursue his voyage, see Purg. Can. 22, l. 112.

And for Medea’s vengeance.—Medea, daughter of the King of Colchos, who for the love of Jason abetted the enterprise of the Argonauts, and with him deserted her father, was abandoned like Hypsipyle for a new leman in Glauc, daughter of the Theban king Creon.

Already came we, i.e. to the border of the second pit.

And thou’rt Alexius Interminel.—One of the noblest born in his own city.

Thais the harlot is.—The accomplished heroine of a classical comedy, which is enacted with partiality by the British youth at Westminster. Thais has gratified for her emolument the passion of a military admirer, Thraso, whose courage and modesty are of the Gascon sort, when the dialogue cited takes place (through a messenger in the original) on the occasion of his sending her a costly present. Meantime she has given her heart to a more engaging young Athenian, who eventually turns Thraso out of doors, but admits him, when he has been sufficiently humbled, to taste, as it were, the moonshine of their mistress’s favours. [See Terentii Miles Gloriosus.]

CANTO XIX.

O Simon Magus, O his proselytes!—The third pit [l. 6] contains the Simoniacs, who are planted with their heads down-
wards, because they have looked to base and earthly objects, instead of celestial, as the "prize of their high calling." Compare Milton's Mammon:

"For even in Heaven his eye
Was always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught beside."—B. i. 1. 678.

They are tormented with fire, as having sinned directly against God, like the heretics, and the transgressors of the seventh circle.

Than those my beautiful St. John's.—The font in the Baptistry of the Florentine Cathedral of St. John was surrounded by an outer casing, in which were sunk a series of holes for the officiating priests to stand in. This arrangement protected them from the pressure of the crowd, which had been enormous on the few days allotted to the performance of the sacrament.

One out of which I broke.—Dante vindicates himself for an act that had excited much scandal. He appears to have found a boy, that had been playing with his companions in the Baptistry, wedged into one of the holes above mentioned, and there stifling or drowning from want of air, or from some water that had accidentally penetrated; so that his life could only be saved by breaking the sacred vessel. It is possible that the ludicrous appearance of one standing on the wrong end in the place of a baptizer may have suggested to Dante a punishment for those who had communicated spiritual gifts and functions with a policy directed to low and sordid objects.

Adown yon bank.—The inner bank, as will appear in l. 31. Comp. Can. 24, l. 34, for the general construction of the valleys in Evilpits, which become shallower towards the centre.
I stood as one.—As it was in Dante’s time a common punishment for an assassin to thrust him, head downwards, into a hole in the earth, which was then filled up so as to stifle him, it might occur that one in this position should detain or recall his confessor to delay the completion of the execution.

Already there, O Boniface?—One of the predecessors of Boniface the Eighth, who is anxiously looking forward to his arrival, mistakes Dante for him, and wonders that he should have died so early. The “book” mentioned in the next line is that prevision of events with which we have seen the damned to be endowed [Can. 10]. On Boniface’s death in 1303, see Par. Can. 20, l. 71.

For which thou didst not fear.—On the manner in which Boniface had induced his predecessor to resign, see on Can. 6, l. 30. To procure his own election, he solicited the influence of Charles the Second, King of Sicily, and is said to have promised that he would recover for him the isle of Sicily, of which Charles of Anjou, his father, had been deprived by Pedro of Aragon. As a pope, Villani says [lib. 8, cap. 5] that “Boniface was high-spirited and lordly, and demanded much honour, and knew well how to maintain and exalt the rights of the Church, and from his wisdom and power was very much feared and dreaded; he was very greedy of money to aggrandise the Church and his own kinsfolk, having no scruples about gain, for he said all things were lawful to him for the Church’s sake. He was born at Anagni in Campagna, of a respectable Ghibelline family, whose predilections he shared while only a Cardinal, though after his subsequent elevation he became a violent Guelf.” Boniface had incurred Dante’s indignation by sending Charles of Valois to tyrannise over Florence under the title of peace-maker;
perhaps also by the great sale of indulgences in 1300 [see Purg. Can. 2], and by other actions of which I shall more conve-
niently speak in my notes on the Purgatory, which is that part
of the poem where Dante's political allusions first acquire a cha-
racter of wide and European interest.

And sighing.—The Simoniac is disappointed at having yet
found no one to relieve him from his painful attitude. See line
75, in which is an emblem how the infamy of one pope covers
another's.

Know, that I put the sacred mantle on.—The speaker is Pope
Nicholas the Third, whose family name, degli Orsini, i. e. of the
bear's whelps, is alluded to in the next line. He reigned from
1277 to 1280. "While he was a young ecclesiastic," says Villani,
"he was a most worthy and well-conducted man, and it is said
a virgin of his body; but after he was called Pope Nicholas the
Third, he grew presuming, and, through zeal for his relatives,
engaged in many undertakings for their aggrandisement; and
he was the first pope, or nearly the first, in whose court simony
was openly practised by his relatives, whom he thus, during the
short time he lived, enriched beyond all the Romans in castles,
estates, and money." Seven of these kinsfolk were promoted
to the Cardinalate, and Bertoldo Orsini, the Pope's nephew,
was appointed Count of Romagna. This province Nicholas had
himself wrested from the empire, taking advantage of the ex-
communication incurred by Rodolf of Hapsburg, who had pro-
mised to embark on a crusade, but found himself detained by
affairs of European politics.

Who went before me.—Nicholas does not allude to his im-
mediate predecessor John the Twenty-first [A. D. 1276, 1277],
who is introduced in Par. Can. 12, l. 134, nor perhaps to Adrian
the Fifth [1276], who appears among the Avaricious in Purg. (unless indeed the judgment there pronounced on him be a mitigation of that which the poet had first inclined to). The short reign of Innocent the Fifth in 1276, and the virtuous and respected character of Gregory the Tenth [1272 to 1276], render it unlikely that they are particularly alluded to. It seems therefore that the weight of Dante’s censure must fall on Innocent, Alexander, Clement, and Urban (the Fourth of each name), who had reigned in succession from 1243 to 1268, and distinguished themselves by that bitter hostility to the house of Hohenstaufen [see on Frederic the Second, Can. 10, and Manfred, Purg. Can. 3] which had led to the subversion of the Imperial power in Italy. [See Philal.] The wanton and venal issue and cancelling of excommunications, so indignantly denounced in Par. Can. 30, sub fin., may have been considered a kind of simony.

1. 79. But longer is the time. — Nicholas had been twenty years here; Boniface was destined to wait but eleven [1303 to 1314], for the arrival of Clement the Fifth, who reigned from 1305 to 1314. Dante probably wrote the above before Clement’s death [about 1309—see note on Can. 34], but had reason to believe he would not live long enough to falsify the prediction.

1. 83. A shepherd from the Westward land. — After the death of Boniface, the election of his successor having been delayed by the divisions of the Cardinals, it was at last agreed that the party which was adverse to the French interest should appoint four candidates, out of whom one should be singled by their antagonists. The four names sent to Philip the Fair included Bertrand, Archbishop of Provence, who had been hitherto his adversary, but was easily won over by a king who could secure
his nomination to the Papal chair. He is said to have agreed to four promises for which the French sovereign stipulated, viz. the grant of absolution to himself and all his friends, including the Colonnas at Rome, for all offences against the late Pope [see Purg. Can. 20, l. 86], a concession of tithes for five years, the condemnation of the memory of Boniface, and the satisfaction of a request yet undivulged. Clement the Fifth evaded some of these promises, but showed a guilty compliance with the King's avarice, in allowing him to confiscate all the possessions of the Jews in France; besides which he was condemned by Dante for the well-known translation of the Papal Court to Avignon. [See Purg. Can. 32, l. 158.]

In him shall Maccabean Jason.—See 2 Mac. c. 8, v. 4, et seq. for an account of Jason, who superseded Onias his brother in the Jewish priesthood, having procured by the promise of an increased tribute his appointment by Antiochus Epiphanes. The latter had reigned in Syria from B.C. 174, and violently persecuted the orthodox Jews. With his cruelties those of Philip to the Templars may be compared not unworthily.

——against King Charles to swell.—Nicholas is said to have conspired with John of Procida to raise the rebellion in Sicily against Charles of Anjou, which was to be supported by the Greek Emperor and the King of Aragon, and which broke out under the next Pope in the Sicilian Vespers. It is said he had proposed to Charles a family alliance, which the latter scornfully rejected, admonishing Nicholas that he was not yet the equal of kings, for "his functions were no inheritance" — a rebuke the Pope could not forgive.

You Shepherds [see Rev. c. 10].—It is not by corrupt doctrine, but only by the contamination of temporal power and riches,
that Dante considers the Bride of Christ to have grown worthy of a degrading emblematisation. The seven heads and ten horns have been taken for the sacraments and commandments. The "mate" in l. 111 represents the Pope.

1. 115.  *Oh Constantine*—Milton has translated,

"Ah Constantine, of how much ill was cause
Not thy conversion, but that ample dower
Which the first wealthy Pope received of thee."

It was commonly believed that Constantine had endowed the Popes with the government of Rome, to reward Sylvester for curing him of a leprosy, and that he had retired to Byzantium to make room for him.

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**CANTO XX.**

**Canto XX.**  
*Now to new pains.*—The fourth pit contains the Diviners, who are punished, according to Benvenuto da Imola, firstly, for practising their trade by distinct or implied contract with demons, who are the authors of all omens and portents (and this reason applies to all soothsayers, except astrologers); and, secondly, for predicting contingent things as if they were necessary, and events depending on man's free-will as if they were ordained by Providence, by doing which they manifestly become liars, and persuaders of a guilty recklessness—a view which I consider highly judicious, and would fain extend to some modern interpretations of prophecy. The symbolic
character of the following punishment is partly obvious; but I would observe how a class that have sinned chiefly through vain-glory is punished by shame rather than torment, and that the sorry figure which they present is enhanced by Dante with more obscene words and images than he ever uses without grave reason. Compare Isaiah, c. 47, on the punishment of the "virgin daughter of the Chaldees according to the abundance of her enchantments."

O Amphiarus. — Amphiarus being destined to perish during the siege of Thebes by the Seven Kings, his patron Apollo, apprehensive that his body might be left unburied (as were those of the other combatants), caused him to be swallowed by the earth, with his arms, his horse, and his chariot, in the hour of apparent victory, whereon see Statius, Theb. lib. 7. Another legend relative to him is referred to in Purg. 12, 20.

See Tiresias. — The blind prophet of Thebes, who revealed to Oedipus the story of his involuntary parricide and incest. On the present story see Ovid, Met. 3, 315.

See Aruns. — Aruns is mentioned by Lucan [Phars. lib. 2, sub fin.] as the eldest of the Tuscan Aruspices, who were consulted by the senate upon Caesar's invasion of Italy, and as dwelling in the desolate walls of Luna, which since gave name to the Lunigiana, a small territory near Genoa and Carrara.

And she who veils her paps. — Virgil points out Manto, daughter of Tiresias above named, who was exiled from Thebes (called the city of Bacchus in l. 58) when Creon after the death of the Oedipus had established his tyranny there. He proceeds to relate the foundation of his native city with geographical references which it will be worth while to follow upon the map.
Before yet Casalodi's madness.—Mantua being alternately or
conjointly governed by four noble families, Pinamonte of the
Buonaccorsi had the address to procure the expulsion of each
in turn, except his own, by leagueing himself with the remaining
number. The last expelled were the Casalodis, by whose
absence he acquired complete supremacy. [See Muratori,
anno 1272.]

When the land of Greece.—Eurypilus is mentioned by
Virgil [Æn. 2, 114], in the false narrative of the spy Sinon, as
having been sent to Delphi by the Greeks, to inquire how they
might obtain a fair wind to leave Troy, which they then des-
paired (it was said) of conquering. His influence on the first
embarkation at Aulis is but inferred by Dante.

In some part sings my lofty Tragedy.—A tragedy, as Dante
uses the term, is a poem of sustained, solemn, and earnest style
(so Aristotle calls Homer the prince of tragic poets), whereas
any poem that contains a mixture of the vulgar and burlesque
is a comedy, however it may in some passages rise to more
beauty and sublimity. [Compare note on Can. 21, l. 2.]

And that one in the waist.—Michael Scott had been physi-
cian to Frederic the Second towards the middle of the thirteenth
century. Philalethes mentions that he wrote some physical
works, and comments on Aristotle. Among the Italian legends
of his enchantments, it is noticed, that when the citizens of
Parma, besieged by Frederic, had sallied and captured the camp
and new city he had built before them, a certain cobbler found
there a barrel of delicious wine, from which he derived an inex-
haustible supply, till he had the curiosity to break it open, and
saw a little silver angel sitting in it, the work of the Scotch
necromancer, whose spells were herewith broken. Michael is
said to have foreseen the manner of his own death, which was to be caused by the fall of a beam; he endeavoured to avert it by wearing a steel cap, but the dreaded event befell him at the entrance of a church, where he had uncovered himself "for reverence, or in the fear of public opinion."

*See Guy Bonatti.*—A Florentine diviner, attached to Guido di Montefeltro (the Ghibelline leader in Romagna towards the close of the thirteenth century, whom Dante meets in Can. 27). He is said to have written a copious and ornate treatise on Astrology in so plain a style, that "it seemed he meant to instruct ladies in that science." His contemporary, *Aedente*, was a cobbler of Parma, whose despicable notoriety our author incidentally mentions in the Convito, Tract. 4.

*For with his faggots*—Cain.*—The figures in the moon according to a vulgar opinion, noticed in Par. Can. 2. The setting of the moon towards the equinox denotes sunrise, so that here we approach the commencement of the second day of the vision.

*And yesternight exact the moon was round.*—There was a full moon in 1301 on the 5th of April, the day after which was the Jewish passover. As Dante in the next Canto hints that he began his imaginary journey on the anniversary of the Crucifixion, it has been supposed, from the above line, that he reckons the date of that event by the solemnity of the 6th of April just referred to, rather than by the Christian Good Friday, in that year the 8th of April, on which most commentators place the commencement of the action. I prefer, however, the latter opinion, though proving a slight inaccuracy in Dante's recollections of the moon's aspect; for why should he have professed to select a Hebrew festival for the most interesting medi-
tations of his life? Nor do other explanations fail to present like difficulties.

CANTO XXI.

Thus past we.—That is, into the fifth pit of Embezzlers or Truckers, being ministers who have sold the favours of their sovereigns or state-offices of honour and emolument,—the Simoniacs, as it were, of the secular power.

Shall my Comedy not cark.—The title of the poem is judiciously alluded to in the introduction of a horribly grotesque scene. Its application to the whole work is vindicated by Dante in the dedicatory epistle to Can Grande prefixed to his Paradise, with an appeal to a classical authority, which seems employed more diplomatically than candidly. The passage is as follows: "The title of the book is, Here beginneth the Comedy of Dante Alighieri, a Florentine by birth, not manners. To the understanding whereof it must be known, that Comedy is entitled from Κωμη, village, and Ὀδη, which means a song, wherefore Comedy is, as it were, a rustic song. And Comedy is a certain kind of poetic narrative, that differs from all others. But herein she differs from Tragedy with respect to her matter, that Tragedy in her commencement is serene and worshipful [admirabilis et quieta], but in her end fetid and horrible; whereas she is termed from Ῥαγος, a goat, and Ὀδη, meaning, as it were, a goat-song; that is, fetid in the manner of a goat, as appears plainly by Seneca in his tragedies. But Comedy takes her beginning from the part where any affair goes roughly [inchoat
asperitatem alicujus rei], but her matter is prosperously concluded, as is shown by Terence in his comedies. And hence are some orators [dictatores] accustomed in their addresses to say by way of greeting, 'a tragicall beginning, and a comicall end.' Again they differ in their mode of speaking; Tragedy speaks loftily and sublimely, but Comedy in a plain and lowly style, as Horace enjoins in his Poetics, where contrariwise he permits the comic writers to speak [sometimes] like the tragic, and conversely,—

Yet sometimes also the Comic Muse raises her accents,
And your angry Chrêmes with a mouth swelling awfully wrangles,
And the tragedian oft complains in a style very prose-like.
 Téléphus and Peleus.—Horace, Ars. Poet.

And hence it appears why the present work is called a comedy. For if we regard the matter, it is in the commencement a horrible and fetid one, that is, Hell; but in the end a prosperous, desirable, and gratifying one, that is, Paradise. If we regard the mode of speaking, it is plain and lowly, being in the vulgar tongue, by which even slight females [mulierculæ] communicate."

It appears from Erato Ilario's letter on the publication of the Inferno, and from Johannes de Virgilio's Eclogue addressed to Dante, that the latter was much censured both for writing on his important theme in the vulgar tongue (which he chose that he might give it a wider influence), and for introducing comic, low, and coarse expressions and images; and it was no doubt to vindicate or to glorify the indulgence of these supposed eccentricities, that he has affected to enrol himself contentedly among the servants of Thalia.

As in the arsenal. — The following scene of the pitchy lake and the demons with their forks, and also the idea of the broken bridges towards the end of the Canto, are thought to have been
suggested by an extraordinary representation of Hell-torments which took place in Florence, A.D. 1303, in honour of Cardinal da Prato, the Pope's Legate. The river was crowded with boats illumined with dismal torches, on which stood men habited like demons, and others representing damned souls, who were carried off shrieking and lamenting. Amid these goings-on the Carrara bridge, on which there was a vast concourse of spectators, broke down under them, so that many, as the chronicler grimly remarks, saw in earnest what they had come to see in make-believe. According to Signor Rossetti the subsequent description of the ten demons abounds in allusions to the Florentine priors and magistrates who had been instrumental to Dante's condemnation.

1. 37. *I've one of Santa Zita's elders here.*—The canonised Zita was the patroness of Lucca, where she had lived as a servant girl, and where she was buried in one of the churches. It is said her household work was often done for her by angels, while she attended to her devotions and penances [Philal]. The bad repute of Lucca is referred to, though in a milder tone, Purg. Can. 24. The present representative of her magistrates is said to have been named Martin Bottajo.

1. 41. *By Bonturo's leave.*—Bonturo Dati betrayed his native city to the troops of Pisa in 1314; but as Dante has not mentioned him as aught worse than an Embezzler, which he may have been long before this graver offence, the present passage has been shown to afford no support to the conjecture that the Inferno was written or revised in or after that year.

1. 48. *—Here is no sacred countenance found.*—The fiends mock the attitude of Bottajo, who seems worshipping. A common object of adoration of Lucca was a portrait of our Lord, according
to tradition the work of St. Nicodemus, which had been miraculously revealed in the middle of the twelfth century to a bishop Gualfredus, being at that time a pilgrim in Jerusalem, who was charged to embark it in an open boat, and commit it, without a guardian, to the Mediterranean waters. The boat approached the shores of Lucca, but spontaneously retreated from various persons who attempted to lay their hands upon it, and would only resign its treasure to the hands of Johannes, the city's pious bishop. The Serchio, mentioned in the next line, is the river of Lucca.

I've seen the troops out of Caprona. — Caprona, a Pisan fortress, capitulated in 1290 to the Guelf confederates of Tuscany under Guido di Montefeltro, the lives of the garrison being accorded them. The latter, on issuing from the city, were immediately surrounded by enemies, who amused themselves by an affected clamour for their immediate execution by the rope, but in the end led them safely across the frontier. Dante is thought to have served among the Florentines in the victorious army.

Yesterday when 'twas five hours later here. — As our Saviour expired on the ninth hour of the day, the present scene is shown to have been enacted in the fourth hour after sunrise. As above said, I believe Dante counted Good Friday for the anniversary of the Crucifixion; he will then appear to have commenced his journey on that day which fell in 1300 on the 8th of April, and risen from within the earth on a morning which in the Antarctic hemisphere might be reckoned that of Easter Sunday. [See on Can. 34.] The overthrows produced in Hell by the miraculous earthquake have been alluded to in Can. 12; respecting its effects in Evilpits the demons give a
partial account, as it will appear that all the bridges over the next chasm are broken. There is therefore in the command presently given for the safe conduct of the poets, a prevarication of which the demons prepare to take advantage for their destruction, and already, as Dante perceives, begin chuckling at the contemplated mischief.

CANTO XXII.

I've seen, O Aretines. — Arezzo, says an early commentator, was in the old time, when she flourished, much given to martial games and exercises.

And sometimes by bell. — The Florentine armies were guided with an enormous bell, called the Martinella, which was mounted within a wooden tower on a sumptuous carriage.

As dolphins oft. — The appearance of these fish is still considered to forebode a tempest.

And like an otter, that is, black and sleek with pitch, and drawn up on the spear-point.

Demanding who he was. — This sinner was named Crampolo, or John Paul, and of gentle birth.

A ribald having got me, I should perhaps have translated

"A ribald had begot me, who welnigh
With all his means and his life made away."

Then in the good King Tybault's household. — Thibaut the Second, of Navarre, surnamed the Good, was Count of Champagne, and son-in-law to St. Louis, with whom he shared the labours of the Tunisian crusade. Continually occupied with his French possessions, he intrusted the care of his domestic policy too much to ministers and favourites.
The monk Gomita.—A Sardinian, the minister of Nino de' Visconti of Pisa, who inherited Gallura, one of the four jurisdictions into which the island was divided, the others being Logodoro [l. 88], Cagliari, and Alborea.

So tells he.—It is thought Crampolo notices a Sardinian turn of expression in the words cited as Gomita's; *di piano*, safe and sound; compare Latin *de plano*, Span. *de llano*. Another such idiom occurs in the "Don" of l. 89. Dante brusquely notices the idiom of these islanders in the De Vulgari Eloquio, saying that they have no vulgar tongue, but imitate grammar, that is classical Latin, as an ape does a man, and say, for example, *Dominus nova* and *Dominus meus*. From this it may be thought that *Dominus* was an equivalent to the Italian Signore, and that it has to be applied to Michael Zanche as paramount of Logodore.

I have seen a specimen of the modern Sardinian dialect in Adelung's *Mithridates*, which is remarkably like Latin. I have noticed particularly the word for heaven, which is written Quelu and Chelu by the Spanish and Italian orthographers respectively, both forms being equivalent to Kêlu, from Latin *caelum* with the hard *c*, which is lost in all other romance tongues. The forms, which are not Latin, approach more nearly to Spanish than Italian, but this resemblance is said to have been strengthened by migrations subsequent to Dante's time.

With him consorts Don Michael Zanche.—Adelasia, widow of Ubaldo de Visconti, brought Logodoro in Sardinia (vide supra) as a dower to Enzo, bastard son of Frederic the Second, and after his dying a captive to Bologna's Guelfs, is thought to have given her hand to Michael Zanche, previously her husband's minister, whose end will be referred to under Can. 33.
Leave us the cope.—The fiends agree to descend from the ridge of the partition-wall on the side sloping to the sixth pit.

CANTO XXIII.

On one of Aesop's fables.—The sight of Calcabrine, involved in a common disaster with Alicline, of whose position he had sought maliciously to take advantage, reminds Dante of the well-known story of the mouse, who, having sought the frog's assistance to cross a stream, and submitted to be towed by her with a string attached to the limbs of both, while struggling with his perfidious companion who attempted to drown him, was with her seized and devoured by a kite. The fable is the sixth in the Appendix to those of Phaedrus, which are mostly Aesopian.

1. 32. The right-hand bank is now the inner one.
1. 57. There underneath.—Thus begins the sixth pit of the Hypocrites, or fraudulent dissemblers of their characters, who are assimilated, as nearly as will render their condition painful, to the wolves in sheep's clothing.
1. 63. If at Cologne.—The insignia of hypocrisy are rendered more intelligible by their resemblance to a monkish garment. The Cologne cowls are said to have been larger and more prominent than most of those worn in Italy.
1. 66. That Frederic's torments.—Frederic the Second showed his zeal for the Pope's spiritual authority by subjecting heretics, wound in sheets of lead, to the action of fire.
1. 103. For us we were boon friars.—Frati Godenti, a nickname of the
Cavaliers of St. Mary, whose military and religious order was formed in 1261 under the sanction of Urban the Fourth, by several nobles of Bologna, among whom was Loderingo or Lotorico degli Andoli, presently mentioned. Unconstrained by the usual obligations of poverty and celibacy, they were pledged to use their weapons in defence of widows and orphans, and against the enemies of Holy Church, to obtain her sanction before engaging in any worldly business, and to abstain from using gilt bits and stirrups. They wore a grey mantle above a white stole, and quartered on a white field across and two stars in gules. Their worldly and corrupt practices led very shortly to their dissolution.

Both whom thy city took.—Loderingo degli Andoli, a Ghibelline, and Catalano de' Malavolti, a Guelf, were jointly called to the Podestà office in Florence, which was usually filled by a single man. This happened in 1266, when the news of king Manfred's overthrow having reached Florence, then governed by the Ghibellines under Guido Novello, as Imperial Vicar [Can. 10, L. 48], they began to grow alarmed and desirous of conciliating the Guelfs, who were accordingly recalled from exile, and admitted to a share in the government. The two friars established a popular constitution in Florence by organising the Guilds of the seven greater arts, and forming a legislative council from their representatives. These innovations alarmed Guido Novello, who, finding himself insidiously dealt with, attempted to quell the reform by force of weapons, and was expelled with his party from the city. The possessions of the latter suffered considerably from popular violence, especially the houses of the Uberti in the Gardingo, near which the palace of the people was afterwards erected, but built crookedly to avoid the hated site.
My guide he stood awhile. — Virgil perceives that they never could have crossed this circle by the bridge the demons hinted they would lead him to.

CANTO XXIV.

About that period, i.e. in a portion of February, which is generally milder than most of the preceding and subsequent months; the sun having by then travelled more than halfway towards the equinoctial point.

Of her sister white. — The snow which a thick frost resembles, but falls short of in the time it remains upon the ground.

Thou wilt have yet a higher stair. — In passing, as we shall see, from the centre of the earth to the summit of the purgatorial mountain.

That eighth in order stood. — Enclosing the seventh pit of Thieves.

No more let Lybia's sands. — In the description of the desert traversed by Cato's army [see Can. 14, l. 15], Lucan has mentioned the following serpents [Phars. ix. 710]: —

"Chersydris, the debatable earth or waves of a Syrtis
Born to frequent, and, tracing a path in smoke, the Chelydrus;
Cenchrus, in act ever out of a course to diverge, variegated
In body like to the finely-mottled stone Theban Ophites,
And, with a crest each way menacing, the dread Amphisbena,
Stream-infesting Adders, Jacul rapid, and the Pareas,
Whose tail humbly the soil furroweth," &c.

...of which the Chersydrus [land snake] is mentioned in some
copies of Dante with the Chelydrus [for whose name I have used the synonym Elops], and the others. He describes minutely the rapid attack of the Jaculus [or Javelin], and that of other kinds, which will be hereafter mentioned. The fabulous character of his descriptions renders it superfluous to investigate each species he refers to, or to introduce their modern appellations.

The Phonix thus.—On this well-known fable see particularly Ovid. Metam. xv. 392.

John Foutchi beast has been.—Beast was a nickname of Vanni [Giovanni or John] Fucci [pronounced Foutchi], of the Lazzeri family of Pistojia, whose bestial obduracy, I should judge, rather than illegitimate birth, has entitled him here to the appellation of Mule. To show that Dante does no injustice to the man or to his city (from the divisions of which so many calamities overspread Tuscany), Philalethes quotes from a Chronicle of Pistojia [Muratori Rer. It. Scriptores xi.] an account of the violent acts in which Fucci took a share during the first contentions of the White and Black parties in Pistojia. After Doro Cancellieri's hand had been vindictively cut off [see Can. 6], and Simon of the same branch of the family, for a wound he received by a stone during a street affray, had assassinated one of his adversaries, and been banished by the Podestà to the confines, Vanni Fucci, with two associates on the Black side, made several attacks on Focaccia Cancellieri, who evaded them as much as possible, and when taunted with cowardice, used to say, "It was better men should say at such and such a place, Here Focaccio fled before his adversaries, than Here he was slain." Baffled here, the three rioters murdered Bertino, a brave and loyally disposed knight of the hostile clan, whose death
excited much indignation. Focaccia retaliated on a kinsman of Simon's, after which outrage both parties were banished the city, but one of the "Blacks" re-entered it, and killed, in an unsuspected attack, Focaccia's father, who, being in the religious order of the Frati Godenti, had escaped the sentence of exile. Then both factions returned, fortified houses in the city, and commenced regular hostilities. Zarino of the Lazzeri, deserting the rest of his family, lent the Whites a stronghold, which, however, was reduced with fire and military engines by their antagonists, among whom Vanni Fucci made a booty of his kinsman's war-steed. On a subsequent occasion he was engaged with the other Lazzeri in resisting an arrest of some of their body, which had been attempted by the Podestà, and killed with his own hand a valued servant of that magistrate's, whereat the latter broke his staff, and protested he had no longer the strength to carry on the government. The city, therefore, remained without a head till the events referred to under l. 143.

1. 129. *In whom I knew a man of blood and spleen.*—Dante could have readily conceived Fucci among the violent against their neighbours, but did not know how he had incurred the deeper penalties of fraud.

1. 139. *That stole the fair plate from the Sacristy.*—Some years before the events just mentioned, Vanni Fucci, already sojourning at the frontiers, whither he had several times been banished for his misdemeanors, spent clandestinely a holiday evening in Pistoja, where he was entertained with several of his wild associates at the house of Vanni della Monna the notary. Thence having sallied the next morning with two of the guests whom he had made his accomplices, he robbed the town sacristy of its valuable plate, concealed the booty in the house of the notary,
who was either left in ignorance of the transaction, or, as some say (but I think against Dante's view), driven by terror to conceal it, and recrossed the frontier. Strict inquiry was made by the Podestà for the authors of the sacrilege, and a young man of bad character, "Rampino" [son] of Francesco of the Foresi, having been arrested on suspicion, and ineffectually put to the question, was menaced with a speedy death—well merited by his other offences,—unless he would confess the theft, and discover his associates. Rampino persisting that he could disclose nothing, his parents entreated for his pardon with tears and importunities, and by the interest of all the noblest citizens; but finding the Podestà inexorable, they were at last conspiring in their desperation to set fire to his house, that at least the stern judge might perish with his victim, when Vanni Fucci, pitying their condition, sent them a message, which led them to impeach the notary. The house of the latter being immediately searched, and the plate found in his possession, he was summarily executed, and Rampino set free. If Vanni Fucci was inculpated by the sufferer, Vanni Fucci remained beyond the frontier.

*Pistoja first.*—When the contentions just referred to had filled Pistoja with alarm and horror, there arose in the city a "party of order" [posati], having a manifest leaning to the White side, who persuaded their countrymen, for the restoration of tranquillity, to submit themselves for a time to the government of the Florentines, from among whom the Black party under Corso Donati had been already exiled. From these patrons they received in succession several podestàs and captains, who governed them with an iron hand, but imperceptibly depressed the Black party, till at last Andrea de' Gherardini received
orders to expel them entirely. These injunctions he carried into effect by summoning the heads of the noble families, under pain of banishment and of having their possessions confiscated to stand a trial for alleged offences; when they refused to appear, he caused their houses to be stormed and burned, so that many persons also perished in the flames; but some of the “malignants” obtained capitulations by treating with powerful Florentines. Thus the Black party was overthrown in Pistoja, but afterwards, when their allies triumphed in Florence by the force of Charles of Valois, they became in their turn the clients of that city, which, in conjunction with Lucca, made war on the Pistojans, conquered all their forts and territories, and in four years’ time, having reduced them to the utmost extremities, obtained from them a complete surrender of their liberties. They then reduced the jurisdiction of the city within the circuit of a mile, dismantled all the walls and fortifications at the expense of the citizens, and filled all offices with their own partisans.

1. 145. *Mars draws a flame.* — Under the Marquis Moroello Malespina, who had estates in the Valdimagra, the exiled Blacks of Pistoja inflicted a severe defeat upon their pursuers in the Campo Piceno. The same marquis commanded the Lucchese in the reduction of Pistoja above mentioned.

CANTO XXV.

A double fico wrought.— The gesture was made by introducing the thumb between the middle and the forefinger. The Pis-
tojans, Fucci’s fellow-citizens, are said to have once erected a guide-post at Carmignano, on the road to Florence, on which they represented a hand in this attitude.

_Not him who from the walls of Thebae fell._—Capaneus, as in 1. 15. Can. 14.

_Where is this embittered one._—Vanni Fucci, whom the Cen- taur pursues for his blasphemy, which in a measure will be punished by fire.

_Lo that is Cacus._—Cacus is mentioned by Virgil, not exactly as a Centaur, but a semi-human and semi-brutish savage, breathing fire and smoke, and dwelling in a cave under Mount Aventine, whence he emerged to steal the oxen of Hercules, as he had done others, when that hero returned from slaying Geryon in Spain. The cattle being dragged backwards into the cave, Hercules could not at first discover their track, but when their lowings had revealed their position he avenged himself as is here described. [See Æneis, 8, 194.]

_Three spirits new._—These spirits, and the two that will presently appear in serpentine form, are supposed to represent five noble Florentines, who had been guilty of peculations while holding high offices in the community. Of the three first, 1. 68 indicates Angelo [or Agnolo] Brunelleschi; 1. 140, Buoso, of the important family of the Donati; and 1. 148, Puccio de’ Galigai, surnamed Sciancato, or lame. Of the two others 1. 43 indicates Cianfa of the Abati, or, some say, Donati family; and 1. 151, according to a tradition preserved by the commentators, Guercio Cavalcanti.

_Where has Chanfa stayed._—As above, Cianfa degli Albati, 1. 43, who makes the first serpent that appears.
CANTO XXXV.

So seemed a fiery snake.—The second serpent is named under
l. 82. l. 151.

l. 95. No more let Lucan.—See Phars. 9, 765, where among the
soldiers of Cato, attacked by serpents, Nasidius is stung in
the leg by a “Sepa,” whose venom causes his limbs, body, and
head in rapid succession to dissolve away and putrify with the
bones, and Sabelius by a “Prester,” which makes his inflamed
flesh to swell in all directions till the formless mass breaks
the junctures of his armour. The descriptions of their deaths is
an eminent example of Lucan’s nauseous but forcible particu-
larity, which our author imitates here and in Can. 28 with
proper moderation.

l. 97. No more of Arethusa.—On Arethusa, transformed into a
brook to shun the embrace of the River-god Alpheus, and
Cadmus, with his wife Harmonia, transformed into serpents on
the utterance of an inadvertent wish after Juno’s persecutions
had made them in their old age retire from human con-
verse into a solitary forest, see particularly Ovid, Met. iii.
and v.

l. 140. I’ll have Buoso run.—The spirit just transformed, Buoso de
Donati.

l. 151. The fourth by thee, Gavilé.—The murder of Guercio Cavalc-
canti by the peasants of Gaville in Val d’Arno di Sopra had
been avenged by his relatives with much random bloodshed.
CANTO XXVI.

But if from morning dreams. — Morning dreams were supposed the truest, as those in which the brain's action is least influenced by previous impressions, or by the bodily functions.

What Prato craves for thee. — This formal prophecy may refer to events that had really happened before the composition of the Canto, as the sufferings that Florence underwent from the expulsion of the White party, the conflagration in 1304, and the fall of the Carrara bridge previously mentioned, but I would rather believe Dante wrote them under actual anticipations of calamity. Prato was a village near Florence, on which her citizens had inflicted a severe fine in 1294 for harbouring and refusing to give up some criminals. In the same place they besieged in 1304 the Cardinal da Prato, when he had laid them under an interdict after the failure of his mission as a peacemaker. Their hostilities had by turns been injurious to all the other cities round them, among which Pistoja, as we have seen, and others had experienced great severities.

O then I grieved. — Dante, approaching the eighth pit of the False Counsellors, avows a solicitude, with which their remembrance inspires him, that the influence of his own words and writings may never be injurious or immoral.

What season he. — In summer, when the sun is visible for the longest periods.

And as Elijah's parting car. — See Kings ii. 2.

For Polynices and his brother lit. — The sons of Oedipus, who fell by each other's hands, after the war that brought the seven chiefs against Thebes, and whose mutual hatred appeared, as the
text intimates, in the flame that consumed their bodies. [Statius, Theb. 13, 431.]

1. 55. *Tydides with Ulysses.*—These two warriors appear as companions in the night attack on the Trojan camp described by Homer. Dante presently alludes to the wooden horse, by which the Greeks were introduced into Troy; on which it should be observed, that according to Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius, the most popular authorities in the middle ages on the details of the ten years' siege, this stratagem was employed after peace had been formally concluded, and in contravention therefore to the laws of honourable warfare. Even Virgil seems to have favoured this view by the bitter expressions respecting Ulysses which he assigns to the shade of Deiphobus,

"Hortator scelerum Æolides. Di talia Gralis
Instaurate."—Æn. 6, 528.

He next refers to the artifice through which Achilles, when brought up as a girl at the court of Lycomedes in Naxos, was tempted to reveal his native character by the pretended merchandise of Ulysses and Diomed, from which he selected arms rather than female ornaments, and was hence induced, by an advice which was ill for him certainly in one way, to engage in the fatal war, from which the prescience of Thetis might have restrained him. Lastly, the Palladium, or sacred image of Minerva, which was supposed to render Troy impregnable, and which, according to Dictys, was given up by Antenor's *treachery* to the Grecian generals.

1. 84. *Where went he out to die.*—Virgil inquires how Ulysses ended his days, and introduces a fine original fiction. The question may have been suggested to Dante by a passage in the
HELL. CAN. XXVI. L. 55.—CAN. XXVII. L. 28. 95

Germany of Tacitus, 3, 3: "Cæterum et Ulyssaeum narrant quidam, in longo illo et fabuloso errore, adiisse Germaniae terras."

"Moreover, some relate that Ulysses, in that long and fabulous wandering of his, arrived at the shores of Germany." Also by the assertion of Solinus [Polyhistor 13], that Lisbon [Olyssipona] had been founded by Ulysses, — a myth, I suppose, founded on an accidental resemblance of a barbarian and a classical name.

And having turned. — Ulysses desires to sail westward, or some-what to the south of the west [see l. 126], to explore the circumference of the world; and approaching the Antipodes of Jerusalem across a hemisphere of water, sees, after five months [l. 129], the mountain of Purgatory [see Can. 34], where Providence [see l. 140] prevents his landing.

CANTO XXVII.

As that Sicilian bull. — A hollow brazen figure, contrived for Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, so that the cries of a man baked within it might sound like the roaring of the animal represented. Perillus, the inventor, was made the subject of the first experiment. [See Ovid, Art of Love, 1, 653.]

At peace or war say doth Romagna stand? — After the Wars of the Church and Empire had ceased for a time in Tuscany, the contentions of the two parties had revived, in the year before Dante's birth, in Romagna, then divided between many independent cities and noblemen, who took arms on opposite sides at the expulsion of the Ghibelline family of the Lambertacci by
their opponents the Geremci from Bologna. Matters at first went on triumphantly for the Ghibellines, but in 1277 were embroiled by the Emperor Rodolf's cession of the suzerainty of the province to Pope Nicholas the Third, who thenceforward exerted himself both to pacify and to reduce it to his obedience. In 1278 Bertholdo Orsini as Count of Romagna, and Cardinal Latino as Legate, demanded and obtained the readmission of the exiles in Bologna and other cities: again, however, through the rage of faction, were the Lambertacci expelled in the winter of the same year, upon which the Pope demanded an explanation from the municipality, and hostages were exacted on both sides. In 1281 the Papal chair was occupied by Martin the Fourth, a violent Guelf, who detained the hostages on one side only, and demanded concessions from the adverse party in Forli, which again involved the country in hostilities. By degrees, however, with the assistance of the King of Naples, he succeeded in pacifying and reducing the country [1283]; but in 1292, after partial disturbances had taken place in Rimini and Ravenna, a new revolt was organised against this power of the Church, supported by many former adherents of the Guelf party; nor did the country in all parts recover its tranquillity till nearly the close of the century.

1. 29. For there betwixt Urbino — The line describes the situation of Montefeltro on the borders of Romagna and Tuscany, which conferred his title on Count Guido, the present speaker, born in 1250, who had taken a brilliant part in the earlier Romagnese wars above mentioned. In command of the Ghibellines and Lambertacci exiles he had in June 1275 defeated the Bolognese at Ponte San Procolo, and taken their martial state chariot or Carroccio. In the following year he frustrated their attack
upon Faenza, and repelled the Florentines from Forli, against which city they had been invited by some Guelph fugitives. He continued warring in Romagna (and soon in opposition to the Pope's legates) till 1282 or 1285, when he sought a reconciliation with the triumphant arms of Martin, and submitted to remain quietly at Asti in Piedmont. [See following notes.]

There does the Eagle of Polenta brood. — Polenta, a small castle near Brettinoro, gave their title to the Counts or "Conti" Guidi, whose arms were an eagle, half white upon a blue ground, and half red upon a golden. In 1249 a Guido di Polenta, at the head of Ravenna's Guelfs, had been expelled by the opposite party under the Count of Bagnacavallo, but had re-entered in 1275, and two years after established himself lord or captain of the city. In 1290 his son Bernardino had seized and imprisoned the Pope's legate Stephen Colonna, who had demanded the surrender of the city. In 1292 Bernardino and his brother were Podestàs of Ravenna and Cervia. In 1294 the family were expelled Ravenna, which fell into the hands of Mainardo Pagani; but they appear to have been shortly restored, and to have re-extended their influence to the city mentioned in next line. On Guido's family history compare Can. 5.

And Cervia.—A small city fifteen miles distant from Ravenna. [Vide sup.]

That city, which the stubborn siege. — Forli had been among the first cities to support the league under Guido di Montefeltro in 1275, and in the following year sustained an attack of the Florentines, who, after a temporary occupation of the suburb Civitella, retreated in dismay from the prowess of the great Ghibelline leader. In 1281 Forli a second time gave refuge to the Lambertacci exiles, whose expulsion, together with Guido's retire-
ment from Romagna, was presently demanded by Pope Martin. On compliance being refused, the latter laid the city under an interdict, barbarously ordered her merchants to be seized in foreign parts, and directed against her the arms of John of Appia, whom he had named Count of Romagna. After several fruitless attacks during that year and the next, Count John formed a hope of entering Forli by the treachery of some of her citizens, who were, however, detected and punished by Guido of Montefeltro. The latter, it is said, to complete the destruction of his enemies, pretended to evacuate the city, leaving open the postern by which admission had been secretly promised them. Count John thereat entered with his forces, composed chiefly from the French troops of Naples, and left outside a reserve, who were overpowered and replaced by Guido's soldiers. The latter, while the foreigners, to whom the city was given up for spoil, were "with love and wine opprest," re-entered and made havoc among them; Guido's reserves also cut off the fugitives, who mistook them at first for friends. A monument at Forli records the massacre of 8000 Frenchmen.

1. 45. _By the vert talons_, i.e. the green lion emblazoned by the Ordellaffi family, which, in 1300, had about four years ruled this city, where they had established themselves by expelling Conrad of Montefeltro. Forli had submitted to the Popes in 1283, and became for a great part of the subsequent wars the head quarters of the Guelph or Papal party, though at whiles succumbing to or reduced by their antagonists.

1. 46. _Verrucchio's mastiffs._ — Malatesta and his son Malatestino, powerful citizens of Rimini, derived the above local designation from a castle in its vicinity, and the sobriquet apparently from their rancorous disposition. At the beginning of the above-mentioned Romagnese wars, Malatesta had commanded the Bolognese
Guelf army, and figured some time as the antagonist of Count Guido; but after the submission of the province, he conspired against the Popes, and though overpowered and generously restored to his city by the legate, returned incessantly to his pernicious policy. His chief opponents in Rimini were the Parcitati family, whom he finally expelled in 1295. An accident had produced the collision of the two parties; Malatesta, dreading the intervention of Guido di Montefeltro, then temporised with his adversaries, and treacherously renewed the attack while they were thrown off their guard by an apparent reconciliation. It was on this occasion that Montagna [1. 47], a noble Ghibelline cavalier, had been made prisoner and given in custody to Malatestino. The latter, being soon after asked by his father, "what had he done with Montagna," answered, "he was so well guarded, that, though near enough to the sea, he could not drown himself." Malatesta replied, "You do not know how to keep him," which hint, several times repeated, was so understood as to lead to the captive's being made away with. At the time of Dante's Vision the Malatestas were firmly established in Rimini; where their government, as appears by line 48, was jealous and oppressive, and had of yore been so. Malatesta was the father of Paolo and Gianciotto of Can. 6.

The cities on Santerno and Lamone.—The rivers of Imola and Faenza respectively. The former city was in 1274 secured by the Guelf rulers of Bologna, the latter stood in alliance with Guido of Montefeltro. The Bolognese unsuccessfully attacked it in 1276, but in 1280 obtained possession by the treachery of Tebalde
do de' Zambrasi, as will be shown under Canto 32. [See the next note.]

— that lion's whelp of argent lair.—A lion (called a whelp in
disparagement) on a white field, formed the arms of Mainardo de' Pagani, Lord of Susinana, near Imola, who will be mentioned in Purg. Can. 14 as nicknamed Il Demonio for his cunning; an anonymous commentary at this place gives him a more leonine character. Pietro Pagani, his father, had governed Imola till expelled by the Bolognese Guelfs in 1263; he left his son to the guardianship of Florence, to which city the latter attached himself in all vicissitudes of her politics. Hence, as Villani says, he conducted himself as a Guelf in Tuscany [for he fought on that side with his patrons against the Areines at Campaldino], and as a Ghibelline in Romagna [l. 52]. He took Imola from the Bolognese in 1296, and had in 1290 expelled their party, headed by the Manfredi, from Faenza, and he retained, with some interruptions, the chief direction of affairs in both cities during the remainder of his life. He had also at different times had the government of Forli and Cesena.

1. 52. **And that whose flank the Savio washes.**—Cesena, of which city one important suburb was on the mountain. From the government of this city Malatesta of Rimini was expelled in 1275 by the confederacy under Count Guido. She submitted to the papal Count of Romagna in 1283, and disinterred the corpses of many of her citizens, who had been excommunicated for Ghibelline tenets. Since then she was guided alternately by the representatives of both parties, Malatestas and Montefeltros. In 1300 Galassio di Montefeltro seemed to have secured a complete control over her, but after his death the offices he had held of Captain and Podestà were divided between members of the rival families, one of whom was expelled. Thus, Philalethes remarks, no despotism seemed yet to have been rooted in Cesena.
I was a warrior, thence a Cordelier. — In 1289 Guido di Montefeltro broke through the confinement imposed on him by the Pope, and accepted the invitation of the Pisans, who were severely pressed by the Genoese and the Guelfs of Florence, to take the command of their forces. By his generalship they obtained in 1291 a brilliant victory at Pontedera, and in 1293 were in a position to obtain an honourable peace, as a condition of which, however, they submitted to banish their successful general. The ingratitude of this conduct must have been more grievous to the Count, as he had in their service undergone sentence of excommunication. He retired to Urbino, and in 1294 was reconciled to the Church under Celestine. In 1296 Pope Boniface ordered his estates at Forli and Cesena to be restored to him, but soon reversed the decree, owing, it is conjectured, to Guido's interference in the affairs of Rimini [see on l. 46]. In the following year he entered a Franciscan convent at Ancona, where he lived till 1298, often begging his bread in the public squares. It is said that Malatesta, upon hearing that he had taken the vows, apprehensive of new stratagems, took precautions for the better defence of Rimini.

But that the prince of modern Pharisees. — Boniface the Eighth, who in 1297 had, for many real and alleged misdemeanours, condemned to the severest penalties the whole noble family of the Colonnas at Rome, had published a crusade against those who should resist, and succeeded by force or treachery in making himself master of most of their strongholds.

That ne'er at Acre triumphed. — Acre was finally lost by the Christians in 1291, being stormed by sultan Soliman, who massacred or enslaved the inhabitants of both sexes. The Pope
vainly endeavoured to raise a new crusade for its recovery, and prohibited all trade with the infidels of Egypt.

1. 94.  *As Constantine.* — Dante refers to a miraculous cure, which was supposed to have given occasion to Constantine's endowing the Popes with the command of his ancient capital. Mount Siriatti, the Soracte of Horace, contained the cave inhabited by Sylvester bishop of Rome from A.D. 313 to 334.

1. 104.  *For this the keys are twain.* — We have a somewhat different account of St. Peter's keys in Purg. Can. 9, l. 117. Boniface is now made to sneer at the facility with which Celestine his predecessor had been induced to resign the papal dignity.

1. 112.  *Now Francis came for me.* — The patron of his monastic order.

1. 113.  *But one among those cherubs.* — A fallen angel, I suppose, of this circle, which, being the lowest but one, receives the rebels of the second hierarchy — the deepest fall being the doom of the most favoured and most ungrateful vassals.

1. 135.  *That vaults the moat.* — The ninth pit of "sowers of offence and schism."

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**CANTO XXVIII.**

1. 9.  *Of broad Apulia.* — The Apulians, taking part against the Romans in their war against the Samnites, had been defeated at Maleventum [Benevento], by the consul Decius B.C. 298, with a slaughter of 2000 men.

1. 10.  *That made of rings.* — So many were the Roman knights, who fell in the slaughter of Cannae, that one bushel, or, it was said by some, three and a half bushels of gold rings, the insignia of their
order, had been sent to Carthage in triumph. [Livy 23, 11; Silius Italicus 11, 356.]

For facing Robert Guiscard.—The Norman chief who conquered Sicily and Apulia from the Greek empire, and afterwards invading Epirus, defeated before Dyrrachium, with great slaughter, the army of Alexius, composed of Greeks, Turks, and Arabs, and amounting, it was reported, to 120,000 men, A.D. 1081.

Of whom yet Ceperano’s clods.—Ceperano, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, is a ford over the Garigliano, which was crossed in 1265 by the army of Charles of Anjou, which soon afterwards achieved the victory at Benevento. The defence of the passage having been committed by King Manfred to Giordano Lancia and the Count of Caserta, the latter, who commanded the Apulians, treacherously contrived that no resistance should be offered the French forces; for at first, it is said, he counselled his colleague that a small body of them should be allowed to effect their landing, and should then be cut off before their comrades could assist them; afterwards, when some time had elapsed, and a great many troops had passed over, he said the enemy were now too strong to be assailed. It is observable that no actual engagement, such as Dante supposes, is related to have taken place at Ceperano.

And those of Tagliacozzo.—A frontier tract near Aquila in the Abruzzi, where the army of Conradine (grandson of Frederic the Second), who in assertion of his hereditary rights invaded the kingdom of Naples, A.D. 1268, after Manfred’s overthrow and death at Benevento, was defeated by Charles of Anjou, through the strategy, it is said, of an old warrior called Alardo, or Ehrhard. The plan adopted by the French was to keep a strong detachment of their force in reserve, and to engage in
action with the remainder, whose numbers being very unequal to the enemy's, they were at first thrown into disorder, and pursued with such slaughter that the result of the experiment seemed to King Charles most critical. When his enemies, however, were sufficiently dispersed by the allurements of the spoils, the fresh reserves came suddenly upon them, and obtained a complete victory, though the Germans had for a while rallied and defended themselves with the greatest vigour.

1. 31. See how dismembered goeth Mahomet.—A symbolical meaning has been observed in the wound of Mahomet, whose imposture divided the Body of Christ's Church, while the Head remained inviolable; and similarly in the wound of Ali, who divided the Headship of the Church of Mahomet.

1. 55. O do to friar Dulcinus.—Dolcino, illegitimately called Friar, who was during the time of the Vision a preacher at variance with the Church, appears richly to have deserved the sympathies of Mahomet. The bastard of a priest of Ossula in Piedmont, he is said to have been charitably brought up by another priest at Vercelli, till his thieveries rendered it necessary to cast him off. He then joined the sect of the Cathari or Gazzari, as leader of whom he succeeded Gerard of Parma, when the latter was burned by the Inquisition. Dolcino himself was several times apprehended, but had hitherto escaped under recantations subsequently abjured; he was not ashamed to vindicate such conduct by his doctrine. He appeared in 1300 in the districts of Novara and Vercelli at the head of 1400 adherents, false monks and nuns, whose obedience was alienated from all legitimate rulers, whose poverty was supported by rapine, and their chastity, if possible, by indecent defiances of temptation. Dulcinus inflamed their hopes by interpretations of the
neverfailing Apocalypse, elicited thence an emblem of corruptions prevalent in the Church, declared himself a destined restorer of Apostolical simplicity, abjured Pope Boniface and his predecessors (except the abdicated Celestine) of several centuries, and foretold a speedy revolution in the Romish hierarchy. It was revealed to him, as he pretended, that Frederic, the Aragonese king of Sicily, would in 1303 be made emperor, would divide Italy into nine kingdoms, and depose and punish all the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries; then should a new Pope, probably Dolcino himself, reign holly, and shortly behold the coming of Antichrist, and be withdrawn to Paradise with the elect, until the time was fulfilled for the commencement of the Millennium. Dolcino's most celebrated adherent was a woman, named Margaret, fair and noble, with whom he affected to live as a beloved sister; yet he was reported to have debauched her, and to have excused her pregnancy with blasphemous pretensions. The impostor and his congregation, hunted from place to place by the zeal of the ecclesiastics, defended themselves in various recesses of the mountains, defeated several bodies of troops that were sent against them, levied exorbitant ransoms on most of the captives they made (though others they put to death with torments), and committed enormous sacrileges. In 1304 they pillaged Novara, and the following year took prisoner the Podestà of Vercelli. They maintained their ground above a year, on a mountain called Pariete-Calvo, whence they desolated the surrounding country for about ten miles, being themselves often reduced to such extremities of famine as to eat the flesh of dogs and mice "even on fast days," bundles of hay cooked with garlic, and the very bodies of their slain comrades. In 1306 they succeeded in changing their quarters for Monte
Sebello; and the Bishop of Vercelli, now hopeless of subduing them by his own forces, entreated the assistance of the Pope, who proclaimed a crusade against the heretics. Besieged in the same year by a powerful army, whose camps and fortresses intercepted all supplies of victuals, Dolcino contrived to defend himself through the whole winter, and even obtained by a military stratagem an advantage that enlarged his resources. In March 1307, however, a vigorous assault was made upon him, in which he was taken captive at the same time with his associate Longinus and with Margaret. They were confined three months that the Pope might be consulted upon their treatment, and were then executed in the market place of Novara, in the view of many who had suffered by their lawless conduct. Margaret was burnt at a stake before the eyes of the two men, who lay bound in carts, and were afterwards drawn slowly through the city, while their flesh, torn from them with pincers, was thrown piecemeal into vessels of burning pitch. Their resolution was unbroken to the last, and their sufferings were scarcely betrayed by breath or gesture. [See the two Chronicles of Frater Dulcinus in Muratori Rer. It. Scrip. vol. ix.]

1. 71. *And whom in Latin land, i.e. Italian.*

1. 73. *Remember Pier da Medina.* — Piero de' Cattani, of Medina in the Bolognese territory, whom Dante is said to have intimately known, was a busy stirrer of strife between the Romagnese leaders Guido da Polenta and Malatesta da Verruchio.

1. 75. *That from Vercelli.* — The plain of Lombardy, from Vercelli, on the frontiers of Piedmont, to Marcabo, a castle belonging to the Venetians on the mouth of the Po Primaro.

1. 76. *And tell to Fano's.* — The treacherous murder here described, which took place after the supposed date of Dante's Vision, was
perpetrated on Guido del Cassero and Angiolel da Cagnano, two leading citizens of Fano, by Malatestino, son of Malatesta da Verrucchio, who was then lord of Rimini, and had invited his intended victims to a parley on shipboard, off the island of Catholica, which lies near the coast between the above-mentioned Romagnese cities.

From Cyprus even to. — In a portion of the Mediterranean which had been infested from the earliest times by Greek and other pirates.

And sways the land. — The Riminese territory includes the place where Caesar crossed the Rubicon, which the spirit presently named would be glad to have never seen, since he there found occasion to commit the crime for which Dante finds him punished.

To offer up against Focara's blast. — So dangerous to navigators were the squalls from a small rock near Rimini, that "God keep thee from the wind of Focara" became a common adage there.

He being exiled. — According to Lucan it was Curio, a senatorial exile, who persuaded Caesar to cross the Rubicon. Dante translates the line

"Tolle moras; semper nocult differre paratis." — Phars. l. 281.

It is remarkable that he himself has quoted it, though to a more loyal purpose, in the epistle to his legitimate emperor, Henry the Seventh.

— remember Mosca too. — Mosca de' Lamberti used the words he here quotes to urge his friends to the assassination of Buondelmonte de Buondelmonte, A.D. 1215, which outrage first led to those deadly enmities between the Guelf and Ghibelline citizens of Florence, whence Tuscany had yet not ceased to
suffer. It is observed that the name of the Lamberti family is hardly mentioned from the date of this event. On the "breach of promise" by which Buondelmonte had provoked his fate for which some of the aggrieved family or their allies had recommended a more lenient castigation, see Par. 16, 140.

1. 184. _Know in me Bertrand of the Born._—A knight and troubadour of Perigieux, and rebellious vassal to Henry the Second of England, Bertrand, fearing the vengeance of the latter, had incited against him the disloyal arms of his eldest son Prince Henry, who is called the "stripling king" because he was crowned in his father's lifetime. But for "re giovane" some copies read "re Giovanni," King John," which could only be defended by imputing to Dante some error.

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**CANTO XXIX.**

_--in this cavern here._—A cavern or niche in the partition-wall between the ninth and tenth pits would seem a fit receptacle for a spirit guilty both of fomenting strife and of counterfeiting [see l. 57], and Dante's kinsman has accordingly been accused as a forger.

1. 27. _And I heard one "Geri del Bello" cry._—Geri, son of Bello, Dante's grand-uncle, is said to have been a most able and prepossessing man, but habitually given to making strife, and to have been assassinated by the Geremei (or else the Sacchetti) of Florence, to revenge one of their kinsmen whom he had mortally struck for accusing him of evil speaking. Does Dante in this passage vindicate himself for not taking up the feud?
As if all pains. — The Tuscan river Chiana, noted elsewhere in Dante for its sluggishness, flows at the foot of the Alps by Arezzo, Cortona, Chiusi, and Montepulciano, through a valley which only a modern system of drainage has redeemed from its former insalubrity. The Maremma or sea-coast between Pisa and Siena is still infamous for its miasms. The climate of Sardinia had rendered it, even in the time of Tiberius, a place to be chosen, like Guiana, for exiles whose life was inconvenient or unregarded. [Tac. Ann. 2, 85.]

The numbered counterfeiters punishes. — In passing to the tenth pit of the counterfeiters (whose appropriate punishments are the diseases that horribly disguise their persons), an attentive reader may wonder why we find so low down in Evilpits this class of fraudulent sinners, many of whom, as the alchemists, appear a tolerably harmless set of beings, and the worst of them less detestable than were, for example, the schismatics in last Canto. I can only remark that as the poet has placed among the sinners by violence three classes, to whom he imputes a malice against God, Nature, and Art respectively, we may naturally expect corresponding distinctions among his fraudulent sinners; for the objects of malice are the same, whether force or fraud be made its instrument. By this clue we may observe that the alchemists and coiners of the present circle are to be considered as malicious against Art, and are therefore presented in a sitting posture, like the usurers in Can. 17; while the disguisers, as malicious against Nature, are found running [Can. 30, l. 25], like the companions of Brunetto Latini [Can. 17]; and the perjurers, as malicious against God, lying, like the blasphemers in Can. 15.

No dismaller to look on. — The transformation of a nymph, l. 58.
whom Jupiter visited in likeness of a flame of fire, was said to have produced the isle of Ægina, which when first peopled, governed by Æacus her son, was afflicted by the jealousy of Juno with such a pestilence as is here intimated. Æacus adoring his father near a sacred oak, and casting his eye the while upon a nest of ants, uttered a wish that his people might be restored in number such as theirs. The tree above him waved portentously; he dreamed the next morning that the ants were changed into men, and found on waking that he had imagined the truth; whence the race and name were derived of the hardy Myrmidons. [Ovid, Met. 7, 815.]

1. 109. I was an Arezine. — Griffolino of Arezzo was burnt by order of the Bishop of Siena, whose son Alberto had accused him of heresy and magic, in revenge, it is said, for having been defrauded of large sums, under pretexts of inventions for flying and such-like.

1. 123. Certes the very French. — The nations of Europe appear then, as in later times, to have been guided in their fashions by the mutable taste of France,

"To make their breeches fall or rise
From middle legs to middle thighs,
The tropics between which the hose
Move always as the fashion goes;
Sometimes wear hats like pyramids,
And sometimes flat like pumpkin lids;
With broad brims sometimes like umbrellas,
And sometimes narrow as Punchinello's;
In coldest weather go unbraced,
And close in hot as if th' were laced;
And sometimes sleeves and bodies wide,
And sometimes straiter than a hide;
Wear perukes, and with false grey hairs
Disguise the true ones and their years."

HUMPHREY.
Lo Stricca out.—A member of the club mentioned l. 130.

To leave out.—Nicholas de' Bonsignori, of the same club, introduced the cooking of pheasants and capons on a fire of cloves. The fashion still abode in Siena, the "garden" mentioned next line.

The club too.—A dozen extravagant youths of Siena had put together by equal contributions 216,000 florins to spend in pleasing; they were reduced in about a twelvemonth to the extremes of poverty. It was their practice to give mutual entertainments twice a month, at each of which three tables having been sumptuously covered, they would feast at one, wash their hands upon another, and throw the last out of the window. Among these fellows the line mentions Caccia, from Asciano, a city in the Sienese domain, who seems to have mortgaged extensive forests and vineyards.

The spirit of Capocchio.—Capocchio, who had been burned as an alchemist, is said to have studied in the company of Dante. Some early commentators say that he was not a true alchemist, but made counterfeits of the precious metal; they thus support their assertion that Dante condemns the spurious science but not the genuine. If, however, I judge rightly that he regarded alchemy as a malice against Art, and indirectly against Nature likewise [see Can. 11, sub fin.], he could have considered no possible kind too real for his censure.
CAN. XXX.

When Juno. — After the well-known artifice that destroyed the mother of Bacchus, Juno, it may be remembered, continued with jealous rancour to persecute her whole kindred, causing her sister Agave, when playing the Mænad, to dismember her own son Pentheus; Actaeon, their nephew, to descry too much of Diana; and Cadmus with his wife [see Can. 25, l. 97] to merit their transformation into serpents. Another example is added by Athamas who married Iono, another of the Theban princesses. [See next line, and Ovid, 4, 467.]

Hecuba sad. — After the capture of Troy, Polyxena was immolated to the Manes of Achilles, whom she had beguiled to the interview whereat Paris shot him. [On Polydore, see note on Can. 13, l. 21.]

Yonder goblin’s Gianni Schicchi. — During the last illness of Buoso Donati, one of the Florentine peculators of Can. 25, his son Simone, dreading to receive an inheritance overburthened with ordinary and pious bequests, persuaded Gianni Schicchi, replacing the dying man under his own bed-curtains, and skilfully imitating his voice, to dictate to a notary before witnesses a spurious will by which the whole property should have been disposed of without division. But Gianni, taking advantage of his opportunity, bequeathed to himself, unbargained for, a beautiful mare, whom his employer, for fear of consequences, was obliged to part with.

Abominable Myrrha. — On the fabulous Lydian princess, slain by her father Cinyras for the crime of Lot’s daughters. [See Ovid, Met. lib. 10.]

Endured Buoso Donati’s form to take. — See on l. 32.

On master Adam and his misery. — Master Adam, a Brescian,
was burned, for counterfeiting the coin of Florence, on the road between that city and Romena [see l. 74]. The Guidi of Romena [l. 73 and 77], a place in the Casentine, or the valley that contains the sources of the Arno, were descendants of Gualdrada and cousins of the other Guidi [see on Canto 16, l. 37]. The brother mentioned of Guido and Alexander was called Aghinulfo; Branda's spring is placed near Siena.

Simon is one. — That Simon, the pretended outcast of the Grecian army, who persuaded the Trojans to bring the horse into their city, supported his false narrative by perjury, may appear sufficiently from Virgil: that he thus violated the obligations of a treaty of peace, is added by the prose historians.

And for to lick Narcissus' looking-glass. — That is, dip thy tongue in water.

For 'tis a base desire. — Dante firmly asserts, even after his theme has necessarily obscured it, the native purity of his sentiments and poetry.

CANTO XXXI.

Thus in Achilles'. — The feelings of Dante, first mortified by the reproof of Virgil, and then comforted by the kind words that conclude the preceding Canto, are illustrated by the story of Telephus, the Mysian king, who, when he had received a venomous wound from the lance inherited and wielded by the son of Peleus, and was apprised by divination that he could only be healed by the same instrument, entreated relief from his enemy,
and obtained it by applying the rust upon the weapon. [Ovid, Rem. Am. 47.]

l. 16. After the dismal-fatal overthrow.—At Roncesvalles, where the rearguard of Charlemagne's army was miserably overthrown by the Saracens through an advantage obtained by the treachery of Ganelon [Can. 33, l. 23], and not before they slew their own number out of the first detachment that assailed them, the paladin Roland, having rallied a hundred fugitives by the sound of his horn, and killed his rival king, Marsilio, retired alone and mortally wounded beneath the shadow of a tree; there gazing on his good sword, Durindana, and grieving that it might fall into the hands of the Pagans, he again, it is said, winded his horn with such vehemence that he burst all the sinews of his neck, and was heard at the distance of eight miles by Charlemagne, who would have hastened to his assistance, but was told by the abominable Ganelon that "Roland would blow his horn thus for a light matter, and was probably taking his pastime in the chase." The prodigious summons, however, brought Baldwin and Theodoric, the only surviving paladins, to soothe the last moments of the hero. [See Archbishop Turpin's History of Charlemagne.]

l. 21. —what is yonder state, or city [terra, as in old Italian authors].

l. 40. For like as Montereggion.—A fortress near Siena, surrounded by towers at intervals of fifty ells.

l. 43. The giants horrible.—The guardians of the ninth circle of Traitors, or of those who have abused their intellect in the last degree, will appear appropriately to be deprived of that intellect, and are represented as brutish and besotted. The myth of the giants who invaded Olympus will be treated as a corruption of the true history of the builders of Babel.

l. 67. Rauffell mauhee [misprinted mannee]. The original line—
"Rafei mai amech sabi [or isabi] almi,"

has been explained, (1) as meaning, in a mixture of Hebrew and cognate dialects, "Splendour of God! why am I in this profundity? depart! hide thyself;" (2) from the Arabic as "How strutteth over the waters of the abyss the stripling of my world;" (3) from the same language with the reading "Rafe imai-amch isabi almi,"
as "Fallen hath my glory low, see here my world." For the last interpretation, which seems most to suit, though I am unable to criticise it in a linguistic view, see the translation of Philalethes, to whom it was furnished by Dr. Flügel.

Lo Ephialtes. — One of the Aloidæ giants, whom Virgil l. 94. describes as thunder-stricken to the lowest hold of hell [Æn. 6, 595]. He and Otus his brother were said to have piled Pelion upon Ossa to reach heaven, when, with their brethren, they made war on the gods.

Far yonder stands the Giant thou wouldst see, i.e. Briareus, l. 103. whose fifty heads and hundred arms are described by Virgil [Æn. 10, 565]. It is now intimated that this conception of his form was erroneous, and that he was really but a simple giant like Nimrod and others of his companions.

O thou that in the fortune turning dell. — The valley of the l. 115. Bagrada in the territory of the Carthaginians, where Hannibal was defeated at Zama, is mentioned by Lucan as having been the abode of Antæus, and the scene of his exploits as a hunter and fatal contest with Hercules. The same poet has suggested the idea of l. 119 and the following, saying,

"And Earth spared Heaven by not to the combat o' Phlegræ
Sending up Antæus."—Phars. 4, 596, &c.
That we should Typhon seek or Tityus. — On Typhoës, overwhelmed by the Thunderer with the volcanic isle of Inarime or Ischia, off the Campanian coast, see Æn. 9, 716. On Tityus, whose body covered nine acres in hell, where he suffered a punishment like that of Prometheus, see ibidem 6, 595.

Those hands that so could Hercules constrain. — See the above cited passage of Lucan on the combat of Hercules with Antaeus, in which the latter, gaining at each fall fresh vigour from the Earth's maternal contract, could only be overcome when he was hoisted aloft and squeezed to death in the arms of his adversary.

As shows the Carisenda. — A leaning tower at Bologna, whose top would seem coming forward and ready to fall when a cloud sailed over it.

CANTO XXXII.

On which the weight. — The ninth circle extends to the centre of the earth, the point to which all weights are supposed to be attracted [l. 73]. It is formed by a frozen lake, called Cocytus [see Can. 34, l. 52], and serves for the punishment of Traitors, or those that have violated, by malicious fraud, the ties in which men repose a special confidence [see Can. 11]; viz. those of consanguinity, hospitality, patriotism, and gratitude, which make the four divisions we shall come to. The ice appears emblematic of that cold-hearted villany by which such men as above mentioned are rendered insensible to honour or affection.

The wintry Danube out in Oesterreich. — Dante writes Oesterich
rather than Austria for the sake of the harsh sound, although both forms occur in old prose writers. I have for the same reason taken the German form; perhaps, however, the Dutch Oostenryk, which is seemingly the true root of Ostericch, with Tombarnik and krik for rhymes, might be substituted with advantage.

So that if Tombarneich.—A mountain in Slavonia not positively identified. The Pietrapana of the next line is in the territory of Lucca.

Their father Albert's.—These two brothers, who are called Napoleone and Alessandro, were of the noble family of the Alberti of Mangona, and occupied, in the Tuscan valley of Falterona (through which the river Bisenzio descends by Prato to join the Arno), an estate for which their father had done homage to the adjacent city of Florence. They had perished each by the other's dagger. It is said by an old chronicler that there was a kind of innate treachery in this house, and that they were continually murdering their relatives.

Not him whose form.—This was Mordred, a bastard son of King Arthur, who, while the latter was occupied in France by the dialoyal arms of Lancelot du Lake, endeavoured by intrigue and forgery to obtain possession of the English crown and of the hand of Dame Guenever. Arthur returned hastily to oppose the rebellion; the two armies encountered in battle and their chiefs in single combat. There Mordred received such a thrust "that a ray of sunlight passed through his body, as was beheld by Girflet the paladin;" during his fall, however, he mortally wounded King Arthur.

No, not Focaccia.—Focaccia de' Cancellieri has been mentioned under Can. 24, l. 125, as a ringleader in the contentions of the Black and White parties in Pistoja. He was appointed by the
Whites, with a single associate, to revenge on Detto Cancellieri of the Blacks the murder committed by the latter's partisans upon a knight named Bertino. Detto, being the near relative of Focaccia, entertained no apprehensions of injury from him, saying that he would never kill him on account of such a comparative stranger as was Bertino. He was waylaid by the two conspirators, and mortally wounded in coming out of the door of his tailor's shop.

1. 65. *And Sassol Mascheroni.*—This man, who for a brother's inheritance murdered his own nephew, had been drawn through the city of Florence alive in a rolling cask stuck with nails. The enormity of the punishment seems to have created an impression throughout Tuscany, which is referred to in the next line.

1. 66. *I was Camicion.*—Camicion de' Pazzi, the murderer of Ubertino, his kinsman, stands expecting his brother Carlino to come, condemned for more heinous treachery.

1. 69. *And wait Carlino.*—Carlino de' Pazzi, an original adherent of the Whites in Florence after the expulsion of that party in 1302, betrayed to their antagonists, who were besieging Pistoja, the Castle of Fravigno in Val d'Arno. An uncle and another relative of his own were on this occasion captured and put to death.

1. 81. *For Montaperti.*—On the battle of Montaperti see Can. 10, l. 85. The name renders Dante suspicious that he has met one of the pretended Guelfs, who on that field deserted and betrayed their comrades.

1. 88. *And who art thou, that goest through Antenore.*—Antenora is the second division of the ice, reserved for Betrayers of Country. It derives its name from Antenor, son of Priam, of whom classical authors say nothing worse, than that he always advocated
the making of peace and surrender of Helen, and that the Greeks when they had taken Troy abstained from using against him any of the rights of victors. But according to Dictys Cretensis, Antenor induced his countrymen to accept a treaty offered by the Greeks, with whom he had entered into an understanding to betray the city, as he did effectually by concealing the stratagem of the horse; he also stole for the Greeks the image of Pallas, under the protection of which Troy had been expected to prove impregnable.

What ails thee, Bocca? — Bocca degli Abati was one of the Florentine citizens who marched in the Guelf army to Montaperti, where, according to a previous understanding with the enemy, he came over with his followers to their side, having first secured the flag he should have fought under by cutting off the hand of the standard-bearer.

I saw him of Duera. — Buoso of Duera or Dovara was, under the reigns of Frederic the Second and Manfred, a powerful Ghibelline leader of Cremona in Lombardy. In 1265 he was entrusted by Manfred with the command of a force, which was stationed at Palazzuolo on the Oglio to defend the passage of that river against the army of Anjou commanded by Guy of Montfort. Whether he was corrupted by the French, as Dante maintains, or, as some say, misappropriated the money supplied him for the maintenance of his troops, or whether it was from some other cause, he offered no resistance to the enemy, who pursued successfully their march to Naples.

Beside thee is the Beccaria. — Tesauro Beccaria, Bishop of Vallombrosa, was in 1258 beheaded by the Florentines, immediately after the first expulsion of the Ghibellines, for a supposed treasonable conspiracy with that party. The sentence,
on account of his ecclesiastical rank, had given rise to many censures.

1. 121. *Beyond I think is Gian del Soldanier.* — A Florentine noble who deserted to the popular party in 1266.

1. 122. *And Tribaldel.* — Tebadello de’ Zambrasi was a nobleman of Faenza in Romagna, which he betrayed to the Guelf army of Bologna. At the beginning of the Romagnese wars, spoken of under Can. 27. Faenza served, as we have seen, for the headquarters of the Lambertacci and the other Ghibelline exiles from Bologna, or their confederates from the adjoining countries. The behaviour of these armed refugees towards their hosts was often insolent and licentious; Tebadello sustained from some of them a paltry aggression on his property, for the redress of which he petitioned the leaders of the party. Repulsed with threats and insults, which were intolerably wounding to his spirit,

> “And greatly finding quarrel in a sucking-pig
> Where honour was at stake,”

he resolved to take a *glorious* vengeance on the whole body of the foreigners, or else to perish in the endeavour. In the pursuance of his scheme, he became, like the Prince of Denmark, melancholy in earnest and mad in make-believe; he defaced the trellis of his chamber so as to expose the interior to public view, and used to send through the city an old lean horse fantastically shorn, which never failed to draw a rabble with it, and produce great uproar. He himself used to run about the streets, taking up the door-bars and rattling them, so that he caused an alarm that the enemies were within Faenza, and brought out upon himself the Ghibelline leaders in arms, who, on perceiving the origin of the disturbance, severely reprimanded Tebadello, and
threatened him with death if he repeated his conduct. Nevertheless he afterwards accustomed them to it, so that they took no notice of him, or laughed and said, “those were his mad tricks.” Tebaldello now thought he could leave the city without exciting suspicion; he passed the gate with his hawk and hound, and attracting ridicule as usual, by the extravagance of his costume, he proceeded to a wood not distant from the city, where he met, according to appointment, a friend, provided with two friars’ habits in a sack, with which the confederates disguised themselves, and proceeded to Bologna. He there made to the Senate an offer that he would set open a gate in Faenza, if they sent forces, on an evening agreed, to take possession of the city; for such a service he asked no reward but to be enrolled with his family among the Bolognese citizens. The Senate joyfully agreed to the bargain, but took the precaution of demanding a hostage. Tebaldello went back to Faenza, called together his relatives, and disclosed to them the nature of all his late proceedings; as they were overjoyed to discover his sanity, and entered heartily into his desire of vengeance, they readily agreed that his brother should be left for him at Bologna. The rest of the plan was executed, and Faenza was taken on the night of the 24th of August 1280, after a gallant defence. The Bolognese instituted an annual festivity, whereby the lean horse and the sucking-pig should be had in perpetual remembrance. Tebaldello was killed two years after in the ranks of his new fellow citizens in the repulse of the French by Guido of Montefeltro from Forli. [Can. 27.]

—and Gano’s near.—Ganellon, the knight who betrayed Charlemagne at Roncesvalles. He had been sent to demand tribute from Marsilio and Belghardo, Moorish kings of Spain,
CAN. xxxii. who sent him back to his king with tokens of their submission, but with a secret agreement for the overthrow of the Christians. Ganellon received, for his own price, twenty horse-loads of gems and gold; he brought to his fellow soldiers thirty more, besides forty horse-loads of wine, and a thousand fair women—gifts which subverted all military discipline. He completed his treason by guiding a body of Infidels to the rear of Orlando’s camp. [See on Can. 31.]

l. 126. That head of one the other’s bonnet made.—The lower of these criminals is supposed to be placed in the next division of the ice, which is appropriated to the betrayers of their friends or guests. [See Can. 33, l. 124.]

l. 130. As Tydeus did of Menalippus.—These were combatants in the war of the Ædipodæ. [See Statius, Theb. lib. 8. sub. fin.]

CANTO XXXIII.

CAN. xxxiii. l. 13. Know then that I have been Count Ugolino. — Count Ugolino de’ Gherardeschi of Donoratico had shared the government of Pisa in the interest of the Guelf party with his sister’s son Nino de’ Visconti, for whose expulsion from the city he conspired in 1288, with the Archbishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, and the leaders of the Ghibellines. Ugolino, to conceal his share in the plot, retired to the village of Settuno, while the people were raised by Ruggieri against his colleague. Nino, after sending ineffectually to solicit the Count’s assistance, retired with his followers, and the Archbishop seized the palace of the comonalty. He had, indeed, it is said, invited Il Brigata, Ugolino’s grandson, to take this step, but the latter was deterred by
Gaddo, his uncle, who exhorted him not to stir without the Count's sanction. When Ugolino returned that evening to the city, he was incensed at perceiving the strong position which Ruggieri occupied, and declared he alone would be lord in Pisa, and have no partaker in his supremacy. The Archbishop, on the other hand, demanded an equal share in the government, but offered to associate with himself a third colleague, who was connected with Ugolino by marriage, but an adherent of the Ghibelline party: to this plan the Count would give no hearing. According to some narratives, it was the very next day that the two rivals came to open hostilities; according to others, they were apparently reconciled and spent about ten days in seeming friendship; during which time, it is said, the Archbishop inflamed the minds of the people against Ugolino, by diffusing true or scandalous accusations. [See note on l. 85.] However, when, on the 1st or the 11th of June, a conference, held in the Church of St. Bastiano, had been adjourned in the absence of results, in the afternoon of the same day a rumour seems to have arisen that Il Brigata, the Count's grandson, was embarking on the river a thousand armed men for Pisa. The Archbishop, at this report, having called the citizens to arms, Ugolino answered by rousing his own adherents, but was worsted, after a severe encounter, and driven to the palace of the people. Here Ruggieri besieged him till the evening, when, by threatening to fire the building, he compelled an entire surrender. The Count, with Gaddo and Uguccione his sons, with Il Brigata, Anselmuccio, and according to some authorities a third grandson, were taken, and from the following August confined in the Tower of the Gualandi (since their fate called the Tower of Hunger), where it is thought a ransom was attempted to be extorted from them.
Their lives were spared till the March of the following year, when on account, perhaps, of Guido di Montefeltro's being invited to assume the government of Pisa, it was thought advisable to remove them. They were then left without food, and the keys of the tower thrown into the Arno. On the ninth day, when Guido had entered the city, their dungeon was opened, and they were all found dead. Their fate seems justly attributable to Ruggieri, who had retained the chief direction of affairs up to the arrival of the Romagnese leader, though he had some months before abandoned the title of Podestà.

Through which the Pisans.—Pisa, at the distance of about twelve miles, is separated from Lucca by Mount St. Giuliano.

Gualandi with Sismondi and Lanfranc.—Ghibelline leaders in alliance with the Archbishop.

Whose language sounds the Si.—The Italian affirmative.

Then may Gorgona move and Capraey [Capraia].—Islands near the mouth of the Arno.

For though in ill report.—In the year 1297, the Pisans had sustained from the Genoese a ruinous defeat in the naval battle of Melloria, where Ugolino appears to have treacherously retired with the ships under his command. The resources of the city being at the same time exhausted by the hostilities on land of the Florentines and Lucchese, the Count, who had powerful connections among the Guelfs, found means to get himself invested with the direction of affairs in order to conclude a treaty on the best terms he could. He then pacified the Genoese by giving up Sardinia and some continental fortresses, and the Florentines, it is said, by bribing their leaders with coin concealed in bottles. He also put in the hands of the Lucchese three castles, but, whether from their treachery or his own, it was from
them only of the confederates that he obtained no cessation of hostilities.

_Innocent La Brigata._—Il Brigata, also called Nino, and Ansélmuccio, were Ugolino's grandsons by his firstborn Guelfo; Gaddo and Uguccione Ugolino's sons. It is doubted whether these captives were as young as Dante represents, for those even of the second generation were taken in arms; nay, evidence has been adduced that they were married. [See Troya, Veltro Allegorico.]

_We pass on further._—Entering the third division, which punishes those who have betrayed their guests. Their heads are thrown back in the ice.

_Is not all vapour._—Dante inquires how wind can arise where there are no heats or exhalations.

_My name's Monk Alberic._—Alberico de' Manfredi of Faenza, having received a blow from Manfredo his kinsman, dissembled his resentment, and apparently accepted a subsequent apology. He then invited him to a banquet with Alberghetto, his son or brother, and gave the signal for their assassination by calling for the fruit. [See next line.]

_This Ptolemaea._—The third division of the ice, named apparently from the Egyptian king who betrayed Pompey.

_Ser Branca d'Oria is he._—This man was a Genoese, who still lived after Dante's Inferno had been published. He married the daughter of Michael Zanche mentioned in Can. 22, and treacherously murdered him to obtain his province in Sardinia.

_With the worst Romagnan spirit._—Alberico, just men- tioned.
CANTO XXXIV.

Vexilla prædent, i.e. the banners advance, are the first words of a Good Friday hymn, applied by Virgil to the distant apparition of the wings of Satan.

1. 11. We came to where the ghosts.—Another division of the ice called Judaica [Giudecca] from Judas Iscariot [see l. 116], and containing apparently the betrayers of their benefactors, quite iced over.

1. 23. Lo Dis.—Pluto or Satan. It must be confessed that Dante's Satan is a much less interesting personage than Milton's, but he is drawn much more conscientiously. [See Mr. Ruskin's Fall of Venice.] Nor has the Vision, to those who read it through, suffered materially by the sacrifice. For Dante's poetic power enables him to invest with sublimity his most beautiful conceptions, and with beauty those of the most excellent things, as the Paradise shows in unrivalled manner. He needed not to make anything about Hell, except its eternity, supernaturally sublime, nor to give to the devil that spurious heroism and faded splendour which has been so lauded in the English Epic. How idly then have Leigh Hunt and others disparagingly compared Dante with Milton by their descriptions of the arch fiend! For even Milton's demons, when their wickedness is consummated by the achievement which occasioned "man's disobedience," are thenceforward stripped of all their specious majesty, and denounced in the form of serpents. [Book x.] And how would he have painted a devil to show his own contemporaries the author of their meanest and not merely of their daring vices?
HELL. CAN. XXXIV. L. 1—38.

Upon his neck three faces.—The middle face is red [see next line], the right-hand face black [1. 44], and the left-hand yellow mixed with white [1. 43]. The red jaws torment Judas Iscariot, the black jaws Brutus, and the yellow-white Cassius [L. 62 to 67]. What is the meaning of these three colours? It has been said they represent the prevailing complexions of the inhabitants of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and thus symbolise Satan's influence over all habitable regions. An inconsiderate interpretation: for with what consistency would Cassius appear minced in the Caucasian features, and Brutus in the philo-African? A more reasonable view is that Satan's three heads represent him as the antagonist of the Triune God, whose attributes of Power, Wisdom, and Love are in him confronted by Impotence, Blindness, and Malice. But this theory not having been explained in detail, I prefer to explain the red face as denoting cupidity, the black face pride, and the yellow and white, envy; these three sins being considered as incidental to the sanguine and strabiliots temperaments, and the "yellow or splendid bile," respectively, which are indicated by florid, swarthy, and jaundiced complexions. And cupidity was the sin of Judas, pride was considered that of Brutus, and envy that of Cassius. For Brutus, according to Plutarch, was persuaded to join the conspiracy by appeals founded on his ancestor's achievements, "who the Tarquin chased;" and Cassius, to judge by the same authority, was partly actuated by private feeling, and

"Did what he did in envy of great Caesar."

And thus we find each in his place. And if some links can be found between this explanation of the colours and that last
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quoted, I shall not object; but, lest I should incur a charge of over-subtlety, I do not pursue the theme. Dante, believing that the Roman empire was instituted by God to be to the whole world perpetually a fountain of order and civil government, as the Papacy of spiritual government [see Purg. 16], considered no crime that man had perpetrated, after that of Iscariot, so notable as the assassination of the first Emperor. It was, however, for being assassins that he condemned Brutus and Cassius, not for being republicans; for the republican Cato is magnified in the first Canto of the Purgatory, and the cause for which he suffered is admitted to have been at least partially a right one. And the ideal monarchy of Dante was not a despotism, but a system in which the powers of the Emperor were tempered by the privileges of municipalities, &c.

1. 46. From under each.— The six wings, it is said, denote the fallen seraph.

1. 67. And that is Cassius large limbed.— I have translated the rare word membruto according to the usual interpretation. But I am now inclined to believe Dante meant gaunt and bony. Compare Plutarch's account of the man, whose physiognomy Julius seems to have regarded with suspicion. Whence Shakspeare makes him say,

"Let me have men about me that are fat,
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights.
Yond Cassius hath a lean and hungry look."

1. 68. That night again is rising.— Here twenty-four hours are completed since Dante passed the gate of Hell!

1. 93. The nature of the point.— Dante being carried through the centre seems from that point, to his great surprise, to be moving
upwards instead of downwards; for the lowest point in the universe is that towards which all things are attracted. Hence Virgil’s difficulty in turning his head where his feet had been [l. 77], and the apparent change in Lucifer’s position.

—from eve to morning light.—Having entered a new hemisphere the poets find their evening changed to morning. The evening was apparently that of Easter Eve; is the morning that of Easter Sunday, or the previous one? According to modern views, we cannot say whether the sun comes soonest to ourselves or our antipodes. But if we place the terrestrial Paradise with Dante in the hemisphere opposite to us, and apply to it the words of Genesis, “the evening and the morning were the first day,” we may infer that the first morning in Paradise coincided with our first evening, which completed our first day. It follows that our Saturday evening is Saturday morning there, not Sunday morning. According to this view the poets, who spend another twenty-four hours in climbing to the surface of the earth, will emerge upon it the morning of Easter Sunday.

Across her face.—Thus the hemisphere opposite us is covered by water, except in that part which forms the Purgatorial mountain, whose material was withdrawn from our side to leave space for the Infernal cavity.

“So hallowed and so gracious is the time.”

—the stars.—With this word significantly ends each of the three divisions of Dante’s poem.
Purgatory.

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Canto I.

But here let rise dead Poetry.—In commencing that second portion of his Vision, of which grace and tenderness, in place of a terrific sublimity, are to be prevailing attributes, Dante admirably represents his imagination as receiving new life and truer vigour from an exercise more worthy of, and congenial to, the minstrel's mind, and calls the style of his Hell a dead Poetry in comparison to that which he is now studious of producing. His preference of the Paradise to the Purgatory will be intimated in a similar manner.

And somewhat raise, Calliope, thy strain.—The Muse of Epic poetry is invoked for that Cantica, in which the action of the poem, being a moral effect produced on Dante's mind by contemplating the conditions of the spirits, will first be manifested with progressive distinctness. And why, it may be asked, has this effect been less apparent in the Hell? "There is mercy with" God, says the Psalmist; "therefore shall he be feared."

As to despond the wretched Picas made.—The Pelleean princesses, who, according to Ovid, having challenged the Muses to a trial of skill in minstrelsy, were changed to magpies for the punishment of their defeated arrogance. [Metam. lib. 5.]

Of stainless air, through the first orb.—Up to the sphere of the moon, being the first of the planets which, according to the Ptolemaean system, revolve round the earth as their centre.
The glorious planet.—Venus, as a morning star, appears in Pisces, one sign before the sun, which, as shown in Hell, Can. 1, l. 38, is still in Aries.

—and saw four stars.—These four stars, and the three which replace them in Can. 8, l. 89, appear as nymphs in Can. 29, l. 121 [compare 31, 106], and are there manifest representations, the former of the four moral, and the latter of the three theological virtues. The present image is thought to have been suggested by some accounts of the constellation of the Cross, as visible in the southern hemisphere, furnished by Marco Polo, or other early travellers, though most likely without accurate particulars of its position (as Philalethes infers from the stars being made to set in Can. 8, while they ought to be too near the pole).

—and no other way could see.—For see read win, and after l. 64 insert the following:

“I have shown to him all the dead in sin,
And I would have him now those spirits see
Who are made purer thy domain within.”

Thy death in Utica.—The line characterises the Warden of Purgatory as no other personage than Cato the Younger, the last honourable defender, and the martyr, of the Roman Commonwealth. I am not inclined by this passage to the opinion that Dante, in direct opposition to established faith, represented him as an elect spirit, here qualifying himself for the heaven of believers, but rather as one who should occupy the most glorious position among that order of virtuous pagans, the generality of whom were found in the limbo of Hell, Can. 4. Dante has rendered, in the Convito [4, 28], the highest testimony to Cato’s virtues; asking, for instance, “What man on
earth was worthier to be a follower of God than he?" and answering "None, certainly."

Lastly, the province assigned to this hero may have been suggested by deference to Virgil's line,

" Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem."
("And souls pious apart, their rule from Cato receiving.")

The weed, which one great day.—As every spirit has to become more perfect by the reassumption of the flesh [compare Hell, Can. 6, near the end, and Par. Can. 14, l. 42], so the glory with which Cato is invested from the light of the moral virtues will be augmented on the day that his body is raised to judgment.

Imploring, sacred heart, thine to remain.—Marcia had been divorced by Cato, and generously given in marriage to Hortensius, to whom she bore several children. After the latter's death, when she was herself stricken in years, she had implored the renewal of her former alliance, "if only that her tomb might be inscribed with Cato’s Marcia" [Marcia Catonis]. How well she prevailed has been shown by Lucan, Phars. 2, 341, &c.

Of you first Minister.—The angel, who appears in Can. 9. Hath rushes rooted.—An emblem of humility, with which a man should be girded to enter upon the path of reformation. [See last line but one.]

—yon rising sun.—The poets will turn towards the East (which will appear to them in an altered position) to seek the Purgatorial mountain, of which they are now therefore standing on the west side.
Now did the sun to that horizon slope.—The horizon of Jerusalem is also that of the Purgatorial mountain, which is situated [see Can. 5, 1, 61] at the opposite end of a diameter of the earth: from this line the sun is rising where Dante stands.

Arising out of Ganges river.—The supposed eastern boundary of our continent, removed about ninety degrees of longitude from Jerusalem.

When Israel.—From Psalm 113, which Dante has mentioned as susceptible of various figurative interpretations or applications. [See Convito 2, 1, in the Translator's Appendix to Vol. 2.]

O my Casella.—Casella, a Florentine musician, who had set many of Dante's poems, was his intimate friend, and, according to Benvenuto, a man of courtly and obliging manners.

But so much time to lose; that is, I believe, "Why didst thou die so early or unexpectedly?" But there are other readings and interpretations.

If one that taketh.—The Angel of the Pinnace, who seems represented as presiding over the death-hour of believers. I do not think it is intimated that any ghosts are for an uncertain time withheld from embarking on the voyage to Purgatory.

But truly since three moons.—Since the beginning of the year, Casella means, men whose hearts were set on immortality have died at peace, confiding in the indulgences granted to their prayers and pilgrimages.

"At the beginning of the year 1300," says a Chronicler of Asti, "a concourse of men and women of all classes and in countless numbers, came with despatch to Rome, saying to Pope
Boniface [the Eighth], 'Give us thy blessing before we die: we have heard, from ancient report, that whoever in the first year of a century shall visit the bodies of St. Paul and St. Peter, shall be free from sin and penance.' Hereon the Pope consulted with his cardinals; and, that he might not quench the spirit that had been kindled, he proclaimed plenary indulgences to those who, having confessed and repented, should visit the churches in Rome on thirty consecutive days in that year if they were citizens, or fifteen if foreigners. As might be expected, all the accessess to Rome were soon thronged with pilgrims, and the city was enriched by traffic and by pious offerings. Priests stood day and night at the altars of the Apostles, with shovels in their hands, gathering up the money that was offered. Provisions were fortunately abundant, but the price of lodgings and fodder for horses rose extravagantly. It is calculated that an average number of 120,000 a day passed through the city, and that the visitors during the year amounted to two millions.'

Hence I, whose face.—Casella is shown to have died in returning from his pilgrimage to Rome. Near that city, as the seat of government of that Church through which alone salvation could be obtained, Dante fixed the station of the Angel who conveys spirits to Purgatory.

"Love, that discoursing art"—A poem of Dante's, on which he has commented in the third treatise of the Convito.
CANTO III.

from Brundusium conveyed.—Virgil died at Brundusium, whence his body, by the order of Augustus, was conveyed for burial to the neighbourhood of Naples. Compare Can. 7, l. 6, and the epitaph,

"Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces."

And thou hast seen.—As Virgil has said of himself and of the spirits in Limbo. [Hell, Can. 4.]

All paths from Turbia.—The town of Lerici eastward, and the castle of Turbia near Monaco westward, form the boundaries of the Ripera or maritime part of the Genoese territory, of which the rugged and mountainous character is here intimated.

A troop of spirits on the leftward.—These form a portion of the negligent spirits, or of those who have deferred their repentance to the last moments; they are as yet detained from entering Purgatory. The first division of this class, as will appear from the account given of himself by Manfred, is composed of those who have died under church censures.

I am Manfred.—Manfred, a bastard son of the Emperor Frederic the Second's, had remained, upon the latter's death in 1251, Prince of Taranto, and been constituted temporary guardian of the kingdom of Naples, until such time as Conrad, the legitimate heir, could enter it from Germany. He rendered the latter good service in his contests with the Popes; and, by promptly resigning into his hands the apparent management of affairs, disarmed the suspicions which his own influence had at first given rise to. At Conrad's death he was appointed Regent
for his infant son Conradine; but shortly after, when he had sufficiently fortified his party, took possession of the crown in his own name. The Popes, who had been at war with all the Suabian princes on the subject of investitures, refused utterly to acknowledge his title; and Clement the Fourth invited Charles of Anjou to seize the kingdom of Naples, which the latter finally acquired by the battle of Benevento [see Hell, Can. 28; l. 17], where his rival lost his throne and life.

Manfred is described by Saba Malespina as "a blonde man, of pleasing face, ruddy-checked, and with sparkling eyes, snow-white in all his person, and of middling stature." He was renowned for knightly accomplishments, affability, mildness, and a generous patronage of literature, which Dante has commemorated in his De Vulgari Eloquio. By Villani's description he was "a man of handsome person, but, like his father, or to a still greater degree, steeped in all manner of debauchery: he was a singer and musician, fond of seeing about him jongleurs, buffoons, court gentlemen, and fair mistresses: he dressed always in green [like a huntsman?], and was exceedingly liberal; debonair, and courteous, but in his mode of living an epicure, not caring for God or his saints, nor for the monks or clergy, and occupying the Church's benefices in the same fashion as his father had done." Beside these vices, he was charged by rumour with having procured the death of his father and brothers, and attempting to poison Conradine; and though it must be considered that the Italian chroniclers, from party-spirit, have usually viewed his character in the worst light, yet such representations appear partly at least to have been credited by Dante.

Grandson to Empress Constance.—Constance, daughter of l. 113.
Ruggieri, King of Sicily, and wife of the Emperor Henry the Fifth, had given birth to Frederic the Second, the father, as above stated, of Manfred. She will be more particularly mentioned under Par. Can. 2.

Seek my fair daughter. — Manfred's daughter, Constance, had been married to Pedro, King of Arragon, who derived from her those claims to the kingdom of Sicily which were made good in 1292 through the celebrated massacre of the Vespera. She gave birth to Alfonso, James, and Frederic, of whom the former had a short time worn the crown of Arragon; the two latter, at the date of the Vision, were reigning in Arragon and Sicily respectively. To these two princes, therefore, the present and the next line are commonly applied; but as Dante, in Purg. Can. 7, has spoken of them disparagingly in comparison to Alfonso, it has caused much surprise that he should here appear as their panegyrist. It is accordingly argued by some, that "the honor of Sicily and Arragon," as the phrase would be literally rendered, is the epithet of Alfonso only, who represented the blood royal of both kingdoms, though but one had come into his possession.

If you Cosenza pastor. — The body of Manfred having been found, some days after the conflict, upon the field of Benevento, Charles of Anjou, when he was requested to allow it a Christian burial, replied only, "I would right willingly, but he was excommunicated." So the soldiers, without farther ceremony, covered it over by depositing each a stone till they had erected the cairn presently mentioned. But the Bishop of Cosenza soon after, at the command of Clement the Fourth, caused the hated remains to be again uncovered, and committed by torchlight to the current of the neighbouring river, the Verde of l. 131 [or Garigliano].
Must thirty times.—A term of punishment, it will be observed, considerably severer than that which is awarded to the other classes of negligent spirits, who will be mentioned in the fourth and subsequent Cantos.

CANTO IV.

Whereby the error.—The opinion of the Platonists, that a man had two distinct souls, one sensitive and the other rational, had been revived after their time by the Manicheans, and was condemned as heretical in the eighth General Council of the Church. Dante, here instancing a mode in which the operation of the intellect, as evinced in our consciousness of time, may be interrupted by our perceptions of exterior things, argues that reflection and sensation are powers alternately exercised by the selfsame soul, not by two, which could act separately and independently.

A greater opening oft.—A common breach in a hedge, which the husbandman fills up with a forkload of brambles, and that indeed most carefully when he wants to protect a ripening vineyard, might be broader, Dante says, than the subterranean passage by which he now enters the Purgatorial mountain, to ascend, as we shall see, upon that part of its side which, though yet steep and formidable, presents no longer a perpendicular or seemingly insurmountable barrier. [See l. 35.]

We walk up San Leo.—San Leo, or Città Feltria, is near S. Marino, in the territory of Montefeltro, among the Apennine Mountains between Urbino and Tuscany.
Nola is a city on the sea-coast of Genoa, between Savona and Finale; Bismantova a high mountain in the territory of Reggio in Lombardy.

1. 57. That we upon the left.—Between the spring and autumn equinoxes an observer in the southern hemisphere, in which Dante is now placed, must behold the sun always in a northern quarter, or towards his left hand when his face is eastwards; whereas the poet in this attitude, from his experience of our north temperate zone, had expected to have it, as heretofore, on his right hand.

1. 61. He said, "If Castor and if Pollux;"—that is, if the sun were farther advanced from the equator, as, for instance, in the sign of Gemini, you would here at this time have seen him still more decidedly towards the north.

1. 62. At yonder mirror's back;—that is, in company with the sun, which is considered, like each of the other planets, as a mirror of God's splendour.

1. 63. Which leadeth, high and low.—Illumining both the planets beneath itself, or nearer to earth, which is supposed the centre of the system, and those above itself, the former being the Moon, Mercury, and Venus, the latter Mars and the rest.

1. 68. Conceive this mountain in the midst here,—I should perhaps have translated, Conceive with fixed mind this mountain here.

1. 70. And each to have a separate hemisphere.—As directly antipodal.

1. 71. then the route.—The sun's diurnal course at this season lying towards the south of Jerusalem, but yet northward of the equator, must lie towards the north of this place also, which is in the opposite hemisphere.

1. 81. And keeps between the winter and the sun.—For to whatever
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side of the equator the sun passes, he leaves winter on the opposite side.
—while the Hebrews ought; that is, if they still occupied Jerusalem.

He answered me, "Such is the mount." — An obvious allegory, representing the mode in which good habits are attained to.
— a band of spirits tarried. — A second group of late-repeated sinners, who are to be detained beyond the gate of Purgatory each for a period equal to his former life.
— Belacqua, see. — A Florentine musician, and maker of instruments, of most negligent character, according to Benvenuto da Imola, in both worldly and spiritual matters.

For God's angel at the gate; — that is, of Purgatory proper. [See Can. 9.]

CANTO V.

To what, my master cried? — An early instance how the visitor of Purgatory is expected, during his contemplation of every class of souls, to purify his own mind of weaknesses or vices which they exemplify. Virgil warns him against yielding to the solicitations of the spirits behind, who might induce him to copy their own negligence and procrastination; he has seen enough of them for his instruction, and must now continue without slackness the ascent of the mountain. It may be observed that the spirits hitherto met with, who are delayed from entering the true Purgatory, do not seem to have acquired that impeccability...
which is attributed in a later passage to such as are already undergoing its purifying torments. [Compare Can. 11, v. 23, and the descriptions in the previous Cantos of Belacqua and the spirits with Sordello.]

1. 22. The while not far in front.—Another group of late-repentant spirits, being those who died suddenly by violence.

1. 69. That 'twixt Romagna lies and Charles his land.—The march of Ancona, between Romagna and the kingdom of Naples, then governed by Charles the Second of the line of Anjou. In this tract lay Fano, the birthplace of Jacopo del Cassero, the spirit here introduced, who requests Dante's mediation to procure for him the intercessions of his relatives.

1. 75. Amidst Antenor's bounds.—In the territory of Padua, a city, according to Virgilian tradition, founded by Antenor, son of Priam. [See Virg. Æn. 1.]

The allusion is rendered sarcastic by the medieval tradition that Antenor was a traitor.

1. 77. This he of Este wrought.—In the year 1297, Azzo the Third, Marquis of Este, who had been some time at war with the Bolognese in support of the Lambertacci and Ghibelline exiles [see on Hell, Can. 27], made overtures of peace, which were favourably listened to by a party in that city. But Jacopo del Cassero, having been in the latter part of the year appointed Podestà of Bologna, not only opposed the negotiations by all means in his power, but took every opportunity of abusing the marquis in his private relations; alleging that he was the son of a laundress, incestuous, &c. Hearing of which, Azzo is said to have exclaimed that he certainly would not bear from him this asinine folly, but would chastise him with a rod of iron. When Jacopo's year of magistracy was out, he retired to Venice; but
being thence invited by the Milanese to take, under a like title, the temporary command of their own city, he set out across the territory of Padua, and was there waylaid and murdered, as is here described, by the emissaries of Azzo, near the shore of the Brenta.

Yet had I fled but towards La Mira. — Had I made for the nearest village, says Jacopo, it might have afforded me a refuge; but, taking another direction, I got entangled in the swamp.

I was of Montefeltro, I am Bonconte. — Buonconte was a son of Guido of Montefeltro, mentioned in Hell, Can. 27, who fought in the Ghibelline armies of Arezzo, while his father was upholding the same cause at Pisa. His brothers, Galeazzo and Federigo, were in subsequent years Podestàs of the former city.

Juanna, or some other. — Juanna [Giovanna] was the wife of Buonconte: he complains that for want of her intercession, or that of other relatives, he has less confidence than his companions in a speedy deliverance from the outskirts of Purgatory.

By such a wrested course from Campaldino. — Campaldino, in the Casentine valley, the field on which Buonconte perished, was in 1289 the scene of a well-disputed battle between the Aretines and the Florentines, when the latter were invading the adverse territory, together with the Guelf citizens expelled by a recent revolution. They had been provoked by the impediments offered to Charles the Second while he halted at Florence in returning from his Arragonese captivity [see on Purg. Can. 20, l. 79], and were encouraged in their enterprise by the war-like Bishop of Arezzo, who had promised for a sum of money to give up to them his castle, but subsequently betrayed their scheme to his countrymen, whom he thus brought to the rescue, not without some danger to his own life incurred by his previous
Can. perfidy. Dante, in the fourteenth year of his age, was present at the decisive engagement, which he confesses that he witnessed with some palpitations. The conflict was rendered notable by the then novel tactics of the Florentine infantry, who did not advance to the charge, but awaited with a firm front the onslaught of the enemies' superior cavalry. The Florentine reserve was headed by Corso Donati, who had been commanded under pain of death not to advance from his position. But when he saw his countrymen yielding, he urged his troops suddenly to a charge, saying, that if they failed, he was content to leave his body on the field; if they succeeded, none of the citizens would venture to call them to account. This movement achieved the victory for Florence; Corso's rival, Vieri de' Cerchi, and his son, distinguished themselves highly in the affray: on the opposite side the Bishop of Arezzo fell, and Guido Novello, who commanded the reserve, left the field without having struck a blow. The tempest which Dante refers to, as having followed the engagement, is mentioned also by Dino Compagni.

1. 96. That springs above the Wold from Apennino. — For "the Wold" read "the Cells," i.e. the hermitage of Camaldoli.

1. 188. Remember then La Pia. — A Sienese lady named Pia de' Tolomei was the wife of Nello de' Panocceschi, a nobleman of the same city, who resided with her at a castle in the Maremma. There, without apparent reason, he one day, while she was standing by a window, suddenly caused his servant to lift her out of it, and droph her, so that she died. His crime was variously attributed to jealousy, merited or unmerited, or the desire of a new alliance, which he appears to have subsequently contracted.
CANTO VI.

When players from the game of hazard part.—The game of "zara," mentioned in the original, was played with dice, and required the two parties engaged to make opposite bets, upon casts, of which those that appeared at first sight the more probable were the less so: hence the selection, in the long run, gave the more experienced player an advantage which seemed wholly to emanate from his luck. Further particulars have been given in Buti's comment. The game being customarily played in places of public resort, the winner, as appears from the following, used to be importuned for a gratuity by the spectators.

And promising, I worked my way along.—Solicited by all the spirits to procure the intercessions of their relatives, Dante promises his good offices to whom he finds it most expedient.

There was the Aretine.—Benincasa, a celebrated jurist of Arezzo, who on one occasion filled the office of Podestà at Siena, caused to be put to death there the son and accomplice of Ghino del Tacco, a notorious Roman freebooter, who seized subsequently the castle of Radicofani, in his native territory, and thence continued his depredations. Benincasa, after his term of office had expired, retired to Rome, where he again practised as an expounder of the law: Ghino, intent upon revenge, went thither with an escort of 400 men, and having stabbed his enemy in open court, withdrew through the spectators uninjured. Some time after Ghino made prisoner an Abbot of Clugni, who was journeying to some medicinal baths, and restored him to good health by enforcing a judicious abstinence. The prelate, charmed with the wit and courtesy of his captor, made his peace with the Pope, and procured his nomination to a
prebend. Ghino's reputation apparently resembled that of our Robin Hood; he is said to have asked all his prisoners what ransom they could afford, and then to have contented himself with a very moderate portion of the tender; if he took from a prelate a Gouldy mule, he would return him a poor jade to travel on more humbly; while on the other hand he dismissed poor students with presents and with friendly exhortations. He nevertheless came to a violent end by the relatives of some persons whom he had injured.

1. 15. _And he, that hurrying._—One of the noble family of the Tarlati of Arezzo, who was drowned in pursuing or fleeing from his enemies of the Bostolis' rival house, whether at the battle of Campaldino, or, as some say, in another conflict.

1. 16. _There Frederic Novello._—A son of Count Guido Novello's, who was also slain by the Bostolis of Arezzo.

1. 17. —_and he who made the hardiment._—Namely, a son of Marzocco's, put to death, it is said, by Count Ugolino, who at first ordered him to be left unburied. His father, however, presented himself to the stern ruler with tearless eyes, and with such meekness and firmness of demeanour, that his entreaties obtained the revocation of this sentence. By another account, less probable, Marzocco bloodily avenged the murder of his son, which had been perpetrated by a private enemy.

1. 19. _I saw Count Orso._—Apparently a kinsman of the Counts Alberti of Bisenzio, mentioned in Hell, Can. 32, who had been murdered by Alberto, their father.

1. 22. _Pierre de la Broche._—For some time a favourite and confidential servant of Philip the Hardy's. Pierre had been yielded to an ignominious execution at the instance of the French queen, Mary of Brabant, who is reported to have accused him of an
attempt against her honour. According to Anquetil, he had incurred her enmity by charging her with the death of her stepson Louis, on which occasion her life had been much endangered by the King's suspicions; she succeeded, however, after some time, in clearing herself, and retorted the imputation upon Pierre, who was also accused of entertaining a treacherous correspondence with the King of Castile. His guilt has been accredited by French historians; but Dante, who resided at Paris during a great part of the composition of the Purgatory, may have formed an opinion of his character from trustworthy sources.

To mind, she come not with a flock more vile; that is, if she escape not, by a timely repentance, from suffering in Hell for the victim she sent untimely towards Purgatory.

That orison can heaven's doom not sway.—

"Desine fata deum fleci sperare precando,"

("Cease hoping to avert by prayer Heav'n's fatal appointment,")

are the words that Virgil makes the Sibyl use, when, in crossing with Æneas the ferry of Charon, she repels the ghost of Palinusus, who had implored his chief's assistance for the passage of the Styx, denied because his body was unburied. Dante, having understood from this passage that no prayers whatever could have any influence on the appointed order of events, applies for an explanation to Virgil, who alleges that he spoke only of prayers made by unbelievers. [Æn. 6, 376.]

And but for such.—Read rather, And but for this, i.e. for the purpose of averting the heavenly ordinances.

For nothing is the crest of right abased.—It is not inconsistent, Virgil says, with Divine justice, that the prayers and meritorious
acts of one man should be accepted to mitigate his brother's chastisement in Purgatory.

1. 48. Thou shalt, however.—Thou shouldest not, says Virgil, be content on such a subject with my teaching, which is based upon mere moral and human reasoning: there is a blessed spirit, who by the light of Christianity and of inspiration will resolve thy doubts more thoroughly; I speak of Beatris; thou wilt meet her in the terrestrial paradise at the summit of this mountain.

1. 50. For see! the bank a shade already throws.—The evening of Easter Monday is approaching, and the poets, as they wind up the mountain westward, perceive a shadow from the sun which is departing. But another day, at least, says Virgil, must elapse ere the ascent can be accomplished.

1. 74. I am Sordello.—This was a Mantuan writer, who is commended by Dante in the DeVulgari Eloquio for having rejected the barbarous dialect of his native district, and selected for his compositions the more cultivated and Catholic Provençal idiom. Besides his poems, he is said to have produced a prose work, called Tesoro de' Tesori, which contained sketches of the characters of many celebrated statesmen of the thirteenth century. It is, perhaps, from this circumstance that he is represented in the next Canto as pointing out and censuring the spirits of the lately deceased emperors and princes. Respecting his private history, scarce a single fact can be established beyond controversy; but he seems to have been a man of high birth and of accomplished manners, and to have enjoyed no little influence and reputation in his native city. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century he resided at the court of Eccelino da Romano, [see Hell, Can. 12], and became enamoured of one of that prince's sisters, probably the Cunizza of Dante's Paradise, Can. 9,
though some historians give the lady’s name as Beatris. It is not certain whether she was at this time a virgin, or had been married to the Count of San Bonifacio, from whom Sordello himself, according to some authorities, was commissioned to remove her by her own father, to whose court she was restored. Under whatever circumstances it was, he is said to have celebrated her beauty and his own passion in that Platonic sort of amorous poems, which the manners of the age permitted to the humbler admirers of great ladies; but these compositions, if I may judge from the only specimen I have had access to, were considerably tainted with ambiguities. From affecting these “fine strains of honour,” he perhaps sank to a grosser connexion with Cunizza, and mainly, it is said, through her extreme facility or proclivity; fuit enim magna meretrix, says Benvenuto da Imola. It is said Eccelino himself detected the intrigue under ludicrous circumstances, and at first generously pardoned Sordello, on his promising not to repeat his offence; afterwards Cunizza’s fascinations proved again too strong for the poet; ista maledicta traxit eum in primum fallum [crimen]; and he was banished by the marquis from his dominions, or compelled by prudence to withdraw himself. The tale that he was assassinated by Eccelino’s order is said to be contradicted by the date of some of his poems, which prove him to have survived the latter. A portion of Sordello’s life seems to have been past in Provence. I conjecture, after all, that Dante believed no scandals respecting his conduct, and that by the proud negligent attitude he ascribes to him, it is intimated that he had paid too little regard to the protection of his own good name, and indirectly that his character had been too pure and honourable to make it likely he should have showed any jealousy about worldly rumour.
That he is found standing alone shows merely, I think, that he did not, like the other spirits, go out of his way to see Dante or solicit his prayers, as though he was disinclined to play the beggar, if even the kingdom of heaven depended on it.

_1. 76._ Ah, servile Italy.—The state of Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century presents a closer parallel than could be found elsewhere in the annals of civilisation to the divided and miserable condition of the Greeks in the Peloponnesian wars. With the exception of the kingdom of Naples, held firmly by a French dynasty, and the states that began to be consolidated under papal rule, the land was divided by municipalities too numerous to be reckoned up, involved in continual warfare and harassed with perpetual revolutions from the violence of Guelfs and Ghibellines, aristocrats and democrats, who alternately despoiled and ostracised each other, and allied themselves, when expelled or out of power, to the enemies of their native city. For this state of things Dante preached no remedy but the restoration of Imperial power, and the humiliation of those pretensions of the Pope, by which that power had been deprived of dignity and efficacy. The Popes who had encroached on the secular government of the world, and the Emperors, who had neglected in the fairest part of their dominions to vindicate their claims to a supreme and irresponsible authority, are alike, in this Canto and the next, the subjects of his bitter denunciations. It must not be thought, however, that Dante had no respect for freedom, or did not desire the laws to be founded upon public opinion; only he saw clearly the necessity of strengthening the executive, and it is on this point that his convictions are expressed most forcibly.

_1. 88._ What boots it that Justinian.—What avail the laws of Jus-
tinian, if there is no one to wield freely the powers of the executive.

*Ah people, that should be devout.*—An invocation to the Popes and prelates, who by their interference in the secular government of Italy, had injured irreparably the order and unity of the empire, and concluded by giving up their country, or a great part of it, to the dominion of enemies and aliens.

*If well ye note.*—"Render under Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

*O Austrian Albert.*—The son of Rodolf of Hapsburg, who succeeded him in the empire after a contest with Adolf of Nassau, and reigned from 1298 to 1308.

*May righteous vengeance.*—An allusion to the violent death of Albert, who was murdered by John, his nephew, surnamed the Parrieide.

*For why, O son and father.*—Both Rodolf of Hapsburg, whose contest with Ottacher, sovereign of Bohemia, is referred to in Can. 7, and Albert, who invaded and desolated the same kingdom in 1303, had been too much occupied with these wars, or generally by the affairs of Germany, to come to Rome for the imperial crown, or otherwise to fortify their interests in Italy. [See on Albert, Par. Can. 19.]

*Come see the Montague and Capulet.*—The two well-known families of Verona, as yet united by a common Ghibellinism, but seemingly on bad terms with Alboino, for whom Dante entertained less respect than for the rest of the Della Scala family.

The Monaldis and Filippeschis formed the leading houses in Orvieto.

*If Sanctastore be safely sojourning.*—A castle in the territory of Siena, belonging to a noble Ghibelline family, who were re-
dued to great straits by the hostilities of the paramount municipality.

1. 125. —— and they count a new Marcellus, i.e. a popular demagogue. Marcellus was a Roman consul, who vehemently opposed the cause of Caesar on the first outbreak of his war with Pompey; he is mentioned by Lucan as a prætor,


1. 132. Thy people have it on their tongues got.—Alluding, perhaps, to the institutions of 1291, under Gian del Bello, which were called the Ordinances of Justice, though framed with a decided view to the oppression of the nobles.

1. 145. How often since the time thou canst remember.—Many of the chief Florentine revolutions have been mentioned under Hell, Can. 6 and 10: the most recent that had excited Dante's anger was perhaps the surrender of the government, in 1313, to Robert, King of Naples, who, for the restoration of order to the city, was empowered for five years to rule it by his substitutes. Of variations in the coinage little is known up to this period.

CANTO VII.

1. 4. Or ever yet the souls.—Dante supposes that the souls of elect believers, before our Saviour's descent into Hell, were confined for their unexpiated sins, original and committed, in limbo, so that Purgatory was unoccupied till that epoch. [Comp. Par. Can. 32, l. 33.]

1. 54. After the sun be set.—The sun appears here to be a signal of divine illumining grace, without which, it is intimated, a man
can make no genuine moral progress, but much rather may his character deteriorate, notwithstanding all efforts to improve. [Comp. Can. 11, l. 13.]

—— the nightly shade.— Read the mantling night.

Before this line insert

"Well might ye lose afresh the conquered height,
Or round the hill-side wander in the shade,
While yet the horizon keepeth shut the light."

Where more than halfway dies the environment.— Suppose an incision in the side of the conical hill, forming at the bottom a level area, shaped like a complete circle, or one from which a small segment only is cut off by the slope in front, and this area surrounded by a nearly vertical bank, it is evident that this bank will be highest at the back of the hollow, and will subside gradually on each flank, towards the front, where it may leave a narrow opening. The margin on each side must form a curvilinear path, which might naturally be pursued by a person who arrived in front of the recess, and desired to survey it from a greater elevation. In this valley Dante places the souls of kings and rulers, who have neglected much of the good they might have done with the means committed to them.

—— and the brilliancy of Indian wood.— Literally, Indian wood bright and serene; or, according to one reading of the text, indigo and wood bright, and serene. The latter version has been explained as a reference to the phosphoric brilliance of damp and decayed wood, which, however, would be inappropriate, it appears to me, in illustrating the flowers and herbage. So would be likewise the mention of ebony, which some suppose designated as Indian wood. I rather believe that Dante erroneously applied the latter term to indigo, though this dye comes,
in fact, from the juice of a herb; he will then have given us a
comparison for the blue flowers, as for the red, yellow, and
white above, and so for all possible colours.

1. 78. **Hail our Queen.** — "Salve Regina," the commencement of an
evening anthem used by the Church of Rome at Easter.

1. 91. **Was Rodolf emperor.** — See last Canto.

1. 93. **And which 'tis late.** — Dante entertained a hope, but a very
doubtful one, that the prosperity of Italy might be restored by
the subsequent emperor, Henry of Luxemburg. [See Can. 33.]

1. 94. **The next, whose face consoles him.** — In life a rival, now a friend,
of the spirit before him, Ottacher, king of Bohemia (a country
specified by its chief rivers in l. 99), had, in 1277, lost his throne
and life in a battle with Rodolf, who had been once his sene-
schal, and to whom, when emperor, he had refused the homage
of a vassal. His son, Venceslaff the Fourth [see l. 102], appears
to have been a mild and devout prince, in whose reign, after his
distressful minority had expired, Bohemia was restored to quiet
and prosperity. He was afterwards invested with the crown of
Poland by her people's choice, and might have added that of
Hungary, which, however, he abandoned to his son. The
accusations of effeminacy and luxury, which Dante brings
against him, are said to be no way confirmed by later historians
of his country.

1. 100. **That one, small-featured.** — This was Philip the Hardy of
France, who had reigned from 1270 to 1285, and died in an
unsuccessful invasion of Arragon, of which Pope Martin the
Fourth had given him formal permission to deprive the reigning
monarch. [See note on l. 112.] The French had penetrated to
Gerona in Catalonia, which they besieged and took, when
Peter the Third, in attempting to relieve it, had been repelled
and mortally wounded: at the same time, however, their fleet, which had anchored in the bay of Roses, and had secured a supply of provisions, being destroyed by Ruggieri de l'Oria, pestilence and famine compelled the retreat of the land army to their country, in which movement the rearguard was cut off by the enemy. Philip died from the effects of the campaign at Perpignan.

— with him of aspect bland.— Henry the Fourth of Navarre, l. 101. who reigned from 1270 to 1274, having succeeded his brother, the good King Tibaut. He is said to have had more vigour and toughness of character than was promised by a soft and good-natured physiognomy.

Father and belsire unto France's wo; that is, to Philip le l. 106. Bel, as son of Philip the Third, and husband to Joan, daughter of the above-mentioned Navarrese sovereign. We find elsewhere in the poem invectives against this prince for his persecutions of the Templars, his intrigues with the Popes, and his practice of debasing the coinage. On his character a commentator quotes here the following words from the French historian, Montfaucon: "Il était vindicatif jusqu'à l'excès, dur et impitoyable à ses sujets. Pendant le cours de son règne, il y eut plus d'impôts, de taxes, et de maîtôtes que dans tous les regnes précédens."

And he that hath of limbs such amplitude.— This was Peter the l. 109. Third of Arragon, who reigned from 1276 to 1285, and won from Charles of Anjon the crown of Sicily, which he claimed in right of his wife Constance, the daughter of Manfred. The islanders had been roused in his favour by John of Procida, in concert with the Greek emperor Paleologus, who furnished subsidies to support the war; Pope Nicholas the Third had also joined in the conspiracy [Hell, Can. 19], but had died before the prepara-
tions were completed. After the massacre of Palermo, when the revolted province was invaded by the King of Naples, who laid siege to and reduced Messina to the utmost extremities, the King of Arragon brought to their relief a formidable armament, which he had lately finished equipping, under the pretext that it was destined for an attack on some part of Barbary. It is said that the French king and Pope Martin the Fourth had been dissatisfied with this explanation of his objects, and that the latter having strictly inquired through his ambassador towards what point the enterprise was directed, Peter answered, that if he thought one of his hands could communicate that information to the other, he would forthwith cut it off. After a faint at landing on the coast of Africa, he crossed directly to Trapani in Sicily, proceeded to Palermo, where he was solemnly crowned, and, ultimately, through the help of Ruggieri de l'Oria, his gallant admiral, forced Charles to raise the siege of Messina, and retire to the mainland of Calabria. That prince having complained to the Pope of Peter's perfidy, the latter challenged him to a judicial combat, which it was agreed should take place at Bourdeaux, each of the rivals bringing to the lists with him 300 warriors. After the offer had been accepted, Peter pretended to have learned, while on his way to the rendezvous, that Charles had prepared there a superior force to seize upon his person; he therefore, according to his own account, went privately to Bourdeaux, and presented himself to the seneschal, but retired without fulfilling his engagement. His conduct drew on him a sentence of excommunication and deposition from the Pope, to enforce which, Philip the Hardy invaded Catalonia, and was, as we have seen, repelled; but Peter also received a wound before Gerona, from which he died about a
Purgatory. Can. VII. l. 109, 110.

month after the French king, and in the same year as Charles of Anjou.

And chants with him of feature masculine; that is, with Charles I. 110. of Anjou, his rival, who had ruled Provence in right of his wife, a daughter of Raymond Berlinghier’s, and had won the kingdom of Naples and Sicily from Manfred. [See Can. 3.] Many of this prince’s actions, especially the invasion of Italy, have been deeply reprobated by Dante, but he was said to have died in penitence, as he did certainly in diminished grandeur, when he had already lost Sicily, and his son was prisoner on the fleet of Arragon. His last prayer was, according to Villani, “Sire Dieu, je croy vraiment que vos etes mon salveur; ensi vos pri ieu que vos aiez merci de mon ame, ensi que ieu fis la proise [prise] du roiaulme de Sisilia, plus por servir Sainte Eglise que por mon profit ou autre convoitise. Ensi vos me pardonnez mes pecees.”

“O Lord God, I believe verily that you are my Saviour; I pray you, therefore, to have mercy on my soul, according as I took possession of the realm of Sicily more to serve Holy Church than for my own profit or for other interested motives.”

His character and person are thus described by the same historian: “This Charles was wise and of sound judgement, valiant in arms, and stern, and greatly feared and dreaded by all the kings of the world; high minded, and of deep discernment for the conduct of every great enterprise, constant in adversity, true and faithful in all his promises; a man to speak little and to do much. He scarcely ever laughed, or but moderately, and was severe in his behaviour as a monk: Catholic in faith, stern in judgement, and of fierce countenance, tall of stature, and sinewy, of olive complexion and nasute, he appeared truly to surpass all other rulers in regal majesty. He waked much, and
slept little, and used to say that so much time was wasted in sleeping. He was liberal to warlike cavaliers, but studious of acquiring territory, lordship, and money, by whatever means exacted, to support his wars and enterprises. In jongleurs, minstrels, and court merry-makers, he never took any pleasure."

1. 112. *And if the sceptre had been longer thine.* — Literally, "And if king after him had remained the youth," &c. It is doubted whether the line applies to Alfonso, Peter's eldest son, who succeeded him in Arragon, but reigned only six years; or to Peter, his youngest son, who died in 1296 without having inherited any part of his dominions. According to the latter supposition, to which I now incline, I might have translated,

"And had the sceptre after him been thine," &c.

1. 115. *Which cannot of the other heirs be cried.* — Peter was succeeded by Alfonso in Arragon, and by James [Jacopo] in Sicily; after Alfonso's death, James succeeded in Arragon, and left Sicily to his younger brother Frederic: these two kings are mentioned in next line as the actual representatives, in 1300, of the royal line of Peter. I believe Dante condemns both Alfonso and them for mutual infidelity and faintheartedness in maintaining their royal titles against the arms of France and Naples. For Alfonso in 1291 made peace with Philip the Fair by promising to give his own brother James no support against Charles the Second of Naples (son and successor of Charles of Anjou), who had himself released this prince from his captivity in Arragon, on terms that the latter hastened to break through by the sanction of the Pope's indulgence. James, in 1294, gave up his brother Frederic in like manner; and Frederic, in 1302, made peace
with the King of Naples on a covenant that he would retain Sicily during his own lifetime only, and then leave it to the House of Anjou; this engagement he soon violated, by causing his son to be crowned as his successor. Yet Dante seems, since these events, to have been reconciled to Frederic, and to have prepared to dedicate his Paradise to him. But after that prince had prepared, in 1312, an armament to support Henry of Luxemburg in his Italian wars, and on hearing of the latter's death, had, after a short delay, relinquished the cause of the Empire, he seems to have lost irretrievably the poet's estimation. [Comp. Par. Can. 19.]

My words upon the nasute person glance.—Charles of Anjou, also, as it is here intimated, had a degenerate successor in Charles the Second, whose perfidious conduct to the court of Arragon I have in the preceding note alluded to. Dante censures in Can. 20 the avarice he showed in concluding an alliance for his daughter. Villani describes his character as follows: "He was one of the most munificent and affable princes of his time, and during his reign was called, for his courtesy, the second Alexander; but he had little claim to the other virtues, and was extravagantly dissolute, and blemished his old age with habits of debauchery.

For them Apulia mourns, and eke Provence.—Read for him, i.e. for Charles of Anjou, who was regretted, it is intimated, both in Provence and Apulia (the kingdom of Naples) on account of his successor's degeneracy.

As more than Beatris or Margaret; that is, neither Beatrice, daughter of Raymond, Count of Provence, nor Margaret of Nevers, both married in succession to Charles of Anjou, have so much reason to be proud of him, as has Constance, the daughter
of Manfred, to glory in having had a husband like Peter of Arragon.

— is William Marchés. — This was Guglielmo, Marquis of Montferrat, who had in 1281 headed a powerful Ghibelline league formed by Milan, Como, Pavia, and seven cities in Piedmont. In the next year his representative at Milan was expelled by the Visconti, and many of his allies deserted to the Guelf party. In 1284, he married his daughter to the Greek emperor Andronicus Paleologus, from whom he received troops and subsidies that enabled him to recover part of the ground he had lost. But in 1297, the city of Alessandria in Piedmont having clandestinely taken part against him in his war with the Count of Savoy and the people of Asti, he made an expedition against it with an insufficient force, and having been taken prisoner, was cruelly confined in an iron cage till he died. His enemies continued the war with his son and successor Walter, and conquered part of the territory of Montferrat. The Canavese mentioned in the next line, is a tract between the Po and the two Doras.

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CANTO VIII.

\textit{Then Thee or ever light. — The Latin hymn beginning}

\begin{verbatim}
Te, lucis ante terminum,
Rerum Creator possimus,
Ut pro tua clementia
Sis præsul ad custodiam.
Procul recedant somnia,
Et noniüm phantasmata, &c.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
To thee, or ever light depart,
Creator of the world, we pray,
That thou wilt, in thy clemency,
Be near to keep watch over us.
Afar let idle dreams recede,
And fancies from the evil ones.
\end{verbatim}
O reader, on the truth.—Of the following allegory, however easy its author seems to have considered it, I have found no complete explanation with which I am satisfied. I do not wholly pretend to supply the desideratum, but I observe that the relations of the scene to the place in which Dante sees it have hitherto past unnoticed, and I believe he may have alluded particularly to the temptations incident to the lives of the great and mighty, and to the special care with which Providence, as we may trust, watches, for the public good, over such among them as implore his favour.

As green as leaflets.—The colour of Hope, as the principal virtue of spirits in Purgatory.

O Nino, gentle judge.—This is Nino de' Visconti, judge of Gallura, in Sardinia, already mentioned in Hell, Can. 33, as having been a rival of Count Ugolino's, and expelled by him from governing and residing in Pisa. In 1291 Nino was in league against the dominant party of that city with the Lucchese, who had received its Guelf exiles; in 1293 he endeavoured by composition to obtain leave to dwell in a suburb of Pisa, if he might not enter the city, but was refused his wish. He died within a few years afterwards on an uncertain battle field.

Bid my Joanna.—This was his daughter, who afterwards married Ricardo, of the noble family of the Camini in Treviso.

I trow not that her mother loves me more.—Nino's widow Beatrice, daughter of Obizzo, Marquis of Este, was at this time betrothed to Galeazzo, son of Matteo Visconti, Lord of Milan, whom she married in July 1300.

Nor shall he give her such a goodly urn.—The device of the Visconti of Milan [according to Villani, 9, 110] was a viper, (blue on a white ground, and devouring a little red man); it used
to be hung on a tree before the Milanese encampments, when any of that family were commanding. The badge of the judge of Gallura was a cock. I have written in the text Galluræ Gallus—cock of G.—to preserve the play on words, in which the device probably originated. It was probably the meaning of Dante's prophecy that it would be a less honour to Beatrice to be called the wife of Galeazzo than of Nino; either because Gallura was an independent jurisdiction, while Milan was merely a fief of the empire, or from Dante's moral opinion of the men, into the grounds of which it would be difficult to enter.

I. 89. —those cressets three. — These three stars, representing the theological virtues, or Faith, Hope, and Charity, have riscn in place of the four mentioned in Can. 1, which see.

I. 118. I have been Conrad of the Malespines.—The estates of the Marquises Malespina lay in Valdimagra between Lucca and Genoa. The first known Conrade among them appears to have lived in the eleventh century. The father of the present speaker was a Federigo Malespina, who was taken prisoner by the Sienese at Montaperti; his son, however, like most of the family, had been a strenuous Ghibelline.

I. 120. I bore my folk the love;—that is, by a generous affection for my relatives I prepared my mind for that love of Heaven which will be made perfect by the sufferings of Purgatory. Conrade is said to have divided his castles and estates equally between his nearest kinsmen.

I. 131. —by her wicked head. — By Boniface the Eighth, then head of the Church.

I. 138. Now go thy way; for seven times;—that is, before the seventh spring from this season, thou shalt know by thy own experience the hospitality of my family. It was, in fact, in 1306 that Dante,
an exile from his native city, met with a generous reception from
the sons of Conrad, Francesco and Moroello Malespina, to the
latter of whom he is said to have dedicated his Purgatory. He
was employed by them in a treaty with their cousin, a Bishop of
Luni, with whom they had had some differences. The above
Moroello was probably not the same who has been mentioned
in Hell, Can. 24, l. 1, 46, but a near kinsman.

CANTO IX.

By this the leman of Tithonus old.—According to an old
commentator, we must suppose that there were two Auroras, of
whom one preceded the sunrise, the other the moonrise; the
former is considered to have been the wife of Tithonus, whom
she gifted with a decrepit immortality; the latter his leman, or
mistress. He himself, it is added, represents the light haze
which regularly accompanies the solar and occasionally the lunar
dawning. We know no classical authority for this fable, but it
must here be admitted to explain a passage of which all other
interpretations are made untenable with subsequent expressions.

The gems, with which her brow.—The stars in front of the
lunar Aurora were those that compose the constellation Scorpio;
for the moon having been full three nights before [see Hell,
Can. 20, l. 127] and the Sun in Aries, she had then stood in
Libra, and subsequently approached the next sign.

And night among the steps of her ascent;—that is, two hours of
the night had expired, and the third was more than half finished.
This interval is properly made to have elapsed between the sunset and moonrise, contemporaneous phenomena when the moon was full, since which period about a tenth of her revolution has been accomplished.

Where sitting now we five;—that is, Dante, Virgil, Sordello, Nino Visconti, and Conrad Malespina.

Belihe in memory of her ancient moan.—This alludes to the well-known fable of the wife and sister-in-law of Tereus. It appears Dante considered the injured Philomela to have been changed into a swallow, and Progne, the chief actress in the scene of vengeance, into a nightingale; he therefore attributes to the former bird in this passage the recollection of sadness and impiety to Philomela in Can. 17, l. 19. This view reverses the fates assigned to the two sisters after the commonly received Ovidian legend [see Metam. lib. 6], but appears supported by Virgil [Georg. lib. 6, v. 78].

And when our spirit.—These lines show that Dante's dream, having been a morning one, will be followed by a corresponding reality. [Vid. infra, from l. 52].

And reaved me with him into fiery space.—Into the circle of the fire, by which, as by a lighter element, the air was supposed to be surrounded. This dream is imitated with some bonhomie in Chaucer's House of Fame.

The waked Achilles.—See Statius, Achil. 1, 247, &c. Thetis, to avert from her son his destiny of perishing at the Trojan war, removed him while asleep from the Centaur Chiron, who was giving him too martial an education, and carried him to Scyros, where he was brought up as a girl among the daughters of Lycomedes.

But thence the Greeks beguiled him.—When Ulysses and
Purgatory. Can. IX. L. 12—114. 165

Diomed, landing in Scyros as merchants, tempted Achilles, by the sight of a suit of armour, to betray his sex and warlike disposition.

And risen up was the Sun.—Ushering the morning of Easter Monday. Dante is still on the east side of the mountain, but alone with Virgil; he has in his sleep been carried some way up the hill-side, to the gate of the proper or penal Purgatory, by Lucia, the lady mentioned in Hell, Can. 2, who, though not altogether an allegorical person, has, by the act here ascribed to her, assumed the representation of divine illuminating grace.

O reader, thou perceivest I enhance.—See the first note on the Purgatory.

That I was mirrored in it as I appear.—The white refulgent marble represents Confession, by which a man plainly discovers his spiritual state; the dark-hued and cloven stone [l. 95 to 99], Contrition, or the bruised heart; and that of crimson porphyry [l. 100 to 102], Satisfaction or Penance, requiring, as it does, a bloody sacrifice. These are the three parts of Repentance, the spiritual work completed in Purgatory.

Was like a rock of virgin adamant.—The angel representing a minister of God, who declares to men the absolution and remission of sins, his costly throne has been taken for the merits of Christ's self-ovation, which are to be obtained, as Dante presently shows in act, by submission to the Church's ordinances.

Seven P's he did upon my forehead trace.—For the Peccata, or seven cardinal sins, which, as will be seen, are chastised in separate circles in Purgatory.

When thou art entered in, these to efface.—It will appear, that as Dante passes through Purgatory, when he has viewed with edification the punishment of each sin, the corresponding mark

L 3
is removed from his brow by an angel. [See Can. 12, sub fin. and Can. 22, l. 3.]

l. 115. *Ashes or earths.* — This colour represents the humility becoming God's ministers.

l. 118. *One gold, one fined silver.* — The gold key is the authority of the priest; the silver key the knowledge pertaining to his functions. The former is the most precious, as granted directly by God; the latter requires most discrimination in its use. [See l. 124, 126.]

l. 131. *Whoever backward looks.* — For nothing is more dangerous to us than a relapse from penitence into sin; wherefore the Saviour hath said, "Remember Lot's wife."

l. 136. *So loudly did not Arx Tarpeia roar.* — Less loudly jarred the gate in the ancient Roman Capitolium on the Tarpeian rock, when Cæsar, having possessed himself of the city, entered it to despoil the treasury. On this occasion he met with some show of resistance from the tribune Metellus, whom he overawed, however, by laying his hand on his sword, murmuring, "Young man, it is easier to do this than to say it."

l. 140. *And Te Deum laudamus thought I heard.* — The song of the spirits in Purgatory, returning thanks for the admission of another elected brother, is heard above the jarring of the gate, which is thereby converted to a harmonious accompaniment.

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**CANTO X.**

*Now grown resortless* — intimates that the corruption of the last generation, sprung from men's perverse affections, as distinguished in Can. 17, has made infrequent the openings of the gate of Purgatory.
This way or that, the side which does not thwart.—So as to follow the zigzag passage without coming against an obstacle.

That the moon's border.—So that the moon was setting, which makes it at about three hours after sunrise that Dante and his guide issue from this passage. They arrive on the first of a series of terraces surrounding the mountain, and behold there the punishment of pride in the lowest place. On the general arrangements of Purgatory see Can. 17.

What should I say of Polycle'te's.—An eminent Greek sculptor of the Peloponnesian school, who flourished about B.C. 432, and fixed a standard, by his works and writings, of the fairest proportions of the human body. He is mentioned by Statius as having made the metal breathe in his images. [Sylvæ, 4, 6, 28.]

For thereon was she carved.—The Virgin Mary, who concurred freely and meritoriously in the work of man's redemption by her submission to God's purposes announced by the Angel [Luke i. 38].

That part where grows the heart.—Thus Dante has been standing on the left of his master, and now crosses to the right.

There cut i' th' marble did the wain appear.—The scene described in 2 Sam. 6.

From which we functions uncommitted fear.—From the fate of Uzzah, smitten by Jehovah for touching the ark with hands unconsecrated.

To the proud enterprise Gregorius.—Trajan's soul had been liberated from hell at the prayer of Pope Gregory the Great, who had been interested in him by hearing of his virtuous judgment on the widow's case, presently mentioned. [See Par. Can. 20.]
And a poor widow. — The story is related in very similar terms in the life of the Pontiff by Paulus Diaconus. "Legitur enim penes easdem Anglorum Ecclesias, quod Gregorius per forum Trajani, quod ipse quondam pulcherrimis edificiis venustarat, procedens, judicii ejus, quo viduam consolatus fuerit, recordatus atque miratus sit; quod scilicet ut a prioribus traditur ita se habet. Quodam tempore Trajano ad imminentis belli procinctum festinanti, vehementissimè vidua quædam processit, fiebiliter dicens, Filius meas innocens, te regnante, peremptus est; obsecro ut, quia eum mihi reddere non vales, sanguinem ejus legaliter digneris vindicare. Cumque Trajanus si sanus reverteretur a proelio, hunc se vindicaturum per omnia responderet, vidua dixit, Si tu in proelio mortuus fueris, quis mihi praestabit? Trajanus dixit, Ille qui post me imperabit. Vidua dixit, Et tibi quid proderit, si alter mihi fecerit? Trajanus respondit, Utique nihil. Et vidua, Nonne, inquit, melius tibi est, ut tu mihi justitiam facias, et tu pro hoc mercedem tuam recipias, quam ut alteri hanc transmittas? Tunc Trajanus, ratione pariter et pietae commotus, equo descendit, neque ante discerssit, quam judicium viduæ per semet imminens profigaret."

In turning towards him. — As Virgil was nearer than Dante, the spirits were approaching them from the left hand.

Whence you defectively are insected; — that is, fall short of the spiritual development we are in this life capable of attaining to.

CANTO XI.

Which unto those thy first effects. — More literally

"Which thou thy first effects on high there givest,"
where "first" effects should probably be understood as "chief" effects, the angels being here signified; who, according to Paradise, Can. 29, l. 16, began their existence at the same time with the spheres they governed, but of course held the chief position in the design of the creator.

_To thy sweet effluence._—This expression (_dolce vapore_, or, according to some copies, _alto vapore_, high effluence or vapour) refers, I believe, to the love or grace of God. According to some it is the wisdom of God; see the Book of Wisdom c. 7, v. 25, in the Vulgate translation, "Vapor est enim Dei, et emanatio quaedam claritatis omnipotentis Dei sincera."

_But for the rest, whom we have gone before._—Who remain on earth, and still need protection from the assaults of the evil one.

_Like that, which oft is dreamt._—Like an incubus.

_For he that journeys._—Read for these three lines,

"For my companion's climbing, from the load
Of Adam's nature, wherein still he's drest,
Against his will, is sparingly bestowed."

_Aldobrandeschi, a Tuscan lord._—The Counts of Santafiore have been mentioned, under Can. 6, l. 111, as neighbours of Siena, engaged in frequent hostilities with her citizens. Guiglielmo Aldobrandeschi, here mentioned, died in 1254, during a peace not destined to a long continuance, and was succeeded by his son Omberto, the present speaker.

_And hid in Campagnatico from none._—Omberto was murdered in 1259 by three emissaries of the Sienese, whose names are on record in Chronicle quoted by Philalethes. The statement of some commentators, that he was slain in battle, is hence
proved erroneous; Dante's expression seems also to intimate that he was brought to his end by foul play.

1. 79. *I said, What, Oderisi.*—Oderisi, of Agobbio or Gubbio in Urbino, was a miniature artist, who stayed at Rome together with Giotto under Pope Boniface the Eighth, for whom he illuminated some books in a first-rate style.

1. 88. *From Bolognese's limning.*—Franco Bolognese was employed by the same Pope upon the same library as Oderisi, and appears, though a younger man, to have excelled him.

1. 98. *Unless a grosser age;* i.e. unless the period following his life be of the most degenerate, no artist can leave a work that shall long be unrivalled, or secure him a monopoly of reputation.

1. 94. *Lo, Cimabue thought.*—A Florentine of noble family, who lived from 1240 to 1300, and is considered to have been the father of modern Italian painting. During his youth the art was scarcely professed in the country, except by a few Greeks, whose style was extremely rude and conventional; Vasari notices especially the staring or frightened eyes they used to give their figures. It was from some of these foreigners Cimabue received his first lessons in painting, in moments stolen from his regular studies at the College of S. Maria Novella, where they had been employed to build a chapel. He subsequently threw off most of the barbarisms of their style, and painted for various churches in Pisa, Assisi, and his native city. It is said that Charles of Anjou once visited him in passing through Florence, on which occasion Cimabue first showed to the public a large painting of the Madonna, which attracted such a concourse, and was received with so much approbation, that the neighbourhood of his house acquired the cognomen of Borgo
Allegro [merry borough]. Dante's mention of this artist was apparently referred to in an inscription on his monument:

"Credidit ut Cimabos picture castra tenere
Sic tenuit certe; nunc tenet astra poli."

Now doth Giotto gain.—The painter Giotto, or Ambrogiotto Bondone, born near Florence in 1276 (or earlier by some reports), was the son of a gardening farmer, whose flocks he was employed to keep during his earlier days at Vespignano. Towards this place Cimabue one day happening to ride, found the self-taught artist drawing one of his sheep with a pointed stone upon a bit of slate, and having perceived in his work a promise of great ability, was induced to take him home, and adopt him, with his father's consent, as his own pupil in painting. Giotto soon outstripped his master in freedom and naturalness of style, and spread his works over Florence, Pisa, Assisi, Padua, Naples, and Rome. Many of his designs are said to have been suggested by Dante, and at least, if compared with the Comedy, show a sympathy of ideas between the two men; thus Giotto did at Assisi an allegoric marriage between St. Francis and Poverty, such as Dante describes in Paradise, Can. 11. Giotto seems to have been an affable and pleasant man, and singularly ready at a bon-mot.

Thus hath one Guido.—It appears to be Dante's meaning that his friend Guido Cavalcanti had outstripped the celebrated Bolognese poet, Guido Guinicelli [of whom see Can. 26], and might himself be outstripped by some other unknown person [see l. 98]. According to others, he says that Guinicelli had outstripped Guido, commonly called Frà Guittone of Arezzo, and might himself be surpassed by Guido Cavalcanti. This view
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Can. xi. dissatisfies me, for why should our author represent that Cavalcanti's reputation was yet uncertain at the supposed date of the Vision, A.D. 1300, beyond which he actually lived but two years? [See on Hell, Can. 10]. Still less do I think Dante alludes to himself in l. 98 as a possible rival either to his dearest friend, or to a master for whom he expresses so much reverence in the passage just referred to in the Purgatory. Our author's pretensions in poetry have been strongly and boldly but less invidiously expressed, as in Hell, Can. 4, where he makes himself the companion of the great classic poets. I shall notice in another place Guittone and Guinicelli's compositions, but may here quote a sonnet of Cavalcanti's, of which a translation has been kindly furnished me: —

"I come to thee by daytime constantly,
But in thy thoughts too much of baseness find;
Greatly it grieves me for thy gentle mind,
And for thy many virtues gone from thee.
It was thy wont to shun much company,
Unto all sorry concourse ill inclined,
And still thy speech of me, heartfelt and kind,
Had made me treasure up thy poetry.
But now I dare not, for thine abject life,
Make manifest, that I approve thy rhymes,
Nor come I in such sort, that thou may'st know.
O prythee read this sonnet many times:
So shall the evil one, that bred this strife,
Be thrust from thy dishonour'd soul, and go."

Translated by D. G. Rossetti.

L. 109. See who before me. — This was Provenzano Salvani, who was Podestà of Siena at the time of the battle of Montaperti. [See Hell, Can. 10.] The pretended deserters, who persuaded the Florentines to the expedition which that disaster terminated, mentioned his severe government as having furnished grounds
of disaffection, which might be relied on to cause a rising of the citizens against him. He retained his authority, constantly exerted in the Ghibelline interest, till 1269, when he was defeated and killed by the forces of Gianni Bertoldo, a general of Charles of Anjou's, at Colle, in Val d' Elsa. [See Can. 13, l. 115.]

_that he his friend._—To deliver his friend Vigna, taken prisoner by Charles of Anjou, for whom an enormous ransom had been demanded, the proud Salvani had condescended to sit in a public square in Siena on a mat in the garb of a common beggar, soliciting contributions from his fellow-citizens, which he naturally obtained in abundance.

_thy neighbours' acts._—The spirit predicts that Dante's impending banishment, in which he must experience the mortification of seeking support from the beneficence of others, will make him better appreciate the mental suffering to which Salvani submitted.

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**CANTO XII.**

_The floor, on which thy feet are drawn._—As Dante saw on entering this circle examples of humility as it were exalted on the bank, so he now sees on the pavement those of pride abased.

_I saw Thymbreus._—The battle of gods and giants is described with some circumstances from Statius. [Theb. 2, 595.]

_I saw there Nimrod._—Dante's examples are taken alternately
from Scripture and mythology. But the giants and the builders of Babel are brought into juxtaposition here, as in Hell, Can. 31, in order to identify them.

1. 37. *O Niobe.*—Niobe, the Lydian queen, who boasted the number of her family against the goddess Latona, was punished, as is described, by the latter’s children Apollo and Diana. [See Ovid, Met. 6.]

1. 42. *That after never tasted rain or dew.*—Thus prayed David that it might happen to the place where his king had fallen, 2 Sam. 1, 21.

1. 43. *O fool Arachne.*—Minerva’s rival in the labour of the loom. [See Ovid, *ibidem.*]

1. 46. *O Rehoboam.*—See 1 Kings xii. 18.

1. 50. *How by Alcmæon.*—Eriphyle, wife of Amphiaras the soothsayer, having for a golden coronal betrayed his hiding-place to the Greek generals, when he was anxious to avoid the perils of the Trojan war, was at his order put to death by their son Alcmæon. The fable is again referred to in Par. 4, 103.

1. 55. *By queen Thamyris.*—A Scythian chieftainess, who according to Justin Martyr defeated in her own territory the invading army of Cyrus with a slaughter of 200,000. The Persian king’s body having been found on the field of battle, and brought to her presence, she caused the severed head to be immersed in a basin of blood, uttering the words Dante has copied,

> "Satia te sanguine, quem sitisti."

1. 58. *It showed how Ashur’s army.*—See the book of Judith.

1. 80. *Behold, the sixth handmaid.*—The sixth hour from sunrise, bringing us to the noon of Easter Monday.

1. 100. *As toward the mount.*—The hill supporting the church of
St. Miniato at Florence, near the Alle Grazie bridge, formerly called Rubaconte.

*Our scrolls and measures dwelt in safer plight.* — Alluding to two daring frauds that had lately been perpetrated against the Florentine commonalty. In 1299 Durante Cermontese, keeper of the salt stores, had altered the standard bushel [or stajo] by a part called the doga (mentioned here in the original line). [Comp. Par. 16, 105.] About the same time a page of the public records had been stolen by a person named Niccolò, to conceal a crime of which he had been accused, with the connivance of the Podestà, Monflorito Caversa, and of Baldo Aguglione, mentioned in Par. 16, 55.

*Blessed the poor in spirit.* — An address destined for those who have completed their purgation in the circle of pride; it is the first of a series of angelic benedictions, the words of which are taken from the Sermon on the Mount.

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**CANTO XIII.**

*The next of those incisions.* — Another terrace, cut into and surrounding the mountain, forming the second circle, which punishes the envious, as shown by l. 38.

*Though sooner round the compass.* — The present circle, being situated higher upon the tapering mountain, is somewhat smaller, and has, therefore, a more rapid and perceptible curvature than the former.

*Shade nor similitude.* — Here no plastic representations occur,
for the obvious reason that the spirits are blinded [vide l. 69]:
the voices described at l. 25, and in Can. 14, l. 130, convey
equivalent lessons.

1. 14. His right foot of his motion made the centre.—Turning to the
right, as previously, so as to follow the sun, which had already
past the meridian. [Vide Can. 12, l. 80.]

1. 29. Like Mary called.—The words of the Virgin Mary at the
marriage feast at Cana, cited for an example of kindness, as a
principle opposed to envy.

1. 32. When shouting “I am Orestes.”—Again a classical by the
side of the scriptural example of the above virtue. Orestes is
alluded to as the friend of Pylades, each having been ready to
lay down his life for the other.

1. 39. The lashes of the scourge by love are sped.—The souls in this
circle are stimulated to virtue by examples of love, as in the
above voices; they must be deterred from vice [see the following
lines] by a contrary kind of examples, which will be furnished
by the voices in Can. 14, l. 130. So Dante in the Convito:
“Even as a free steed, though noble in his own nature, cannot of
himself well govern or conduct himself without a rider, thus it
fits this appetite, which is called irascible and concupiscible, how
noble soever it may be, to render obedience to reason, who con-
trols it with bridle and spurs like a good horseman. She uses
the bridle when it is pursuing, and this bridle is called temper-
ance, which shows the limit up to which the pursuit must extend.
She uses the spur when it is fleeing to hold it to the place
whence it shrinks, and this spur is called courage or mag-
nanimity, which virtue shows the place where a halt is to be
made and fight engaged in.” [Tr. 4, c. 26.]

1. 70. For each his eyelid.—The punishment of a vice which was said
to be seated apparently in the eye [see l. 135], whence the Latin term invideo.

*I was not wise although*;—i.e. though my name, Sapìa, suggests 1. 109. Sophia, Σοφία, (or perhaps Sapienza,) Wisdom, my character proved me unworthy of it. Sapìa [of the Pigezio family] is said to have been, during the government of Provenzano Salvani, in Siena, confined on political grounds to her estate, which was about four miles distant from Colle in Val d’Elsa, whence she saw the fugitives of the battle mentioned under Can. 11, l. 1, 20, and openly exulted at the discomfiture of her Ghibelline countrymen. In the following dialogue, the style of her discourse is probably intended to betray the levity of the Sienese character, as it might have appeared in a high-born lady.

*As doth the blackbird.* — The blackbird, according to a popular 1. 123. fable, used, in the first fine days of the year, to defy the winter with words of like import to those that immediately precede this line.

*No less in debt*;—i.e. on the outside of Purgatory, among the 1. 126. late repentant sinners among whom Sapìa’s stay had been shortened, as will presently be seen, by the prayers of Pettignano.

*If Piero Pettignano.* — A hermit of Siena, whose memory was 1. 127. long revered by his fellow-citizens, though in life he had given such offence, by publishing a revelation as of the soul of one of them in torment, that he had been compelled to change his residence. Sapìa is said to have often relieved him in his necessities.

—*I must lose these eyes indeed.*—Dante confesses that he will 1. 183. have to stone for some indulgence of the feeling of envy, but much more for pride.

*Who trust in Talamo.* — A spot on the coast of their Maremma, 1. 152. already containing the rudiments of a harbour, from which the

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Florentines, during a time of scarcity, are recorded to have drawn supplies of corn. The Sienese bought it in 1303, for 80,000 gold florins, from the Abbot of St. Salvador, and showed great anxiety to make a regular port of it, by which they might lay for themselves the foundations of a maritime supremacy; but were foiled, after having gone to a great expense, by the unhealthiness of the situation.

L. 158. *Lose more than delving after the Diane;*—i. e. the Diana, a spring which was supposed by the Sienese to flow beneath their city, and had been dug for in several places to a considerable depth without success.

L. 154. *Yet more to lose hath every admiral.*—The name of admiral seems to have been given to the superintendents of the works at Talamo, many of whom lost their lives there from the malaria, while their fellow citizens were merely squandering money.

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**CANTO XIV.**

Thru*did two spirits.*—The speakers are named in lines 81 and 88 to 89.

L. 9. *Then to address me made their faces yare.*—Threw back their faces to bring them nearer Dante's level, as he was walking, they sitting. [Comp. 12, 102.]

L. 17. *The waters of a Falteronian spring;*—i. e. of the Arno, which rises in Falterona, an Apennine overlooking the valley of the Casentino. Villani attributes to this river a course of 120 miles.

L. 31. *—where seemeth so impregned the branch of Alp;*—i. e. in a
neighbourhood where so many springs, including the sources of the Tiber, Lamone, Montone, and Savio, issue from the Apennines.

— from which is rent Pelorus. — The north-eastern promontory of Sicily, which Virgil supposes an irruption of the sea to have Whilom dismembered from the Apennines in Calabria.

To where it pays back. — To its estuary, where it restores the waters which it derived, through the medium of exhalations, rains, and springs, from the Mediterranean.

— than if they'd browsed in Circe's pasture. — Or been changed into beasts, like Ulysses and his comrades according to Virgil, Æn. 7, 10.

Among vile hogs. — Dante probably means the Conti Guidi of Porciano, to whose dissolute or churlish manners he supposes the name of their estate to answer. Dante is reported to have been their prisoner in 1313, when he wrote to the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg the celebrated Latin epistle subscribed from the fountains of Arno.

It findeth curs. — The Aretines, whose comparatively small city often took a conspicuous part in the Guelf leagues: Dante intimates that their presumption was out of proportion to their real strength.

The more you see wolves. — The Florentine burghers, whose villas gradually multiplied along the Arno towards their city, and who are called wolves for their imputed avarice.

— such wily children of the fox. — The Pisans, who had been governed by Ugolino, Guido of Montefeltro, and other crafty politicians. Their city enjoyed great quiet and prosperity about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

I see thy grandson. — The grandson of the spirit addressed was
Fulcieri de' Calboli, who was Podestà of Florence in 1302, at which time a conspiracy of the White exiles to return by force of arms was detected by means of a letter which a young man amongst them had sent imprudently to a friend in the city. Great severities were employed to discover the accomplices of this plan, and a number of noble citizens were arrested and examined, one of whom died under the question. From some others a confession of guilt was extorted, and the whole party, including one absolute idiot, were ordered to execution. Among them were two youths of the Donati family, whose mother had thrown herself at the feet of one of their judges, Andrea del Cerreto, to procure their pardon: he said he was just entering the council to effect what she desired; then entered, and delivered his own vote for their condemnation. Shortly after these events the Whites advanced in arms under Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi of Forli, as far as the Mugello, where the Bolognese quarrelling with the Florentine exiles, the latter were left alone to contend with their countrymen, who defeated them at Culiciano, and beheaded the noblest of the prisoners. Among these Alberto Donati was led through Florence on an ass, his face towards the tail; he was then tortured, and exposed to the view of the people by the opening of the window, while the rope, on which his body was strained, was left secured to a hook. Leave was at last obtained to end his sufferings by beheading him.

—from the dismal glade.—Does Dante under this figure allude to the name of Florence, Florentia, the blooming?

And thou'lt in me Guido del Duca know.—A nobleman of Brettinoro, near Forli, in Romagna, of whom nothing farther can be ascertained.

Lo that is Rinier.—Rinieri de' Calboltesi, of Forli, had in
1252 been Podestà of Parma during the ascendancy of the Guelf party. In 1276 he assisted the Florentines in the attack on Forli, in which they were repelled by Guido of Montefeltro [see Hall, Can. 27, l. 43]; the latter in revenge besieged and levelled with the ground his opponent’s hereditary castle at Calboli. The representatives of his family were also in 1306 expelled from Brettinoro, where the people had grown weary of their oppressions.

Nor only ’twixt the Apennine and sea. — These are the boundaries of Romagna if we annex to it the city of Bologna, on which a great part of the province was frequently dependant. Guido tells us that not only the Calboli family, but all the noble houses within these limits have degenerated from the valour, courtesy, and hospitality of their ancestors.

Where is good Lizio. — Lizio of Valbona, near Forli, was noted for his courtesy and hospitality, and, according to an anecdote in the Decameron, showed a great deal of temper and discretion in concealing the disgrace of a daughter, whom he married to a young kinsman and dependant when the latter had seduced her. He was a colleague of Rinier of Calboli’s in the expedition above mentioned against the Florentines.

Peter Traversar[a]. — Of a noble family of Ravenna again alluded to in l. 108. He is identified by Philalethes with a Piero Traversara, who was taken prisoner by the Cesenates at Castiglione in 1203.

Rigo Manardi [Arrigo or Henry] belonged to a noble family of Brettinoro, some of whom were among the Ghibellines expelled from that place in 1295, while others appear to have borne arms for the Guelf party. Arrigo is said to have been a
great friend of Guido del Duca's above mentioned; and to have
decreed at the latter's death that the judgment seat which he
had occupied should be cut in half, as if, from the man's extreme
probity, no one could have been found worthy of sitting upon it
after him.

Guido of Carpign[a]. — A baron of Montefeltro: he is said
to have been so hospitable that he once sold the richly made
quilt off his bed to provide for an entertainment; saying that in
summer he would stretch out his feet to sleep, and in winter
draw them up close to warm himself. The anecdote, however, is
also told of Lizio di Valbona above named.

Who raises in Bologna Fabbro's line. — Fabbro is said to have
been a common smith of Bologna, from whom originated a
powerful branch of the great Ghibelline family of the Lamber-
tacci.

Or Bernadin di Fosco's in Fayence. — This was a common
citizen of Faenza in Romagna, whose performance of military
exercises is said to have frequently drawn the attention of noble
spectators. "Di Fosco" or "of Fosco" means son of Fosco. A
Bernardo from Faenza is mentioned as having been Podestà of
Pisa in 1248.

When with us Guido of Prata I recall. — The Prata here
named was situated between Forli and Faenza, but Guido had
been a frequent resident in Brettinoro.

And Ugolin of Azzo's residence. — "Of Azzo" means, by old
Italian usage, son of Azzo. This Ugolino seems to have been one
of the Ubaldini family, which originated in the Mugello valley
[near Florence, north of the Arno], and afterwards came to
Faenza. A poem of his has been preserved by Giambatista
Ubaldini. He is conjecturally identified by Philalethes with a
personage of like name who died in 1293, described in the Forlivian annals as the son of Sino.

_Frederic Tignoso and his feast-mates all._ — Tignoso, i.e. ring-wormy, is said to have been an ironical nickname of a citizen of Rimini, noted for the beauty of his hair. His habitual residence is said to have been at Brettinoro.

_The Traversara house._ — The Traversaras had begun to be a dominant family in Ravenna from 1239, when Paolo occupied that city by the help of the Bolognese Guelfs, to whom he had deserted from the opposite party. In 1262 the daughter of a William Traversara was married to the son of Stephen King of Hungary. But the Traversaras were expelled from Ravenna by Guido di Polenta in 1275, and again in 1281, after they had been reinstated since about a year in a pacification effected by the Pope’s legate Bertoldo Orsini. The last male heir of the family had died in 1292.

—— _the Anastagia._ — These were also a leading family in Ravenna, one of whom had in 1249 aided the Counts of Bagnacavallo to expel Guido di Polenta and his adherents from the city.

_O Brettinoro, why not get thee gone?_ — Brettinoro lies between Forli and Cesena. Its nobles are said to have so vied with one another in the exercise of hospitality, that whenever a stranger alighted in the city, he was conducted within the castle-hall before a column, to which a number of bells were attached, by hanging on one of which his arms, hat, or bridle, he decided for himself, unwittingly, what household was to have the pleasure of entertaining him.

_Since now that house is gone that was thy splendour._ — Probably the Manardis, one of whom has been mentioned in l. 98.
Well doth Bagnovallo. — Bagnovallo, a village near Cesena northwards, belonged to the Conti Malavicini, who in 1249 had made themselves masters of Ravenna by expelling Guido di Polenta. In the Romagnese wars, towards the end of the thirteenth century, their proceedings had been discordant and vacillating. Dante seems to have anticipated the speedy extinction of this house, of which, however, some traces have been found up to 1333 or later.

And ill doth Castrogaro. — Castrogaro in Romagna belonged to a family of Ghibelline Counts, whose name is unknown. During the Romagnese wars they surrendered to the Church in 1282, but were reinstated in their domains in 1296 by a league which their party had formed under Mainardo Pagani and Galasso di Montefeltro.

ibid. — and Conio worse. — The Counts of Conio, after vacillating conduct in the Romagnese war, had in 1295 been expelled from the government of Faenza by Mainardo Pagani: their hereditary castle was soon after levelled with the ground by that general's adherents; but the family, as Dante intimates, continued to maintain itself.

Well may do the Pagani. — A family from Imola, of which city Pietro Pagani had made himself master in 1263, but was soon after expelled by the Bolognese. His son, the "Demon" of l. 119, was the Mainardo mentioned in Hell, Can. 27, l. 50, who made himself master, after many vicissitudes, of Imola and Faenza, and died in 1302, in the habit of a monk, at Vallombrosa, having left no male issue.

O Ugolin de' Fantolini. — A brave and talented citizen of Faenza, who had returned thither from banishment in 1280, when the Guelf fugitives and the Bolognese had entered by
the treachery of Tebaldello de' Zambrasi. [See Hell, Can. 32, l. 122.] He died in 1282 in the army under John of Appia which was surprised in Forli by Guido of Montefeltro. [See Hell, Can. 27, l. 43.]

We knew how these benignant spirits heard. — Here the poets l. 127. appear to start again in the direction they previously took, trusting to be recalled by the spirits if they were not going the nearest way to the next circle.

"Whoever findeth me shall slay me there." — The words of Cain, l. 133. offering an example to deter from envy.

"I am Aglauros." — A daughter of Cecrops, who out of l. 139. jealousy endeavoured to hinder the commerce of her sister Herse with the god Mercury, by whom she was transformed, as Dante intimates. [Vide Ovid, Met. lib. 2.]


CANTO XV.

As great a space, or a distance, equal to that he traverses in any three hours, remained before the sun, out of his diurnal path. It was, therefore, between three and four o'clock, for three hours were wanting to bring on the sunset; and a few days only had elapsed since the vernal equinox.

'Twas afternoon with us. — Literally "Vesper time," which l. 6. Ducange interprets as half way between noon and sunset, — a meaning that would here suit precisely.
for now we travelled duly west.—Dante and Virgil had ascended the mountain in a westerly direction, and circled round the level terraces till their faces were again turned that way. They had consequently traversed a quarter of the circumference.

When all at once.—Dante feels the glory of the angel mentioned in l. 33, and screens his eyes by placing his hand before them.

As from the face of glass.—From a resplendent horizontal surface rays of light must return in such a manner that the direction in which they fall makes the same angle with the vertical line (or that which "the plummet falls in," v. l. 20) as does that in which they are reflected; which appears from experience and by a rule in optics, namely that "of incidence and reflection." Thus the brightness of the angel's countenance was reflected from the ground, and, as he came near Dante, ascended almost vertically towards the latter's eyes, so that he could no more screen them by putting his hand in front, but was compelled to turn his head round.

By the words portion with exclusion meant?—Alluding to the words in l. 87 of last Canto. Virgil in his answer shows that it is finite advantages alone that excite envy in the minds that are attracted to them; for in such the share of each possessor must needs be diminished as the number of partakers is increased; the opposite is the case with the bliss of Heaven [see l. 55, &c. and 67, &c].

That infinite, that inexpressive weal.—The bliss of Heaven, Virgil explains, is founded on love, and attaches itself to every being in proportion to his capacity for loving. This capacity increases with the number of those whom he can love most worthily, that is to say of his companions in felicity; hence the divided good, as Virgil undertook to prove, makes the many
sharers richer than it would the few [v. l. 61]. Similarly St. Augustine,—“Nullo enim modo fit minor accedente consorte possessio bonitatis, quum tanto latius quanto concordiis individua sociorum possidet charitas.”—De Civ. Dei.

*The more it finds, the more it makes to burn.*—Compare a fine passage in the Convito, where Dante shows that the goodness of God operates differently upon different creatures—spiritual, material, and intermediate [or human]—according to their capacities for receiving it, just as bodies of different texture, whether diaphanous, or opaque, or reflective, receive with different effects the same sunlight. [Trac. 3, c. 1.]

*Be mindful only, those five wounds.*—We have seen that Dante on leaving the first circle, Can. 12, l. 120, lost one of the P’s that had been marked on his forehead, in token of the eradication of one sin by penitence. The process was repeated after the second circle, Can. 14, l. 37, and it rests with him to ensure its completion.

*But saw myself another circle gain.*—The third circle, which cleanses from wrath. [See Can. 16, l. 24.]

*Of vision rapturous.*—Here follow examples of Mildness, as in Can. 17 examples of Wrath; a virtue and vice contrasted according to the method previously pursued. On account of the wrathful spirits being chastised in smoke, these lessons are conveyed in a trance, infused by some external power, and not through the bodily eye.

*And fast beside the porch.*—The Virgin Mary, v. Luke 2, 41. 1. 88.

*Another woman.*—The wife of Pisistratus [l. 101], despot of Athens, imploring him to punish one who had insolently kissed their daughter. The story is taken from Valerius Maximus, v. 1, who says, “Cum adolescens quidam amore filiae ejus vir—
ginis accensus, in publico sibi obviam factum osculatus esset, bortante uxore, ut ab eo capitale sumeret supplicium, respondit, Si eos, qui nos amant, interficimus, quid his faciemus, quibus odio sumus?"

l. 98. For naming which the gods.—Alluding to the contention of Neptune and Minerva for naming the city of Athens, when the former presented it with a horse, the latter with an olive tree.


l. 117. I then could my not false allusions trace.—I discovered the subjective nature of the impressions I had received, and felt their moral value as lessons of mildness.

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CANTO XVI.

Darkness of Hell.—A punishment referring to the moral blindness produced by anger. Compare the account of the fifth circle in Hell, Can. 7.

l. 46. I was of Lombard birth.—A man of noble birth, from the Cà de’ Lombardi at Venice; he had been a great traveller, and resided much at Paris. He was famed for valour and courtesy; but, having exhausted his means by an inordinate generosity, became an “uomo da corte,” or one of those ingenious gentlemen, whose wit and accomplishments procured them a ready entertainment with frequent gifts and favours at the courts of the Italian princes whom they visited alternately. For such a vocation, however, he must have been somewhat high-spirited, jesting freely, and disdaining to sue or to dissemble. It was Marco,
who, when Count Ugolino of Pisa, in the day of his prosperity, had led him over his fine castle and demesnes, and inquired what he thought of them, answered with the boding words, "I think, there is no man in Italy more ready than you are to be caught by the foul mischance [la mala meccianza]." "And why?" said the Count. "Because you want nothing for it but the wrath of God." "And surely," says Villani, "the wrath of God fell on him shortly after," which we have seen under Hell, Can. 33. It is added that when Marco was once a prisoner, and had written to Richard of Camino, a baron of the Trevigian Mark, desiring him to ransom him, upon hearing that the latter had begun to raise contributions for the purpose among his acquaintances, he desired him to desist, because he would rather die a captive than incur obligations to so many persons; which word so incited his powerful friend that he furnished by himself the sum required. Dante seems in the following dialogue to have given a genuine portraiture of his interlocutor's shrewdness, worldly knowledge, wit, and testiness of disposition.

It first was single.—Dante had doubted at first whether it was fate or free will—the conduct of men themselves, or their outward circumstances and organic affections inflexibly controlled by the movements of the heavenly bodies—that had caused the general corruption and political disorganisation he saw around him. This difficulty was aggravated by Marco's intimation in l. 48, that all mankind had grown slacker since his time in their exertions for the attainment of virtue.

Read "and void of goodness."

For heavenward these refer it;—that is, some lay the blame on the spheres, some on man. [See on l. 55.]

'Tis heaven that your affections doth instil.—The first motions
of human desire are organic, and may be considered in the main as due to the spheres, though the operations of the latter have been doubtless vitiated by previous effects of free will. But whencesoever these first motions may have arisen, they are controllable by will and thought, which may prevent their influencing our acts and our elections. [See Can. 18, l. 55, &c.]

1. 79. *To greater power and better nature.*—Men require the divine aid and direction to act rightly, but exercise their free will by the act of submitting to this direction.

1. 85. *The simple-tender soul.*—The individual man enters the world ignorant, weak, and giddy; he receives only from our social organisation the culture and discipline which render feasible to him the attainment of any excellence. This social organisation depends for its perfection on civil and ecclesiastical institutions, respecting the ordination of which, see note on l. 106.

With the present lines this passage from the Convito has been compared:—“Of every individual thing the supreme desire, and the first implanted by nature, is that of returning to its own original; and whereas God is the original of our souls, and he that made them like unto himself, as it is written, ‘Let us make man in our image, after our likeness;’ it is, therefore, to return to him that the soul chiefly desireth. And as a pilgrim that goeth along a way by which he hath never been, who believeth every house that he seeth far off to be his inn, and upon finding that it is not so, removeth his trust unto another, and so from house to house even till he cometh to the inn, thus our soul, when on the new and yet untravelled road of this life she entereth, directeth her eyes toward the bourne of her chief good, and therefore whatever thing she seeth, that appeareth to have in it somewhat of good, she believeth it to be that good verily. And
because her first knowledge is imperfect, from her want both of doctrine and of experience, therefore small goods appear great to her, and it is them she first beginneth to desire. Whence we see a child desiring a singing bird, and afterwards fine clothes, and then a horse, and then a wife, and then wealth, at first a little, and then more and more. And this cometh to pass because in none of these things he findeth that he seeketh, and he believeth he will find it farther on."

And find a King. — It is doubted whether the word "King" l. 95. should be understood literally, or in reference to the pastor of l. 98 ; or, in other words, whether Dante refers here to the secular or to the spiritual ruler, whom he deems necessary to the community of mankind: I incline to the former interpretation. For the main scope of the following argument is to explain the decline of "valour and courtesy" [see l. 116] in the manners of the Lombards. Now the bond of union of these two virtues is the loyalty of a free subject; they flourish together under a monarchy which is not distracted by licentious factions, and are supported, therefore, by the strength and majesty of the secular power; hence the incompetence of men's spiritual guides does not directly injure them, but only through the injury it may do the state, where it introduces insubordination or rebellion. Indeed all moral virtues, according to a passage shortly to be quoted, are upheld by civil institutions; it is to the theologic virtues that those of the Church are mainly necessary. Therefore Dante has first to point out how Lombardy suffers from the decay of civil government in the absence of a secular head, and afterwards how this condition has been caused by the encroachments of her spiritual head. The Roman Pontiffs, to whom a spiritual supremacy had been committed, had coveted a
temporal supremacy over Italy or Europe, whose powers they then were unable to wield effectively, because the very cupidities they evinced in the attempt [l. 100], holding forth to Christendom an example of worldly-mindedness at variance with their precepts, diminished the reverence previously cherished for their functions, and rendered their pretensions to either of the powers less respectable; at the same time they had undermined, since the age of Frederic the Second [l. 117], the authority of the Emperor in Italy, and left the country a prey to anarchy and civil war; because she had no secular head of adequate power to arbitrate between her municipalities and local tyrants, among whom the Pope could make himself partisans indeed, but had no strength to be an enforcer of justice.

l. 95. *Whose eyes at least are fit.* — Who has a general idea how men should be governed, and of the relations between the temporal and spiritual powers.

l. 97. *Now law is there, but who enforces it.* — The law of Italy is still derived from Justinian, but she has no Emperor; for the Pope has invaded his authority.

l. 99. *Can ruminate, but hath his hoof not split.* — The Head of the Church has the theory of faith, hope, and charity in his head, but cannot set the world an example of heavenly-mindedness; for he is not open-handed, but a grasper of money and territory; but a true Emperor would be exalted beyond similar cupidity. "For where there is nothing that can be wished, it is impossible there should there be cupidity; for when their objects are destroyed, the passions can exist no longer. But the monarchy has nought to wish for, since its jurisdiction is bounded by the ocean only. Whence it follows that monarchy among mankind is the purest subject of justice!"
And folk, who catching have their leaders spied. — The people who see that churchmen are as intent upon gain as themselves, are uninfluenced by their precepts, and continue to confine their affections to the lowest objects.

The Roman State. — Compare a passage in Dante’s Convito: l. 106. “To the understanding hereof it must be known, that man alone among beings holdeth a middle place between corruptibles and incorruptibles. For if he be considered according to both essential parts, namely soul and body, he is corruptible; if he be considered according to one only, he is incorruptible. Wherefore of this part the philosopher hath well spoken in the second of his De Animâ, where he said, ‘And this only befalleth it [the soul in death], to be separated as a perpetual from a corruptible.’ If therefore man is a certain mean between corruptibles and incorruptibles, inasmuch as every mean savoreth of the nature of the extremes, it is necessary that man should savor of both natures. And because every nature is ordained unto a certain ultimate purpose, it followeth that for man there existeth a double purpose; that even as he alone among all beings partaketh both of corruptibility and incorruptibility, so he alone may be ordained for two ends, whereof one is that of him as corruptible, the other as incorruptible. Two ends therefore has the ineffable providence of God proposed to man for his pursuit; namely, the beatitude of this life, which consisteth in the practice of virtue, and is figured by the terrestrial paradise; and the beatitude of the life eternal, which consisteth in the fruition of the divine aspect, unto which man’s own virtue cannot ascend unless it be assisted by the divine light, whereof we are given to understand in the celestial paradise. Unto these different beatitudes, as unto different conclusions, it behoveth us to come by different means.
For unto the first we come by the lessons of philosophy, provided we follow them, regulating our practice according to the moral and intellectual virtues; but unto the second by spiritual lessons, which transcend human reason, provided we follow the latter, regulating our practice according to the theological virtues, which are faith, hope, and charity. Now, though such conclusions and means have been shown to us,—these by human reason, with whose principles we have been made thoroughly acquainted by philosophers; those by the Holy Spirit, who, through the prophets and holy writers, and through the co-eternal Son of God, Jesus Christ, and through his disciples, hath revealed to us the truth supernatural, but to us necessary,—yet all such would human cupidity trample upon, unless men, wandering like horses in their brutishness, were restrained in the road with a bit and bridle. Wherefore man hath need of a double direction, according to his double end; that is to say, of a supreme pontiff, who, according to the tenor of revelation, might lead the human race unto life eternal, and of an emperor, who, according to the lessons of philosophy, might guide it unto temporal felicity."

1. 112. *For joined, one doth no more.*—No longer divided between two administrators, the spiritual and temporal powers are no check upon each other.

1. 115. *The land that Adige watereth and Po.*—Lombardy.

1. 117. *Before yet faction thwarted.*—Before the wars of Frederic the Second with the Church on the subject of investitures.

1. 124. *There's Conrad of Palazzo.*—A citizen of Brescia. From the authorities collected by Philalethes, he appears to have been among the delegates appointed in 1275, under the auspices of Gregory the Tenth, to effect an arrangement between the contending factions of the city. In 1276 he was deputy
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for Charles of Anjou in Florence, and in 1279 Podesta of Siena.

—good Gherard. — Gherardo da Camino, a powerful Guelf ibidem. citizen of Trevisi, whose family became supreme there in 1284 by the expulsion of Gherardo da Castello. He is most honourably spoken of by Dante in his Convito; for such a man, it is there said, would be noble, had he derived his birth even from the basest peasant. Indeed his having knighted two of the princes of Este is a proof of the esteem in which he was held by a powerful neighbour. He was father of Ricciardo da Camino, who married the daughter of the judge of Gallura. [Can. 8, l. 71.]

And Guido da Castello. — A citizen of Reggio in Lombardy, l. 125. probably of the Guelf family of the Roberti, who returned thither in 1289, having been exiled by a division of the party.

If I should not his daughter Gaia's borrow.—Gaia, daughter of l. 140. Gherardo da Camino, is said to have been "a lady of such self-governance respecting amorous gratifications that her name was notorious throughout Italy. Et solebat dicere fratris suo, Da mihi procos juvenes, et ego inveniam tibi pulcherrimas puellas."

Behold the dayspring. — Read "daylight."

Canto XVII.

O thou Imagination. — Here Benvenuto cites an anecdote of our author, that he was once seen studying a rare book over

n 2
a stall in Siena from matins to noon, and though a bridal
procession past near him with sounds of music and of love-poems,
such as his soul delighted in, it was found, on afterwards
questioning him, that he had taken no notice whatever of them.

1. 17. *It is that light.* — An influence of the spheres, whether sponta-
neous and in a measure natural, or overruled by Providence.

1. 20. *Of her foul deed who grew.* — Progne, supposed to have been
changed into a nightingale. [See Can. 9, l. 13.]

1. 84. *There rose a girlish maid.* — Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, king
of Latium, had been promised by her father to Aeneas, but the
treaty was broken off through the influence of her mother Amata,
who favoured the claims of a former wooer, the Rutulian king
Turnus. When Aeneas had defeated his rival, whom Amata,
surveying the field of battle, conjectured to have perished, she
found her cherished plans overthrown and her city imperilled
through the alliance of the worsted party —

"And perturbed at heart with a swift, sudden access of anguish,
And as guilty, as author of ills and fountain-head herself
Upbraidings, many things she uttered in frenzy deploring.
Then, tearing with her hand the crimson folds that arrayed her,
Tied a knot up to the rafter, her end unsightly preparing.
When the Latin maidens with that grim event were acquainted,
Most sad of all her daughter, her own Lavinia led them,
Rending her hair's yellow curls, her cheek so rosy defacing;
Wailed the remainder around; thoro' long palace-halls the lament rang."

Æn. xii. 715.

1. 58. *As man for self.* — Here the Angel, who absolves from wrath,
in his readiness to guide Dante and Virgil on their way, gives
an example of loving another as oneself.

1. 67. *I felt a wing behind us beat.* — Hereby the Angel effaces
another P. [See Can. 22, l. 3.] The circle next entered is that of
Sloth [see l. 130], or supineness, explained as a deficient love of finite goods.

Whence comes it ye forsake me, O my thewes?—As it is ordained, according to Can. 7, l. 53, that there shall be no ascending the mountain by night, Dante is warned against now proceeding farther by a sudden physical exhaustion. This law does not prevent the spirits, who will presently appear, from running on a level ground.

— love of good below its due.—See l. 96 and 130.

Creator, he began.—Here Virgil introduces an explanation of the divisions of Purgatory, which are grounded on a different principle from those of Hell, described in Pt. 1, Can. 11. For the torments of the latter place are penal, and proportioned to the enormity of the outward actions committed; those of the former are sanatory, and distinguished by the wrong affections of heart which led to each vice. All actions flow directly from the love of some object, or from an aversion to a contrary object, which is founded on such an affection; thus directly, or indirectly, from love.

Love natural was void of errors ever.—The term natural love included, according to the schoolmen, the desire of self-preservation which is inherent in brutes, and even the appetencies of man:animate matter, as that of fire to go upwards. But natural love in man was said to be that love for the general idea of good which seems inseparable from his being, and is not modified, like particular affection, by his free will.

The other love can err.—Our affections can err by too much intensity or too little, or by being set on evil, causing in these three ways, and under limitations presently explained, the sins of oncupiscence, sloth, and malice.
While to the primal goods.—No love of that which is essentially good, as God or virtue, can err by excess, because it should be infinite. Other good is a derived good, or good by an impression of God's bounty, and must be loved within certain limits, and such is the nature of earthly pleasures and riches.

Now since to Love it never can agree.—Here Virgil begins to explain the divisions of the malignant sinners in Purgatory. As in Hell there were found three classes suffering for malicious violence against God, themselves, and their neighbours, it might be thought there were three corresponding kinds of malice to be punished in Purgatory. But this is not the case, for violence against self and God are not rooted in any independent affection. For no man, strictly speaking, hates himself, and the crimes even of the suicides and spendthrifts were perpetrated under an apprehension of doing themselves good.

And since we no existence.—In like manner there is, properly speaking, no hatred of God; for when we present to our minds His nature, which includes all goodness, we are so formed as inevitably to love it. But when men present His works to their minds, they are sometimes offended at those which are repugnant to their corrupt wills, as His punishment of sinners; and hereat they blaspheme Him, apprehending and hating his dealings rather than Himself. Therefore blasphemy was treated in Hell as a separate offence, but is not here treated as needing a separate reformatory discipline. [See T. Aquinas, Summ. Theol. II. 1, 29, 4, and II. 2, 34, 1.]

The harm we covet.—The malice punished in Purgatory is therefore a malice which a man bears his neighbours, either from an apprehension of their happiness interfering with his own (whence the two cardinal sins of envy and pride, I. 115 and
PURGATORY. C. XVII. L. 97.—C. XVIII. L. 26. 199

l. 118), or from an apprehension of wrong that he has suffered from them, whence that of anger.

*This tripartite affection.*—Malice, in the three cardinal sins just enumerated, has been punished in the three circles of Purgatory hitherto surveyed.

*If this to learn or seek.*—Sloth, the fourth cardinal sin, rooted in a deficient love of finite or infinite good, is punished in the circle just entered.

*The love which is too freely.*—Concupiscence (or the excessive love of finite goods, which cannot in themselves confer bliss upon us), constituting the remaining cardinal sins of avarice, gluttony, and lewdness, is to be punished in three circles of Purgatory as yet unvisited by the poets.

CANTO XVIII.

— and *I the error shall disclose.*—See l. 34.

*The soul, whom her creation.*—The soul is formed with an innate capacity or liability as to loving certain apprehensions: the above becomes an actuality when she is set in action by the presence of an object that excites them.

*Your apprehensions catch.*—Our apprehensions of external things act upon the mind through the medium of certain "species" or abstractions which she forms from them, and which may excite her inclination or aversion; hence arises love.

'Tis nature there.*—Because our radical affections are implanted
by nature for the most part for objects conducive to the preservation of the individual or the race.

1. 27. **Then as the flame.**—Fire, through a "formal virtue" or property derived from its essence, strives upward to approach the Circle of Fire [see Can. 9, l. 30], offering thus an instance of motion produced by a "natural love" or appetency. Such a motion, in the human mind, consequent upon love, but distinct from it, is called desire.

1. 34. **Now mayst thou see.**—This exposes the error of the Epicureans, who maintain that all desire, to whatever gratification directed, is good in itself.

1. 37. **For good their matter always.**—Love in the abstract, or that general inclination towards good upon which all love is founded, is absolutely good, but a particular love may be otherwise: there is no more connection between these two things than between the sealing-wax and the impressions that may be produced on it.

1. 43. **Because if Love is tendered from without.**—If love naturally follows some impressions that we receive from external objects, and from that love derive all our actions, virtues, and vices, how can we be responsible for them?

1. 46. **As far, said he, as reason.**—My teaching, says Virgil, is but that of human philosophy, grounded on principles inherent in our reason and consciousness: for doctrine derivable from higher sources look to thy celestial friend. [Compare Can. 15, l. 76.]

1. 49. **Each form subsistent.**—The form of an object, in the language of schoolmen, is an immaterial principle determining its quality or its subsistence: in the former way, whiteness is the form of white things, and forms of this kind are abstractions rather than
substances; in the latter way, the soul of a man or animal is
the form thereof, and this kind, being a substance, is called a
form subsistent. But a form subsistent, not cognate with matter
but conjoined thereto, must be a human soul. Such a soul, like
other forms, has special virtues or properties, whence an innate
property in our reason [1. 55] of necessarily agreeing in certain
propositions or axioms, and similarly in our affections of being
necessarily inclined to certain apprehensions [1. 57]. Hence
the first movements of love for any object are governed by
necessity in us as in animals [1. 58], and afford no matter for
praise or blame. But this first movement of the mind is not all
that determines our actions; there are other elements wanting
[1. 61] in the free assent of the mind to a certain end or means,
and this assent should be conformable to the recommendations
of judgment. The manner in which a self-determined rectitude
or pravity of the will makes a good course seem good to a man,
or the contrary, cannot be traced or comprehended; yet the
existence of free will in man is inferred from his consciousness
of a responsibility which could only be founded on freedom:
this deduction [1. 67 to 69] is the root of moral philosophy.

_— discretion in you grows._—"The eye of the rational part
of the soul, by which it apprehends the differences of things, in
regard how they are ordered unto some certain end."

_And that same noble virtue._—The power that restrains the first
movements of our affections from determining our actions is
called free choice; it is a free assent of the mind [1. 62 and 63]
conformable to deliberate judgment.

_In semblance like a caldron._—A round kettle may be often
seen obliquely in such a manner that some portion of the circle
seems wanting: the same appearance was presented by the
moon, as after a few days from her full, and she already rose some time after sunset.

1. 79. And by that route in heaven.—At about the end of the sign Scorpio or beginning of Sagittarius, where when the sun arrives, he sets a little to the south of the west, so that he might be seen from Rome over the straits of St. Bonifacio, which separate the islands alluded to.

1. 82. And the great shade.—Silius Italicus appears to have called Virgil Andinus, as if born at Andes, a village near Mantua, whose modern name was Pietola. [See the Bellum Punicum, 8, 595.] There is, however, another reading of the passage.

1. 92. Asopos and Ismenos.—Rivers of Boeotia, whose banks were frequented by the Bacchanals.

1. 100. In haste the Virgin.—After having received the promise by the mouth of the Angel, Mary arose and went into the hill country in haste, “abiit in montana cum festinatione.” [Luke i. 39.] These and the following example of activity the sometime indolent spirits have to keep before themselves with their own exertions.

1. 101. And Caesar stabbed Marseilles.—After the invasion by which Julius Caesar rendered himself master of Italy, he passed into Spain, against Afranius and Petreius, who there commanded a large force on behalf of Pompey. He attacked in the way the refractory city of Marseilles, but finally left it to be reduced by his lieutenants, while he hastened against the enemy, whom he finally overthrew at Ilerda or Lerida in the modern Catalonia. [See Lucan, Phars. libb. 3 and 4.]

1. 118. An abbot of St. Zeno Veronese.—Of this personage not even the name has been ascertained with certainty.

1. 120. Whose mention makes the blood of Milan freeze.—The Emperor
Frederic had in 1162 sacked, burned, rased, and sowed Milan with salt, to revenge a repulse which he had received before it in the preceding year. In the epithet bestowed on the severe ruler there seems to be a faint irony, but not as if Dante had taken to heart the fate of the rebellious city.

*And one, who now has a foot within the grave.*—Albert della Scala, father of Cane, Dante's patron, died in 1301, having been Lord of Verona since 1278.

*Because he put his son.*—Joseph della Scala had been made abbot of S. Zeno by his father, though, according to the Canon laws, he should have been excluded from such a dignity for both his lameness and illegitimacy. He is said at first to have been a quiet, well-disposed man, but subsequently, consilio medicorum tractâ muliere, vel inquinatus pice diaboli, to have abandoned himself to perverse and flagitious conduct; *fuit enim homo violentus, de nocte discurrens per suburbia cum armis, rapiens multa et implens meretricibus locum illum.* Moreover, when his father recalled from banishment his political opponents the Counts of S. Bonifacio, Joseph attacked them at their villa upon an islet, and killed a considerable number. [See Benv. da Imola.]

*And those who suffered not.*—When Æneas was in Sicily, many of his followers who desired to settle there, and to avoid the toil and peril of a longer navigation, raised a mutiny which he suppressed with difficulty. On his departure, however, he permitted some of the women and old men, and others who cared nothing to make themselves a great provision of renown [nil magnæ laudis egentes], to remain behind under the protection of King Acestes. [Æn. 5, 751, &c.]
CANTO XIX.

About that hour.—This alludes to the well-known coldness of the hour preceding sunrise, when the last influences of the day's heat have been exhausted, and were supposed to succumb to the frigidity of the earth or of some planets, as the pale Saturn, or the Moon, which seems on frosty nights most powerful.

When Geomants.—The Geomants professed a kind of divination, derivable from the chance movements of the hand, which were thought under certain circumstances to be controlled by spiritual agencies, or by an occult law of nature, in a manner answerable to their objects. They employed the following process: A person made on the ground or on paper a row of points without counting them, and repeated the operation till he had sixteen rows; then the points in each single row were linked together, two by two, till at the end of it remained either a single point or a pair; then from the points ending four rows a combination was constructed, which might exhibit sixteen varieties of figure, to which they gave the names Gladness, Sadness, Greater Luck, Lesser Luck, Gain, Loss, Lad, Lass, &c.; and by different ways of grouping four of the rows together, they made in each experiment sixteen combinations, from whose appearances they drew their auguries by rules exceedingly complex. The verse before us intimates that the figure called Greater Luck [Fortuna Major] was traceable in some constellation or set of stars that rose a little before the sun at about the period of the vernal equinox; but the particular stars referred to do not seem very clearly ascertained. Landino says they were the last stars in Aquarius and the first in Pisces.
But Philalethes, having ascertained the Geomantic figure to be **
like the following * *, finds a greater resemblance to it (which
is far, however, from being unequivocal) in the constellation of
the Dolphin.

_I met in dream._ — Compare l. 58, whence this woman appears
to represent the deceitful pomp and pleasure of the world, which
is the motive of those sins of concupiscence whose punishments
Dante has yet to see.

_On whom I gazed._ — The moral of the following transforma-
tion appears to be represented by Pope’s well-known lines:—

"Vice is a monster of such hideous mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

_I am the Syren sweet._ — But Ulysses, according to the classics,
resisted the Syren’s allurements. Perhaps this one represents
his more seductive temptress, Circe [see on Hell, Can. 26];
the confusion being such as is incidental to dreams.

_A matron by my side._ — This perhaps represents Beatris, at
whose commission Virgil had undertaken the guidance of Dante,
and was about to expose to him the consequences of evil concu-
piscence; or she represents some heavenly or scriptural influence
which rouses up our reason, by whose sole strength the truth
may be then discovered to us.

_And by the new sun back._ — It is now the morning of Easter
Tuesday, and the poets have their faces turned a little to the
south of the east, having gone a quarter of the way round the
mountain.
—blest are those that grieve.—Comprehensively understood, this blessing is an exhortation to bear all such annoyances, labours, and perils, as the spirits in the preceding circle have too much declined.

1. 58. Hast seen that olden witch. — See on line 7. "This is but a repetition," Virgil intimates, "of thy former vision, which is not unknown to me. Seize the moral of it, but indulge thy fancy no farther in reverie."


1. 64. As hawk, from poring on his feet. — From an inert attitude.

1. 70. When the fifth circle. — That of avarice [see l. 115]. The punishment [l. 72] expresses the degradation of the soul which is constantly intent on material acquisitions. [Ibidem.]

1. 79. Of lying prone.—If you have no sins to purge in this circle, take the way to the right, says the spirit, unable to see the new comers, and surprised at their readiness to go onward.

1. 84. The secret covered in the speech.—The curiosity intimated about the condition of the strangers.

1. 87. To that, my longing features. — A wish to converse with the spirit.

1. 91. — ripens that, I cried. — The purity of the will.

1. 100 Between Sestri and Chiaveri. — The river Lavagna separated these two towns on the Genoese coast, and gave the title of Counts to the nobles of the Fiesco family, who, supported by the Grimaldis, had long contended with the Dorias and Spinolas for supremacy in their native city, from which they were expelled in 1270. Ottobuono, of this family, was made Cardinal by his uncle, Innocent the Fourth, and in 1268 employed as legate in England, where he effected a reconciliation on equitable terms between the sovereign, Henry the Third, and the worsted barons.
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In 1272 he conspired with the exiles of his family and party to put Genoa in Charles of Anjou's possession, and in 1274 obtained a sentence of interdict against his countrymen in reprisals for some depredations committed on his property. Two years after the Fieschi were restored to their homes by a treaty which Pope Innocent the Fifth procured by his last exertions. Ottobuono, having in the same year succeeded him by the title of Adrian the Fifth, repealed the interdict he had solicited himself, but remained in possession of the tiara only a month and ten days [L. 103]. The charge of avarice Dante brings against him is not substantiated by other writers, but might derive a plausible colour even from the facts just mentioned.

Err not; I am a fellow servant.—Compare Apoc. 22, 9. L. 134.

They shall not marry nor.—"For in heaven they neither marry, nor are given in marriage" [Mark xii. 25]. A citation referring generally to the dissolution of earthly ties in the next life, or to the Pope's common repute of being "the Church's Husband."

By which I ripen.—See on line 91. L. 141.

I have a niece out yonder.—Alagia de' Fieschi, wife to the Marquis Moroello Malespina, a generous patron of Dante's. He glances, in the following lines, at the ill conduct and reputation of several of her noble kinswomen.

Canto XX.

As better will.—In deference to the request, says Dante, of the elect spirit, whose desire was of course wiser and purer than
my own, I desisted from the conversation, though with unsatisfied curiosity. [See last Can. 1. 139, &c.]

1. 9. Approach the other way the marge too near.—Couching in great numbers from the margin of the terrace inwards, and leaving little room for the poets to walk by.

1. 10. The more be thou accurst, O she-wolf old.—Avarice, or the genius of the Papacy? The personage last introduced as speaking prepares us for a reference to either.

1. 15. When shall one come?—Dante returns to the hope, expressed in Hell, Can 1, that a reformer, as there figured by the greyhound, shall deliver the world from the usurped political power of the Vatican.

1. 25. —O good Fabricius.—Of the Roman general, who withstood the overtures of Pyrrhus, the mention was probably suggested to Dante by Æneid 6, 844. He asks in the Convito, where speaking of the special providences which had exalted the Roman empire, "Who will believe that Fabricius had not a divine inspiration, to refuse, as it were, countless riches, that he might not forsake his country?"

1. 32. Which Nicholas gave the maids.—Referring to a story of an Armenian bishop, who, having learnt that a certain decayed gentleman, yielding to extreme necessity, was about to make prostitutes of his three daughters, generously rescued them by introducing into the house by night three bags of gold, which enabled their father to portion off and marry them.

1. 40. I answer not for.—I discover myself, not because you can benefit me by obtaining my relatives' intercessions, which would be ineffectual or not forthcoming, but from reverencing in you the grace which makes you a spectator of Purgatory.

1. 43. I was the tap-root of that evil tree.—The founder of the French
dynasty which now embroils the affairs of Italy, Flanders, and almost of all Christendom.

But if Douay, if Ghent.—A woe is prepared for France, 1. 45, which will avenge, the spirit intimates, the Flemish cities lately oppressed by her tyranny. Guy, Count of Flanders, having been the ally of England against France, was in 1297 excluded from a treaty between these two nations, and left unaided to contend with Philip the Fair. Pressed by the army under Charles of Valois, he sued for peace, and it was agreed he should go to Paris to throw himself on the mercy of the French king, under the private stipulation that he might return safely if no peace could be concluded within a year. Philip, when he had in his power the Count, accompanied by his two sons and many of the Flemish nobles, refused to be bound by the stipulations of the general his brother, and made prisoners of the suppliants. He then personally occupied the chief Flemish cities, where the wealthier burghers were attached to his interest. The expenses of his visit, however, gave rise to a struggle between these and the inferior class in Bruges, during which the demagogues, Konigh and Breyl, a weaver and butcher respectively, were thrown into prison, but speedily delivered by the mob; eventually they were, however, compelled to leave the city by the interference of the French governor, who from that time commenced a series of new exactions, and deprived the municipality of its privileges. At last the body of the citizens rose against him, they recalled their ancient leaders, and the foreigners in Bruges were savagely massacred. The other cities rose in succession; the son and nephew of the Count headed the revolt, and the French in 1303 sustained a decisive defeat with great slaughter at Coutray, where the fine cavalry,
comprising many of their nobles, crowded together in an inconvenient locality, was miserably destroyed by a rude and club-armed militia.

1. 49. *My name in yonder world was Hugh Capet.*—Probably not the king of that name, but his father, the Count of Paris, commonly called Hugh the Great. That the name of Capet has been applied to both these personages, is stated by Anquetil. Dante appears, however, in some measure to have confounded them.

1. 52. *I was a butcher's son in Paris town.*—Hugh's ancestors had for several generations been Counts of Paris; but the present fabulous tradition is mentioned by Villani. "Hugh Capet," he says, "upon the failure of the lineage of Charlemagne, was king of France in the year of Christ 987; and some write, that his progenitors were always dukes and of illustrious lineage, and that his mother was sister to Otho the First of Germany, but by most it is said that his father was a great and rich Parisian burgher, and by hereditary trade a butcher or a dealer in cattle; but through his great riches and power, when the dukedom of Orleans had become vacant, and was to go with a woman, he married her, whence was born the said Hugh Capet, and by him was the whole realm of France governed, and he reigned twenty years."

1. 61. *Before the enormous dowry of Provence,*—acquired by Charles of Anjou, St. Louis's brother, with the hand of Beatrice, daughter of Raymond Berlinghier.

1. 66. *Took Normandy and Gascoigne and Ponthieu.*—Normandy had been taken from the English under John.

In 1295 Edward the First, as a vassal of the King of France, had been cited to trial before his peers for contumacy; he was induced to obtain a revocation of the act by giving up the strong
places in Gascony, Ponthieu, and Guienne, Philip alleging that he exacted this submission only to keep up appearances as his feudal superior, and would quickly restore the provinces. This engagement he subsequently violated, and Gascony and Ponthieu became appendages of the French crown, though the arms of Edward obtained in 1299 a treaty which restored him Guienne.

Charles entered Italy.—Charles of Anjou. [See notes on Manfred in Can. 3.]

He butchered Conradine.—Conradine, grandson of Frederic the Second, had not attained his majority, when he led an army of Germany to recover from Charles of Anjou his hereditary dominions of Naples. He was defeated in the battle of Tagliacozzo, which has been referred to in Hell, Can. 28, l. 17, and taken some days after the battle. Charles of Anjou caused him to be tried for his life before a parliament in Naples, where, against the opinion of nearly all the jurisconsults, he was condemned to be beheaded. So great was the indignation excited by this sentence, that the judge who pronounced it was stabbed in open court by Robert, Count of Flanders, Charles's own son-in-law, and no one dared notice the homicide, which availed not, however, to save Conradine.

To heaven Thomas Aquinas.—This great schoolman died in 1274, on his road to Lyons, where he had to join a general council of the Church, in which proceedings were expected to be instituted which closely concerned Charles of Anjou. The monarch, it was reported, had inquired of him beforehand which way he would vote, and receiving no satisfactory answer, was induced to employ one of his own physicians (who accompanied
Aquinas from Naples, or joined him at some station on the journey) to give him poison.

1. 71. Which makes another Charles.—Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fourth, visited Italy in the autumn of 1301, having been invited by Boniface to assume the functions of peacemaker in Florence, and designing to proceed thence to Sicily, to assist his royal kinsman, Charles the Second of Naples, in the war with Arragon.

1. 74. That Judas josted with.—By the spear of Judas understand treachery. When Charles of Valois was at Bologna in his way to Florence, he received messengers from both parties in the latter city, those on one side simply tendering him homage, the others endeavouring to fill his mind with suspicions of their opponents. He thought the authors of the caution his best friends, and conceived thenceforth a deadly prepossession against the Whites. And fearing to present himself immediately in Florence, he turned out of his way to visit Rome, where he stayed till a change in the Florentine priorate, in some degree favourable to his admission, had been brought about by the negotiations of Boniface. He then set out again, and was conveyed as far as Siena by the emissaries of the Black party, who presented him seventy thousand florins. He thence sent ambassadors to the municipality, desiring his admission in the functions committed to him by the Pope, averring that his sole desire was to re-establish peace in the party of the Church, that a prince of his blood had never betrayed those he dealt with, and so on. The priors agreed to admit him, but exacted letters under his sign manual, guaranteeing that he would assume no title and occupy no jurisdiction in the city, and would change nothing in its laws. On these terms he entered Florence on about the 1st of
November, ensconced himself in the Oltrarno suburb, and gradually surrounded himself with armed men of the Tuscan Guelfa. Several disturbances being raised by the Black party, he requested to have the keys of this suburb given him, promising to use his trust only to punish malefactors, and to support the laws. No sooner had he prevailed, than Corso Donati and other exiles entered the city, whom Charles vowed that he would punish, but is said to have been privy to their violence. For some days after the city was full of disorders: men were murdered, houses pillaged, and noble maidens married by compulsion. — Charles of Anjou caring for none of these things. Then a new priorate was established under his auspices, composed entirely of the Black party. That winter he again visited Rome, and applied for a subsidy to the Pope, who told him, "I have put thee in the fountain of gold." Upon this hint he returned to Florence, and a forged conspiracy was soon brought forward, on pretext of which numbers of the citizens were banished, and their property confiscated by the municipality, with, no doubt, some emolument to the French prince.

Thereby no land. — Carlo Senzaterra, or Charles Lackland, was a nickname already acquired by Charles of Valois by his operations in foreign states, as Flanders, Florence, and Naples.

That other Charles. — The son of Charles of Anjou, who had been captured in a sea-fight by the Arragonese in 1282, and after having been threatened with the block was kept prisoner till after his father's death in 1285, when he was liberated on humiliating terms. He then became King of Naples; and in 1305 married his daughter Beatrice to Azzo, Marquis of Este, an aged bridegroom for her, and infamous by his cruelties.

I see the fleur-de-lis Anagni gain. — Alluding to the assault on

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Boniface the Eighth, perpetrated in 1303 by the Colonnas and other allies of the French king, when the Pope was kept a prisoner several days and subjected to the greatest indignities. It is said the conspirators had designed at first to murder him, but he daunted them by awaiting them in his full pontifical robes at the altar with the dignity of a martyr. He was rescued by the people of Anagni, but died soon after at Rome from a fever brought on by chagrin and anger.

Into the temple his ensigns.—Alluding to Philip's infamous proceedings against the Templars, who were seized throughout France in October 1307, and tortured to extort confessions of the most monstrous crimes. It is said that fifty-seven were burnt at once near Paris by a slow fire, maintaining their innocence to the last moment. The grand master and some of the highest dignitaries confessed, under fear of torment, some of the crimes laid to them; they then recanted, and were executed; but their admissions still furnished a pretext to abolish the property of the order, for the suppression of which a bull was obtained from Clement the Fifth.

Of the makeless bride [matchless bride].—St. Mary. [See l. 19 to 24.]

Then do we of Pygmaeleon recite.—The brother and murderer of Sichæus, Dido's husband. [See Virgil, Æn. 1, 349, et seq.]

Of Midas avaricious.—Dante took this well-known fable from Ovid, Met. 11.

The foolish Achan.—See Joshua, c. 7.

We praise the kicks.—Heliodorus, an emissary of Seleucus Philopator, attempting to plunder the Jewish temple B.C. 176, was repelled by a rider on a winged horse, miraculously mani-
fested to him through the medium of two senses. [See Macca-
bees, 2, 3.]

Polymnestor, who murdered.—See on Hell, Can. 13, l. 21, and l. 115.
Virgil, Æn. 3.

The mountain tottering.—Explained next Canto.

So strongly, certes, never Delos.—The wandering island fixed by Neptune to give protection to Latona when jealously pursued by Juno. She gave birth on it to Apollo and Diana, considered here as the Sun and Moon. [Ovid, Met. 6, 333.]

CANTO XXI.

The thirst connatural.—The love of knowledge, which had been excited in Dante, as we saw in last Canto, l. 140. This affection is innate in man, and tends to lead him from study to study beyond all that is created and made; for he cannot comprehend any effect till he has comprehended the cause, and thus can he have no complete satisfaction of his desire till he know all things in the knowledge of their First Cause. "And this is life eternal, that he may know the only true God;" and such was the water promised the woman of Samaria. [See on Par., Can. 4, l. 124.]


A shade came.—The poet Statius [Caius Papinius], named in l. 91, who is departing from the circle. He lived under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. [Vid. seq.]

The marks he carries.—The P's left on Dante's forehead.
But because she.—Atropos, one of the Fates, who regulates the termination of our lives.

His soul, that is thy sister.—The tone of Statius's recent expressions appeared to intimate that he was above all communion with a lost spirit like Virgil. To deprecate this sentiment Virgil gently insinuates, "there are ties that connect me, even in my condition, with this living man, with whom you also are connected by sympathy, as a joint heir with you of blessed immortality; some ground may still be left, according to these circumstances, for communion between your soul and mine, which are surely human, which are sisters.

As yet she vieweth not.—Is in want of a spiritual eyesight to discern the condition of spirits.

The heavens, in that which hence.—When a spirit, whose origin is from heaven, returns thither, there is change here, but none from the ordinary operations of the spheres.

Above the short.—See Can. 9.

Never comes Thaumantias.—A frequent name for Iris, daughter of the Titan Thaumas.

No farther ever climbeth arid gas.—Dry exhalations, or smoke, says Aristotle, cause wind, and moist exhalations cloud or rain.

St. Peter's vicar.—See Can. 9, l. 127.

For "a thousand years," read "five hundred years."

For "had faith not found," read "by faith not bound."

That Rome required me of Toulouse.—But Statius was born at Naples, or at least his father, who was of Epirote extraction, had dwelt there from the time he left his first settlement at Sellè, in Lucania. Dante is said to have confounded the poet with Statius Surculus or Ursulus, a rhetorician of Toulouse in the
time of Nero, and this by the delusive authority of Lactantius Placidus, a commentator on the Thebaid.

To deck my brow.—Statius was thrice crowned with laurel for poems recited at the public games. He missed the prize, however, in one of his last contests. His father had been a preceptor, and likewise a poet.

Of Thebes I sang.—The Thebais, an epic in twelve books, is devoted to the wars of the sons of Oedipus. Of the Achilleis Statius finished only two books, which are occupied by the hero's infancy and boyhood. Beside these he has left us the Sylvae, a collection of occasional poems, with which Dante, owing to his mistake about the author's birthplace [see last note], is thought to have been unacquainted; indeed, the date at which the work was re-discovered is placed beyond his times. I cannot readily accept this opinion; there are scarce any materials existing, except his own works, for a biography of Statius; and I find in the Sylvae some unaffected intimations of a personal character, which Dante, as it strikes me, has exerted himself to re-express. [See the following notes.]

The sparks, to which.—On Statius's admiration for Virgil, compare the epilogue to the Thebais, also the lines,—

"Quippe te fido monitore nostra
Thebais, multâ cruciata limâ,
Tentat audaci fide Mantuanæ
Gaudia famæ."—SYLVÆ, 4, 7, 25.

And it is to this sympathy that Statius owes the manifest favour and predilection with which Dante regards him, and which have given, I think, a warmer tone to the line above noticed,—

"His soul, which is thy sister, like as mine."
CANTO XXII.

— into circle sixth.—Of gluttony. [See last page of the Canto.]

1. 6. Are those who thirst.—From the text, "Blessed are those that hunger and thirst after righteousness," applied here in Purgatory to the spirits who have recovered from that craving for riches, than which nothing can be more contrary to the love of justice.

ibid. — no further word they mixed. Maybe Dante remarks in this text the omission of the word "hunger," which was designed to avoid confusing the reader by seeming reference to the virtue lacked by gluttons. (For the benediction applies to the circle which the poets have traversed, not to that they are entering.) There was naturally some difficulty in fitting one of the Beatitudes to the place chastising each cardinal sin.

1. 18. — when Juvenalis came.—Juvenal the satirist had lived contemporaneously with Statius, and had paid a compliment to the merit of his Thebais, and the honours he obtained by it, in Sat. 7, l. 82, &c., where, however, he sneers at the author's poverty. Juvenal died about thirty-five years after Statius.

1. 34. Now therefore know that avarice.—As the right rule of spending is to hold a middle way between the two extremes, so those who keep too far aloof from avarice, must expose themselves to the guilt of prodigality. This vice appears less becoming than avarice to a liberally cultivated mind; and it being once desired to make Statius pass 1200 years in Purgatory, that he might see the day of Maro and Alighieri, he could hardly have been detained any of that time under an imputation less "dishonouring." But had Dante no "grounds more relative than this" for his judgment of Statius's character?
Perhaps he found such in various passages of the Sylvae, which indicate a *faiblesse* in Statius for magnificent houses, gardens, and galleries, and for the pomp of hospitality; perhaps in a sentiment occurring in a description of a funeral,—

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ferat ignis opes heredis,
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("Let the pyre bear the riches of the heir,")—

which has something truly *reavubv*; perhaps even in Juvenal's mention, in the passage above cited, of the impecuniosities to which Statius had been reduced the very day of his greatest triumph.

—*O accurst respect.*—Thus Virgil in the third *Aeneid*, l. 56, 1. 89.

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Quid non mortalla pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?
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and note that the prodigal takes alarm at the effects of avarice, because he who lavishes to-day may be more strongly tempted to covet hereafter, as is pointed out in Aristotle's Ethics.

*Myself now whirling at the woful joust.* — That is, punished in hell for prodigality, according to the description given of the seventh circle, which may be consulted upon the two next triplets. [Hell, Can. 7.]

*Replied the minstrel of Bucolic lays.* — The Bucolic or pastoral poems are mentioned in preference to the *Aeneid*, because it is shown in l. 70 that in some passages they contained more momentous instructions.

*From what thou harp'st with Clio.* — The historic muse.

*There where thou sang'st.* — An allusion to the fourth Eclogue [from l. 5], which was supposed to contain a prophecy of Christ's coming, founded on the Sibylline books.
That whomsoever Domitian might condemn. — This emperor persecuted the Christians, A.D. 95.

And ere my verses, — i.e. before the composition of the Thebaid, which describes an expedition of some of the Danai [Peloponnesians] against Thebes.

But kept a covert Christian. — The account of Statius's conversion appears a pure invention. The compassion attributed to him for the martyrs appears, however, to suit the general tenderness and warmth of his disposition, which is strongly impressed upon his Sylvæ.

Where is our classic Terence. — Terence, Plautus, and Cæcilius were the well-known Roman comic writers; Varro the author of the Bellum Punicum, a lost epic; these lived before the Augustan age. Persius the satirist was cotemporary with Juvenal and Statius.

Are with the Greek. — Homer, mentioned with the same distinction as in Hell, Can. 4.

On which our foster-mothers. — The Muses.

Euripides, Anacreon. — Euripides the Attic tragedian, and Anacreon the lyric poet, are well known. Agatho was a tragic writer mentioned in Aristotle's Poetics, as having taken his own invention, not history or mythology, for the groundwork of his compositions. Simonides of Cos was a writer of dramas, elegies, and epigrams, cotemporary with Pisistratus.

Of whom thou sang'st. — Here follow persons named in the Thebais down to l. 112, then others from the Achilleis. Antigone, daughter of Ædipus, was put to death for burning the corpse of her brother Eteocles, to whom the funeral rites had been forbidden by Creon.

Deiphile, the pilgrim wife Argia. — The daughters of King
Adrastus, who were simultaneously married to Tydeus, a Thessalian prince, and Polynices (the exiled brother of Eteocles), when they had taken refuge in the Argive palace. When the sons of Oedipus had fallen by each other's hands, Argia went to the battle-field before Thebes to bury her husband Polynices; she met Antigone similarly employed, and shared her fate, as is related in the Thebais towards the end.

Ismene, sad as was her wont. — Another daughter of Oedipus; l. 111. Statius describes her mourning for her husband Atys, killed in battle by Tydeus, viii. 598.

Who pointed out the well-springs of Langia. — Hypsipyle, the L 112. Lemnian princess mentioned in Hell, Can. 18. After Jason had deserted her, she was taken by pirates, and sold to Lycurgus, King of Nemea, who had occasion to employ her as a wet-nurse. She was seen on the roadside by the Argive army, on its march towards Thebes; and to show them a spring [Langia], deposited on the grass the royal infant, which, ere she returned, had been mortally bitten by a serpent. For the rest of her tale, see on Can. 26, l. 94. [Stat. Theb. lib. 5.]

Thetis, Tiresias his child. — Thetis was the mother of Achilles, L 113. a sea-goddess, though here strangely treated as a mortal; the child of Tiresias was Manto, the enchantress, whom we have seen in a lower place than Limbo, though Dante appears to have forgotten it. [Hell, Can 20.]

And with her sisterhood Deidamia. — The daughters of L 114. Lycomedes, with whom Achilles was educated in female apparel. According to Statius, he went out with them as a Bacchant, and found means thus to violate Deidamia.

Holy Mary thought more how. — In saying, "They have no L 114. wine" at Cana in Galilee,
And early Roman dames.—Their abstinence, enforced by early republican law to prevent indecorous conduct, is noticed by Valerius Maximus, lib. 2, c. 5.

Which made him great.—For “among those born of woman has not arisen a greater than John the Baptist,” is the well-known expression of our Saviour.

CANTO XXIII.

That small birds watching.—In the pastime of hawking.

Do thou my lips, O Lord.—“Labia mea, Domine.” “O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise.” Not for God’s praise, nor even rational speech, but for the gratification of appetite had the lips of these spirits been as yet employed most strenuously.

Not so, I think, had Erisichthon been.—Afflicted with incurable hunger by the vengeance of Ceres, Erisichthon had several times sold into slavery his daughter, who, gifted with the power of Proteus, had as often contrived to return to him. When he could do this no longer, he died gnawing his own flesh. [Ovid. Met. 7, 737.]

When Mariam’s teeth.—Mariam, a Hebrew lady in Jerusalem, during the siege under Titus, when she could no longer sustain the lawless champions who continually visited her dwelling, slew and boiled her own child, ate part of his flesh, and offered the remainder to the horrified marauders, “who could relinquish to a mother nothing else.” [Josephus, 7, 15.]
Purgatory. C. XXII. L. 145.—C. XXIII. L. 85. 223

All those that OMO.—Italian for "man." To these three letters the outline of the eyeballs, eyebrows, and nose was thought to present a resemblance, which would naturally be more conspicuous as the features were more emaciated.

And I Forèse's features recognised.—Forese, the brother of Corso Donati, of Gemma, Dante's wife, and Piccarda, presently to be mentioned, had been a boon companion of Dante's [see l. 116], till they were separated, it is said, by political differences, Forese adhering with all his family to the Black party, Dante to the White. No illustrations have been added to the character Dante gives him.

But say what starves you thus? — The difficulty is more fully propounded and answered in Can. 25 from l. 20 to the end.

Nor only once.—See Can. 24, l. 103, where another tree appears, having the same virtue of infusing hunger.

—— to say Eli.—"Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani." "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The spirits undergo their willing penance from the same love of justice which was the principle of Christ's great sacrifice.

"How now," I said.—Dante, knowing that Forese had been an epicure, or irreligious, to nearly his last moments, inquires why he has not been detained a term equal to that of his life on the outside of Purgatory, but on the contrary has begun his penance before five years [l. 78] have elapsed from his decease. [See Can. 4, sub fin.]

"My Nell," said he.—Nella, wife of Forese Donati, whose original family-name is unknown, is described as an amiable and strictly virtuous woman, who kept herself free from her husband's gluttonous habits, while under the daily necessity of preparing costly dishes for him. She admonished him against
his fault while living, and offered up for him, when dead, her incessant orisons, to which Dante has attributed such efficacy.

For of Sardinia's Barbary.—I have used the last word for the Italian "Barbagia," derived from Barbaries, as feggia from feriam. This name was formerly given to a mountain in the interior of Sardinia, inhabited by a remnant of Saracens, or more aboriginal barbarians, whom the Genoese, even perhaps the Romans before them, had failed of bringing into subjection. They were almost destitute, it is said, of faith, government, and manners; the marriage tie had among them no sanctity, and the garments of the women no opacity.

than that wherein she hath to dwell;—viz. among the author's fair concitoyennes.

To walk with.—These were both displayed, according to Benvenuto, and artfully improved. "No artisans," he says, "in the world, have so many various tools or delicate implements for the exercising of their craft, as the ladies of Florence possess for the enhancement of their persons. For, not content with their natural loveliness, they strive ever to make some addition thereto, and against all defects they discreetly fortify themselves with art incredible. For shortness they rectify with a high slipper, they whiten a sallow skin, make a pale face ruddy, their natural hair auburn, their teeth like ivory, mamillas faciant breves et duras."

I know not what particular pulpit-censures the Florentine women drew on themselves by their décolletée habits. Probably many such had preceded the enactment of a law which, in 1324, according to Villani, placed feminine apparel and ornaments under severe restrictions.

The coming of their woes.—Allowing about sixteen years as a
Purgatory. C.XXXIII. L. 94.—C.XXIV. L. 19. 225

limit for the term of this prophecy, we may suppose Dante to have written it while his hopes yet augured a serious result from the Emperor Henry the Seventh's invasion of the Florentine territories, A.D. 1313.

Canto XXIV.

Where's Piccarde?—The sister of Corso and Forese Donati, of whom farther particulars will be given under Paradise, Can. 3.

Lo, Bonaggiunta.—Bonaggiunta degli Orbiciani, a poet and, it is said, orator of Lucca, had been intimate with Dante, and carried on a poetical correspondence with him. Our author, however, names him in the De Vulgari Eloquio as one of those writers who employed a provincial idiom, and neglected the true standard of Italian purity. His style is strongly characterised by conceits and tricks of art. The following sonnet treats apparently on the danger of falling out of love.

"Wounded, I pray my wounner to beware
  Lest me, by plucking out her barb, she slay;
  For many dying I have seen, that were
  Not kill'd by wound, but weapon drawn away.
  For this I will my wound in quiet bear,
  And live with patience, if but live I may;
  For all he conquers, who will not despair;
  A man by patience wins in every fray.
I ask then of thy mercy, O my light,
  Sweet lady, and my solace all alone,
  Withdraw not from my deadly wound thy spear;
  Choose not, for God's love, I should perish quite;
  My sorrow's port I hope to find anon;
  My heart has learnt not by long pain to veer."

VOL. IV.
Had once the Holy Church.—This was Martin the Fourth, who had been Pope from 1281 to 1285. His original name was Simon; he was born at Brie in Champagne, but had been prebendary of Tours, as the next line intimates; was made Cardinal by Urban the Fourth, and served that Pope and Gregory the Tenth as legate in France. He succeeded Nicholas the Third by the influence of the French party; and whereas his predecessor had abetted the revolt of the Sicilians against Charles of Anjou, and the perfidious machinations of Peter of Aragon to obtain the crown of the island, Martin threw all the weight of his power into the opposite scale, with apparently a stern but honest policy, though he is accused of too much subserviency to the French prince; he completed, also, for a time the subjugation of Romagna to the Holy See [see Hell, Can. 27]. He maintained with a high spirit the prerogatives of his office; and kept his character clear from all charges of simony and nepotism, though he could not from that of gluttony.

Bolsena’s lampreys and its good “vernace.”—Frà Pipino, a contemporary of Dante’s, who flourished about the year 1320, mentions the partiality of Martin for the eels of Lake Bolsena [Lacus Vulsinus], which he used to batten with milk, and stifle in the choice wine called “vernaccia;” to the misuse of such dainties was his last disease attributed. These habits were alluded to in the epigram—

“Gaudent anguillae—quod mortuus est homo ille,
Quo quasi morte reas—excoriabat eas.”

By Ubaldin o’ th’ Pila.—The Pila, a Castle in the Mugello valley, was a hereditary residence of the Ubaldini family. The Ubaldini here mentioned lived in the middle of the thirteenth
century, and was brother to the Cardinal Ubaldini, alluded to in Hell, Can. 10, and father of Ruggieri, Archbishop of Pisa. [See Hell, Can. 33.] He is reported, according to Benvenuto da Imola, to have had a choice bill of fare laid before him every morning by his steward, and always to have proposed some additions to it.

—and Boniface.—Bonifazio, of the noble family of the Fieschi of Genoa, nephew of Pope Innocent the Fourth, was created Archbishop of Ravenna by Gregory the Tenth in 1274, and in 1285 was employed by Honorius the Fourth as legate in France, to negotiate, in concert with the King of England, a peace between Philip the Fair and Alfonso of Arragon, by obtaining from the latter the liberation of Prince Charles of Naples. [See Purg. Can. 20. l. 79.] He died in 1295, after his return to France; he is said to have been a good orator, and a friend of the poor, to whom he allowed corn from his garners in times of scarcity.

I saw Messer Marchese.—Called, by one authority, Marchese Ordelaffi, by others Argugliosi, a nobleman of Forli, whose sister married Bernardino, a son of Guido di Polenta’s. "What say my neighbours of me?" "That you are always drinking." "Then they should add, that I am always thirsty,"—is a dialogue said to have taken place between him and his butler.

—a something like "Gentucca."—The name, according to line 43, of a noble lady whom Dante saw at Lucca soon after his banishment. Virtuous as well as beautiful, she won from him, notwithstanding his alliance with another, an admiration that he avows here without repenting.

Ladies, in whom.—The beginning of a Canzone addrest to Beatris, in Dante’s Vita Nuova.
— as he dictates.—Dante hints that he himself, and erotic poets of his school, wrote from the genuine impulses of love, and described their sentiments [see l. 58] with scrupulous simplicity and adherence to nature.

l. 56. Which me, the Notary, and Guittone.—The two former, it is perhaps rightly suggested, had showed more of ingenuity and labour than real passion in their love poems; the latter was more a disguised moralist than a minstrel. By the Notary is meant Giacomo da Lentino, a Sicilian poet, who flourished under Frederic the Second.

Guittone of Arezzo, who became one of the "boon friars" or Frati Godenti, lived somewhat later, and is said to have discovered the now-received form of the sonnet.

Sonnet from Giacomo da Lentino.

"If there was one, who ne'er had seen a flame,  
He would belike not fancy it could singe,  
But count it for a nice and merry game  
To handle what had such a bright fair tinge.  
With Love to meddle 'tis, I find, the same;  
I touch'd him, and I smart. To heaven I cringe,  
And pray that Love may catch you, Lady mine,  
And teach you loving how to give delight,  
Whereas you deal me only wounds and woe.  
Now certes, Love doth here a great despite;  
He harms not you, while mocking him you go,  
But me, your serf, he bids to peak and pine."

From Guittone Aretino.

"Fair friend, I shudder at my guilty bent,  
As oft as my frail heart remindeth me  
How, like a caitiff, I have been intent  
To show thee sullenness and contumely.  
Now scarcely find I room for such event  
As that full pardon I may win of thee,  
Unless by thy free bounty thou consent  
That call'd back to thy service I may be."
Forgive me thou, that my perverse desire
Doth me at one time bridge and refrain,
As though I steward of all meekness were;
And afterwards so sets my heart on fire,
Against thy hardness, at my woe and pain,
That in this mood I yield me to despair.”

_The man on whom the blame._—Forese, by speaking thus unsparingly of his brother Corso Donati, shows how the influences of private attachment are overcome in elect spirits by their sympathies with divine justice. So Thomas Aquinas, “Quia sanctorum animae sunt perfectissime justitiae divinæ conjunctæ, nec tristantur, nec rebus humanis se inerunt, nisi secundum quod justitiae divinæ dispositio exigat.” After the triumph of the Black party in Florence, under Charles of Valois, A.D. 1301 [see Hell, Can. 6 and 10], they soon became subdivided into two factions by the struggles for supremacy of Corso Donati with his rivals Rosso della Tosa, Geri Spina, and Pazzino de’ Pazzi. Corso made overtures to many of the White party; he also endeavoured to attach the lower orders to himself, clamored for a remission of their taxes, and procured a revision of the accounts of the commonalty and the restoration of certain exiles. However, his irrepressible pride, and his manners, not more civic than Coriolanus’s, rendering it impossible for him to conciliate individuals, he abandoned the popular cause, and ultimately conspired with the nobles to quash the power of “those plebeian dogs” who “oppress,” he said, “our order by making several noblemen responsible for the actions of one.” [See the “orders of justice,” in 1292, according to Villani, lib. 8, c. 1.] His machinations took their most desperate turn after the departure of Cardinal da Prato from Florence [see on Hell, Can. 26, l. 9], when he is said to have conspired to take forcible possession of
the city with his son-in-law, Uguccion della Faggiuola, the Ghibelline leader at Arezzo, who was to have entered with an armed band. Corso's adversaries, however, anticipated him in taking to their weapons; they accused him of treason before the Podestà, Branca d'Agobbio, caused him to be cited to stand a trial within an hour, and to be condemned on his non-appearance, and roused the people with fire and sword to attack his residence. Corso and his adherents fortified themselves with barricades in the quarter of San Pier Maggiore, but were ultimately compelled to fly the city. A sufferer from gout, he had scarcely reached the Rovezzano villa, when he was overtaken by some Catalonian mercenaries, who began forcibly leading him towards Florence. He endeavoured vainly, by solicitations, bribes, and promises, to persuade them to release him; at length, while passing the Abbey of San Salvi, he fell from horseback, whether in craft or through weakness, and was instantly speared by one of his captors. That he was drawn, as Dante seems to intimate, at the horse's tail, can hardly be understood literally; it is likely, however, that he was carried on, after his fall, by having entangled his foot in the stirrup.

1. 99. *That have been such great marshaller of men.*—An allusion probably to Statius's expression in Can. 22, l. 88.

1. 100. *And when so far;*—I. e. when I could no more trace Forese's departing figure than I had understood his obscure prediction respecting Corso.

1. 116. *There grows a tree.*—The tree of knowledge, growing on the top of the mountain, is similarly described, Can. 33, l. 38.

1. 122. *Of those cloud-children.*—The Centaurs, who contended with Theseus and the Lapithæ at the marriage-feast of Pirithous and Hippodamia. [See Ovid. Met. lib. 12.]
Remember you those Hebrews.—The soldiers in Gideon's army, who knelt to lap the water at the brook Harod, and were rejected, while he singled out for service the three hundred who took the water with their hands. But was it for giving signs of effeminacy that the former did not pass muster, or was the criterion arbitrary? [See Judges, c. 7.]

As I saw one.—The angel of the circle just past through.

CANTO XXV.

For now the Sun to Taurus.—Taurus, the sign preceding that in which the sun stood, having reached the meridian, and Scorpio consequently the opposite point, the noon must have elapsed about two hours.

Meleager wasted.—Dante's inquiry, how the airy forms of Forese and his companions, though no longer such as to require nutriment, could exhibit signs of famine and emaciation, appears to involve two separate difficulties: first, how the spirits can be affected with appetite (as an instinctive desire of the sensitive organisation which nature has now no use for); and next, how this desire can manifest itself by the meagreness of their spectres or phantasmal bodies. As a set-off against the first difficulty, Virgil refers to the story of Meleager, the fabled Thessalian prince, whose existence the Fates had connected with that of a firebrand which lay burning on the hearth at his natal hour, and which his mother Althaea then snatched away, but a long time after
used against him. [See Ovid, Met. 8.] Herein, argues Virgil, was traceable an occult sympathy between the vital principle of a man, and an external object having no visible relation to him; and hence the effect of the apple and water to cause appetite in the spirits [Can. 23, l. 67] may appear not without a parallel in the history of mortals. Again, with regard to the second difficulty, as a mirror reflects the motions of an external object, so the body is made to portray the emotions of the soul; and this is also the case with spectral bodies. And at this point the farther elucidation of the subject is abandoned by Virgil to Statius; and the latter commences a disquisition, the immediate connection of which with our present argument might easily be overlooked among the other interesting features which it offers us. I may state then, to explain this connection, that by the doctrine here to be set forth, all faculties of human nature, both the intellectual, the sensitive or animal, and vegetative [see next notes], have alike their seat in the immaterial and God-given spirit (although elsewhere, as will be seen, in the period next following conception). The intellectual faculties, being exercised without help from bodily organs, are ever present to the spirit, even after separation from the body, in actu or operatively; the vegetative and sensitive, requiring bodily or material organs, inhere in the spirit, when it is separated, potentially [l. 82, &c.], and are again exerted operatively when the spirit is connecting herself with new matter, or after she has formed herself new organs. Accordingly hunger, and all the wants of the sensitive nature which produce pain, may be realised in the spiritual body under the conditions in each case ordained for it [l. 106]. But as we might hold a contrary view to that set down, namely, that the sensitive and vegetative powers, which
we share with lower organised beings, are, as with them, inherent in the body, and therewith expire (as perhaps they are at first brought into existence by physical operations); therefore Statius, to preclude such a view, gives here a general account of the process of conception, and the formation in the human embryon of a sensitive-vegetative soul, which subsequently the intellectual soul, that God creates in us, absorbs into herself, appropriating for ever all her faculties [l. 73, &c.].

Perfected blood.—As the mass of blood, running through our veins, is endowed with a power, assumed at the seat of life, to repair and nourish the members, so a finer portion of the blood receives in the same place the property of organising new limbs. The above is stated of the male blood, but may be understood of the female with this distinction, that the former supplies the active principle, the latter the matter to be operated on.

The active principle a life supplies.—The active principle in the masculine blood forms first a vegetative soul, a principle of organisation or growth not differing from that of a plant, except that the latter is incapable of farther development, while the former is on the way to become something higher,—to become, that is to say, an animal or sensitive soul [l. 55], which for a time resembles that in the lowest order of animated beings, and then, in proportion as it forms itself organs, develops its higher characteristics.

But how from animal the child.—The animal soul is succeeded by an intellectual soul,—a principle derived from matter by one confessedly of immaterial nature, and acting independently of matter. We cannot suppose the former converted into the latter; hence arises a difficulty that a great natural philosopher,
Averroës, or some say Aristotle, has failed of solving. [See l. 73.]

The quick soul from the passive intellect. — The quick soul is the animal soul or principle of life; the passive intellect is that fundamental part of intellect by which we have a general possession of the ideas of things, as distinguished from the "intellectus agens" by which we determine our minds to particular ideas on each occasion.

Now Averroes, who has been mentioned in Hell, Can. 4, l. 144, taught that the passive intellect was one in all mankind, not engendered or created in each individual, but participated by him; hence that which each called his own soul was a perishable product of matter, while the reasoning principle in him was immaterial and immutable, but not belonging to or constituting the man's self.

Which does the previous operant power. — According to Thomas Aquinas the intellectual soul, which is a distinct creation of God's in each man, destroys at her infusion the previously existing animal soul, and appropriates to herself the powers originally possessed thereby. The latter part of this view, though not the former, receives Alighieri's distinct adhesion. [See Summa Theologica, 1, II. 2, 118, &c.]

—and round itself doth wind; — i.e. becomes self-conscious and self-contemplating.

And after Lachesis; — i.e. after death. Dante merely does justice to Statius by showing he could never talk without allusions to mythology.

Of powers with it. — Both the intellectual life and the animal and vegetative inhere to the separated soul; the former operatively, the two latter potentially. The memory and will, which have abstract conceptions for their object, are parts of the
intellectual nature; there is, however, a kind of desire and memory that belongs to the sensitive life.

*The plastic power.* — As the vegetative soul exercised herself in the formation of the embryo, the intellectual soul, which has appropriated her powers, forms herself “from thin air” a spectral body, and endows the same, by the appropriated power of the animal soul, with capacities of sensation.

*And by the farthest torment.* — That of the seventh circle, which punishes lewdness, as appears towards the end of the Canto. This vice, as in Hell, occupies the highest position, because it partakes less than others of malignity or selfishness. But because from this very circumstance it appears most incident to fine natures, and hardest to overcome, therefore the torment, by which it is eradicated, is made the severest on the mountain. [See l. 138.]

*The bank there singeth flames out.* — As above the present circle we shall find [see Can. 28] the terrestrial Paradise, these flames correspond perhaps to the Scriptural “fiery sword of the Cherubim, turning every way.”

*In such a place.* — The narrow path between the flame and the precipice must be followed with great attention; so in life, it is hinted, we must walk circumspectly to avoid the sufferings incident on passion and the emptiness of a loveless existence.

*God of supremest mildness.* — In the original “Summæ Deus” the beginning of a hymn which contains lines more peculiarly appropriate to these sinners:

> “Ut corde puro sordibus
Te perseveramur largius.
Lumbos jecurque morbídum
Aduras igne congruo,
Accincti ut sint perpetuo
Luxuriae motu pessimo.”
I have not known. — Words of the Virgin Mary's when the angel saluted her.

Diana flew. — Alluding to the fable of the nymph Callisto or Helice, who was banished from the train of Diana upon account of Jupiter. [See Ovid, Met. lib. 2.]

CANTO XXVI.

Already over my. — Read rather,

"And now direct on my right shoulder shined
The sun, that by his beams the pallid blue
Of all the West with whiteness overlined."

It seems that he no fictile shape; — i. e. no spiritual body.

Not halting, satisfied with hasty cheer. — Inuring themselves to the kiss of charity in place of others. [See 2 Peter v. 15.]

Whose orb is largest. — The highest and immovable heaven or empyrean, the residence of all blessed spirits, according to Paradise, Can. 4, l. 33.

On Caesar, at his triumph. — Caesar visited during his youth the court of Nicodemus, King of Bithynia, whose intimacy with him gave rise to odious rumours. [See next note.] On the mode in which these were brought home to Caesar's ears see two anecdotes in Suetonius, which Dante appears to have amalgamated. [Vit. Cæs. c. 49.]

For us our sin was ambisexual. — The lately-arrived company was punished for the crime against nature; that which contains the speaker, for ordinary lewdness.
But since our appetite.—The unnatural lust is a sin against God [see Hell, Can. 11]; the more natural is treated as a violation of human law, consisting in the usurpation of a person which is or may become our neighbour's property. The second company are not to be thought guilty of Pasiphaë's crime, but record it as an example of the brutalising effects of lust.

I am Guido Guinicelli.—An erotic poet of Bologna, who flourished towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and is spoken of by Dante in the De Vulgari Eloquio as Maximus Guido, and highly praised for purity of language and general excellence.

SONNET ADDRESSED BY GUIDO GUINICELLI TO GUITTONE OF AREZZO.

"In the mere thought how strange it seems to be,
That man hath gone so utterly astray,
That with the present world he maketh free,
As though thereof he had perpetual sway,
And each one studieth living pleasantly,
As if no other life before us lay,
Then Death arrives, puts all things higgledy,
And all his machinations must decay.
And each sees other to the grave descend,
And nothing in the state of things to last;
But the poor caitiff can his ways not mend;
Hence I believe that only sin doth cast
On men such blindness, that they thus should end;
For like the brutes 'tis fied their lives are past."

As grew two sons.—When Lycurgus found his child to have died through Hypsipyle's leaving it [see on Can. 22, l. 112], he rushed, infuriated, to kill her, but was restrained by the Argive chieftains; for they could not suffer a woman to perish who had saved their cohorts from peril by thirst. Meantime the report of her intended fate raised a sedition; the Nemeans attacked
the king's palace; and two strangers, who chanced to have been hospitably received there, were taking his part against them. Suddenly they heard the words Lemnos and Thoas, the names of their country and grandfather: as the King of Argos led to the scene the rescued Hypsipyle, they were aware of being near their long-lost mother, and rushed into her embraces,—

"Per tela manusque
Irruerunt, matremque avidis complexibus ambo
Diriplunt stentes, alternaque pectora mutant."

STATIUS, Theb. 5, 720.

With such affection Dante heard the name of the father of Italian poetry, but he finds his words inadequate to its expression.

l. 116. *This spirit, whom I show.* — Arnault Daniel [see l. 142], a Provençal poet, who died in 1189. According to Nostradamus, he was born of poor but noble parents, and grew up a great student. The first lady to whom he poetised he would mention by no name, either real or imaginary; afterwards he addressed a certain "Dama d'Ongle," who was the wife of a seignior in his country; hence Dante has probably represented him as a lover less than chaste and faithful. He declared in his verses, according to the same author, that he said a thousand masses a day for God's grace, and not that he might be emperor of Rome, but that his lady might give him one kiss: yet "it availed him nought; he was embracing the wind, and pursuing on a lame cow the rapid hare."

l. 120. *Who to the Limosine.* — This was Gerald de Bornelh, also a Provençal poet, who flourished in 1278. Dante calls him in the De Vulgari Eloquio a minstrel of righteousness, "cantor della rettidine," in opposition to Arnault, the poet of love, and
Purgatory. C. XXVI. L. 116.—C. XXVII. L. 37. 239

Bertram du Born, of arms. He used to spend the winters in study, and in summer visit the courts of noblemen, accompanied by two musicians. His gains he shared freely with his relatives, or deposited on the altar of St. Gervais, the heavenly patron of his birth. He made Nola, a Gascon lady, his heroine, yet often boasted that love had no power over him, nor had beauty. For this circumstance his poems probably were none the better; and he was compared by some to a duck cackling in the sun.

So far as in this world. — Omitting "deliver us from the evil one." [See Can. 11, l. 22.]

Your curte askin. — The original lines, Provençal in the midst of Italian, produce an impression, which I could only imitate by a dialect of English, being the first which received a high poetic culture.

CANTO XXVII.

Now stood the Sun. — The sun was rising at Jerusalem, being in the sign of Aries; hence, the opposite sign Libra was coming to the meridian in Spain, which we must suppose to be about 90° west of the above city, as the land of Ganges 90° east; these countries being placed at the boundaries of our Continent, which was supposed to occupy an entire hemisphere. In Purgatory therefore the evening was approaching.

On Geryon's very back. — See Hell, Can. 17, especially l. 97. As Pyramus raised his eyelid. — At the trysting place where he should have met Thisbé, Pyramus found her veil only, en-
sanguined by a lion whom she had fled from. Desperate at her imagined death, he stabbed himself, yet had not expired, when she came before him, and named herself amid her wild lamenting.

"Ad nomen Thisbes oculos jam morte gravatos
Pyramus erexit."

("Thisbe's name upon hearing his eyelid Pyramus updrew
By death opprest.")

Ovid, Met. 4, 145.

When she killed herself beside him, the fruits of the mulberry tree above them, which had been heretofore white, assumed in sympathy their now sanguine colour.

L. 49. *I entered, when.* — In representing himself to have tasted the torments of this circle, Dante is said to have avowed, in a marked manner, his proneness to unchaste desires. Yet as he apparently intimates that there is no gap in the flames,— whence we must conceive that every soul, in emerging from Purgatory, passes through them however rapidly, as does on this occasion the grave Virgil with the modest and conjugal Statius, — shall we not say that the poet convicts mankind in general, rather than his individual self, of lewdness in deeds, words, or thoughts? We must allow, of course, that there are some spirits who do not go through Purgatory, and among these, for the sake of women's honour, let every gentle reader include his Beatris.

L. 65. *In such wise.* — It may be observed from the following lines that the poets have reached the western side of the mountain, and will ascend towards the summit in an easterly direction.

L. 101. *That I am Leah.* — Leah foreshadows to Dante the lady he is to find gathering flowers in the terrestrial paradise [see Can. 28], as Rachel does Beatris. [See the following Cantos.] The first
two are taken for symbols of life active, the second two of life contemplative. St. Gregory, in his Homilies, has made out these two courses to be represented in Scripture by the wives of Jacob, as likewise by Martha and Mary. He considers contemplative life as the most blessed, but that man requires active life as an introduction to it. "Hence is it," says he, that "Jacob serveth for Rachel, and receiveth Leah; and therefore he is told, 'It is not done so in our country to give the younger in marriage before the firstborn.' For Rachel signifieth 'the seeing of the origin' [as from the Hebrew Raah Halal], but Leah 'the laborious.' For in contemplation we seek out ever the original of things, that is God, but in action we labour under the grievous burthen of necessities. Whence also Rachel is well-favoured, but barren; Leah bleary-eyed, but prolific; for truly as the soul affecteth the leisures of contemplation, she seeth more, but doth less bear children unto God; whereas when she applieth herself to the labour of preaching, she seeth less, but more largely breedeth [minus videt sed amplius parit]. It is therefore after Leah's embraces that Jacob attaineth unto Rachel; for each that shall be perfect is united first unto the fruitfulness of active life, and coupled afterwards to the restfulness of the contemplative."

I deck me, but my sister Rachel. — The proper and ultimate object of contemplation, according to the above extract, is God; for contemplation pushes ever from effect to cause, and rests not but in contemplating the First Cause. The most perfect contemplation is possessed by the separated soul, which, in the ideas of all things subsisting in the Divine mind, contemplates whatever is granted her to see, and therein her own nature and her eternal
portion. Hence the Divine Mind is called "that soothfast [true-faced] mirror,

"Which makes of all things copies on its face,
And copied can itself by nothing be."

Par. Can. 26, l. 106.

And thus Rachel, looking into her mirror, corresponds to Beatris at the end of Can. 31, gazing on the eyes of the Gryphon which represents Christ.

CANTO XXVIII.

Already fain to search.—The region here entered, on the summit of the mountain, is a resting-place for spirits emerged from Purgatory, in which they prepare themselves to ascend to heaven. It is the terrestrial paradise, in which Adam was in like manner placed to have a foretaste of the bliss above [see l. 92]. It represents, according to the passage of the Convito quoted under Can. 16, l. 106, the beatitude of active life, dependent on the exercise of the moral virtues, which prepares us for the beatitude of contemplative life, similarly related to the theological virtues. In reference to human society the terrestrial paradise might signify a well-governed state (or an empire as a system of states), in which the maintenance of order, of peace, and general morality affords men leisure and convenience to acquire Christian graces from the Church's teaching. It is here then that a pageant will be shown to Dante, which is designed to convey instruction on the relations between the Church and the State.
Purgatory. Can. xxviii. l. 1—40. 243

A gentle breeze which in itself had no mutation.—Or blew with perfect uniformity, for the reasons pointed out in l. 102, &c.  

Went each and all inclining.—In the direction in which shadows fall during the morning, indicating a current of air westward.  

Through the pine forests over Kiassi's shore.—Chiassi, anciently Classis, was a harbour near Ravenna open most to the Scirocco or south-east wind.  

And there behold a rivulet.—Named in l. 130, Lethe, river of the oblivion of evil.  

For all it moveth brown.—This river is said to "efface the memory of all sin and blame." But the oblivion enjoyed by blessed spirits [see Par. Can. 9, l. 34] is no absolute ignoring of the facts connected with their past misdeeds, but a freedom from all painful personal feelings in recalling them. It might at first sight appear that such a state involved some mental confusion or obfuscation, whereas in reality none could be more conducive to intellectual clearness. And thus the most limpid water appears brown to a spectator in the shade.  

A lady graced with solitude.—Apparently the only inhabitant of the terrestrial paradise, and employed in ministering to those who pass through it.  

From what has been said under the first note of the Canto, we may anticipate that she represents the genius of active life, as a person who has furnished a bright example of the moral virtues employed as a basis to the theological. And these virtues being most eminent in the highest functions, we shall properly find in her a queen, who has employed the wealth and force of the secular power to benefit and defend the Church. We find in her also a great heroine of the Guelf party, who hereafter, by
her approving assistance at a spectacle which sets forth the corruptions and encroachments of Papal government, will afford, as it were, an enemy's good testimony to the sentiments of the Imperialist poet. The ancestors of the celebrated Countess Matilda [her name is given in Can. 33, l. 119] had for some generations been masters of the impregnable fortress of Canossa, near Reggio, and had held in fief of the empire, though by obscure and precarious tenures, various lands and cities in Lombardy and Tuscany. Her grandfather, Azzo, held Ferrara as the Pope's vassal; her father, Boniface, who rendered great services to the Emperor Conrad the Second, was by him created Duke of Tuscany, and Count of Mantua, Modena, and other cities; he acquired also lands far and wide around him by mortgages from churchmen. The next Emperor, Henry the Third, grew jealous of his power, and insidiously called him to his presence with a view to arresting or assassinating him, but was baffled by the Count's unceremoniously entering his presence with an armed retinue, who broke open the doors of the passages that were closed behind him. Boniface was twice married, and the second time to Beatris, daughter of the Duke of Moselle, the emperor's kinsman, who was a woman of great ability, and renowned both for piety and queenly virtues. It is observable that her poetical historian Donizo [see Muratori, Script. Ital. vol. 5] says of her to this effect,

"Splenduit ipsa Lice procul et Rachellis honore,"
("She shone with the glory of Leah and of Rachel," —

a passage which may have suggested to Dante's fancy the whole idea of associating his Beatris with the Countess Matilda, and the two with the figures in the dream of Can. 27. Boniface was assas-
sinated in 1052, and left three infant children, Frederic, Beatris, and Matilda (born in 1052), under the tutelage of their mother. The latter, in 1054, married Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, and by this step vehemently excited the jealousy of the Emperor, who alleged that he should have been consulted on disposing of the government of her fiefs, and threatened Godfrey with his vengeance. Beatris, visiting the court of Henry with the hope of pacifying him, was detained prisoner in defiance of a safe-conduct; the Emperor tried also to get into his hands her son Frederic, but he escaped by a premature death (which that of his sister Beatris had preceded). About two years afterwards Henry the Third, dying, left his son Henry the Fourth a minor under the tutelage of Pope Victor the Second, who authorised the liberation of Beatris. Matilda was now the legitimate heiress of Count Boniface, and was gradually admitted by her mother and step-father to a share in the administration. Godfrey died in 1070; Beatris died in 1076, during the quarrel on the subject of investitures in which she had vainly striven to mediate between Henry the Fourth and Pope Hildebrand. When Matilda remained sole ruler, she espoused the cause of the Pope, who, for many flagrant breaches of the Church’s rights, passed sentence on Henry of excommunication and deposition. In the sequel the two antagonists agreed to confer before the Germanic Diet; but as Gregory was journeying through Piedmont to the place of rendezvous, the Emperor, alarmed at his own subjects’ increasing disaffection, came unexpectedly to meet him as a suppliant. The Pope, doubting his intentions, took refuge with Matilda at Canossa, whither Henry followed, and after imploring her intercession, was reconciled to the Church through a series of unparalleled humiliations. Gregory remained three months
with Matilda, who protected him, when the Emperor, repenting of the concessions he had submitted to, attempted to procure his assassination. With the great pontiff she continued ever on terms of cordial alliance and intimacy. But both in his time and afterwards her adhesion to the Church involved her in long and ruinous wars with Henry, who deprived her of Lorraine, Lucca, Mantua, Ferrara, and many cities and territories of less note. In the mountain fastnesses of Reggio and Modena she defended herself with the utmost skill, vigour, and courage, but in 1092 was driven to the verge of submission, and withheld only by a promise of Divine assistance, revealed by the Abbot of Canossa. The next year she strengthened her cause by abetting the rebellion of Conrad against his father, and in 1097 compelled Henry to leave Italy. In 1101 she recovered Mantua. The Emperor's son and successor Henry the Fifth, who terminated his differences with the Church by a perfidious submission and successful stratagem, had prudently secured the friendship of Matilda, who proffered him all submission consistent with her duty. On his return from Rome, he visited her court, and found in her a woman whose admired grace and beauty was but little impaired by time; who conversed with him fluently in his own language; whose talent, learning, and experience could not fail to instruct him; and whose general reputation was attracting embassies from the Greek Emperor, and from the remote barbarism of Norway and of Russia. Gratified by her courteous hospitality, he appointed her Vice-Queen of Lombardy, and she was enabled to recover within a short time after all the territories of her father and ancestors; the last being the revolted Mantua, which she subdued in 1114, a year before her death. She left to the Church all her dominions, which were
disputed, however, by the Emperor. The monasteries of Canossa and Frassinoro revered her memory as their foundress; her munificence had enriched many others.

—graced with solitude.—"Though possessed of many noble cities, she made never in any one of them her constant abode, nor even any length of sojourn. But in diverse castles, now upon the high mountains, now in the deep vallies, she led her life, deeming perhaps, that not only in her raiment, but in her deportment also, her womanhood should be thoroughly apparent."

_Thou mindest me how Proserpine._—Ceres' daughter, carried away by Pluto "from the fair field of Enna, gathering flowers," and permitted only to revisit earth six months in each year.

_With motion maiden-like._—Matilda had been twice married, but it appears only nominally. She was betrothed in childhood to Godfrey the Hunchback, a son of her stepfather, Godfrey of Lorraine. When their marriage took place is uncertain, but the young duke appears after his father's death to have taken part with her and Beatris in some formal acts of administration as her consort. But the two ladies differing from their ally in political principles, or being anxious to keep their power in their own hands, he seems to have been excluded from all intimacy with his wife, and ultimately to have left the kingdom to avoid unpleasant differences with her. He died in 1076.

Her next husband (after she had refused Robert, Duke of Normandy) was Guelfo, son of the Duke of Bavaria, who shared with her the perils of many of her campaigns against the Imperialists. But when the struggle had taken a favourable turn for them, he separated from her suddenly, declaring that
he left her a virgin: whether this had been the case from his incapacity, or from her having taken a vow of chastity, is a question among historians. Muratori thinks the former cause would not have sufficed, at any rate, to produce a rupture, after seven years' union (1088 to 1095), had not her husband found himself slighted in the management of affairs, or perhaps been piqued at discovering she had bequeathed her whole dominions to the Church. At all events, the old Duke of Bavaria was mortally offended with our Countess on his son's account, and deserted from the Papal party to the Emperor's in hopes of vengeance. Muratori observes that it must have been a hard thing to deal with Matilda, who even at one time quarrelled with Prince Conrad, when he seemed her best and indispensable confederate. (This prince, I might have remarked above, died before his father, and was imitated in his rebellion by his more favoured younger brother, to whom the aged monarch was then compelled, by the Pope and people, to resign his sceptre.)

1. 66. Empassioned, wounded from her stripling's quiver.—Venus had been struck accidentally by Cupid's arrow, whence she became enamoured of Adonis. [See Ovid, Met. b. 10.]

1. 71. Yet Hellespont, where Xerxes past.—In his invasion of Greece he threw an enormous boat-bridge over the straits, which he crossed after his discomfiture and flight in a solitary fishing-smack.

1. 73. Like hatred of Leander.—The lover of Hero, who swam across the straits to visit her. [See Ovid. Her. Epist.]

1. 80. Yet the psalm Delectásti.—From earthly association, says Matilda, you suspect my smile to be an intimation of ridicule, whereas it represents but a pure delight, or blitheness, which is
an element in the felicity God has prepared for his children. See Psalm 92, l. 4: "For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work." The passage may be consonant with the historical character of Matilda, who is said by Donizo to have been "hilaris semper facie;" ever of a cheerful countenance.

The water, and the murmur of the wood. — I am surprised, Dante intimates, to see a running stream, and to feel a wind, where I have been told that no exhalations, moist or dry, can penetrate to feed the former or excite the latter.

And now since round and round. — Dante intimates, that the common motion of the spheres from east to west imprints itself at all times on the atmosphere, not, indeed, perceptibly among us, where it is confined by the inequalities of the soil, but in a high and open place like the summit of the mountain. The above common motion is derived from the "primal sphere," or "first mover." "For the astronomer Ptolemy, perceiving that the [sphere of the] fixed stars moved with a complex motion, inasmuch as its circle swerves from the direct circle, which turns all things from east to west, constrained by the principles of philosophy, which requires of necessity a first most simple mover, placed another heaven above that heaven, and made it the cause of its revolution from east to west, which takes place in about twenty-four hours." [See Convito, 2, 3.]
O blessed, whose transgressions. — See Psalm 32, v. 1.

Then as two nympha. — Dante walks in the shade, Matilda in the sun; each without constraint, as if they were natives of that pleasant woodland.

— the stream encountering. — Towards Dante’s right hand, or southwards. [See Can. 28, l. 26.]

Which all to eastward. — The direction in which the stream henceforth flows, and in which Dante returns to walking.

She mought have felt. — I should, perhaps, have translated the more common reading,

"I might have known that inexpressive throng
Of joys both sooner and a long while more;"

meaning, that we might all have grown up in the terrestrial Paradise, had Eve, &c.

Now must Urania. — Her invocation marks the commencement of the principal allegory in the poem.

But on approaching. — At a distance we perceive, perhaps, but few characteristics of an object; we ascertain the genus to which it belongs, but not the species, and we mistake it for something to which it has a partial similarity, where a nearer view will undeceive us.

The power, which caters for intelligence. — Understanding, or the power that from the objects of perception or imagination abstracts those general conceptions of things, which form the subject-matter of our reasonings.

Saw in them candelabres. — The ensuing pageant, representing things concerning the history of the Church, will bring before
our eyes a visible emblem of Christ, which, like the Son of
Man in the Apocalypse [c. 1, v. 12], is preceded by seven
golden candlesticks. To the Stars also that He bears in His
right hand correspond the Nymphs of L 121 to 130, who are
stars in heaven. [Compare note on Can. 31, L 106.] Now the
seven candlesticks are interpreted as the seven gifts of the
Spirit, mentioned in Isaiah, c. 11, v. 2, according to the Vulgate
reading, which is thus rendered in the Douay Bible: "And the
Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom
and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the
spirit of knowledge, and of godliness [pietatis]; and he shall be
filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord." The four
intellectual gifts are thus distinguished by Aquinas:—

Understanding } relates to the } speculative
Counsel } practical } apprehension of truth.
Wisdom } relates to the } speculative
Knowledge } practical } judgment.

Good Virgil was.—The pageant relating to heavenly mys-
teries can no longer be explained by Virgil, who represents the
human reason.

Have been defeated by new spouses twain.—Outstripped by a
slowly-moving marriage procession; an emblem of the gradual-
ness of changes in worldly institutions.

So that aloft.—These luminous trails have been interpreted
of the seven sacraments.

Which the Sun's bow or Cynthia's wreath.—Rainbow or
lunar halo.

And 'twixt the foremost.—Read "And 'twixt the outmost." 

By twos and twos came elders twenty-four.—The books of the
Old Testament, viz. 1—5, Pentateuch; 6, Joshua; 7, Judges;
8, Ruth; 9, Kings (including Samuel); 10, Chronicles; 11, Ezra and Nehemiah; 12, Tobit; 13, Judith; 14, Esther; 15, Job; 16, Psalms; 17, 18, 19, the Books of Solomon; 20, Ecclesiasticus; 21, Wisdom; 22, Major Prophets; 23, Minor Prophets; 24, Maccabees.

1. 84. All wearing chaplets of the fleur-de-lis. — The colours of Faith.
1. 85. And singing, Blessed. — An invocation to Beatris in the character in which Can. 30 shows her descending.
1. 88. And when the flowers; — i.e. when the above company had proceeded beyond that part of the shore, which was opposite D.
1. 92. — four living things. — The books of the Gospel.
1. 93. That each his garland of green foliage. — The colours of Hope, a virtue especially cultivated by the propagation of the Gospel.
1. 96. As Argus had. — The fabled Argus had a hundred eyes, of which traces remained in the train of the peacock he was transformed to.
1. 100. But read Ezekiel. — Viz. c. 1, v. 4, describing these appearances — a passage generally interpreted as above.
1. 105. — as by St. John allowed. — The four beasts of Rev. c. 4, are similar to those in Ezekiel, but have six wings each instead of four. Perhaps Dante thought the whole number of the wings was purposely made similar to that of the elders.
1. 107. Its double wheels a car triumphal. — Representing the throne of the successors of Peter, or the Government of the visible Church. [Compare the chariot in Canticles, c. 3, v. 9.]
1. 108. That from a Gryphon’s neck. — A symbol of Christ [comp. Can. 31, l. 81]; the birdlike part representing the heavenly nature, and the leonine the earthly.
1. 118. His limbs, as far as birdlike. — On this and the following line compare Canticles, c. 5, vv. 10 and 11.
That never Rome.—The triumph of Scipio Africanus after the defeat of Hannibal, and that of Augustus Caesar for the three wars of Dalmatia, Actium, and Alexandria, had been the most splendid in Roman history to their time.

That car consumed.—According to the often mentioned fable of Phaeton.

When Jove was righteous in occult way.—Destroying the car on account of the driver, as Providence may overthrow the glory of the Church for the faults of those who govern it.

Three ladies.—The theological virtues; Charity is represented in the present triplet, and Hope and Faith in the following.

And now behind the white.—In order of development Faith precedes Hope, and Hope Charity; for we love that from which we hope for some good, and hope in God from believing in His nature. But in order of perfection Charity precedes the two other virtues, which it also confirms and animates; accordingly it is now the white lady, now the red, who seems to lead the dance, of which the latter only regulates the energy.

Four by the other wheel.—The moral virtues, of which the three-eyed is Prudence, whose triple scrutiny surveys the Past, Present, and Future (respicit, aspicit, prospicit). The others are Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice; all are clad in purple, because they make a man's mind his kingdom.

Two elders came.—Representing the Acts and the Epistles of Paul. Luke appears as a physician or pupil of Hippocrates; St. Paul is as usual represented with a sword, so that he seems more ready to despoil of life than to heal those animals which are dearest to nature, i.e. mankind.

Four next to these.—The Epistles of Peter, James, John, and Jude.
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And last a solitary.—The Revelations.

Roses, and all red flowers.—The colours of Charity, crowning effect of the last books of Christian doctrine.

CANTO XXX.

Now when the Arctos.—The seven candelabres represent gifts having their origin in the highest heaven, which is the abode of Deity. [Comp. l. 109.] This heaven is immovable and beyond the bounds of space [comp. Par. Can. 22, l. 67]; but our relations to it are by sin interrupted [l. 3]. After l. 3 I have inadvertently omitted the following lines:

"And which to all there gave by signals due
Their courses, as the inferior doth to those
Who ply the helm, the harbour to ensue."

1. 4. the band, who truth disclose.—The twenty-four, and four, and seven, representing the books of Scripture.

1. 7. And one thereof.—The representative of Canticles.

1. 8. Come, bride from Lebanon.—An invocation to Beatris, who will act the Bride of Solomon's Song, representing, we may say, Theology, or Divine Philosophy, or Christian Contemplation, but laying down, without reluctance, that dramatic character, when she has to remind Dante of some private concerns.

1. 14. Ad vocem tanti sensis.—At the voice of such an elder.

1. 15. Vassalls and harbingers.—Angels, as appears by l. 26. And it is noted that Gregory, in his homilies on Canticles, supposes
the companions of the bridegroom there mentioned to have been angels.

_Benedictus qui venis._—“Blessed thou that comest;” a scriptural phrase which the angels seem here to address to Dante.

_Manibus O date lilia plenis._—“Give lilies with full hands” [see Æneid 6, 884]. Here perhaps Virgil vanishes at hearing one of his verses so ill-accentuated!

_If have upon approach of morning._—Comp. Cantic. 6, 10: 1. 19.
“Who is she that looketh forth as the morning?”

_In veil of white._—The olive wreath is an emblem of Peace; 1. 28.
Faith, Hope and Charity are represented by the veil, mantle, and stole.

_And trembling in her presence._—A habit that might well indicate the “fiera ed intollerabile passion d’amore,” “tyrannous and intolerable passion of love,” which Boccaccio ascribed to the author from his boyhood. But see the following note.

_Smote, ere the days of boyhood._—Boccaccio tells us, that “it was the custom for men and women in Florence, as the sweet spring-season came upon their lands, to assemble in diverse companies to make merry. Among others, a worshipful citizen, named Folco Portinari, having once, on the 1st of May, collected a party of his neighbours, Dante, then a boy of about nine years, was taken by his father to the house, where he set himself to play with the other children. Among these was a daughter of Folco’s, named Bicë, still in her eighth year, very attractive, and in her manners refined and winning; lovely in face, and graver in her words than could be expected at an age so tender,” &c. Of which occurrence Dante says in the Vita Nuova, “Nine times after my birth had the heaven of light [solar
sphere] returned well nigh to the same point, in regard to its peculiar revolution, when to mine eyes first appeared the glorious liege lady of my mind, who was called Beatris by many, that knew not what they called so [i.e. knew not how appropriate the word Beatrix, or blesser]. She had been in this life a sufficient time for the starry heaven to move the twelfth part of a degree eastward, so that she appeared to me at about the beginning of her ninth year, and I saw her towards the end of my ninth year. And she appeared to me clad in a most noble colour, lowly and august, of crimson, and attired and cinctured in a manner which accorded with her years so youthful. And at that moment the spirit of life, who dwelleth in the most secret chamber of the heart, began to tremble with such violence, that it appeared horribly in my minutest pulses. [See Appendix to Purgatory, p. xxviii.] From that time Love was lord of my soul, which was betrothed to him so early, and he began to assume dominion over me with such confidence, by the power which my imagination lent him, that it behoved me throughly to fulfil all his pleasure.” I fancy he describes, in the last sentence but one, some constitutional paroxysms to which he was liable under the influence of agitation, as may appear more plainly from the following extract: “After the battle of the diverse thoughts, it happened that this most gentil one came to a place where many gentlewomen were assembled, whither I was conducted by a friend of mine, who thought to do me a great pleasure by leading me where so many ladies showed their beauties. Whereat I, not knowing whither I was led, trusting to my companion, who had conducted a friend of his to the extremity of life [equivocal], said, ‘Why are we come to these ladies?’ then he said, ‘To see that they may be well served.’
And the truth is, they were assembled on account of a gentle-
woman, who was given in marriage that day, and whom it be-
hoved them to accompany according to the usage of the city.
And at the end of my words it seemed to me I felt a marvellous
trembling begin from the left side of my bosom, and extend itself
unawares over all my body. Then I feigned to lean my person
against a painting which surrounded the abode, and fearing
others might have perceived my trembling, I raised my eyes,
and I perceived the noble Beatris." Notwithstanding such
painful susceptibility, he continued throughout his youth to
seek incessantly her society, or at least her greeting, and albeit
a suitor of the kind, that

"Brama assai, poco spera, e nulla chiede,"
("Loves much, and little hopes, and nothing claims,")

[Tasso.]

he obtained from her some tokens of friendliness or courtesy,
which increased his passion, and were celebrated in admirable
poems. But being anxious to hide from the world the object of
his devotion, he made some professions to other ladies, in con-
sequence of which Beatris appeared offended, "and denied him
her salutation, in which consisted his beatitude." He wrote a
canzone to explain "that he had been hers only from boyhood
upwards, and in spite of all appearances;" but had little success,
at least outwardly, in conciliating her. It is probable some new
reasons had intervened to make her demeanor more reserved to
him; and it appears, though without his avowal, that some in-
superable obstacle to his hopes had now arisen, which compelled
him to refine upon and spiritualise the passion he could not or
would not eradicate. Pelli has discovered, from the testament of
Beatris's father, that she was married before 1287 (her twenty-

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first year) to a Simon de’ Bardi, of whom nothing farther is known; after which event, however brought about, Dante’s mind was no way alienated from her, but their intercourse was probably restricted by a severe modesty on both sides. I conjecture that from this time he saw her principally in the place of worship of which he has spoken in the Vita Nuova, and began to contemplate her as a figure of contemplative piety, whence his muse derived afterwards an impersonation of Divine Philosophy. And haply from hearing there in the Te Deum her voice rehearsing,

"Tibi Cherubin et Seraphin incessabili voce clamantes
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth,"

he derived the suggestion of that scene in the Paradise, where she joins a company of spirits in the adoration expressed by the concluding line. Of the period at which he mourned her death, and its results upon his conduct and inclinations, I shall speak under future passages.

1. 45. I know the symptoms.—From Virgil, Æn. 4, 23: —

"Agnoasco veteris vestigia flamme."

1. 50. — my cheeks, though wet with dew. — From the Lustration Virgil performs in Can. 1.

1. 61. I saw that lady;—i.e. Beatris, still screened by the lily showers from the Angels.

1. 80. Sang all, In te speravi.—“In thee have I put my trust.”—The thirteenth Psalm, to the end of verse 8.

1. 87. If wind from land that loseth shade.—That is, when the prevailing north-east winds of the winter are replaced by southerly winds, blowing, as they would in Italy, from that nearer part of
the torrid zone in which the sun becomes vertical (diminishing all shadows) while spring approaches us.

Not by the power.—Not only from mysterious influences of nature, but by supernatural graces, which originate in the high sphere that God inhabits, and in the profundity of his counsels.

When of my second age.—At the completion of adolescence, which Dante makes to terminate with the twenty-fifth year. Beatris died in 1290 [see Can. 32, l. 1], and being a year younger than Dante, had not past the limits of this age.

Then stole he from me, after others bending.—The unprejudiced reader will see an allusion to some attachments, either light or lewd, which the author formed to two or three persons, such as Boccaccio mentions in his biography. But according to some, the line glances at his marriage with Gemma Donati, perhaps a prudent union. The interpretation, however, would be needlessly dishonouring to Dante, as implying both the slander of his wife, and a reprobation of his own deliberate proceedings.

He set his feet upon a path untrue.—According to some commentators Beatris speaks as the representative of contemplation, and censures Dante for his efforts to engage in active life! This view shows a misapprehension of his whole philosophy, which makes both action and contemplation honourable, and conducive each to the furtherance of the other, as Beatris and Matilda are friends, and Leah and Rachel sisters. It shows a misapprehension of the opening of the poem, where Virgil (the delegate of Beatris) commends the mountain which Dante is [Hell, Can. 1, l. 77] prepared to climb, but leads him away to escape the three beasts; for here Philosophy approves of his embracing an active life, and would assist him, but that it is impossible under circumstances. The plain truth is this, that beside the active and
contemplative, there is a third life called sensual, which is the only kind absolutely reprehensible, and figured by Dante under the dark wood. We see then that he had yielded himself to sensual indulgences after the demise of Beatris, and was on the point of relapsing into them, when his first exertions in civic life were baffled, i.e. when the beasts drove him back to where the sun is silent.

CANTO XXXI.

For any sweeting.—In the original "Pargoletta," a term of blandishment which Dante had applied to a girl mentioned in the Canzoniere. [See Son. 45.]

—by winds from Latin land.—Literally, from our land; that is, winds not coming over the sea, but from a tract of mainland included in Italy or the empire. But if "austral" be read for nostral, then the south-east wind is meant, as in the next line the south-west.

Or from Iarbas'ès.—From Libya, where Iarbas had once ruled, according to the Æneid, an insolent wooer of Dido's.

When beard she said for face.—See l. 62; for Dante was not so young, it is pointedly hinted, that he could decorously give occasion of comparing him to an unfledged bird; it was no longer mere down [piume] that sprouted from his chin. Of "Madonna" Beatris's power of sarcasm, we find some intimation in the Vita Nuova in the introduction to the meek sonnet—

"Con l'altre donne mia vista gabbate."
"With th' other ladies at my looks you fleer."

1. 59.
1. 69.
1. 70.
1. 71.
1. 72.
1. 73.
1. 74.
Which in two natures.—Evidently a symbol of Christ; and from this part Beatris returns to her dramatic part, as the Bride of Canticles.

I heard Asperges me.—"Thou shall purge me with hyssop," 1. 98. &c. [Ps. 51.]

We here are nymphs.—Compare notes on the stars mentioned in Can. 1 and 8.

Or ever Beatris;—that is, the moral virtues, and the elements of Faith, Hope, and Charity, subsisted in the world before the manifestation of Christian philosophy, to which it has been subsequently their chief office to minister. But the reader who connects these lines with the historical Beatris Portinari will impute to Dante an ambiguity which is not unpoetical.

Sometimes in one.—Her eyes reflect now the leonine, now the aquiline part of the figure, as Theology contemplates now the Man, now the God in Christ.

CANTO XXXII.

On slaking their decennial thirst.—Beatris having died ten years previously. [See note on Can. 30, l. 121.]

—intermured with nonchalance.—Indifference to all objects but Beatris, forming as it were a screen or wall on each side the line in which Dante gazed towards her, through which he could see nothing else.

"Ah, too intent."—Dante's love is not yet allowed to expend itself in contemplation; he must show himself ready to per-

* 3
form the injunctions of Beatris [see l. 100 to 105]; and for this duty he is prepared even by the three Nymphs, who had strengthened his eyes to view her. [Can. 31, l. 131.] Allegorically, we are taught here that the theological virtues, though mainly demanding from us the meditation of Christian philosophy, yet urge also within certain limits to active life; for the end of these virtues is the love of God, which is then most perfect, when through the same we love mankind, and that not for their own sakes, but for God's, and when, in order to exert ourselves on their behalf, we withdraw for a time our thoughts from Him. [See references to Thomas Aquinas in Philalethes.]

l. 10. And then the same affection;—i. e. dazzledness.

l. 16. Then how the glorious host.—The company are preparing to retrace their steps eastward, wheeling round towards the right; those in front completing their evolution before the chariot stira.

l. 30. Which made its circuit;—that is, the right-hand wheel, by which are Faith, Hope, and Charity.

l. 38. Then circled they a tree.—The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, taken as a symbol of Secular Power. [See Appendix to Purg. p. 31.]

l. 42. I th' very groves of India.—Which contain trees, whose tops cannot be reached by an arrow. [See Virgil, Georg. 2, 122.]

l. 43. Blessed thou Gryphon art.—Alluding to our Saviour's renunciation of temporal power in the words Render to Cæsar, &c.

l. 52. ——upon the near approach.—When the sun enters Aries, the adjoining sign to Pisces, which last, or the northern part of it, is called the Roach, from that fish's bright colours.

l. 58. Thus flowered with tint.—The colour intimated is probably
that of the apple-blossom, referred to in accordance with tradi-
tion. The tree flowering at the chariot’s approach, shows that
it is only by connection with the Church that the secular power
becomes fertile in good results. For the righteous works, which
government contributes to produce, remain there, where Faith
exists not, devoid of Holiness.

*If I could utter.*—Commissioned by jealous Juno to guard Io,
the beloved of Jupiter, the hundred-eyed Argus was slain by
Mercury, who had lulled him with music, accompanying the tale
of his adventure with Syrinx,—

"Singing, how down the vale of Mænalus
I pursued a maiden, and clasped a reed."

[See Ovid, Met. lib. 1.]

*As when to Peter, James, and John.*—The disciples who saw
the Transfiguration,—a foretaste of heavenly contemplation.

*About her stood the Seven.*—Each of the nymphs has taken one
of the lamps in hand, as nearly each of the cardinal and theo-
logical virtues, according to Aquinas, has a peculiar correspond-
ence to one of the gifts of the Spirit; thus, Hope is guided by
the Lamp of Fear, Charity by Wisdom, &c.

*Bird of Olympian Jove.*—Commentators compare the Eagle
in Ezekiel, c. 10. The figure here intimates the persecutions of
the Christian community, which were set on foot by the Roman
Imperial government.

*A she-fox then I saw.*—Heresy. [Compare St. Gregory on l. 118.
Canticles 2, 15.]

—*with his plumes he streweal it o’er.*—Allusively to the l. 126.
Charter of Constantine, who was said to have endowed the popes
with the government of Rome.
—O my bark. —As it were, O bark of St. Peter.

—And thence a dragon.—Mahomet, [compare Rev. c. 12].

Read, Itself with weeds, out of the plume supplied. —This figure intimates the growth of wealth and luxury in the remnant of the Church after Mahomet; to this the donation of Constantine had originally supplied the means.

Transfigured, heads on every part.—To avoid the irrelevant explanations of this figure that have been given, observe that the seven heads have doubtless to assume the direction of the transformed chariot, and so to replace the seven nymphs; as glancing farther over the pageant, we find the Gryphon and Beatris replaced by the giant and his paramour. These heads, then, are the opposites of the virtues, even the seven cardinal sins. So the ten horns [see l. 145, &c.] replace the seven lamps, though their number is altered in accordance with Rev. xvii. 3, while in their arrangement a picturesque symmetry was perhaps consulted. These are then gifts of the evil spirit, ten woes or crimes springing from the seven sins. To all such interpretations as the above it has been objected that Dante in Hell, Can. 19, l. 109, refers the apocalyptic seven heads and ten horns apparently to the Sacraments and Commandments, but at all events to things which had certain relations to an uncorrupted as well as a corrupt Church. It must be answered [see Philalethes] that Dante is not now, as before, expressly commenting on parts of Revelations; he is depicting a vision somewhat like that occurring there, and he interprets it to suit his own purposes. He is not then positively bound to employ any single image as he thinks it employed in Scripture.

I saw thereon a beltless paramour.—The Papal Court intriguing with the kings of earth.
Her giant stood. — Philippe le Bel. [See App. to Purg.] Lashed her. — An allusion to the cruel treatment Boniface had experienced through Philip's machinations. [See on Can. 1. 166. 20, l. 85.]

Dragged it, till Phæbus. — A figure how the Papal Court was 1. 159, to be removed to Avignon under Clement.

CANTO XXXIII.

A little, and ye shall not see my face. — Beatris's departure, after the removal of the chariot, is said to intimate that Christian Philosophy in a manner withdrew from earth on the translation of the Papal chair; but such an interpretation accounts not for her directing her adieux to the Virtues, from whom, in the character she represents, she ought much rather never to have been divided. I scruple besides to accept a gloss that might commit the author to unorthodox sentiments, and would rather say that Beatris merely dissolves by these words the dramatic representation, allowing the Seven Nymphs to go forth to point the way to Eunoe's waters, while she prepares to confer with D.

As those that with too much respect. — The line is a comment on that passage in the Vita Nuova.—“Albeit her image, that abode with me continually, was the encourager of love to lord it over me, yet was there in the same so noble an efficacy, that never did it suffer love to rule me, but with reason's faithful counsel.” Hence Boccaccio, in the author's Life, says, “This love of Dante's was most virtuous, whichever of the two parties, or
whether haply both of them, caused it to be so; and though it was, at least on Dante's side, most ardent, yet never a word, look, air, or gesture otherwise than laudable resulted from it.

1. 35. \textit{Was and is not.} — Alluding to Rev. c 7, v. 10.

1. 36. \textit{—— no witch's broth can vengeance lame.} — The vengeance of Heaven on the authors of this state of things, especially of the translation of the Holy See, will not be averted by superstitious rites. [The original alludes to those which were practised by murderers, eating soppets on the graves of their victims, as it is said Charles of Anjou did over Conradine's.]

1. 43. \textit{When a five hundred five and ten.} — A DVX or general, alluding to Can della Scala, on whom see Par. Can. 17.

1. 46. \textit{Like Sphinx or Themis.} — The story of the Sphinx is well known: Themis, when consulted by Deucalion and Pyrrha after the deluge how they should replenish the world, bade them “throw behind them the bones of their ancient mother,” meaning stones from the earth.

1. 49. \textit{But soon the Fates shall be the Naiades.} — See Ovid, Met. 7, 750, according to a probably incorrect reading,—

"Carmina Naiades non intellecta priorum, &c."

from which it appeared that the Naiads had solved the enigma of the Sphinx, and caused her destruction, and therewith the disease sent by Juno to avenge her on the corn and cattle of the Boeotians.

1. 57. \textit{That now the second time despoiled has been.} — First the Eagle, then the Giant and his paramour, had injured the symbolic tree; the latter in violently withdrawing the chariot from it. The usurpation, however, or invasion of the Imperial power was a violation of the prerogatives of God.
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— thy likings cold. — Affections for high philosophy.

At least the colouring. — Have at least some general recollection of my discourse, such as the pilgrim preserves of Holy Land by the palm bough he carries thence.

— what school thou hast embraced. — Dante is not reproved for addiction to Pagan philosophy generally, — since this was considered the best introduction to the Christian, as Beatris showed in making Virgil her delegate, — but for having attached himself to some materialistic school, which had given him a disinclination to a deep study of the Scriptures, and rendered him less quick in understanding their style.

The sun was holding that meridian round. — The sun had for us reached the meridian, though of course he does this at various times as the spectator may be situated.

Those seven ladies paused upon the bound. — By the origin of the Paradise rivers at the foot of the Tree of Life. Here the spirits from Purgatory are fitted for heaven by drinking the waters of Eunoe, towards which it seems the office of the Nymphs to accompany them.

I saw there Tigris and Euphrates. — Two of the acknowledged rivers of Paradise; the others mentioned in Genesis have been transformed to Eunoe and Lethe.

The curb of art controlleth. — Dante has made a point of confining his poem to a hundred cantos; one introductory and thirty-three in each part.
“Quid erit homo
Qui amat hominem,
Si amat in eo
Fragile quod est?
Amet igitur
Animam hominis,
Et erit homo
Aliquid amans.”

S. AUG. de Musicā.
PARADISE.

CANTO I.

So far, when her desire.—The desire of the intellect is the contemplation of God. [See note on Purg. Can. 27, l. 107.]

O good Apollo.—Dante has on previous occasions invoked one or more of the Muses; but now, to show the greater arduousness of his subject, he addresses himself to their king and leader. Nor does even such a patron content him, but he seeks [see on l. 16] to associate him with other deities.

— one Parnassian height.—Mount Parnassus had two summits, sacred to Apollo and Bacchus respectively, [as Lucan says,

"Mons Phoebus, Bromioque sacer."—Phars. 5, 71];

and the latter god is said to have been accompanied by the Muses, if at least we trust a scholiast on Virgil. ["Cithaeron mons est Boetiae. Ibi arcana Liberi patris sacra celebrantur tertiae quoque anno, que trieterica dicuntur. Existimatur autem Liber esse cum Musis, et ideo ex hederae fronde ejus corona poetis datur." Therefore Dante invokes Apollo conjointly with the Muses, or perhaps Apollo with Bacchus; and the last-named god on the idea that he is a patron of Comedy. Compare
our author's epistle to Johannes de Virgilio, in which he has poetically claimed the ivy-crown, the gift of Bacchus, saying,

"— cum mundi circumflua corpora cantu
Astricolaque meo velut infera regna patebunt,
Devincire caput hederā, laurique juvabit."

1. 20. As when thou drewest Marsyas.—That is, with that mastery of art by which thou overcamest Marsyas in song, ere thou punishedst his presumptuous rivalry by slaying him. [See Ovid, Met. 6, 383.]

1. 31. That this Peneian leaf.—The leaf of the laurel, into which Daphne, daughter of Peneus, had been transformed. [See Ovid, Met. 1, 452:—

"Primus amor Phoebi Daphne Penēia," &c.]

1. 36. — till Kyrrha shall respond. — Juvenal speaks of Cyrrha and Nysa as sacred to Apollo and Bacchus. [Sat. 7, 64.] Cyrrha was a city at the foot of Parnassus; Nysa a summit of the mountain, and perhaps one of those which Lucan refers to in the passage lately quoted.

1. 39. Which doth four circles.—The sun is rising near the first point in Aries, where the horizon meets the intersection of the equator, ecliptic, and equinoctial colure.

1. 40. With better light.—The sun's presence in Aries introducing the spring, at which time the operations of nature are manifestly more vigorous.

1. 43. Now sent he morning there.—Bringing us to the morning of Easter Thursday, so that three quarters of a day have elapsed from the epoch at which the Purgatory terminates.

1. 49. And as the second ray.—Dante, as it were, reflected Beatris's action, by gazing on the sun as she gazed.
As Glaucus, after he.—This was a fisherman of Euboea, who having once observed that his scaly captives regained life or vigour from the contact of the grass where he had thrown them, tasted thereof, and was forthwith impelled to throw himself into the sea, of which he became a divinity. [Ovid. Met. 13.]

Per verba;—i.e. through words.

When the revolvement thou perpetuates.—The music-working motion of the spheres, caused by the desire of the ninth sphere towards the empyrean. Compare a passage in the Convito [Tr. 2, c. 3 and 4], which will serve as an introduction to the author's astronomical views. "Of the number of the heavens and of their situation many have thought variously, though at length the truth has been discovered. Aristotle believed, in accordance with the ancient rudeness of the astrologers, that there were only eight heavens, of which the last, and all-containing, was that in which the fixed stars are, namely, the eighth sphere, and that beyond it there was no other. Also he believed the heaven of the sun to follow next after that of the moon, that is to say, with respect to us [placing the earth in the centre of all the spheres]. Ptolemy afterwards perceiving that the eighth sphere moved with several motions (for he saw its circle depart from the direct circle, which turneth all from east to west), constrained by the principles of philosophy, which requires necessarily a first mover, placed outside the starry heaven another heaven, making this revolution from east to west, which is fulfilled in about twenty-four hours and fourteen fifteenths, roughly speaking. And the order of the spheres according to their situation is as follows; first is that wherein is the Moon; second that wherein is Mercury; third, that wherein is Venus; fourth, that wherein is the Sun; fifth, that wherein
is Mars; sixth, that wherein is Jupiter; seventh, that wherein
is Saturn; ninth, that which is not perceptible save by the
movement above mentioned, which heaven many call crystalline,
that is, diaphanous or all-transparent. It is true that outside all
these the Catholics place the Empyrean heaven, which is, so to
speak, a heaven of flame, or luminous, and they state that the
same is immovable, from having in itself in every part that
which its matter desireth. And the same causeth the first
mobile to have its exceeding rapid motion; for from the ex-
ceeding fervent appetite that is in each part of the ninth heaven
(which is close after that above mentioned) of being conjoined
with each part of that most divine heaven, the tranquil heaven,
it therein revolves with such desire that its velocity is welnigh
inconceivable. This is the place of blessed spirits, as the Holy
Church affirms, which cannot lye — this is the sovran edifice of
the world, in the which all the world is included, and beyond
which there is nothing; and the same is not in space, but was
formed alone in the first mind, which the Greeks call Pro-
tonoë.”

l. 79. Then heaven was so enkindled.—Here the poet appears to
approach and rapidly pass across the circle of fire. [See note
on l. 109.]

l. 92. But lightning never.—See on l. 133.

l. 105. That sets with God the world in unison.—It is order that gives
the world an appearance of unity, which makes it an emblem of
the divine nature; and this order requires every material and
immaterial substance and creature to find an appropriate place
and rank in the universal system. “For each thing,” Dante
says in the Convito, “has its special love, as the simple bodies
have a love, which is made their nature [naturato in sè], for their
own place, and therefore the earth always descends to the centre; the fire [has this love] for the circumference above the sphere of the moon, and therefore it always mounts thitherward. [See Aristotle's Physics, and the Book on Heaven and Earth.] The first composite bodies, such as minerals, have a love towards the place where their generation is ordained, and therein they grow, and thence derive vigour and power. Wherefore we see the magnet always to receive virtue from the region of its generation. Plants, the first bodies which are animated [i.e. having life], have more manifestly a love for a certain place, such as their organisation requires; and hence we see some plant themselves, as it were, along the waters, and some along the ridges of the hills, and some on plains or at the foot of the mountains, the which, if they be transplanted, either die altogether, or live drearily, like things severed from a friend. Brute animals have not only a more manifest love for men, but we see them love one another. Men have their peculiar love for things perfect and comely; and because man, although a simple substance be his whole form [principle of being], doth yet, from the nobility of his essence, partake of the divine nature and of that of these things, he can have all these loves, and he hath them all." [Tract. 3, c. 3.]

*And so we see the flame to shoot from heaven.*—For lightning 1. 133. is separated from the sphere of fire with a deviation from its natural tendency upward. [See Can. 23, l. 40.]
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CANTO II.

And Muses nine set Arctos in my view.—The constellation of the Bear.

Your necks have toward that bread of angels bent.—That is, knowledge. Compare the beginning of the Convito, where Dante says that all men naturally desire knowledge, which is the ultimate perfection of our soul,—whereof, indeed, many are deprived by intrinsic and many by extrinsic causes (and these he proceeds to specify): "There are few then remaining, who can attain to this habit, desired by all; and almost innumerable are those hindered, who live always in hunger of this universal food. O blessed those few, who sit at that table, where the bread of angels is eaten, and wretched those, who have food common to the cattle."

Those wights renowned.—The Argonauts. [See Hell, Can. 18.] Jason had to plough the ground with the fire-breathing oxen (who were charmed by the art of Medea) before he could win the golden fleece. [See Ovid, Met. 7, 118, &c.]

To see the substance;—i.e. of Christ. [See Can. 33, l. 127, &c.]

—nay, but like the first truth we believe.—Perhaps Dante means the knowledge of our own existence, which seems among men the most universal and fundamental axiom.

Make some to fable Cain appears therein.—See Hell, Can. 20, sub fin.

—by bodies rare and dense.—This opinion Dante had before professed in the Convito, saying, "that the shade in the moon was only a rareness in its substance, on which the rays of the sun could not be arrested and reflected as at other parts." [Tract. 2, c. 14.]
The orb, that seven includeth.—The starry heaven. It must be observed that the fixed stars, like the moon, were supposed to shine by the sun's reflected light. Beatris argues therefore, that the true solution of the variegated appearance of the moon ought likewise to account for the varieties of appearance which we see among the fixed stars. But the stars differ not only in brightness, but in colour, and (the astrologers thought) in heat, cold, and other properties; which diversity is too complex to be accounted for by one principle, like that of density and rareness in the matter composing those bodies.

And further, if the brown.—If rarity of matter occasion the appearance of a dark patch on the moon, that rarity must go right through her globe, or be terminated by a denser stratum. In the former case the sun would shine through the moon when she now eclipses him to us, but this he manifestly does not. In the latter case the sunbeams would be reflected behind every part of the moon's surface, and ought therefore to illumine it equally.

Now wilt thou say.—It might be argued that the light which is not arrested at the surface of the moon, but penetrates the supposed rare parts [l. 86], appears less bright from being reflected at a greater distance from us. To this view Dante opposes an experiment, perhaps original, showing that a light appears smaller indeed, but not less bright, from being reflected at a distance from us, and that, though a thin medium like the air be interposed between the eye and the reflecting surface. Dante judges rightly, that mere void distance cannot diminish the apparent brightness of an object, for the quantity of light decreases in the same ratio as the apparent size of the luminary; but his experiments not having been nice enough to show the effect of the air's rare medium in dulling the light, he has not
judged correctly how another such medium would operate on the moon's reflected lustre.

l. 106. *Now as the onlook of the warmer rays.*—"As the sun dissolves the snow, and penetrates the transformed mass with his light and heat, so, dissolving thy error, will I imbue thy mind with understanding."

l. 112. *Amidst the heaven of the divine Serene.*—The "primum mobile" revolves within the empyrean. [See note on Can. 1. l. 76.] The former receives from the latter a power of producing various things differing in substance; but from the "primum mobile" the starry heaven receives this diversity of substance, and invests it with a corresponding diversity of form, namely, in the stars, which are the "natures multiplied" of line 116. Thus the different qualities of these stars are rooted in their essence, and are no accidents that result from their material composition. The motions of the lower orbs [see l. 120], effecting different conjunctions of these stars, produce the different influences of the spheres upon the variable operations of nature. [See abstract of Albertus Magnus's system, in Philalethes's Commentary.]

l. 127. *The powers and motions.*—So Albertus Magnus [de Coelo et Mundo, 2, 3, 5] says that the form of all lower things lies in the stars; as in the hammer, and in the stroke of the artisan, lies the form of all things fabricated with the hammer.

l. 131. *From the deep mind.*—The operations of each heaven are governed by intelligences, as is shown in Can. 8. Dante says in the Convito [Trat. 2, c. 5] that the Movers of each heaven are beings separate from matter,—that is, intelligences,—who are called by the vulgar Angels. (How he apportions the several orders of angels to the several spheres, will be shown under Can. 28.) He identifies with the angels both the "Ideas" of
PARADISE. C. II. L. 106.—C. III. L. 30. 277

Plato, and the gods and goddesses of paganism, and shows in the same chapter that their number is, as it were, infinite.

Itself revolving on its unitude.—Remaining one nature in its diverse partial operations.

CANTO III.

Read, "Return our pictured faces to our sight."

Of pearl in midst of maiden temples white. — The simile denotes the faint luminosity of this order of spirits, the frailest which has been admitted to heaven.

From that which passioned for the stream the Greek. — Narcissus pined with love for his own image in the lakelet, as if taking a reflection for a substance: Dante, on the contrary, takes here substances for reflections.

Exiled for vows which deeds have failed to suit. — According to the commentators, all the class of spirits represented by those in the moon are nuns that, having been removed by violence from their convents, did not use all possible exertions to return [see Can. 4, l. 81], though they ceased not at heart to be attached to the self-denying life which they had chosen. They are introduced in the moon, it is said, in compliment to Diana, as if, forsooth, she had had no more steadfast votaries. But I doubt whether Dante has appropriated any planet or sphere to such a small and arbitrarily distinguished class of human beings. It will be seen, from my arguments to the Paradise, that I consider the theologians, martyrs, princes, and hermits in the sun and higher planets to be representatives of the four moral Virtues.—Prudence, For-
titude, Justice, Temperance respectively, as in the succeeding
spheres the first three spirits conversed with represent Faith,
Hope, and Charity, the theological Virtues. Now the Moon,
Mercury, and Venus, planets revolving in the spheres to which
the Earth's shadow extends [Can. 9, l. 118], correspond to
imperfect virtues; and the first-mentioned one, I should say, rep-
resents those well-meaning but weak characters, whose doom is in the words, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." In
accordance with this view I call Dante's moon the "planet of
mutability," not, as other commentators should, the planet of
perverted nuns. But here it may be objected to me, that Dante
supposes all blessed spirits to be really in the empyrean heaven
[Can. 4, l. 34], and to only appear to him in other regions;
if therefore neither perverted nuns, nor other mutables, are
really in the moon, in what sense can it represent a larger class
of beings than are actually seen there? I answer, that the
planets and spheres represent the real gradations in heavenly bliss
[Can. 4, l. 35], which depend on virtues, of which we must give
a general and equitable account, and not upon any diversities of
worldly functions corresponding to cowls or diadems, although
such may contribute to make examples of each virtue more
notable. [Can. 17, l. 136.]

— thou'lt recognise Piccarde. — [See Purg. Can. 24, l. 10.] Piccarde was sister to Gemma, Dante's wife, and Corso Donati,
the "Catiline" of Florence. During the latter's absence from
home she entered the monastery of St. Clara. Corso had arranged
meantime to make her the instrument of an alliance between
himself and Rosselin della Tosa, and upon learning what she
had done, he entered with several armed men the convent,
carried her away, and caused her to be married by compulsion.
PARADISE. CAN. III. L. 49—79.

How ill she could bear this outrage may be conjectured from her having died soon after.

*Our wills, O brother mine.*—Philalethes quotes similar expressions respecting the state of the Blest from Hugo de St. Victor: “For God shall be the object of our desires, who shall be seen without end, loved without satiety, praised without weariness. This function, this affection, this act, shall be common to all, even as life eternal. According to degrees of merit, what degrees there shall be of glory and of honour, who is capable of thinking? how much less can any utter it! but that such will exist, cannot be gainsaid. And this great boon will that blessed city see in herself, that no inferior will envy a superior, as to the archangels the other angels bear no envy. As little will each desire to be that which is not granted him, though with such, as the same is granted to, he be joined with a most peaceful bond of concord. Thus in the body the eye desires not to be that which the finger is; while both members are contained in the peaceable contexture of all parts. Therefore one will have a less gift than another, but yet have this gift likewise— that he will wish for nothing that is greater.” And in another place: “They love God incomparably, because they know whence and whereunto He has advanced them. They love each one each of the others as they love themselves. They rejoice in God ineffably. They rejoice in their so great beatitude. And because each loveth each as himself, therefore each hath joy in the weal of each as in his own; for what good he hath not in himself he possesses in another.”

--- of that blest thing the very ground.---All charity being grounded on the love of God, as from Him proceeds all that is worthy of our love in others.
—*the web wherein.*—The good work, which she left imperfect.

*In higher heaven a maid.*—Saint Clara, the countrywoman and contemporary of Francis of Assisi, who adapted the rule of his Friars to her own sex. In fulfilment of her vow of poverty, she underwent the greatest hardships, wearing slight clothing in all seasons, sleeping on bundles of faggots and haircloth, or straw-bags by way of indulgence. When Gregory the Ninth offered to absolve her from the obligations she had contracted, her answer was, "I will ask absolution for my sins, not for the inspirations of Christ." Her departing soul, it is said, was visibly received by angels: she was canonised under Pope Alexander the Fourth.

1. 106. *Men more accustomed ill than well to do.*—These were the Donatis, nicknamed *Malefammi* or *Malefarai*, according to Villani, lib. 8, c. 38.

1. 108. *My God, He knows what life.*—According to some late accounts Piccarda was miraculously visited, at her own intercession, with a horrible leprosy, which enabled her to preserve to the end the virginity she had vowed to Christ. But Dante seems to think that she submitted, though in sorrow and reluctance, to the realisation of a married life.

1. 118. *Lo, that of great Constantia is the light.*—Constantia, daughter of Roger, King of Sicily, and heiress of the realm, after the death, without issue, of his grandson, William the Second, was married to Henry the Sixth, the second Emperor of the Suabian line, A.D. 1186, and became mother of Frederic the Second. It is reported, though not ascertained, that she had been made a nun in Palermo, but was absolved from her vows by the bishop of that city to prevent the extinction of the royal line. She had already then reached a somewhat mature age, so that her ribald
son made it afterwards a custom to swear "by his own miraculous conception."

It is from her the second Swabian gale.—The power or violence of the Suabian princes appears to be represented by the metaphorical term gale [vento].

CANTO IV.

'Twixt meats alike removed.—This theory could doubtless not be brought to a rigid test by experiment; for how could two courses be presented to us, between whose difficulties or allurements we could not find or fancy a practical distinction, if indeed our life depended on our coming to some decision? But such a distinction once made, the alternatives are no longer "alike inviting" or arduous, and the case vanishes which was supposed in theory. [See Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theol. prim. sec. 13, 6.] Dante's difficulty at present is, in determining which to ask first of two questions, which are stated in lines 19–21, 22–24.

Then Beatris did like as Daniel.—That is, declaring both my thought and its interpretation.

Thou arguest if good will.—Dante argues, if Piccarda and Constantia were taken by force from the convent [see Can. 3, l. 106, 113], how was the merit diminished which they acquired by adhering, as far as in them lay, to the vows they had submitted to? [See ib. l. 50, 56]. The question is answered in l. 73, et seq.
282 DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY

According to Plato's philosophical romance [Timæus], the Maker of the world formed human souls originally in an equal number with the stars, and placed one of them in each of the latter, as in a vehicle where it might acquire general ideas of the existent; he then bade them prepare to be implanted in bodies of human males, wherein if they lived well, and learned to master the affections incident from union with matter, they should return, he said, to their own stars, and live happily; but if they conducted themselves amiss, they should migrate into the bodies of inferior animals, beginning, says the heathen philosopher, with those of women. The spirits whom Dante saw in the Moon, especially from their being those of mutable personages, appeared to him to yield some confirmation to this theory, which Beatris, however, shows to be erroneous.

1. 27. To answer that the first, which hath most gall.—See on line 64.

1. 30. Take which thou wilt.—Either John the Baptist, or John the Evangelist.

1. 33. — nor more nor fewer years live on.—It seems implied that Plato granted to spirits, when they returned to their stars, only a limited period of felicity, after which other conditions were to be assigned them; a view of which there is no trace in the Timæus, though it is tolerably consonant with the author's other dialogues.

1. 34. But all make beautiful — It was necessary to the poet to represent all the blessed spirits as a single society, exalted above the boundaries of the material universe. We are told, therefore, that the real abode of all is in the Empyrean, where they will be introduced in Can. 33. [See passage quoted from Convito, under
Can. 1, l. 76]. They only appear then to Dante in various planets, to enable him to distinguish their different grades of merit and felicity. And even this phenomenal distinction is abandoned, when we come to the spirits most distinguished by the high Christian virtues. [See arguments of Can. 24, 25, and 26.]

When forms to bodies set by nature are.—The soul is called the form of the body; i.e. principle of its essence.

If on these circles.—Alluding to the supposed influence of the stars in modifying people’s natural dispositions.

This principle was felt perversely.—The imperfect knowledge of this influence led people to deify planets as Jove, Mercury, Mars, &c.

That other doubt.—[See l. 19.] It will appear, from general considerations, that a doubt respecting the culpability of the nuns was less likely to remove Dante from Beatris (as expounder of Theology) than an illusion respecting the habitation of the Blessed, or the period they were to remain in it.

—— is an argument.—To the words “argument of faith” I can affix no appropriate meaning but that of “a notion arguing faith in its entertainer.”

If only where the sufferers.—As Aristotle says, “Compulsory is that whereof the origin is external, being such that the agent or patient thereto contributes nothing, as if one should be carried anywhither by the wind, or by those who are masters of one’s person.” [Nic. Eth. 1, 3.] The nuns, Beatris intimates, were not [throughout] detained from their convents by absolute, that is, physical, compulsion, still less by their absolute wish, but in a manner by compulsion; namely, by dread of what might happen if they resisted; they were, therefore, not blameless.

As that which on the grate Laurentius held.—A Christian
deacon, who suffered martyrdom on a gridiron, defying his executioner by inviting him to inflict fresh pains, A.D. 258.

l. 84. *And Mutius to his right hand made severe.*—Dante says in the Convito, "Who will say that Mutius was without divine inspiration, to set on the fire his own hand, because that stroke had failed which he had meditated to preserve Rome by?" [Tract. 4, cap. 5].

l. 100. *Full oftentimes, O Brother.*—On the rest of Beatris's discourse, compare Aristotle in the chapter above cited. "With respect to such things as are performed through the fear of greater evils . . . . as if a tyrant, having your parents or children in his hands, should command you to do some base action, giving to understand that they should be safe if you would do it, and if you would not they should die; with respect to such things, it is dubious whether they are voluntary or involuntary . . . . Such like actions are, therefore, of a mixed nature [see l. 107], but they are more similar to voluntary actions; for they are then eligible, when they are performed; and the action is ended while the occasion subsists, and the voluntariness or involuntariness is to be predicated while you are acting; and you act voluntarily, for the origin of the movement of your organic parts is in yourself in such actions; and of whatever things the origin is in yourself, it depends on you to do or not to do them, and such things are voluntary; but, absolutely speaking, they are perhaps involuntary, since no one would choose to do any one of such things for itself. . . . And to some things perhaps you ought never to be constrained, but rather to die under the most dreadful sufferings; for it seems ridiculous to talk of the circumstances which constrained Alcmaeon, in Euripides [see
l. 103], to kill his mother. ... What things shall we then call compulsory? Shall we term things absolutely such, when the cause is external, and the agent contributes nothing? But things involuntary in themselves, yet eligible at this or that time for such and such purposes, of which the origin is in the agent, shall we call involuntary indeed in themselves, but voluntary as at the time and for the purpose?"

As when Aecleon. — The son of Tiresias, mentioned in Purg. l. 103. Can. 12, l. 104. Ovid speaks of him as

"Facto plus et sceleratus eodem."
("By one deed wicked and [filially] pious."")

To liking absolute. — Piccarda called the secularisation of the nuns involuntary, for they did not absolutely like it: I called it voluntary, says Beatris, because they submitted to it on account of circumstances.

O Goddess, loved one. — See Appendix to Purgatory, ad finem. l. 118.


CANTO V.

And your affections if aught else. — Comp. Purg. Can. 16, l. 85.

That God consenteth, whereto you consent. — If the thing you vow be in its nature good and acceptable to God.

Two parts the nature of the vow fulfil. — We not only vow a...
material performance, if our vow is of any value, but a certain sacrifice or devotion of the will. Our vows then cannot be satisfied by any outward performance, which does not require a suchlike devotion of the will as we promised; for how can money or anything material be a compensation for that which is God's noblest gift? [l. 19.]

1. 57. The turn of both the white and yellow key.—The sanction of ecclesiastical counsel and authority. [See note on the keys borne by the Angel, Purg. Can. 9, l. 117.]

1. 61. Hence whatsoever thing.—Dante apparently intimates that a vow of virginity is not redeemable even by the Church's authority. He covertly censures the prelate who had sanctioned Costanza's marriage with Henry the Fifth.

1. 69. ——him that over Greeks ruled wide.—Agamemnon—who, while preparing for the Trojan expedition, vowed to sacrifice to Diana the fairest thing that should be born to him in the year, whence he was afterwards compelled to bring his daughter Iphigenia to the altar. This version of the story is from Euripides, whom however, as being a Greek author, it must be doubtful if Dante ever directly consulted. The most striking reference to her in the Latin authors is that made by Lucretius, lib. 1, v. 85, &c.; now I doubt if his unwise comment on the occurrence,

"Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum;"
("Such ills hath religion been able to persuade,"")

be not referred to in the present passage [l. 72], as though the Epicurean poet had but sorrowed like a fool for this woman, showing more concern for her sufferings than for all the good which men may obtain by piety.

1. 87. From which the world doth most enlived appear.—The region
meant is probably the equatorial. "For each heaven under the
crystalline has two poles, fixed in relation to itself, and the ninth
pole has them firm, and fixed, and immutable in all respects; and
each, the ninth included, has a circle, that may be called the
equator of its own heaven, which in every part of its revolution
is evenly removed from one pole and from the other. And
this circle in each heaven has more rapidity in moving than any
part of its heaven, as may be seen by whoever well considers it;
and each part, as it is nearer thereto, moves more rapidly; and
as it thence removed, and nearer to the pole, more slowly,
because its revolution is smaller, and must needs occupy the
same time as the larger revolution. And in proportion as the
heaven is nearer to the equatorial circle, so it is nobler in com-
parison with its own poles; inasmuch as it has more movement
and energy, more life and form, and touches more nearly that
which is above itself, and is therefore more replete with virtue."
[Tract. 2, cap. 4.]

So with the second realm we were combined.—The second sphere,
namely of Mercury, the Planet of the Love of Fame, being the
second disposition of imperfect virtue.

Eternal Triumph's Thrones to contemplate.—There is no specific
allusion to the order of Angels, properly called Thrones; for
the Movers of the present sphere are of a lower hierarchy. [See
Can. 28.]

To see which rays extrinsic disallow.—Mercury being so near
the Sun as often to be concealed by its rays.
When Constantine had turned.—When Constantine transferred to Byzantium the capital of the Romans, he carried in a manner from East to West that national emblem, the Eagle, which had been borne in the contrary direction from Troy to Italy by their ancestors following Æneas (who won by arms, as has been mentioned, the hand of the Latin princess Lavinia). The Eagle's second removal, it is hinted, was performed under worse auspices than the first, for its direction was

"Against the course of heaven and doom."

This bird of God's.—We have here a daring application of the classical myth which made the eagle the bird of Jupiter; for so did God himself, according to Dante's intimation, protect the emblem of the Roman power.

Ibid. — two hundred years and more.—Justinian began his reign in 527, and Constantinople was dedicated, according to the most trustworthy accounts, in 330; between which dates there is not quite that interval which Dante supposes. But the event last referred to is placed by the Greek historian Nicephorus in the year 326, and this account may have been more readily trusted in Dante's time from its agreeing best with the story of Constantine's donation. For that emperor's conference with Sylvester, for whose sake he is said to have removed the seat of empire, that the popes might govern Rome exclusively, is judged by Baronius to have taken place as early as 324.

Fast by the mountains.—On the frontiers of Europe and Asia, opposite a chain of mountains with which Ida near Troy connects itself; the situation of Byzantium is described.
PARADISE. CAN. VI. L. 1–14. 289

_Cæsar I was, Justinian I remain._—My title is gone from me, but not the name that was given me in baptism.

_I took from Law . . . the excessive and inane._—The professed object of Justinian in compiling his code was to free the Roman laws from all needless repetition and pernicious incongruity, [omni supervacuā similitudine et iniquissimā discordiā].

_By all first Love's consent._—By the favour of God's spirit, who is Love himself, and the cause and object of that I burn with.

_I thought one Nature dwelt in Christ, not two._—It is not fully admitted that Justinian, at the time when Agapetus visited him, was thoroughly attached to the Monophysite tenets, but merely that he supported in office a patriarch who favoured them. But see Paulus Diaconus, lib. 17, who says, "When Theodatus [king of the Goths in Italy] perceived that the Emperor was incensed against him, he sent to Constantinople the blessed Pope Agapetus to obtain for him, from Justinian, that his acts might be unpunished. When this holy pontiff had been admitted to Justinian's presence, and had held a conference with him on the faith, he found him to have fallen into the dogmas of Eutyches; and the blessed Vicar of Christ met at first with some grievous threats from him. But when Justinian had perceived his unshaken constancy in the Catholic faith (and it seems their dispute rose to such a height that the Head of the Church said, I desired to approach Justinian, the most Christian Emperor, but I have found here Diocletian), and had at last by the will of God yielded to his admonitions, he returned to the confession of the Catholic faith, with many who had similarly erred. And having convicted Anthemius, the bishop of that same royal city, a champion of the above-mentioned heresy, he [Agapetus]

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deprived him of public communion, and sent him, with the
sanction of the Emperor, into exile."

1. 25. *And left my Belisarius in my place.* — Justinian having, by the
arms of this great commander, recovered Italy and Africa from
the barbarians, and reunited in a manner the Eastern and
Western empires, while he reconciled the Greeks, for a time at
least, to the orthodox Church, seems to be treated by Dante as
the last great defender of the ancient monarchy's prerogatives,
and a worthy chronicler of the glories of the Eagle. [But see
note on l. 112.]

1. 31. *That thou may'st know what reasons countenance; — that is, how
little excuse both the open enemies of the empire, the Guelfs,
and its professed friends, the Ghibellines, have for violating its
rights. The war of these parties had in the year 1300 dege-
erated into a system of local and personal feuds, and it was
not till the accession of Henry of Luxemburg that they strove
distinctly on the great question of maintaining the Imperial power
in Italy. With the general scope of the following discourse, com-
pare the author's Treatise on the Monarchy, in which it is main-
tained, firstly, that a universal empire is necessary for the well-being
of mankind; secondly, that the Romans were deputed by Pro-
vidence to found such an empire; and thirdly, that the power
of the Emperor is not dependent on that of the Pope. Dante's
arguments for the last proposition, so valuable in a priest-ridden
age, have been alluded to in Purgatory under Can. 16, l. 106.
In behalf of the second he quotes, as here, many wonderful inter-
positions of Providence in defence of the Roman arms, which
show that they proved, in a manner, by ordeal of battle, their
claim to universal sovereignty; he touches also on the nobility
of their character and ancestry, and the regard to universal
welfare which they evinced in disposing of their conquests, as circumstances that approved their claims; on another of his arguments see l. 86. This second proposition is also finely advocated in a chapter of the Convito, which I have mentioned under Hell, Can. 2, and to which farther references must here be made. [Tract. 4, c. 5.] The first and leading proposition is mainly established by the following principle:—Universal peace is necessary to the well-being of mankind; for they need all and each the utmost attainable tranquillity to fulfil the great end of their being, which is to energise the powers of the human intellect, speculative and practical, in all their integrity. And both by the maintenance of peace, and in other ways related to the same, a universal monarchy contributes to the purpose of human existence; this is shown by various arguments, out of which, perhaps, the following one may be selected as most practical. Whenever there may be strife, there should also be room for a judicial decision. One prince has no right to pass judgment on another if a difference arise between them; they ought to submit, therefore, to the judgment of a common superior. Ultimately, therefore, there must be one paramount over all princes. Nor would this paramount be very likely to commit injustice, for he could add nothing farther to his power or riches. As these views of Dante's have been unjustly ridiculed by modern writers, it should be observed that his idea of a universal monarchy differed little from that of a confederation of the states of the known world, which should be fortified by lodging in one man's hands a supreme executive power for federal, not for civil purposes, or in order to terminate the differences between the several communities, but not necessarily to control those local institutions,
which are advantageously diversified among nations in different regions, or of different natural endowments. This theory, then, coincides essentially with that of the great modern philosopher, who maintains that the outward relations of independent nations towards each other are those of individuals in a savage state, without institutions of government, which is naturally a state of warfare. And because such a state, if even the evils that it admits should be contemplated as possible, and not as real, ought to be avoided by all means within reach, therefore not only did individuals lie formerly under obligations to unite themselves by civil government, but communities are now bound to struggle for a federal union, by which all controversies among themselves may be terminated, though the internal constitution of each will be under no restrictions, unless, indeed, such should be found necessary for the purpose of maintaining the union. [Kant, Metaphysik der Sitten, Rechtlehre.]

1. 36. When Pallas died, on whom his rule arose.—The son of a Latian king named Evander. Pallas died supporting Æneas against the Rutuli. [Æn. lib. 8 and 9.]

1. 39. When three fought three.—This combat is represented in the “Monarchy” as a distinct appeal to the judgment of heaven. “For when two peoples from the same Trojan root had sprouted in Italy, namely the Roman people and the Alban, and had long contended between them for the standard of the eagle, for the Dii Penates of the Trojans and for the honour of supremacy, there took place at last, to determine the question, by the common consent of the parties, a combat between three brethren the Horatii and three brethren the Curiatii, in presence of the kings and nations standing in suspense on both sides, at which time the three Alban combatants, and two of the Roman, having been
slain, the palm of victory was obtained by the Romans under King Hostilius."

—as through the kings he passed.—The various characters of the Roman kings, as again is intimated in the Monarchy, were eminently suited to the times they reigned in, and contributed steadily to strengthen and extend their dominions. [Compare Æn. 6, sub fin.]

—against the Epeirot and the Gaul.—The Monarchy mentions Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, as a high-spirited adversary of the Romans, who, looking on war as an appeal to the judgment of heaven what nation should be supreme, would take no opportunity from its vicissitudes to gratify revenge or avarice; wherefore he refused the ransom for the captives, saying, as Ennius tells us,

``Nec mi surum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis;
Nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes,
Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique.
Vosne velit, an me, regnare Hera, quidve ferat Sors
Virtute experiamur."

In the same book Dante mentions, as one of the miraculous interpositions by which the supremacy of Rome was furthered, that when the Gauls, having taken the rest of the city, and, relying on the darkness, were stealthily approaching the Capitolium, which alone remained between the Romans and utter destruction, a goose, which had not before been seen there, indicated by its voice that the Gauls were present, and roused the guards to defend the Capitol, as "Livy and many illustrious writers with one accord testify."

Against the princes, but and leagues of peers.—Query does the word collegi, translated leagues of peers, refer particularly to the Achæan confederates?
Whence Quintus, whom of locks untrimmed we call;—i.e. Cincinnatus. In speaking of many illustrious Romans, of whom he says, that it was "manifestly not without some light of the divine bounty, superadded to the excellence of their nature, that they wrought so many and such admirable deeds," Dante asks, "Who will say of Torquatus, who adjudged his own son to death for love of the commonweal, that he endured to do this without divine aid? . . . Who will say that [without divine aid] Quintus Cincinnatus, having been taken from the plough to be Dictator, did after the term of his office spontaneously lay down that dignity, and return to ploughing?" On the Decii he says, in the Monarchy, "Their illustrious name glows in the voice of Tully, who in his book De fine bonorum, says: Publius Decius, the first in that family, when he devoted himself, and having given the reins to his horse, plunged into the midst of the Latian ranks—did he think of his pleasures, whence and when he might obtain them, when he knew he must forthwith die, and sought that death with a more burning zeal than ever Epicurus thought pleasure was to be sought with? And had not this example been praiseworthy, would his son have imitated him in his fourth consulship? or would the son of the latter, commanding as consul against Pyrrhus, have fallen in that battle, and offered himself in his generation as a third victim?" All the above celebrated names and that of the Fabian family seem to have been suggested to our poet by the catalogues in Virgil, Æn. 6.

He did the Arabian’s overweenings tame.—The Carthaginians are probably spoken of as Arabs, because the north of Africa, from which they issued, was in Dante’s time peopled by descendants of that nation. Indeed this had been the case from time immemorial; and the Punic language, even by its affinity with
the Hebrew, betrays a corresponding origin, as we see by the names Anna and Eliass in Virgil.

_In early age beneath him Scipio._ — "And did not God lay-to his hand, when, in the war with Hannibal, having lost so many [equestrian] citizens that welnigh three bushels of their rings had been sent to Carthage, the Romans were minded to abandon the city, had not that blessed youth Scipio undertaken in his hardihood to invade Africa?" [Convito.]

—and Pompey, proving to that hill.—According to Villani, Catiline was besieged by Pompey with Cæsar and Cicero in Fesulae, a town which they levelled with the ground, and built Florence beneath it. [1st. Fior. 1, 30.]

Read, _Hath seen, Isère and Seine and every glen._ — In this triplet is described the whole theatre of Cæsar's Gallic wars. It is taken from a passage in Lucan, where he describes the conquered territories in Gaul, from which Cæsar had mustered his legions to contend with Pompey. [See Phars. lib. 1.]

"Hi vada liquerunt Isaræ [Isère]." 1. 399.
"Finis et Hesperiae, promotu limite Varus [Var.]." 1. 404.
"Optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis [Seine]." 1. 425.
"Qua Rhodanus raptum velocibus undis
In mare fert Ararim [Saone]." 1. 433-4.

_That which he wrought beyond Ravenna._ — All the following campaigns of Cæsar in the Pompeian and subsequent wars are noted by Lucan. The present and following triplets refer briefly to Cæsar's unlawful passage of the Rubicon, and subsequent subjugation of Italy; the defeat of Petreius and Afranius, Pompey's lieutenants, in Spain; the doubtful conflict at Dyrrachium; and the decisive victory at Pharsalia, which led Pompey to flee to Egypt, where a tragic end awaited him.
Simois he looked.—In the neighbourhood of Troy, where Caesar, according to Lucan, landed after his Pharsalian victory, and offered sacrifices to the manes of the heroes, from whom the Julian family was said to be descended. [Phars. lib. 9.]

And ill for Ptolemy shook off his repose. — In the following lines Dante rapidly glances at the Alexandrian war, in which Caesar supported the claims of Cleopatra against Ptolemy, the Spanish war against Juba and his Pompeian confederates, and the African war, in which he conquered Sextus and Cneius Pompeius the younger.

Of what he made his next uplifted dare. — Alluding to the triumphs of the eagle under his next bearer Augustus, namely the victory over Caesar's murderers at Philippi, that over Mark Antony, at Mutina, before the establishment of the Triumvirate, and that over the Consul Lucius Antonius, after which Perugia was nearly destroyed. These two cities are referred to by Lucan [1, 41]:—

"His, Caesar, Perusina fames, Mutinaque labores
Accedant fatis."

That men the shrine of Janus might forsake.—A sign of general peace. [Compare Æn. 1, 290, et seq.]

If in third Caesar's hand; — i. e. that of Tiberius. The highest possible honour was conferred on the Roman empire by the fact that our Saviour submitted to die by its authority, attesting by this act, according to Dante's Monarchy, that the legitimate jurisdiction of that empire included the whole human race: "For if the Roman empire did not rightfully exist, the sin of Adam has not been punished in Christ — but this would be false. . . . For we being all sinners by the sin of Adam, as the Apostle shows . . . if for that sin satisfaction had not been made by the
death of Christ, we should still be by nature children of wrath, that is to say, by nature depraved. But this is not the case, as appears by what the Apostle says to the Ephesians [see c. i. vv. 5, 6, 7]. Now it must be known, that punishment is not simply a pain borne by him who commits a wrong, but a pain inflicted upon such a person by one who has a jurisdiction [qualifying him] to punish; wherefore, if the pain be not inflicted by a regular judge, it is not a punishment, but is rather to be called a wrong; wherefore the man said to Moses, 'Who made thee a judge over us?' If therefore Christ had not suffered under a regular judge, that pain would not have been a punishment; and there could not have been a regular judge [over him], had it not been one that had a jurisdiction over the whole human race, inasmuch as the whole human race was punished in the flesh of Christ, who carried, as the Prophet says,—that is, endured,—our sorrows. And Tiberius Caesar, whose representative Pilate was, would not have had a jurisdiction over the whole human race, if the Roman empire had not lawfully existed. Hence it is that Herod, though not knowing what he did (like Caiaphas, when he spoke the truth), did, by the decree of heaven, send back Christ to be judged by Pilate, as Luke recordeth in his Gospel. For Herod was not the vicegerent of Tiberius, under the ensign of the Eagle, or under an ensign of the Senate's; but he was a king appointed by Tiberius to a particular kingdom, and he governed under its ensign. Let then those who call themselves children of the Church cease to revile the Roman empire, when they perceive the Church's bridegroom, even Christ, to have thus acknowledged it."

Next this he scour'd with Titus. — To the siege of Jerusalem, wherein the Roman power, the minister of God's justice [see Can. 19], punished the Jewish nation for their crime in delivering
Christ to the tribunal of Pilate [John xviii. 35], whereon see next Canto.

Next, when the Longobardian tooth.—It was then in the quality of Roman Emperor, according to Dante, that Heaven granted to Charlemagne to overthrow the dominion of the Lombards, and rescue the Church from their oppression. But this he did in the year 774, and he was not crowned emperor till A.D. 800, so that an anachronism seems to have been here committed. But it is merely meant, I think, that Heaven favoured the arms of Charlemagne, as those of the destined restorer of the Western empire.

One sets against the flag of public weal.—That is the Eagle; for the Romans, in subjugating the world to themselves, kept in view the general good, and therein the Triumph of Right, [finem juris], according to the Monarchy. On the fleur-de-lis, as the symbol opposed to the Eagle in Dante’s time, see on l. 106.

He whom from Justice keeps it ever apart.—See on l. 100.

Let Charles the Younger.—Charles the Second of Naples, of the French dynasty. This prince seems to have invaded the rights of the empire in the year 1306, when he accepted homage for the fief of Montferrat, together with the possession of some towns therein, from a pretender to the Marquisate who sought his protection. This was Manfredi of Salerno, who on the death of Giovanni (the successor of the Marquis William of Purg. Can. 7), sought to exclude from the succession the next heir nominated by Giovanni, namely Theodore, son of the latter’s sister Iolante, or Irene, and of the Greek emperor Andronicus Comnenus.

This little star is furnished.—If we compare the laborious achievements and splendid fortunes of Justinian with the natural weakness and meanness of disposition which he betrayed in
personal concerns, we may readily approve Dante's judgment in making him an example of those persons who are supported in well-doing by the love of fame.

*There shines a light, and Romeo was his name.* — This Romeo, l. 128, according to Villani [vi. 9], had come as an unknown pilgrim from St. James's shrine at Compostella to the hospitable palace of the noble Raymond Berlinghier of Provence, where he earned himself so much favour and confidence, that he was entrusted with the management of the Count's heavily encumbered revenues, which, under his care, became trebled in amount, so that they supplied, while the Court was maintained in all its splendour, the means for successfully terminating a war with the Count of Toulouse. Romeo then contrived to marry Raymond's eldest daughter Margaret to Louis the Ninth of France, exhorting her father to grudge no expense for the dowry or nuptials, because this alliance would certainly enable him to dispose of the other princesses in a splendid and advantageous manner. And so it came to pass; for Eleanor was married to Henry the Third, King of England, and Sanctia to his brother Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, both without a portion. For Beatris, the youngest daughter, Romeo advised the Count to find a worthy husband, whom he might make heir of his dominions; and so she was given to Charles of Anjou, who, by his prowess, made her queen of Sicily and Apulia. After all this, Romeo was by envious courtiers accused before his lord of peculations, and required to give an account of his stewardship; whereupon he asked for his mule, staff, and pilgrim's weeds, left the palace in disdain, notwithstanding the Count's repentant solicitations, and journeyed where he was no more heard of.
**DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY.**

**Canto VI.**

But those Provençals. — The enemies of Romeo suffered for their vile conduct, in common with others of their countrymen, when the land fell under the tyrannous control of Charles of Anjou, who, in virtue of his marriage, succeeded to Raymond as Count.

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**Canto VII.**

Be hallowed, Holy God of Sabaoth. — The original lines are in Latin and Hebrew.

1. **Above whose head the double sheen.** — Representing, it is thought, Justinian's twofold glories as a conqueror and legislator.

1. **At only hearing BE and IS.** — Fragments of the name beloved.

1. **That how a just revenge.** — See last Canto, l. 92.

1. **For by one death.** — Christ's sufferings, by which, in one respect, God justly punished the sin of humanity, were on the other hand unjustly inflicted by the Jews.

1. **why in but this guise.** — Why not, for instance, in one of the ways proposed at l. 91 to 93.

1. **Our God his goodness.** — This unstinted bounty impresses upon all God's creatures the perfections of imperishability, of freedom [l. 70], and of similarity to itself [l. 73]. By the creatures of God we must understand those things which he produces directly in their own essence, and not those, universally, of which he has created the matter [l. 136] and the constituent principles, and which are then called into being by natural causes, as by the operations of the heavens, &c. In this manner
the Angels and the Heavenly Spheres were created [L. 130]: God creates also (or has created) the souls of men, which are formed of no independent substance previously existing; yea, the bodies of our first parents were created by him [L. 145]; but it is otherwise with other material bodies.

That which from her without a medium showers.—To creatures, as above, freedom also is attributed, which must of course be differently understood in reference to the intelligent and the unintelligent. The angels were gifted with free-will in the strictest sense, but the material heavens were made free from susceptibility to the action of extrinsic bodies, that is, incorruptible and unalterable.

In all these points the human creature so.—Man was created with these three attributes, of imperishability, freedom, and similarity to God; the last he has lost by sin, and therefore partially also the other two. The above privileges man derived from his having been the immediate work of God (both spiritually, as I have remarked above, and corporeally, as stated under L. 147).

She sinned in all her substance.—The sin of Adam is attributable to all humanity, as the sin of one member would be to the whole man.

Man could not by his nature’s limits reach.—The sin of Adam consisted in pride, which is called in Scripture the root of all evil; for he aimed at equality with God by tasting the fruit of the tree of knowledge. From this consideration the reader will readily understand Dante’s argument.

By mercy or by justice.—“All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth” [Psalm 25]. Of the plans which could have been adopted for man’s redemption, the most conformable to Divine bounty was that which made it a work, not of mercy
only, but also of justice, by enabling human nature in the person
of Christ to satisfy the demands of justice, so that God might be
 glorified under both attributes.

l. 124.  *Thou sayest I see the air.* — The elements, according to Ari-
 stotelian philosophy, were perpetually transformed into one
 another by corruption and generation. This fact appears to
 Dante to constitute an objection to Beatris's statement that the
 immediate works of God are imperishable [l. 67]. But she
 now tells him, that neither these elements, nor, à fortiori, any of
 their products, are created by God essentially, but they are com-
 posed of created matter, organised by created forces, and owe
 the occasion of their existence to the stellar operations or to
 other efficient causes.

l. 180.  *And that sooth-faced land.* — That is, the heavenly spheres.

l. 189.  *The souls, with which.* — The souls or lives of plants and brute
 animals are principles imprest by the operations of the stars
 upon composites of matter suitably arranged to receive such.

l. 147.  *The mode our flesh was wrought in.* — "In the beginning God
 created the heavens and the earth," which creation comprised,
 according to schoolmen, the matter and the constituent principles
 of all organised things, so that the latter were then brought into
 being, in some measure at least, indirectly, as God said, *Let the
 earth bring forth* grass, &c. But the bodies of the first man and
 woman were more directly formed by God; whence Dante infers
 that they were made incorruptible, and will again be so (even
 as all human bodies derived from them) when their destinies
 are finally accomplished.
CANTO VIII.

That lovely Cypris. — Namely, the goddess of beauty, within whose planet we shall find such spirits as the passion of love has confirmed in some virtuous dispositions — a company, we must confess, who signalise Dante's indulgence more than moral zeal. The original mentions the "third epicycle," a supposed orb, turning upon another orb, by which the irregularities of the planet's motion were accounted for.

But Cupid's and Dione's honours spread. — On Dione, as mother of Venus, see Æn. 3, 19.

And he to have sat in Dido's balm. — When Æneas was entertained by the Queen of Carthage, whom his goddess-mother desired to enamour of him. [Æn. 1, sub fin.]

Is now in th' eyes, now in the neck. — Venus appearing as evening or morning star.

Read, Our course before it was perceived was run.

To suit th' eternal tenure of their sight. — The rapider motion showing the more fervent love of God, and this the deeper insight into his nature. [See Can. 14, l. 46.]

No wind was e'er. — [See note on Can. 22, l. 40.]

Commenced among the exalted Seraphim. — The Seraphim, forming the highest order of angels, are supposed to control the highest sphere, or primum mobile, in which begins the common movement of all the others.

We circle with the heavenly Princedoms [Principalities]. — An order of angels, according to one system, sixth from the highest, and therefore imagined to govern the heaven of Venus, which stands at a like distance among the spheres from the primum mobile, [and third from the Earth].
Ye that contemplating. — A Canzone of Dante's, commented on in the third treatise of the Convito; where, we may observe, he speaks of the Thrones, not the Principalities, as giving motion to the sphere of Venus. For this opinion he seems here to apologise: the respective grounds on which he may have adopted and abandoned it will appear under Can. 28.

Such grown, he said. — The speaker is Charles Martel, eldest son of Charles the Second, King of Naples, who died before his father in 1295. "He was truly," says Benvenuto, "amorous, amiable, and attractive, having in him the five things that are most calculated to invite love; namely, health, youth, beauty, wealth and leisure."

Read, "As in the silk the chrysalis is unseen."

Well didst thou love me. — Dante is said to have formed an intimacy with Charles Martel in the year 1295, when the latter, in going out to meet his father, who was returning from captivity in Arragon, past with a splendid retinue through Florence, where he stayed twenty days, winning golden opinions [Villani, viii. 13]. Our author may also have seen him at the Court of Naples, which he appears twice to have visited as ambassador.

That shore, which on the left. — Between the Rhone and Sorgue (a small river falling into the Rhone, near the north side of Avignon) were comprised the ancient territories of Provence, which Charles the Second inherited from his father [see on Can. 6, l. 128], and might have transmitted to Charles Martel, had the latter survived him.

So did yon foreland. — The realm of Naples or Apulia, comprising, near its farthest confines, Gaeta in the Terra di Lavoro [on the gulf to which it gives name north of Naples], Bari in the Terra di Bari on the Adriatic, and Cortona in Calabria, for
which some would read Catona, the name of a town near Reggio.

Where Tronto and Verde. — These rivers nearly marked out the boundaries of the Papal States and the kingdom of Naples, Tronto on the Adriatic, and Verde on the Mediterranean side.

And of the land that Danube. — The kingdom of Hungary, which, on the death, in 1290, of Ladislaus the Fourth, Charles Martel claimed in right of his mother Mary, the deceased king's sister. He was crowned by the legate of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, but rejected by the Hungarian nation, who set over themselves Andrew surnamed the Venetian, a collateral relative of Ladislaus's. After the latter's death Charles's son, Charles Robert, obtained the succession through many difficulties.

The fair Trinacria. — Sicily — of which the shore that feels the Eural [eastern] blast (between the Capes of Pelorus northward, and Pachynum [now Passaro] southward), is often darkened by the smoke of Etna, whose eruptions the ancients attributed to Typhoens, the giant imprisoned below it. [See Ovid, Met. 5, l. 346 to 353, a passage which has also suggested Dante's geographical description.]

Through me from blood of Rodolf and of Charles. — Charles Martel had married, in 1291, Clementia, daughter of Rodolf of Hapsburg. He observes that all the rulers of Sicily might have been looked for from his own family in the heirs of Rodolf and of Charles of Anjou (his own grandfather), had not the latter deservedly lost the island, as the next lines intimate.

If evil rule, which cannot. — The severity and grasping avarice of Charles of Anjou paved the way for the outbreak at Palermo on Easter Monday, 1282, and the massacre of the celebrated...
"vespers," which was followed by the revolt of the whole island and its annexation to Arragon.

1. 75. *Palermo for the French their death.* — The immediate occasion of the massacre offers an instance of Montesquieu's observation that "nine times have the French been chased from Italy on account of their insolence to wives and virgins." The Palermitans were stirred up, crying Death to the French, and killed their governor, and all of his nation whom they could seize, and even each Sicilian woman, it is said, by whom a Frenchman expected to become a father. They persuaded the inhabitants of Messina and other cities to do the like, whence about four thousand men were put to death. [See Villani, vii. 61.]

1. 76. *And if my brother hence.* — Robert, third son of Charles the Second of Naples, who succeeded him by the means mentioned under Can. 9, l. 2, had been about six years a hostage for his father in Arragon, where he surrounded himself with foreign favourites and Catalonian mercenaries, whom he afterwards so employed that their avarice became oppressive to his Italian subjects. While yet Duke of Calabria, he was invested, in the year 1305, with the captainship of Florence, to which city some of these retainers accompanied him.

1. 82. *His nature, which derived from generous fount.* — This line shows that the one virtue Dante attributes to Charles the Second of Naples [Can 19, l. 127], was that which is opposite to avarice; nevertheless, see Purg. Can. 20, l. 79. Robert's avarice is admitted by Villani [xii. 9], though disposed, as a Guelf, to be his panegyrist. "He was a mild and amiable ruler, and exceeding friendly to our commonalty, and endowed with all virtues, save that when he began to grow old, he deteriorated
through avarice in many ways. He excused himself on account of the war which he sustained to recover Sicily, but this was not enough [to plead] for so great a lord and so wise as he was in other things." But Dante's censure no doubt comprises that territorial ambition, the avarice of kings, which Robert manifested from the beginning of his reign, and which he laboured incessantly to gratify, by mixing himself up in the wars of party waged in most of the Italian cities, and by abusing the subser-
viency of the Popes at Avignon to obtain himself donations of fiefs and provinces, as of Romagna and Ferrara in 1310. If afterwards, when Henry of Luxemburg visited Italy, Robert employed every engine of policy to retard his progress, and disputed with him the occupation of Rome, where he sent troops in 1313 to impede his coronation, Dante has denounced, like an Imperialist, the pernicious tendency of this conduct by the intimation in l. 51. Nor was this an indirect attempt to bring odium on the Guelf cause by vilifying the character of its patron (for he would have respected a nobler antagonist); but he had relevant grounds, to all appearance, to censure both the political career and the motives of his royal adversary.

Dear lord of mine. — He rejoices at discerning his friend in l. 85. bliss, and at having his joy recognised by him, and that the latter's knowledge of it is revealed to him by one who "is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity."

How can the sweet leave. — Or how can noble-minded parents l. 93. have children of base natural dispositions, as was intimated in l. 82.

As right, as arrow against the target flown. — Dante's l. 105. often-expressed belief in man's free election, in the strongest
and distinctest acceptation of the term, must control our
interpretation of this whole passage. The operations of the
spheres, governed by the intelligences or angels, cause men to
be born, he says, with tastes and abilities conformed to their
various circumstances, and from this conjunction good results
may be always realised, on condition that the free determinations
of individuals or multitudes allow it. It is their powers and
opportunities, or intrinsic and extrinsic capacities, which are as
surely and exactly adapted to Heaven's beneficent purposes, as
arrow could be directed to target by perfect marksman [utsagitta à sagittante are Aquinas's words].

l. 114. *That nature should i' th' needed course.* — According to the
school aphorism, "Deus et natura non deficient in necessariis;"
"God and Nature fall not short in things necessary."

l. 120. *No surely if the truth your master say.* — That men in a perfect
commonwealth must be appointed to various trades and functions,
and that this diversity should be conformed to their natures, is
a principle urged by Aristotle in his Politics.

l. 126. *Who lost his son.* — Deëdalous, often before referred to.

l. 127. *The circle-working nature.* — The operations of the spheres.

l. 129. *But is by no respect of place controlled.* — The bodies that
grow nearest each other on earth, may be differently affected by
astral influences, which cannot in two spots be the same: hence
the different dispositions of Esau and Jacob; hence Romulus
and Remus differed in nobleness of mind from their obscure
parent, and were accounted the children of Mars.

l. 133. *The gendered nature.* — That like should beget like is a
general principle in nature, of which the action, however, is
interrupted, for the purposes above stated, by the planets.

l. 147. *And kings ye make.* — A farther censure is conveyed on Robert,
who had that reputation for abstruse learning which is of equivocal value to a king or statesman. "He was the wisest king," says Villani, "that there had been among Christians for five hundred years, both by natural ability and science, and one of the greatest masters in theology, and a philosopher of the highest order.

CANTO IX.

After thy Charles, O queen Clementia fair.—[See on Can. 8, l. 72.] It is possible, however, that Dante addresses the daughter, not the wife, of Charles Martel.

Had this illumed.—Read explained.

—he told me of the cheat.—The sons of Charles Martel, who should have inherited his rights of succession to the crown of Naples, found their claims opposed by his younger brother Robert, who, upon the death of his father Charles the Second, having hastened to Avignon in person, obtained a verdict from Pope Clement the Fifth which decided the controversy in his own favour. It has been ascertained that Robert's pretensions were supported by the will of his predecessor, who, thinking that Charles Martel and his heirs should be satisfied with the crown of Hungary, had excluded them from the inheritance of his other dominions. But Dante, viewing the case by the strict laws of primogeniture, condemns Robert as a usurper.

Turning your temples;—i.e. foreheads; applying yourselves to vain pursuits.
And now another splendour.—Cunizza, sister of Eccelino, tyrant of Romano, a princess whose supposed intrigue with Sordello, the Mantuan poet, has been mentioned under Purg. Can. 7. [See l. 32.]

That I within thee can reflect my thought.—That thou seest it in the divine mind, in which all things are eternally represented.

Above the tract.—Cunizza describes a slip of country between the Rialto, which stands for Venice, and the sources of the Brenta [near Trent], and of the Piave [in Cadore of the Bellunese territory], between which bounds we find the hill of Romano, the birthplace of her brother [l. 31] Eccelino, the cruel tyrant [l. 30] who has been mentioned in Hell, Can. 12, l. 110.

As one the planet’s brightness did subdue.—She was truly, as Benvenuto says, a daughter of Venus. After she had been separated, it appears, from a husband in the Count of San Bonifacio, and a paramour in Sordello, she was loved by a knight of Treviso, named Bonio, to repay whose passion she quitted the palace of her father, and wandered with him to many places, living voluptuously and spending large sums: at length they settled in Treviso, then governed by her second brother Alberico, in despite both of Eccelino’s opposition, and the inconvenient proximity of Bonio’s wife. Bonio was slain in a contest between the two brothers, and Cunizza again visited Eccelino, who gave her in marriage to a nobleman of Braganza: he himself then made her a widow when he punished his brother-in-law and others, whom he suspected of conspiring with his enemies. After Eccelino’s death she found a third husband in Verona. To vindicate the manner in which Dante introduces her, it is observed by Benvenuto that she was kind, merciful, and com-
passionate to the wretches who were cruelly afflicted by her brother.

But lightly I forgive. — "For in that state there shall be a free-will, freed from all evil, and filled with all good, enjoying everlastingly the sweetness of eternal joys, forgetful of faults, forgetful of punishments, but not in such a manner forgetful of the deliverance it has received as to be ungrateful to its deliverer. Inasmuch, then, as pertains to rational knowledge, it will have a remembrance of past evils; but as relates to the feeling that follows experience, it will be totally forgetful of them." [Hugo St. Victor, quoted by Philalethes.]

The loved and lustrous diamond. — Fulk, Bishop of Marseilles. [See l. 94.]

Five hundredth years to this. — "The year in which I am speaking," Cunizza intimates, "completes a century, and five such years will pass ere the term of my prophecy expires."

Whose bounds Adige and Tagliamento have. — This line marks out the countries in which the house of Romano had exercised most power and most influence; the Paduan, Estese, Vicentine, and Trevigian territories, of which the last was bounded northwards by the Tagliamento, a river which flows through Friuli into the Gulf of Venice. (The situation of the Adige needs no description.)

But Padua's blood.—Literally, perhaps, Padua shall change at the marsh the water that bathes Vicenza. The Paduans having incurred the displeasure of Henry of Luxemburg, when he was advancing through Italy to receive and to make respected the imperial crown, that prince was readily prevailed upon to deprive them of the sovereignty of Vicenza, which they had then held some forty-six years. The Vicentines, or a party among
them, had implored him to give them freedom, and he sent to their assistance some forces, to which Can della Scala and Alboino, lords of Verona, united their own to deserve the imperial favour. The garrison in Vicenza was surprised by its assailants, and driven to a strong quarter called the island, where, after a brief show of resistance, they laid down their arms, or strove to escape by swimming across the river, in which attempt many were drowned [A.D. 1311]. Hereupon the Paduans submitted to Henry, and began to negotiate for a general treaty. But when they heard, in the following year, that Can della Scala was named imperial vicar in Vicenza, and it was rumoured that he would have their own city also, they were so transported with rage, that they tore down from the public buildings the eagles, and all emblems of their fealty to the emperor, menaced and insulted their late ambassador and all the party who recommended peaceful counsels, and precipitately invaded the Vicentine territory. They encamped at about 2000 paces from the capital, where Can Grande attacked them, and drove them with great slaughter across the Bacchiglione to the right bank. This river divided itself below Vicenza into two branches, one of which flowed through Padua; the other, turning off nearly at right angles, formed a marsh in the adjacent lowlands. This arm the Paduans had at one time dammed up to increase the flow of water to their own city; and, making now a stand in the vicinity, they endeavoured to repair their mole which had been overthrown from motives of interest or animosity by the Vicentines. But the labour of his enemies was interrupted by Can della Scala, who obtained another signal victory [June 1312].

And by Cagnan and Sile's confluence. — These are two small streams in the territory of Treviso.
**PARADISE. CAN. IX. L. 49—52.**

There's one who lords it.—Richard of Camino, son of Gerard and brother of Gaia (who are mentioned in Purg. Can. 16), having succeeded his father as lord of Treviso, governed his subjects in a mild and popular manner, but in his private conduct allowed himself some "pleasant vices" which, to judge by the line before us, had at an early period made him many enemies. He merited his death in 1312 by the crime of Sextus Tarquinius, which he himself, in disdain of all concealment, had avowed by a messenger to the injured husband. The Italian Collatinus dissembled his resentment, consoled his Lucretia, and in consort with his father-in-law, or with another nobleman to whose daughter the same offender had done likewise, he entrusted to hired hands the realisation of his vengeance. Richard of Camino, playing in an arbour at dice or chess, was mortally struck with a mattock by a rustic, whom the surrounding conspirators, under colour of loyal indignation, prudently dispatched, ere he could make any dangerous disclosures, having only had time to say, This was not in the bargain! [Ferretus Vicentinus in Murat. Rer. It. Scrip. vol. 12.]

*And Feltrò, ere a long time.* — In 1314, when Robert, King of Naples, had been invested by the Pope with the government of Ferrara, where he had appointed a Florentine, Pino della Tosa, his Podestà or representative, a body of banished Ghibellines, in league with others in the city, were preparing to make themselves masters of it with an armed band in boats, when their design was baffled by a tempest. Hereupon many of their accomplices in Ferrara were fined and executed; while the leader, Lancelotto Fontana, fled to Feltrò with about thirteen followers who were pursued and given up to punishment. Their confessions on the rack implicated about seventeen
others, with whom they were made to mount the scaffold. The blame of surrendering them is thrown by Dante on the bishop, who was also temporal governor in Feltro. This city fell, soon after the events narrated, into the possession of Guecelo, brother and heir of Richard of Camino, and is said to have found in him a stern ruler, which facts may account for the prophecy made here by Cunizza.

1. 54. *Than whom no worse in Marta's dungeons lie.* — These were situated on the Bolsena lake near Rome, and served for the punishment of priests who were convicted of heinous crimes.

1. 61. *Alas! are mirrors.* — The name Thrones commonly denotes the third order of angels, but could be extended to the two above them, composed of the Cherubim and Seraphim, so as to embrace the first Hierarchy. [See Can. 28.] It was the attribute of all these to discern things directly in their Great First Cause, while the other angels discerned them in secondary causes, or, according to Dante, by insight derived from that of their superiors. The Principalities, therefore, who are the Angels of the present sphere, and the blessed spirits associated with them, describe the Thrones as mirrors in which they see God's judgments.

1. 68. *— hence comely such proclaims we find.* — The severity of our tone accords with the determinations of infallible justice.

1. 77. *With yon God-loving fires.* — Symphoniously with the Seraphim, who are described after Isaiah, c. 7.

1. 82. *The largest valley.* — The Mediterranean, as the largest collection of waters after the ocean, which encompasses the Old Continent (and, as Dante supposed, the habitable world).

1. 85. *Betwixt war-brooding coasts.* — Those of the Moors and Christians, which were incessantly involved in discord.
So far as maketh its meridian line.—Nearly ninety degrees of longitude being supposed to intervene between Jerusalem and the Straits of Gibraltar, so that the sun reached the meridian near one end of the Mediterranean, when at the other he appeared on the horizon. [See Hell, Can. 11, sub fin.]

'Twixt Ebro and Macra.—Marseilles lying nearly half-way between the Ebro, in Spain, and the Macra, a rivulet which divided the Genoese territory from Tuscany, as it has been said—

"Tusciae sunt fines Marc, Macra, Tiberis, Alpes."

My birth-place nearly shareth with Boujaye.—An important city on the African coast, which has only half a degree more of east longitude than Marseilles.

Has once the blood of patriots.—Alluding to the bloodshed occasioned by the desperate resistance Caesar encountered at Marseilles. [See Purg, Can. 26, l. 47.] Hereof Lucan writes—

"Cruor altus in undas
Spumat, et obducti concreto sanguine fluctus."

Phars. III. 572-3.

Men called me Fulk.—In French, Fouquet de Marseilles. He was an early cultivator of Provençal poetry, the son of a Genoese merchant settled in Marseilles, where he appears to have been born, though some said it was in Genoa. He was patronised by Barral, his feudal superior, Cœur de Lion, Alfonso of Castile, and Raymond of Toulouse.

As living by this planet.—As the list of medieval poets comprised on the average (to quote an old ballad),

"Two that loved their neighbours' wives,
[For] one that loved his own,"

we find the lady who inspired Fulk's compositions to have been
the wife of his patron Barral, though he disguised his passion by seeming addresses to her two sisters. He is said to have been repelled by her, and induced to court or to compliment another lady named Eudoxia; nevertheless, at the death of his Adelaide he abandoned the world, and entered a Cistercian monastery at Torvaell or Torinello, of which he became abbot. He was afterwards Bishop of Toulouse, and became a notable tormentor of the Albigenses.

"O King of Worlds, who in thy counsel dread
Hast shut Time's vanity and Time's behest,
And granted Life to do, and Death to rest,
And the flown year requir'est, and hast said,
Obey thou, let the dead bury their dead—
How shall a man put sorrow from his breast,
Where she would 'stablish her perpetual nest,
Over his youth's desire when 3ods are shed?
She calleth now to Folly, now the grave,
She scattereth hope and cheer and strength away;
If she call Virtue she would her enslave,
And cruel is the seal which owns her sway.
Would that he soon might slumber, till thou have
Thy flower re-opened with eternal day."

l. 97.  For not more hotly. — Dido's love for Aneas [see Aen. lib. 1, sub fin.] is supposed to have given occasion of jealousy to the shades of her former consort and his own, the Tyrian Sichæus and the Trojan Creusa.

l. 100. Not more the Rhodopean maid. — The Thracian Phyllis, who hanged herself when deserted by Damophon, son of Theseus, who had met her in returning from the Trojan war. [See Ovid's Epistles of Heroines.]

l. 102. Letting Iole.—The daughter of Eurytus, who, having promised her to Hercules, and retracted his engagements, she was carried off forcibly by the latter. [Ovid, Met. lib. 9, v. 279, et seq.]
Here look we through the art.—Here we discern the wisdom of that Providence, which has made even the occasions of our faults subservient to our ultimate welfare; we discern the good purposes by which those starry influences that control our affections have been regulated.

Now know that Rahab.—Leigh Hunt objects to Rahab's being presented to us in Heaven, and especially in the sphere of Venus, as if "to compliment her on her profession." [Stories from the Italian Poets.] On the first point compare Romans, c. 11, v. 31; on the second let us ask if she should rather appear in a sphere confessedly appropriated to imperfect virtue [see the next triplet], or in a common sphere with those eminent for temperance, even the hermits and founders of monastic orders in Can. 21.

In the orbit, whereon.—The sphere of Venus, being the highest to which the earth can extend its conical shadow, is appropriated to the highest grade of the virtue that is alloyed by carnal motives and affections. For love, not fame, is in Dante's view,

"The last infirmity of noble minds."

For whose remembrance small care has the Pope.—Engrossed with the extension of their power in Italy, the Popes had long been unmindful of those ideas by which the Crusaders had been stimulated.

Thy city planted by that rebel's hand.—Florence had been dedicated to Mars, who is here alluded to, according to popular belief, as an authentic fiend.

Brings forth and spreads the floren flower accursed.—The celebrated coin stamped with the fleur-de-lis. The love of
money, with which the Latin hierarchy was so corrupted, was fostered, it is intimated, by the commerce and luxury of Florence and other such cities.

1. 184. — only the Decretal books. — The test of an Ecclesiastical scholar was his knowledge of the judgments of the Popes, long corrupted, as Dante thought, by the treasonable principles of Guelphism! These acts had been collected in the five books of Decretals published by Gregory the Ninth, to which a sixth had been added by Boniface.

1. 189. But speedily the Vatican. — Rome, a place hallowed by the blood of martyrs, was soon to be freed from the usurping representative of the Church's Bridegroom, i.e. by the translation of the Papal chair to Avignon.

CANTO X.

His Son regarding. — Creation's work manifests the power of God, led to realise the ideals of His Wisdom by the motion of His Love or Beneficence; and these are the several attributes of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, who proceedeth from the Two.

Where motion striking motion. — We are directed to contemplate the first point of Aries, where the ecliptic crosses the equator, or, in other words, where the sun begins, by the annual revolution ascribed to him, to swerve out of the path in which he would be drawn by the common diurnal movement of the heavenly bodies.
PARADISE. C. IX. L. 134.—C. X. L. 97. 319

And if no longer slanting.—It is the oblique inclination of the ecliptic to the equator which causes the planets to assume such various relative positions as they exhibit to the earth, and to exercise those various influences of which the utility has been intimated. Nor can we imagine that the above obliquity could be greater or less without detriment.

I've set before thee.—The poet returns to his own theme; the reader may pursue that, of which a mere passing suggestion has been offered.

In this part entered.—The sun, whose motion round us, according to appearance, is in a spiral, through each day's course differing slightly from that of the preceding, had now past Aries, so that the nightly periods of his absence were continually shortening.

Such were they, whom in this fourth habitation.—This sphere is said by Dante's commentators to be appropriated to Theologians, a description that will be found too narrow. In fact, it is the cardinal virtue, Prudence, and the corresponding gift of the Spirit, i.e. Wisdom, of which examples are to be here brought forward.

Latona's daughter oft.—The wise spirits collect round Beatris, the representative of wisdom, as the vapours of the halo gather round the moon, which irradiates them.

Next on my right is Albert of Cologne.—The following verses introduce the names of twelve eminent religious teachers, foremost among whom stand two friars of the Dominican or Preaching order, of which the history is touched on in the next Cantos.

Albert of Cologne, surnamed Magnus, was a master of theology and natural philosophy, and reputed magician of the
twelfth century, who wrote several commentaries and other treatises, which are considered to be founded on the writings of Aristotle, or of Peter Lombardus presently mentioned. (Born in Suabia, A.D. 1193, he studied at Padua, and "put on the weed of Dominic" in 1221, at Cologne. He lectured with distinguished success at this place and at Paris, and was made in 1239 provincial vicar of his order in Germany, and in 1260 Bishop of Ratisbon; in 1262 he resigned these dignities, and returned to his cloister at Cologne, where he died in 1282.)

His pupil, Thomas Aquinas, surnamed the Angelic Doctor, formed a system of theologice philosophy, which is developed, with admirable ingenuity and dialectic skill, in numerous works, among which the Summa Theologica Tripartita, and Summa contra Gentiles, hold the foremost place. (Born in 1224, in the kingdom of Naples, of the family of the Counts of Aquino, he embraced, in his nineteenth year, the Dominican profession, to the sore displeasure of his parents, who applied themselves immediately to pervert him. Though removed to various places to evade their persecutions, he was at length seized by them, and kept prisoner for two years within a castle, where they sought vainly, by severities and by dishonouring temptations, to induce him to transgress his vows. Having escaped their control, he studied under Albertus Magnus at Cologne and Paris, and subsequently lectured in the latter city: he rose to be Definitor of his order in the Roman province, but would accept none of the higher dignities to which his reputation might have assisted him. His death in 1274 was attributed to Charles of Anjou. [See on Purg. Can. 20, l. 69.]

1. 103. That second blaze the joys of Gratian send.—This was the author of a work called the Decretum Gratiani, or Concordance
of discordant Canons, in which the Ecclesiastical Law was often collated with, and expounded in accordance to, the Civil, whence Dante says that he served both Courts. He flourished towards the middle of the twelfth century, and was a monk, probably of the Benedictine order, and teacher in the academy of the monastery of St. Felix at Bologna.

Petrus Lombardus, like the widow's mite.—This theologian was styled Lombardus from his birthplace Novara, in [the ancient bounds of] Lombardy, and surnamed Master of the Sentences, from his celebrated work, the "Liber Sententiarum," a digest of the opinions of the Fathers on all questions of Christian doctrine, which was widely employed as a text-book in the medieval schools. In his prologue to this work are the words, "wishing, like the poor widow, to contribute something from our penury to the treasury of the Lord;" which are evidently alluded to by Dante. Peter studied at Bologna, Rheims, and Paris, and became bishop of the latter city.

The fifth among us and the fairest light.—If we imagine Thomas Aquinas standing nearly on Dante's left side, but somewhat more forward, and the other eleven spirits ranged at equal distances around him and Beatris, then the fifth in order will be nearly on the right side of Beatris. Now we find here Solomon, who holds, therefore, the most important station among the spirits that have presented themselves [see l. 92] as wooers of Beatris. It is evident, then, that a graceful pageant is being enacted, in which Beatris, as on a former occasion, represents Philosophy, and the wise king comes forward as her most ardent and successful votary. We may observe, also, that Solomon, the "preacher" per excellantium of Scripture, is associated with a company of Spirits, among whom two or more were of the
Dominican or preaching friars, whose order was most distinguished for policy and prudence.

1. 110. Read, Breathes from a love so great, &c.

1. 111. Makes thirst for news of his eternal plight.—Whether Solomon were among the elect or the reprobate, was a question often canvassed in the middle ages; but the general sympathies were enlisted in his favour, from the seal with which he had sought after wisdom, or even, Dante possibly intimates, by the lovely and attractive allegory which bears his name.

1. 114. There has not risen a second.—This line refers, though without perfect verbal accuracy, to 1 Kings, iii. 12.

1. 115. Next him the light.—The sixth place is occupied by Dionysius the Areopagite, a convert of St. Paul’s, who is said to have suffered martyrdom at the head of the Church in Paris. He was the reputed author of a curious work on the Celestial Hierarchy, to which Dante attributes great authority in Can. 28.

1. 118. And smiling in that further light.—The smallness of the light intimates a person of less note, supposed to have been Paulus Orosius, a Spaniard who flourished in the fifth century after Christ, and compiled a history of the world at the request, it is said, of his friend and master, St. Augustine, who himself, to illustrate his theological views, would have undertaken a work of this nature, but was prevented by the magnitude of his other enterprises.

1. 123. To know the eighth.—In this place comes Boethius, author of the Consolations of Philosophy, a work widely diffused, and often translated in the middle ages, and to which Dante refers, in the Convito, as among the first that deeply interested him after he had mourned for Beatris.

1. 127. That body whence.—Boethius had been a senator at Rome
under Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, who at first treated him with great distinction, but having conceived a suspicion that he maintained a reasonable correspondence with Byzantium, had him imprisoned, and at last cruelly executed, A.D. 525. The Church of Ciel’d’auro in Pavia contained his monument, composed of an urn resting on four pillars.

Of Isidore, of Bede, and that Richart. — Isidore was a bishop of Seville, who in the seventh century induced the bulk of the Spanish Visigoths to renounce the creed of Arius. He wrote an encyclopedic work called Liber Etymologicarum, and various theological treatises: died A.D. 636. The next name introduces our venerable Bede, the first chronicler of the Anglo-Saxon Church: died A.D. 735. Richard, called “de St. Victor” from a learned monastery in Paris of which he was prior in the year 1164, was the author of a treatise on Contemplation, which he speaks of as sometimes raising men to the participation of a higher kind of intellect; he wrote also on the Trinity, and for investigating this subject must have needed, as Dante possibly intimates, to have realised the above-mentioned result from his contemplation.

That is the light eternal of Sigier. — A man of Brabantine extraction, who had recently lectured on theology in Paris. It seems he was regarded by many as a heretic, and had actually in 1273 been cited before the tribunal of the Dominicans. The charge, if we may trust Dante’s intimation, owed its origin to a private rancour.

Then as the peals. — Chimes preceding the matin song, which the Church offers to Christ as to her bridegroom.
CANTO XI.

One man the Canons, one the Aphorisms. — Representing Law and Medicine; the latter in reference to the aphorisms of Hippocrates. Dante contrasts the unsatisfactory pursuits of the majority of men, directed, under whatever pretexts, to the quest of money or of sensual pleasure, with the happier contemplation to which he is admitted in Paradise.

— whence before I was address. — The speaker is again Thomas Aquinas.

Concerning how I said, Where well they feed. — See last Can. l. 96; in explanation of which line Aquinas proceeds indirectly, first extolling Francis and Dominic as having been Heaven’s joint delegates to reform the Church, then dilating on the life and character of the former, thence inferring an equal merit in the latter [l. 118], and hence lastly the blessedness of those who live by his rule, which was the figurative pasture alluded to.

In ardour was the one seraphic quite. — According to the aphorism, “that seraphs love most, cherubim know most.” To the former Francis of Assisi is compared, to the latter Dominic. Aquinas avoids descanting on the founder of his own order, though he censures afterwards that order’s degeneracy), and in courtesy prefers the founder of the Franciscans. Both, it will be intimated, rendered the Church of Rome essential service against the hostile sects that had arisen in the thirteenth century; St. Dominic defending her doctrine, and St. Francis freeing her, by the example of his apostolic zeal and poverty, from the reproaches which had been attracted by the wealth and manner of ecclesiastics.
PARADISE. CAN. XI. L. 4—58.

There hangs between Tupino. — A description of the site of Assisi. The Tupino and the Chiassi are two small tributaries of the Tiber; of which the last-named rises near Agobbio, from a mount which Ubaldo, an anchorite of the twelfth century, had chosen for the site of a hermitage.

—— a fruitful slope o' th' lofty hill. — Between the above rivulets lies Monte Subasio, over which the day rises with its frost or heat upon Perugia; a gate of that city, called Porta Sole, being turned towards the sun's first rays.

Gualdo with Nocera. — These cities, lying towards the back of Monte Subasio, had been conquered, according to some authorities, by the Perugians; others say, they were subjected to Robert, King of Naples.

Above that bank. — On the south slope of Monte Subasio lay Assisi or Ascoli, the latter of which names the Italian ear associates with ascending. Dante takes occasion to say, that the place should have been called Orient, from the sun of the Christian Church that, as it were, rose there in St. Francis.

Since for a lady; — i.e. through love of poverty [see L. 74]. St. Francis, born in the year 1182, son of a merchant at Assisi, named Pietro Bernardone, and brought up for the same profession, is said to have manifested in his youth a gay, generous, and extravagant disposition; insomuch, that when at one time he was desirous of forming military engagements, and had furnished himself with a costly outfit, he gave it away without reserve to an old soldier whom he happened to find in want. When he had conceived the idea of the Mendicant life, i.e. of giving away all his own substance to live penuriously on the gifts of others, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he cast away all the money he had carried with him, and sat down among a
crowd of beggars in order to inure himself to their avocation. At another time, believing himself commissioned to repair decayed places of worship, he sold the stock of cloth that his father had entrusted to him, and the horse he rode on, took the money to the priest of St. Damiano at Assisi, and on the latter's refusing to accept it, flung it in at the church window. He grew afraid after this act to meet his parents, and hid himself some time in desolate places, until by prayer and fast he recovered confidence to show himself in Assisi, where his squalid and emaciated figure and visionary looks drew upon him considerable ridicule. His father, whom his conduct had highly displeased, seized and kept him some time in rigorous confinement, and endeavoured to reclaim him from his addictions; but, having found all efforts useless, demanded at last that he should renounce his inheritance before a magistrate. Francis protested against taking such a step in submission to a civil authority, for he had acted, he said, "as the servant of the most high God;" but when the case had been referred to the Bishop, he readily, in the latter's presence, made the declaration required of him, and completed his repudiation of property by throwing off his clothes before the court, renouncing Pietro Bernardone, and embracing a beggar for his father. He then went abroad to beg, covered only with a coarse cloak which the Bishop caused to be given him; and thus indeed made poverty his bride, as he was accustomed to call her, and as she was afterwards represented in a celebrated painting of Giotto's. After about two years, which he had devoted to soliciting contributions for repairs of churches, having casually heard read in church those words of the Apostolic mission, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey,
neither two coats, nor shoes, nor yet staves," he seized on the text as expressing the ideal of his life, and thenceforth walked barefooted, and dressed in a simple garment, tied with a bare rope about his waist, whilst he began a course of preaching to the people, amongst whom he soon found several imitators.

His ghostly court et coram patre.—Before the Bishop and his own father, as above.

She, parted from her first espoused.—See l. 71.

Nought dreading, she with Amyclas.—This Amyclas, who, secure in poverty, dreaded not the voice of a conqueror at his door, was, according to Lucan, a fisherman, to whom Caesar applied, shortly before the battle of Pharsalia, for a boat to convey himprivily across the Adriatic to Antony. [See Phars. v. 527, et seq., quoted by Dante in the Convito.]

The venerable Bernard hence.—Bernard of Quintavalle, one of the first two, who, struck by the preaching of St. Francis, declared themselves ready to live by his precepts. Before propounding any object to which they should devote themselves, Francis recommended having recourse to the divine counsel; and, having taken them into a chapel, desired the priest to open the Gospel at random, which the latter doing, alighted three times, it is said, upon texts in praise of poverty.

Behind the bridegroom now Egidius bares.—Egidius, an unlettered man, and Sylvester, a priest, were the next who joined the barefooted friars.

For being Pietro Bernardone's child.—In the Italian, Fi' di P. B., a provincial word is employed, as though in reference to the expressions of some rustics, who had taunted Francis for his relationship to the worldly-minded merchant.

But royally to Innocent revealed.—Francis had only acquired
twelve followers, when he applied to Innocent the Third to sanction his rule; and having at first been repelled, but afterwards, at the intercession of two Cardinals, listened to more favourably, he obtained a merely verbal approbation from the Pontiff.

Through Pope Honorius.—In 1223, when Francis had already founded three orders of monks and nuns, whose numbers had received large accessions from foreign countries, he obtained a bull from Honorius the Third, by which they were invested with various privileges.

And when from thirsting.—Having, as early as 1213, unsuccessfully attempted to visit the East by way of Syria and Morocco, he visited Egypt in 1219, and sojourned at Damietta among the Crusaders, to whom he foretold the failure of their expedition. From these he went over to preach Christianity to the Sultan, who, unconvinced by his arguments, treated his enthusiasm with respect, and allowed him to depart unmolested, requesting him to pray to Heaven for his enlighten-ment.

It is said Francis challenged the Musulman religious teachers to throw themselves with him into the fire, that God, by saving him or them, might show whose faith was most acceptable; but the Sultan forbade the ordeal.

Of Christ he did the latest seal obtain.—The marks of Christ's wounds, which he received, two years before his death, in a cave upon the mountain called La Verna, on the frontiers of Romagna and Tuscany, and between the sources of the Tiber and the Arno, where, it is said, a cherub appeared to him and wrought the miracle [1207].

And 'twas her breast.—He died from a disease long contractet
by abstinence and hardship, having, in his last hours, alienated all his garments, which he only resumed under the title of a loan; he directed that his corpse should be thrown in a place appropriated to those of malefactors, without receiving the rites of sepulture.

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CANTO XII.

_I saw another ring about them close. — A circle of twelve new comers._ [See l. 94, and catalogue at the end of the Canto.]

_Read, Our Sirens, warbling with the dulcet flute._

_When Juno’s maid her best._ — Compare a passage in Virgil, where Iris, sent by Juno to release the soul of Dido, descends on wing,

_“Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores.”_—Æn. 4, 701.

_As ’twere the voice._ — The outer rainbow springs from the inner, in the same way as the echo from the sound, namely by reflection. But the echo, according to Ovid, is the surviving voice of a fair Woodnymph, who was killed, through the pangs of despised love, by the egotistical Narcissus. [Met. lib. 3.]

_So heard I deep within a new-comen flame._ — This was Bonaventura of Bagnoregio, named in l. 127, a Franciscan Friar, who had composed the Life of St. Francis.

_The love that makes me fair._ — “The example of St. Francis,” says Bonaventura, “which I loved and followed in my lifetime, has led me to the glory I now enjoy; how dear, therefore, must it be to me to have heard just now his praises! But I owe this
pleasure to a brother, whom the rule of St. Dominic has made my companion in beatitude; whence I feel for the latter, as the original author of my pleasure, an affection that leads me to undertake his praises."

1. 43. *And succoured his espoused, as thou hast heard.*—See lines 28 to 40, of the last Canto.

1. 40. *Lo! where the tender leaflets.*—In the most western country of Europe, or the first to feel that wind, which is usually the harbinger of spring, as Lucretius says,

"For no sooner has heav’n disclosed a vernal appearance,
And life-rich the sephyr gone abroad,"

not far from that Atlantic Ocean, behind which the sun often sets on the whole north-temperate zone of our hemisphere—the only portion of the globe which was in Dante’s time considered habitable—stands Callaroga [or Calahorra] in the diocese of Osina, in Old Castile, at which town St. Dominic was born, perhaps of a noble family, in the year 1170.

1. 53. *Protected by the mighty shield.*—The royal escutcheon of the United Kingdoms of Castile and Leon, containing on one side a lion above a tower, and on the other a tower above a lion.

1. 60. *Within his mother wrought.*—She dreamt, it is said, that a hound proceeded from her, with a blazing torch in his mouth, by which the whole world was kindled.

1. 64. *The lady, who had vowed.*—His godmother dreamed that she saw him with a star upon his forehead, and another on the nape of his neck, giving light over all the world.

1. 67. *And hence, that word and fact.*—For Dominicus means "belonging to the Lord." It is said his mother had prayed for a
safe delivery at the grave of Dominicus, Abbot of Silos, when
the spirit of that holy man appeared to her, and foretold the
future greatness of her son, to whom she resolved, therefore, to
give the same appellation. But this tale, which is not found in
the earliest biographers, may not perhaps be requisite to account
for the present passage.

_Called Felix, truly was his mother Jane._—Felix, happy; Jane, 1. 80.
from Hebrew Yuḥan, _shall be highly favoured._

_In Ostiensis and Thaddeo's trace;_—i. e. as covetous professors
of law and medicine following the examples of Enrico di Susa, a
bishop of Ostia in the thirteenth century, who is known as author
of a treatise on the first five books of the Decretals, and of
Thaddæus, a celebrated Florentine physician, and commentator
on Hippocrates and others. The latter is said to have asked
from Honorius the Third, whom he was called to attend upon,
a hundred gold pieces a day, and to have excused himself,
when reproached by the Pope for such an exorbitant demand, by
saying that other princes, whose lives were of less importance
to Christendom, paid him frequently fifty gold pieces. And he
got even more than he had asked; for Honorius, restored to
health, gave him ten thousand pieces.

_And entered on the circuit of the Vine._—He received a regular
theological education at Palencia, where he once sold all his
books with the object of relieving sufferers in a time of famine.
He entered the order of St. Augustine, his spiritual superior
being Diego, Bishop of Osina, whom he accompanied, in the
year 1202, upon a mission to Innocent the Third, at Rome. On
reaching Provence, in their way home, they associated them-
selves with some Cistercian abbots, whom the Pope had sent
thither for the conversion of the Albigenses. They perceived
they could make no impression upon this puritanical sect without laying aside all appearance of pomp and luxury, and began, therefore, to live austerely, dress simply, and go about preaching in the fields. Their labours were not fruitless, and they established, in the year 1206, a nunery for converted females. Diego returned to his bishopric, but Dominic stopped at Toulouse, and entered into relations with the Crusaders under Simon de Montfort. He presided over the trial and condemnation of several captured heretics, but showed a disposition to lenity by releasing one in the hope of his conversion. Titus engaged, he conceived the idea of organising an order of preaching friars. He was supported by Fulk, Bishop of Marseilles, who endowed the first community with a sixth part of his tithes. In 1215 he applied to the Lateran Council to confirm his order, but was recommended to engraft it upon one that had been previously established. He chose the Augustine, adding, however, some restrictions to its rule; and founded a monastery at Toulouse, where each brother had a single cell to sleep and study in, and was bound to keep the door of it continually open. He encouraged among them, by precept and example, the utmost application to theology.

Before the chair.—In 1217 Dominic obtained a formal sanction for his order from Pope Honorius the Third, who called it that of the Preaching Brethren [Fratres Predicatores].

For leave to combat for the seed;—i.e. the seed of the Catholic Faith, which had blossomed unto life eternal in the spirits encircling Dante. Of these there were twenty-four; namely, twelve in the first circle and twelve in the second, enumerated at the end of the tenth and present Cantos respectively.
But these will not be of Casale's mind. — Ubertin di Casale, it is intimated, was too punctilious in interpreting the rule of Francis; Matteo d' Acquasparta too indulgent; the true Franciscan will adhere to neither leader. The latter of these two was general of the order in 1289, and allowed its discipline to be so far relaxed, that the adherents of rigorism took offence, and united themselves into a separate community. They had to sustain a hard struggle for their independence with the superiors of the Franciscan order: Pope Celestine the Fifth favoured them, and allowed them an island to reside on; Boniface, his successor, was induced to dispossess them. The suffering party, on the accession of Clement the Seventh, flocked to Avignon to obtain his countenance. He granted them in 1310 a provisional constitution; but their leaders, especially Casale, showing more and more bitterness against the regular Franciscans, the mind of the Pontiff was alienated from them; and in 1312 he published a bull, reforming in some particulars the practices of the Franciscans, but ordering the separatists, or "spirituales," to return to their community. Casale threw himself at the feet of Clement, to pray that he might not be subjected to the superiors of his order, but could obtain no concession. Many of his party resisted the papal ordinance, and the schism was of long duration. [See Philalethes.]

For me, I am Bonaventura's soul. — Bonaventura, born in 1221 at Bagnoregio, near Orvieto, and joined the Franciscans in 1243, the same year that Thomas Aquinas took the vow. He was made general of his order in 1256, and afterwards Cardinal-bishop of Albano; died in 1274 at the Council of Lyons. Dante seemingly describes him as one who attended less to
secular advantages than to the care of his soul, and this too amid the temptations incident to great charges.

Illuminato's here, and Augustin.—Two of the earliest followers of St. Francis. The first, it is said, counselled him against keeping secret, as in his humility he inclined to do, the supernatural nail-prints. To the second, while he lay on a sack-bed, already speechless, God revealed that St. Francis was expiring; whereat he called out, “Stay, I follow thee!” and his soul took flight to bliss.

Hugo St. Victor.—A divine, born at Halberstadt, in Saxony, in 1097, of noble family, who entered the Augustin convent of St. Victor in Paris. His most approved work was a treatise on the Sacraments.

Peter Hispanus.—The son of a physician in Lisbon, who, beside his father's art, studied theology and philosophy. He became Bishop of Broga, then Cardinal-bishop of Tusculum [1273], and lastly Pope [1276 to 1277] under the name of John the Twenty-first; but in this capacity he had not time to do much. He wrote, besides some medical works, a treatise on Logic, the first in which the figures appear called Barbara, Celarent, &c., in active life.

Peter Mangiador.—Called also Comestor; i. e. the eater. Tiraboschi thinks Mangiador was his original name, and that he was born of a Samminiate family; he is, however, first heard of as priest and then as dean of Troyes in France, but in 1164 became chancellor of the University of Paris. He wrote the Historia Scholastica, a sacred history of the world from the Creation to the end of the Apostolic times.

Nathan the Seer.—One spirit of the ancient world, to match Solomon in the first circle [see Can. 10, l. 109]; but the
reasons are not very clear why he is associated with the followers of the seraphic doctor.

*Chrysostomus.*—The celebrated Byzantine patriarch under l. 187. Theodosius and Arcadius.

—*Anselmus.*—The well-known Archbishop of Canterbury, who contended with William Rufus and Henry the First for the Church's rights.

—*Aelius*;—that is, Donatus, the Latin grammarian of the fourth century. His art [or science] is called the earliest, as that in which children are first instructed.

*Rabanus*;—i. e. Maurus, who was born at Mayence, studied at Tours under Alcuin, and became Abbot of Fulda, and afterwards archbishop of his native city, wrote commentaries on a great part of the Bible, and died in the year 856.

—*and next me Joachimus.*—Born in 1130, Joachimus became abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Curazzo in Calabria: died in 1202. Among many predictions ascribed to him, there was one, that Costanza [the Sicilian princess of Can. 3] should ruin her country, which, as was considered, she did afterwards in giving birth to the tyrant Frederic.

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**CANTO XIII.**

*Imagine whose.*—To represent to himself the positions and movements of the glorious spirits surrounding Dante and Beatris, the reader must first conceive any fifteen stars of the first magnitude [see l. 4]; next, the seven that make up the
never-setting constellation of the Wain, Ursa Major [see l. 7]; then, the two stars of the Little Bear, which compose the broader end of its horn-like figure [l. 10], (for the point of this horn, formed by the pole-star, indicates the extremity of the axis on which turns the crystalline sphere, impressing on all other spheres their common diurnal movement). From these twenty-four stars he must make two figures like the crown of Ariadne, i. e. circles [see l. 14], place one of them within the other, and suppose them turning in opposite directions.

I. 14. I th' figure that from Minos' daughter rose.—Namely from Ariadne, who, having been seduced by Theseus, and deserted upon the desolate isle of Naxos, was there discovered and loved by Bacchus. According to most accounts, he changed the garland that she wore upon her head into a constellation for her honour; but Dante seems to think she was herself (after her death) the subject of this metamorphosis, as we might indeed understand from Ovid's Art of Love, 1, 557:—

"Munus habeæ cælum, celo spectabile sidus
Sepe reges dubiam, Cressa Corona, ratem."

I. 23. Outstrips the gliding of La Chiana.—A sluggish Tuscan stream, that, branching off from the Arno near Arezzo, flows down to the Tiber by the once pestiferous marshy valley alluded to in Hell, Can. 29, l. 46.

I. 25. They sang not Pean there, nor Evæ.—No praise of Bacchus or Apollo, figuring, I suppose, pleasure and worldly glory, but praises of the Trinity and incarnate Word.

I. 32. Was broken by the light.—Aquinas again speaks, who had related the life of the poor man of God [pauperculus Christi], St. Francis of Assisi.
To beat that second one.—Aquinas proceeds to the second difficulty under which Dante laboured, as to how it could be said, "such a degree of knowledge was set in Solomon, that

"There has not risen a second more to see."

[See Can. 10, l. 112, and Can. 11, l. 26.]

Thou deem'st that in the bosom.—Dante thought, and rightly, that more wisdom, in the most general sense, had been implanted in Adam and in Christ, than was ever possessed by Solomon. This doctrine Thomas Aquinas will admit, and give a reason for; but he will proceed to explain a special kind of wisdom in which Solomon, among a special class of men, never had a rival; and it is, he says, according to this distinction, that the expressions just referred to must be interpreted.

All mortal things.—In the following lines Aquinas gives a reason why Adam and Christ were more perfectly endowed with wisdom, as with all human faculties, than any other men have been. From a divine ideal, realised, as is said here and at the beginning of Can. 10, by the joint action of the Trinity, is derived the essence of all things, which in ordinary cases, however, they do not receive directly, but, as it were, through a series of successive impressions, even by the powers which one sphere transmits down to another, and the lowest sphere to the world's constituent elements. Thus the matter of all natural products, and the workings of the heavens that generate them, being imperfect, the individuals represent but inadequately the ideal of the species. But it is otherwise in that which is directly produced by God, who, using the most perfect matter [see lines 73 and 74] and the most perfect conjunctions [of planetary influence], endows his own immediate works with all relative
perfection that can be conceived in them. And this rule holds
good not only of the first man, and the Son of God, but in a
certain degree with the first-made animals. [See lines 82 and 84.]
1. 59.  Together, mirrored-like, on beings new;—that is, on the hea-
venly spheres.
1. 97.  Not of these heavenly movers.—Solomon did not ask to be
learned in theology, so as to know the number of the angels;
nor in logic, to know if from one necessary and one contingent
proposition we can form a necessary conclusion (given, for
instance, A must be B, and C may be A, is it proved, that C
must be B?); nor to solve the physical question [l. 100], can we
suppose one original self-caused motion, from which all other
motions are derived? nor the geometrical problem, can we in-
scribe in a semicircle a triangle which shall not be right-angled?
—in short, he asked for no speculative knowledge, but the prac-
tical wisdom that is required of a ruler.
1. 106.  And the word ris'n.—Implying, that the words “there has not
ris'n a second more to see” [Can. 10, l. 115] mean merely, no
wiser man has been elevated to a throne.
1. 110.  And touching our first Parent and our Joy.—Adam and
Christ.
1. 124.  And hereof let Parmenides.—Parmenides and Melissos, two
philosophers of the Eleatic school, who maintained that all
things were one and unalterable, are severely noticed by
Aristotle, as using false premises, and concluding unsyllogisti-
cally. [Physics, 1, 2, with which compare Plato's Theaetetus,
181 E.] Bryso, a mathematician, is condemned by the same
philosopher for having attempted to pass on the world a sophis-
tical demonstration that the circle could be squared.
From rim to centre.—The answer, which Beatris, in the centre of the circle, makes to Aquinas in the circumference, reminds Dante of the vibrations mentioned.

There is another truth.—Beatris perceives another question to which Dante’s reflections are leading him, though he has not yet distinctly thought it,—otherwise the surrounding spirits might have given him the information,—the question, namely, whether the visible glory of these spirits is to remain for ever, and how they will be able, after the resurrection of their bodies, to endure it with material organs.

Lifting their voice, and blither in their tread.—The dances of the ancient Florentines, it must be remembered, were always accompanied with singing.

That One and Two and Three.—The Being whom we believe to exist in one substance, two natures (by the taking of the manhood into God), and three persons.

And from the light.—The speaker is Solomon. [See Can. 10, l. 109.]

Our brightness from our heat.—The more grace we receive, the profounder shall be our knowledge of God; with our knowledge of him our love shall increase, and with our love the gloriousness of our appearance.

Nor shall we be fatigued.—The organs of the glorified body are rendered impassive, or insusceptible of any changes in their own quality, from the impressions they receive of external objects.

And lo! another brightness.—Here a third company of the
spirits in the sun arrives, and forms a circle around the two others. But the lines, according to some, intimate the ascent of Dante to the next planet, which, I should rather deem, is not described till l. 83.

1. 84. *Alone to loftier bliss.*—Here Dante reaches the planet Mars, in which he sees the spirits of many who have borne arms on behalf of the Church,—we cannot say they all died on the battle-field. The reason why these spirits array themselves in the form of a Cross will be obvious. They represent, according to my view, a more general class of persons, distinguished by the virtue of Fortitude.

1. 94. —*such a crimson glow.*—Characterising the splendours of Mars.

1. 99. *That men of wisdom to much doubt inclines.*—Aristotle mentions two opinions to have prevailed respecting the Galaxy; the Pythagoreans representing it as the tracks of numerous stars that had fallen from their courses; the followers of Anaxagoras and Democritus as a faint light from the stars which were screened from the sun by the earth's intervention. Having confuted these opinions, he advances that it is formed by inflammable vapours, analogous to those which he hypothesised in the tails of comets, and in halos and perihelia, but congregated in great numbers where the stars are thickest. Dante notices this dissertation in the Convito, but finds Aristotle's meaning dubious from the discrepancies among translators. He seems himself inclined to explain the passage agreeably to modern views. [*Arist. Met. 1, 8; Convito 2, 15.]*

1. 182. *But he who marks.*—The appearance of Beatris in a lower sphere had not been such as to exceed that of other spirits in a higher sphere; but when once seen in the latter, since her
PARADISE. C. XIV. L. 84.—C. XV. L. 55. 341

beauty increased from sphere to sphere, she again surpassed all beside her.

CANTO XV.

Such tenderness Anchises' shade revealed. — In introducing his ancestor Cacciaguida [named in l. 135], Dante acknowledges an imitation of that fine passage in Virgil, where Æneas meets the shade of his father in Elysium:

"He, when across the meadows he beheld Æneas approaching,
Blithe extended aloft both palms, and tears from his eyelids
Down his cheeks plenteously trickled, his voice dropping out thus:
Art then arriv'd at last, thy piety so much awaited
By thy father, having the tremendous journey accomplisht?
Is't given, 0 my son, to behold thy face, to receive and
Answer again speeches not in unrecognisable accents."

ÆN. VI. 684, et seq.

My owne blode. — The original lines are put in Latin, ostensibly to show the antiquity of the speaker, as though that language, yet unitarianised, had been familiarly used among educated Florentines through the twelfth century, but with a deeper view, it appears to me, of reminding us of Dante's claims to a descent from the Roman colonists, who had formed, in opposition to the Fesulans, the first aristocracy of Florence.

Thou thinkest that thy thought. — Thou believest, and rightly, that I perceive thy thoughts by the reflection in the divine mind [see l. 62], as clearly as men deduce the conceptions of all numbers from that of unity — saying, for instance, two is one and one; three is two and one, and so on.
And I began, "Your skill and your intent.—God is equal in all his attributes, for his power is always adequate to his knowledge, and his knowledge to his bounty. And the like equality obtains in all the spirits that are united to Him; for as they desire no more than is in their power [Can. 3, l. 70, &c.], so their skill and strength must be equal to the performance of every purpose. Had such been the case, Dante intimates, with himself, he could have found words, which here he could not, to express the depth of his gratitude for Cacciaguida's paternal salutation.

One who a hundred years.—Cacciaguida's own son, and Dante's great-great-grandfather, the first among his ancestors who was called Alighieri [see l. 138], and who had been dead since the year 1200 or longer, was still walking, it is intimated, in the first circle of Purgatory, where we have seen that pride is punished. [Purg. Can. 10.]

Florence within that ancient boundary placed.—The period referred to is that of Cacciaguida's birth [see l. 130, et seq.], which is approximately determined in the following Canto. [See, there, note on l. 34.] The suburbs of Florence had then been greatly extended, and the new walls, which comprised it in Dante's time, had been begun as early as 1078 [Villani, 4, 16], but were yet, it would seem, unfinished. Dante therefore considers the city to have been included in the wall of Charlemagne's time, here indicated by reference to the contiguous Badia or Abbey, which lay at a little distance from the Corso and Porta San Piero towards the river, and from whose church used a clock to sound, once generally noticed, it is said, among the Florentine craftsmen to enter and depart their workshops.

Abode in peace yet.—It was not till the year 1177, about thirty after Cacciaguida's death, that the first civil war arose in
Florence from the powerful aristocratic family of the Uberti's having resisted the newly-elected magistrates or consuls. For two years the people were divided, fighting almost daily in different parts of the city, and fortifying towers and barricades against each other, which they attacked with mangonels and other engines. In 1215 broke out the first hostilities between the Guelfs and Ghibellines, which became inveterate towards the middle of the century.

*No crownetts, and no tinsel'd ladies' shoon.* — Villani mentions a sumptuary law, passed about the year 1330, which censured the Florentine women for indulging in "superfluous ornaments, like crowns and garlands of gold, silver, and pearls, and other precious stones, with nets, and a kind of braid of pearls, and other cunningly devised ornaments for the head." And the same author, contrasting the middle of the thirteenth century with his own times in reference to the progress of luxury, says, "The Florentine ladies were then content to have *shoes without ornaments*, and most of them with a close-fitting gown of coarse scarlet of Ypres or of camelot, fastened with a belt in the ancient fashion, and a mantle lined with ermine, with a cape above, with which they covered their heads; and the common women were clad in like manner in a coarse green cambrie." [Hist. Florence, 6, 70.]

*Not yet did every daughter's birth.* — Not yet were maidens married at such an early age, nor with such exorbitant portions. It had sufficed to give 200 or 300 lire to the best-born in her twenty-first year; whereas the parents in later times had often to give 1000 or 1500 to girls in their thirteenth or fifteenth year. [See Villani, as above, and Benvenuto da Imola.]

*No mansion yet was made à hermitage;* — that is, no families
as yet built larger palaces than they required to occupy, nor were liable to be expelled from them by political wholesale banishments.

1. 107. Not yet was by Sardanapalus.—No imitator, as it were, of the debauched Assyrian king, had yet introduced unnatural licentiousness into Florence.

1. 109. Not yet had Montemalo.—Not yet had the magnificent structures in Rome, which are seen on entering it by Montemalo, a hill on the Viterbese road, been surpassed by the appearance of Florence from the Uccellatoio hill (on the way from Bologna).

1. 112. I've seen Bellincion Berti.—The father of Gualdrada, mentioned in Hell, 16, 65.

1. 118. With bone and leather. — Or as Cary's translation explains,

"In leather girdle with a clasp of bone;"

"not such a girdle," says Benvenuto, "as is now worn, of silk or silver, or gilt, nor set with enamel and with precious stones."

1. 115. I've seen the Nerli's and the Vecchio's heir.—The Nerli and Vecchielli are mentioned by Villani as among the oldest Florentine families. In describing the manners of the Florentines as late as Frederic the Second's time, Riccobaldo of Ferrara mentions "that the men wore plain leather coats, without borders either of woollen cloth or leather." In the same passage are other curious particulars, as that it was customary for a man and wife to dine off one plate; two or three cups were held sufficient for a household; candles were yet unknown, and meals often taken by the light of a torch, which was held by a boy or servant."

1. 118. O fortunates, and every she. — Numbers of Florentine citizens, it is known, had been attracted to France by commercial
pursuits in Philip the Fair's reign. Their wives, it is intimated, were either left at home in loneliness, or ran the risk (if they followed them) of being buried in a strange land.

_Tales of the Romans, Fesulæ, or Troy._—With such nursery tales commences the History of Villani, who tells us that Fiesole was founded by Atlas, grandson of Tiras, and great-grandson of Japhet, who married Electra, daughter of the African Atlas (the supposed sustainer of the globe); and having come to Italy, while it was yet uninhabited, chose, under the best astrological auspices, a site for his capital city, which derived its name from the words Fiet sola, intimating that no city should be like it. From this Atlas the kings of Troy were descended, to whose Italian origin Virgil also bears witness, and from these the Alban and Roman princes. How Fesulæ was destroyed in the civil war of Catiline, and Florence erected on its ruins, and how Attila rebuilt Fesulæ and destroyed Florence, which was finally restored by Charlemagne, has been recorded under Hell, Can. 14 and 15.

_As great a marvel Lupo Saltarello._—This was a Florentine advocate, who is said to have spent extravagant sums on his apparel and entertainments, and in maintaining servants and horses. Dino Compagni censures him as a "threatener and beater of the magistrates, who did not give way to him in legal trials." He appears from the same historian to have been connected with the Cerchi family, and an adherent, though a weak or treacherous one, of the White party: he was banished from Florence at the same time with Dante.

_And as Cornelia would have been Cianghella._—Cianghella, the wife of Lilo degli Alidosi, is said to have been a shrew in her household, and a brawler (at least on one occasion) in the place
of worship, and to have lived so licentiously during her widowhood, that the preacher of her funeral sermon had afterwards to confess there was one complaint to make of her, "quod populum Florentinum consumpserat," i.e. vires Florentiae pubis. She is contrasted, for her lack of the domestic virtues, with the mother of the Gracchi.

1. 132. — *Mary with loud vow.*—The Virgin being usually invoked by women in child-bed. [See Purg. Can. 20, l. 19.]

1. 134. *I took within your ancient Baptistere.*—The Baptistery attached to the Duomo of Florence, in which it was customary for the children of every citizen to be christened. [See on Hell, Can. 19.]

1. 136. *Moronto, Eliseo, my brothers were.*—Of Moronto no more is known; Eliseo was still represented in Florence by the Elisei family.

1. 137. *My lady from the vale of Po I brought.*—Aldighiera, the wife of Caccia guidi, gave the name Alighiero to Dante's great-grandfather, after whom it became the patronymic of his family. She came, it is said, from Parma or Ferrara.

1. 139. *The camp of Emperor Conrad*;—i.e. of Conrad the Third, of Hohenstaufen, whom Caccia guidi must have followed to the second crusade, and died in the year 1147.

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**CANTO XVI.**

1. 10. *That plural you.*—Landino, who commented on Dante about the year 1500, observes, "Nearly all nations employ the word you
in speaking to an individual except the Romans, who say *thou* to all without distinction." But it is not known when this usage arose, or where it first diffused itself. It will be observed in this poem that Dante, following the custom of his age, employs the second person plural only where he requires to express a peculiar personal reverence, as to his tutor Brunetto Latini, to Beatris, and to Cacciaguida, his ancestor.

*Whence Beatris.* — It need not be supposed that Beatris disapproved or ridiculed this style of expression, which she was herself accustomed to endure from her friend. But she smiles from the consciousness that Cacciaguida, as a Florentine gentleman of the old school, had never been familiar with the you fashion.

*— like her who coughed.* — The lady of Malehault, in the romance of the Round Table, who coughed to give a signal for the first kiss which Lancelot du Lake stole from the Queen of Arthur. The comparison is instituted on a superficial ground, and must not be much scrutinised on the score of moral significance.

*Tell me about the sheepfold of St. John.* — Florence, according to her patron saint.

*And, "from the day," said he.* — From the year of our Saviour's birth, when Gabriel greeted the Holy Virgin [Luke i. 28], to that of Cacciaguida's birth, the planet Mars had five hundred and eighty times returned to the sign of Leo (in which it was supposed to exercise peculiar influences), or completed that number of revolutions in its orbit. The period of Mars is estimated at nearly 687 days; but perhaps Dante made it 683, according to the estimate of Vitruvius. Hence his ancestor must have been born between the years 1085 and 1091, and died [in 1147] at the age of sixty-two or sixty-eight years, a veteran.
soldier. Another reading of this passage, which would make him born in the 533rd instead of the 580th year of the planet since the Christian era, could only be justified by supposing Dante to have loosely reckoned Mars’s revolution as completed in two solar years, giving the date 1066.

In which begins the Sextum.—The old city of Florence, built entirely on the right bank of the Arno, was divided into four quarters, which derived their respective names from the gates of St. Mary on the southern side, St. Pancrazio on the western, the Duomo on the northern, and St. Peter on the eastern. After the completion of the new walls six divisions were reckoned; those of the Borgo and of S. Piero Scheraggio being formed from the quarter of St. Mary’s Gate, three others deriving their names from the other ancient quarters, and a sixth being called from its position Oltarano [beyond Arno]. These were called in Italian Sesti [plural of Sesto], and in Latin Septaria [plural of Sextarium]. Perhaps “Sextary” would have been a better English word than Sextum. The foot-racers in the annual Florentine games are said to have run across the city from St. Pancrazio’s Gate to St. Peter’s, traversing the ancient market-place. Their course therefore terminated in the Sextary of St. Peter’s Gate, in which Cacciaguida intimates that he and his forefathers were born, and in which are found to have stood the houses of the Elisei and Alighieri, his descendants. [See notes on Can. 15, l. 136 and l. 137.] And as the corresponding quarter of the old town is said to have been that which was first rebuilt in Charlemagne’s time, and in which the oldest families established themselves, the circumstance speaks decidedly for the nobility of Cacciaguida’s origin. But not pretending to carry it too far back, C. warns Dante [l. 48 to
against inquiring who were his ancestors at a remoter period.

All who between Mars and the Baptist;—i.e. the population of the old city, comprised between St. Mary’s Gate, near the Old Bridge, upon which stood Mars’s famed statue, and the Gate of the Duomo [or Cathedral of St. John the Baptist].

But then within the meanest artisan.—Cacciaguida boasts the purity of the old Florentine population, which had since his time been impaired by the extension of the city over circumjacent suburbs and boroughs, and by the immigration of noble and plebeian country families.

Our civic blood, unblent with Certaldese.—Certaldo, afterwards the birthplace of Boccaccio, lay in the valley of the river Elsa, betwixt Poggibonsi [Poggibonizzi] and Castelfiorentino. It is said Dante mentions it in allusion to a certain Jacopo di Certaldo, who, when once, during his priorate, the Podestà of Florence, used contumeliously by him, had threatened to lay down his staff of office, took the same up, and replied to him, “What! think you there is none but you ready to govern Florence?” and soon after went to the Podestà’s palace, seized the judgment-seat, and for several days kept possession of it.

Or with the Campian or Figghinish.—Two more small places near Florence, namely Campi towards Prato, and Figghine, probably the same as Figline in Valdarno, are now mentioned, it is said, in reference to two dishonest lawyers, who thence derived their origin.

—and by Trespian or by Galluzzo.—These are two places near Florence: Galluzzo on the south side, in the valley of the river Greve; and Trespiano on the northern, by the road to Bologna.
Like Aguglione and La Signa's kind.—Of these villages Aguglione is mentioned as the native place of Baldo d'Aguglione, who was among the conspirators against Giano della Bella in 1294, and afterwards concerned in falsifying the public records on the occasion mentioned under Purg. Can. 12, l. 105; and Signa, it is said, in reference to a base lawyer named Fazio.

If that race which has most on earth declined.—The immigrations of rustic families towards Florence, and the encroachments of the municipality upon the rural nobility, of which Dante is about to bring forward instances, are attributed by him to the continual civil wars which afflicted Tuscany, and these again to the persevering hostility which the power of the Emperor had encountered from the Pope and prelates, than whom no earthly class, he assures us, had more degenerated; and here he means doubtless to contrast their avarice and ambition with the poverty and simple manners of the first Christian teachers, as in Can. 21, l. 107.

Who might have now gone back to Siminfoni.—Siminfoni, a castle in the vale of Elsa, was taken and destroyed by the Florentines in 1202, through the treachery of one of its inmates [or sentinels] who was himself killed during the assault by his companions, but whose offspring, according to agreement, were allowed to settle, tax-free, in the victorious city; to them Dante alludes contemptuously.

Then Montemurlo's lords might be the Conti.—Montemurlo belonged to the Conti Guidi, who had to dispute the occupation of it, towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the citizens of Pistoja, and ultimately, for the sake of security, sold it in the year 1209 to the Florentines.
Acone's parish might the Cerchi bound.—Acone lay, according to the most probable statements, in the vale of Sieve at a short distance from Florence towards the north-east, and contained the castle of Santa Croce, which was taken from the Conti Guidi by the Florentines in 1153, on which occasion the Cerchi came to Florence, where they long afterwards helped to give occasion, as has been mentioned, to the disastrous contentions of the Black and White parties.

Yea, Valdigreve haply the Buondelmonti.—In the vale of the river Greve, which falls into the Arno, through the right bank, a little below Florence, the Buondelmonti once possessed the castle of Montebuono, which was taken from them by the Florentines in 1135, when they were obliged to fix their residence in the city. "And thus," Villani observes on the occasion, "the municipality of Florence began to extend itself, and, by might more than right, to increase their territory, subjecting to their jurisdiction all the rural nobility, and dismantling their strongholds."

If thou dost Luni and Urbisaglia scan.—Luni, on the river Macra, was a maritime town, which gave its name to the territory between the Genoese and Carrarese of Lunigiana. Dante's line gives a new moral to that of Ennius,

"Lunal portum est operæ cognoscere, elvæ;"

for on this site the old Etruscan city had gone to ruin before the wars of the Triumvirs, and a second city, which arose there at an unknown period, and in which a bishop had been established, was utterly deserted when Dante wrote; through the effects, we may imagine, of its occupation by the Saracens in 1096. Urbisaglia, the ancient Urbs Salvia or Salia, situated in the Mark of
Ancona within the former bounds of Picenum, had been overthrown by Attila.

— and how Clusium lies.—Clusium, the residence of Porsena, which was called Chiusi in modern times, had become an insignificant place.

With Sinigaglia.—The same had been the case with this town, a seaport in the Mark of Ancona; and known in ancient times as Sena Gallica, from the Galli Senones who had founded it.

Look how the rolling.—May not this fine simile have originated casually in the above allusion to Luni and Urbsaglia, seeming to suggest a phrase like cum Lunâ urbes saliant?

I saw the Ughis and the Catellines.—The families mentioned from this line to l. 92 inclusive were extinct in Dante’s time, except the Ormanni, who were then called Foraboschi, a Guelf clan, and the Soldanieri, who were Ghibellines. They were all very ancient; the Ughis being descended, according to tradition, from Uberto, the son of Catilina; the Catellini and Ormanni from two out of the six companions with whom he migrated, it is said, from the infant city of Florence into Germany; (for he had been obliged to quit Rome, where he had been protected during his minority, and subsequently Italy, through the jealousy of Augustus Caesar). The Soldanieri had the singular privilege of being buried upon bronze horses. Some particulars of the residences of these and the following clans will be found in Villani and Malespina.

The Arcas, and Ardighis, and Bostics.—The Dell’Arca family too was descended from a companion of Catiline’s, and had ceased to exist in Dante’s time. The Bostiichi certainly survived; they and the Ardighi had been Guelf families.
Above the gates. — Viz. the gate of St. Peter, on the eastern side of Florence, near which dwelt the Cerchi and Donati, whose heads the Florentines subsequently banished [see l. 96] to avoid the dangers that were brewing in their jealousies.

Read, The Ravignanis then were dwelling whence Count Guido came.

The Ravignani were descended from one of Uberto's companions. From them came Bellincion Berti, whose daughter Gualdrada married a Guido: the Count Guido here referred to, as a descendant (through her) of the Ravignanis, was probably Guidoguerra. [See Hell, Can. 16.] A branch of Bellincione's descendants, who still bore his name, are referred to in l. 99.

Then Della Pressa knew. — The cognate Ghibelline families of Galigajo and Della Pressa claimed a descent from the companions of Uberto. The latter, however, had merged into the plebeian order.

Still was the column. — The next mentioned families were less noble; the ermine-coloured upright bar characterised the escutcheon of the Pigli.

The Giochi, Gallis, Sifantis, Baruccis — Sacchettis. — The Giochi had merged into the plebeian order; the Barucci were extinct. From the clan of the Sifanti or Fifanti had come Oderigo, who was one of the assassins of Buondelmonte.

And the clan which bears the stain. — The Chiarmontesi, one of whom had tampered with the standard measures of the municipality. [See Purg. Can. 12, l. 105.]

— and your Calfuccis. — A family connected with the Donati.

— and to Chairs Curule were Sizis brought, and Arriguccis. — In Cacciaguida's time Florence had a college of consuls, com-

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prising a senior and assistants, whose entire number corresponded to that of the quarters and afterwards sextaries of the city, and who governed in connexion with a hundred senators. The institution probably dated from well-nigh the commencement of the twelfth century (when the Tuscan municipalities first grew independent of the imperial dukes or marquises), and lasted till the year 1207, when the management of affairs was committed to a foreign Podesta. One of the Arrigucci is found to have been chief consul in the year 1197, and one of the Sizii in 1190, and another in 1203 [see authorities quoted by Philalethes]; so the representatives of the two families may erewhile have enjoyed the office pretty frequently.

l. 109. *How great I saw the house.* — These were the Uberti, who had been among the ruling families in Florence after the first expulsion of the Guelfs, at which time their tyranny produced a revolution in a popular sense. They were twice banished with the Ghibellines, and their sentence, after the second occasion, was maintained irrevocably. [See under Hell, Can. 10.]

l. 110. *— and aye the balls of gold.* — The cognizance of the Lamberti, another ancient Ghibelline family, whose members, like the Soldanieri, were buried on bronze horses. To them belonged Mosca Lambertì, who is mentioned in Hell, Can. 27.

l. 118. *Of those, who when your Church a pastor lacks.* — The Visdomini and Tosinghi, who had the privilege of enjoying the episcopal revenues from the death of one bishop till the appointment of another.

l. 115. *That overweening race.* — The Adimari, one of whom, named Boccaccio, is said to have occupied Dante's house and goods during his exile, and to have vehemently opposed all motions for his recall to Florence.
And much disliked it. — Ubertin Donato, having married a daughter of Bellincion Berti's, was much offended at her sister's being given to one of the Adimari, then an upstart clan.

They reached the smaller precinct. — The Della Pera postern-gate, leading into the Sextary of San Piero Scheraggio, was named from a private family; to whom the democratic spirit of a later age would have grudged the distinction.

All who in the fair crest. — Ugo, a German marquis who visited Italy with the Emperor Otho the Third, was induced by the pleasant situation of Florence to send for his wife, and fix his residence there, having obtained the appointment of Imperial Vicar. "And it came to pass, as pleased God, while he was hunting in the demesne of Bonsollazzo, that he lost sight of his companions in the wood, and alighted, so it appeared to him, at a smithy where iron is forged. And seeing there some black, misshapen wights, who seemed to be tormenting, not iron, but men, with flames and hammers, he asked what the thing meant, and was told these were damned souls, and that the soul of Marquis Hugo, for his worldly life, was condemned to the like pains, if he did not avert his doom by penitence. Hereat in great alarm he commended himself to the Virgin, and remained after the vision so pierced with contrition, that on his return to Florence he sold all his patrimony in Germany; and he built seven abbeys, of which the first was the abbey at Florence, in honour of St. Mary; . . . . and all these he richly endowed, and led a holy life with his lady, and had no son; and died at Florence on St. Thomas's day in the year of our Lord 1006, and was buried with great pomp within the abbey [where the anniversary of his death was still solemnised in Dante's time]. And this baron made, while he lived, many knights from the families Giandonati,
Pulci, Nerli, Gangalandi, and Della Bella, who all, for his love, bore his escutcheon of red and white stripes with their own several additions.” [Villani, 4, 2.]

1. 131. Though now the people’s side.—All the above families had been invested with the martial rank and privileges of nobles; but the Della Bellas, under the celebrated demagogue Giano, had attached themselves to the popular party.

1. 133. The Importuno and the Gualterot.—The representatives of two families resident in the Borgo S. Apostolo, where the Buonelmonti had since established themselves, with more prejudice, Dante intimates, to the repose of Florence.

1. 136. That house which sorrows.—The Amidei; for in the “just vengeance” they took upon Buonelmonte had originated, A.D. 1215, the first deadly feud between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence. [See next note, and on Hell, Can. 28, l. 106.]

1. 140. O Buonelmonte.—Buonelmonte de’ Buonelmonti, a young Florentine noble, had betrothed himself to a maiden of the Amidei. And he was riding through the city, and he passed under the houses of the Donati, and there stood a noble matron upon a baloony, and her daughter was beside her. And she called unto him, and rebuked him, saying, Behold, thou art praised for thy beauty above all the valiant men in Florence. Why then takest thou to wife this Amidei, and what seest thou in her that may be desired? for, behold, I would have given thee this my daughter. And he lifted up his eyes, and his soul clave to the damsel, for she was exceeding fair to look on. And he was tempted by the Tempter, and the maiden with him; and they vowed a vow straightway to each other, and he espoused the daughter of the Donati. Then arose the Amidei, and their kinsfolk, and all the Ghibellines, and took counsel to.
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be avenged on Buondelmonte. And some said, Let us chastise him, and let him go; for it is written, A rod for the fool’s back. But the others said, He hath lied unto our sister, to cause her to be despised in Florence; he shall surely die the death. And Mosca of the Lamberti was among them; for he said, A thing done shall have an end. And they laid wait for Buondelmonte on the bridge, even by Mars his idol, and the swords of many were against him, and their eye spared not. And the thing was a beginning of strife to the Florentines, as the entering of waters into a breach, that the sword might range continually among them.

Had God vouchsafed thee. — Cacciaguida wishes B. had been drowned in the Ema, a little stream which he must have traversed in passing from his estate in the country to Florence.

Had never been reversed. — In token of defeat.

Nor scarlet dyed. — Sarcastically alluding to the alteration which the Guelfs made in the Florentine emblem, putting a red lily on a white ground for a white upon a red [1251].

CANTO XVII.

As came for reassurance. — Phaethon heard an ill report of himself from his companion Epaphus, who pretended he was not really Apollo’s son; whereupon he went, that he might ascertain the truth, to his mother Clymene, and afterwards to the god himself. Apollo having taken, to appease his suspicions, the
fatal oath that he would grant him any request soever, entrusted to him the guidance of his chariot, and became thus, as D. intimates, a terrible example on parental tenderness.

So stood I minded. — In the like suspense with Phaethon was Dante, desiring some more certain information about the calamities he had been threatened with. [See under l. 19.]

So thou discernest. — As necessary, and for instance mathematical truths are discerned by human reason, so future occurrences, although contingent on man's free choice, are not less positively foreseen by the spirits of the blessed.

Where present are all tenses. — In the mind of God.

Whilst I, accompanying Virgil. — Alluding to the prophecies D. had heard from Farinata and Brunetto Latini [Hell, Can. 10, l. 81, and Can. 15, l. 61], and afterwards from Guido del Duca. [Purg. Can. 14, l. 56.]

Yet no necessity derives it hence. — God foresees all things; yet are human actions, we believe, not the less free because foreseen by him. It was argued that infallible prescience brought no necessity into things; forasmuch as an event is not about to take place because it is foreseen, but foreseen because about to take place. The motion of a ship, Dante intimates, is independent of him who sees it moving; so is the foreseen event of the foreseer. The question is elegantly discussed in Boethius, book 5, whom Chaucer has copied in his Troilus and Cressida, book 4, l. 960, &c.

As out from Athens went Hippolytus. — The son of Theseus, with whom his stepmother Phaedra dealt as Potiphar's wife with Joseph. From this comparison it may be concluded that Dante ascribes the real origin of his banishment to a wicked suggestion to which he had refused his compliance; to the effect,
doubtless, of supporting the reception of Charles of Valois, which he in fact resisted from the first, when it was discussed soon after the expiration of his priorate.

Where Christ is late and early sold and bought; — that is, at Rome, by the interested use of ecclesiastical censures. [See Can. 18, l. 127.] Whether at the time in which Dante places his imaginary journey, April and May 1300, Boniface had already determined on the overthrow of the White party, is uncertain; but he summoned Vieri de Cerchi, their leader, at about that period to Rome, to warn him, fruitlessly as it was, to reconcile himself to Corso Donati. Dante, who at a later period became aware of the Pope's double dealing in that transaction, may have seen in this preliminary step the traces of a plan of destruction.

The injured side. — The Whites will be thought in the wrong like every unsuccessful party; but Providence shall declare on their side before long by a signal vengeance on their adversaries. Dante is thought to allude to the calamities that befell Florence in 1340, in the fall of the Carraja bridge, and the conflagration of a great part of the city, caused by the contentions of the Black party.

— yet shortly they, not thou. — Dante has complained of the conduct of his associates in exile, and appears to intimate the disasters that were to befall them in 1304, in their repulse at Lastra, whence they had attempted forcibly to re-enter Florence. They missed, it was considered, two opportunities of taking the city: the first by their tardiness, in not having surprised it; and the second by their impatience, in attacking it before their Pistoian allies came up.

Shall be the courtesy of that Lombard great. — One of the prede-
cessors of Can della Scala; either Bartolomeo, who governed there from 1301 to 1304, or Alboino 1304 to 1311. The former is mentioned by the old commentators, who state that he gave an asylum to our poet in the years 1303 and 1304. It is objected, but without positive certainty, that Alboino was the first of the family who assumed, when he was created imperial vicar, the arms of the eagle and ladder, and that Dante therefore must refer to him, and had stayed under his protection between the years 1304 and 1311. But against this view it is urged, firstly, that Dante speaks slightly of Alboino in the Convito, as an example of a man notorious but not noble; secondly, that the passage before us shows that the representative, even in 1300, of the Della Scala family had assumed the arms in question.

1. 76.  *With whom thou shalt see him.* — Can della Scala, called Can Grande, younger brother of Bartolomeo, and Alboino, who was associated with the latter in his government, and became sole ruler on his death in 1311.

1. 79.  *Whom yet the world.* — Can Grande was only nine years old at the time referred to, and thirteen, it would appear, when Dante had first the opportunity of knowing him.

1. 82.  *But ere the Gascon's fraud;* — that is, before the year 1312, in which the Emperor Henry the Seventh was destined to arrive in Rome for his coronation, and find part of the city occupied with the troops of King Robert of Sicily, with the connivance of Clement the Fifth, who is Dante's fraudulent Gascon. [See Can. 30, 1. 142.]

1. 84.  *— in spurning toils and riches' shine.* — Of contempt for riches Can Grande, in his puerile years, is said to have made a remarkable demonstration, by performing on a heap of treasure, which his father had vaingloriously displayed to him,
the natural function which was once taxed to the disgust of Titus.

The fame of his magnificence. — Compare Dante's letter to Can Grande, on the occasion of his visit to Verona in 1317, beginning, "The glorious praise of your magnificence, which Fame, wakeful and on wing, disseminates, so variously draws various minds, that exalting some, to the hope of prosperity, it casts down others by the terror of destruction. Verily, I used to think this blazon, which surpasses the deeds of the moderns, had been cherished to a superfluous growth, and become ampler than the substance of the truth. But lest too long an uncertainty should have kept me in suspense, as to Jerusalem came the Queen of the South, as Pallas came to Helicon, so repaired I to Verona to explore it by my eyes' true witness. I saw your palaces, everywhere heard of; I saw at the same time and handled your benefits, and where at first I suspected an excess in the reports, I learned afterwards that the excessiveness was in the facts." Dante remained upwards of a year from the time referred to at the court of Verona, in company with many illustrious political and other exiles, among the former class of whom were Guido da Castello [see Purg. 16, 125] and Uguccion della Faggiuola, late lord of Pisa and Lucca. Can Grande fitted up for all his guests magnificent apartments, which were painted with suitable subjects; as those of warriors with battles and triumphs, those of poets with the Muses' sacred groves, and those of artists with figures of Mercury. Amid this splendour, however, the poet was exposed to continual mortifications from the rivalry of surrounding courtiers, who employed more art to ingratiate themselves with Can Grande. And partly from these circumstances, partly from their different political views on the succession of the
German empire, Dante disagreed after a short time with his patron, and though not permanently estranged from him, was induced to seek a refuge with other princes.

By him will many persons.—This alludes generally to the wars and hospitalities of Can Grande, whose successful contests with the Paduans for Vicenza, in the years 1311 and 1312, have been mentioned under Can. 9, l. 46. He again drove them thence in 1314, when they had possessed themselves of the suburbs by surprise; at tidings whereof he had left his meal unfinished, and ridden from Verona with but three attendants (and in such a way as to kill his first horse under him), that he might revive by his presence the ardour of the besieged citizens. In 1316 he received at his court the banished Ghibelline leader Uguccion della Faggianola, and in the same year excited a Ghibelline revolution in Parma, from which he expelled Giberto la Correggio. About the same time he concluded a family alliance with Guecelo da Camino, Lord of Treviso, who had made himself master of Feltro by expelling the bishop. [See Can. 9, l. 49.] In 1317 he successfully invaded the territory of Brescia, and defeated the Paduans in a new attempt to recover Vicenza. In 1318 he finished a three years’ war with Cremona, by taking that city and expelling the Guelph leader Cavalcabò. He was in the same year declared Captain of the Ghibelline league, and continued for many years to be the great champion of that party.

That must for many taste.—Dante perhaps alludes more particularly to that which he has said against a member of the Della Scala family in Purg. Can. 18, l. 121, &c., by which passage he feared to be obnoxious to his patron Cane.
CANTO XVIII.

William of Orange. — A hero in the time of Charlemagne and Louis le Debonnaire, who is said to have expelled the Saracens from the neighbourhood of Orange and Nîmes in the south of France. Rénoart was, according to romances, a kidnapped pagan youth, who having been sold and brought up at the imperial court, steadfastly refused baptism, and was degraded for his contumacy to the office of a scullion. He then entered the service of William of Orange, for whom he used to fight with a bare club, enacting prodigies of valour: he was at length converted, and obtained the hand of the emperor's daughter, but ended his days, as did also his commander, in a convent. Next these are mentioned Godfrey of Bouillon, the celebrated crusader, and the Norman hero, Robert Guiscard, the first Duke of Apulia, and conqueror of that territory from the Saracens. He was also a powerful defender of Pope Gregory the Seventh's against the Emperor Henry the Fourth.

With heaven a larger arc. — The higher sphere is that which performs the larger revolution, and every point of which, by its motion in a given time, describes a larger circular arc. Dante perceives himself to have ascended, as before, by the change in Beatris's features.

The whiteness and the cooler tempered shine. — Dante has contrasted, in the foregoing simile, the colours of Mars and Jupiter. "The latter planet," as Ptolemy tells, "is of temperate complexion between the coldness of Saturn and the heat of Mars; . . . it appears, among all the other stars, distinguished by whiteness, as if silvered." [Convito, 2, 14.] Compare Can. 22, l. 145. Jupiter is spoken of by commentators as the abode of
just princes; and the spirits certainly, that appear in it to Dante, are all of royal rank. But no doubt the planet must be considered more generally as belonging to those who have distinguished themselves by the practice of justice, of which virtue the most brilliant patterns, of course, can be set by those who are invested with the reins of government.

1. 78. *By their positions D and I and L.* The spirits form each of these letters in succession, and go similarly through the remaining letters of the words quoted in l. 91 and 93.

1. 94. *Then in the M of that last word.* — Dante perhaps considers this letter as standing for Monarchy.

1. 109. *The artist there is by no copies led.* — The figure is produced by God himself, who copies in it, therefore, not the natural eagle, but that ideal in his own mind of which also the latter is a representation.

1. 127. *It was by swords.* — The present passage refers to the times in which Dante was writing; those, namely, in which the Popes, after the death of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg, were openly and strenuously supporting the Guelf party throughout Italy, and excluding their opponents from the Table of our Lord, or lavishing on them sentences of excommunication, from pure political motives.

1. 130. *But thou that only to annul dost write.* — Passing and retracting a sentence, as interest dictates. Thus, after the Venetians had been excommunicated for their occupation of Ferrara, a town claimed by the Church, Pope Clement the Fifth was persuaded in 1313 to remove the sentence upon their paying 100,000 florins.

1. 133. *Ha! thou wilt answer.* — "I love so much," the Pope is made to reply, "the contemplation of John the Baptist's head upon the Florentine florins, that I have no regard to spare for pleasing the other two saints you mention.
CANTO XIX.

That goodly symbol. — As all civil government, and especially that which is most supreme and universal, is ordained for the administration of justice in God's name, so the eagle, which represents the Roman empire, is also the very symbol of God's justice.

And frame articulately, I and My. — Though composed by innumerable spirits, the whole eagle speaks like one person, symbolising the perfect concord of a justly-governed community.

"For being just," it said. — Dante refers to the topic, on which he has dilated in the second book of the Monarchy, that the Romans were advanced by God to the government of the world in conformity with the justice of their policy, which was directed always to the common good.

Then spoke it, "He, who turned. — The eagle answers a difficulty that had presented itself to Dante's mind, and the nature of which is clearly enough stated in lines 70 to 78. The general scope of the argument is as follows: God is self-sufficing [86 and 87]; all justice is founded on his will [88]; there is no goodness in creatures which is not derived from him, consequently they have no merits in his eyes but those which are imputed to them [89, 90]. Why then, (but this is the question first discussed in the text,) does God impute more merit to one man than another? This is not a moral question, answerable by the reason, but a prudential question that tasks the understanding to enter into God's counsels: it is therefore beyond our comprehension, almost beyond that of the most exalted creatures [45 to 51]. For all creatures of God are finite; his
infinity is reproduced only in his Eternal Son; there is no
created intellect, therefore, which has any proportion to the
Divine Intellect, or by which its ways can be fathomed.

1. 46. This makes it certain. — Lucifer himself, though the greatest
of created beings, was immeasurably inferior to God; he had no
pretense, therefore, for his inordinate ambition to be equal to God,
since he might, without throwing off subordination, have merited
and obtained an indefinite increase of glory.

1. 49. And every smaller nature. — That which was true of the highest
angel applies with more force to the spirits in Paradise [l. 52],
and with yet more to those on earth [l. 57, &c.].

1. 55. Could by their natures. — Every apprehension, image, or con-
ception of the Divine Nature existing in a finite mind, must be
immeasurably inferior to the truth it represents, and recognised
to be so by that mind itself.

1. 64. Ye have no light. — “You have no knowledge,” the spirits
appear to intimate, “of what is fit in the relations between God
and man, except only from his actual works and judgments as
revealed to you.”

1. 82. In very faith, if Scripture. — This verse attests the allusion to
the Scriptures which has been pointed out under l. 64.

1. 115. There ’mid the acts of Albert. — For Dante’s opinion of the
Emperor Albert, see on Purg. Can. 6, l. 97. In the year 1304,
when Venceslaff the Fourth, King of Bohemia [see l. 125, and
Purg. Can. 7, l. 100], had already acquired for himself the crown
of Poland, and placed that of Hungary on his son’s head,
Albert, although connected with him by marriage and indebted
to his suffrage for the imperial crown, conceived a jealousy of
his growing power, and demanded from him, at the instigation
of Boniface the Eighth, the resignation of Poland, and other
extravagant concessions. On his refusing these demands, the German emperor, having allied himself with Charles Robert of Anjou (son of the Charles Martel mentioned in Can. 7, who had claims upon Hungary), invaded the Bohemian territory. His army, recruited from half-savage Cumanian tribes in Hungary, committed ruthless depredations, and began to lay siege to Kuttenburg, whence they were forced to retire, after a long struggle, by epidemic diseases and the arrival of reinforcements to the enemy.

There shall be seen the grief. — Dante refers to the base money incessantly coined by Philip the Fourth of France, and to his death in 1314 through the effects of a fall, which was occasioned by a wild boar's running between his horse's legs.

By which so mad are Scots and English grown. — Dante glances, and evidently from a remote point of view, at the wars in which our first Edward had been engaged against Bruce and Wallace.

Of Spain's king, and Bohemia's. — The first expression refers to a king of Castile (for the Arragonese princes will be mentioned in lines 130 to 138), and, as some say, to Ferdinand the Fourth, who reigned from 1295 to 1312. But I incline to the opinion that Dante meant his predecessor, Alfonso the Tenth, who had been a great astronomer, but a monarch of questionable ability. He was elected king of the Romans in 1257, but made no practical attempt to assert his rights, and ultimately suffered Rodolf of Hapsburg to obtain the Imperial crown. On the Bohemian king referred to, namely Venceslaff the Fourth, see Purg. Can. 7, l. 97.

There shall the lame king of Jerusalem. — Charles the Second of Naples. [See on Can. 8, l. 82.]
Of him who guardeth yonder fire-propt isle. — Frederic, King of Sicily. [See Purg. Can. 7, l. 118.] On the death of Anchises in the island referred to, see Æn. lib. 5, sub fin.

His brother and his uncle. — On Frederic’s brother, James of Arragon, see the passage just cited from the Purgatory. When the latter succeeded to Arragon from the dominions of Peter the Cruel, his uncle, also named James, had inherited Majorca, whence he basely assisted Philip of France to invade his kinsman’s territory.

Norway’s king to rate. — Probably Hakon the Priest-hater, who ascended the throne in 1300, having been some time his brother’s colleague, and was yet reigning at the time Dante wrote. He carried on a long war against Denmark, in conjunction with her last king’s murderers, and by means of devastating predatory incursions. He was engaged also in frequent contentions with the clergy. In point of character he seems contrasted with the next-mentioned sovereign.

And Portugal’s. — Namely Dionysius, who reigned over that country from 1279 to 1325, and is said by one of the old commentators to have been “wholly addicted to acquiring gain, leading nearly the life of a merchant, and having money dealings with all the great merchants in his kingdom, like a man of whom no royal, no splendid act could be recorded.”

And him who falsely set. — The prince of a small state in the northern part of the modern Servia, which the Popes during the thirteenth century had contributed to render independent of Hungary and the Greek empire, Urosius had coined pieces of money which closely resembled in their outward appearance some of the Venetian. Particulars and fac-similes are given in Philalethes’s translation.
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O blessed Hungary.—Hungary, which had been ill enough governed by Ladislaus the Fourth, became, upon his death in 1290, a subject of dispute between two claimants, Charles Martel and Andrew the Venetian. [See, on their respective births, Can. 8, l. 64.] The former, at his decease in 1295, transmitted his pretensions, hitherto baffled, to his son Charles Robert, who was still supported by the Court of Rome, and who invaded Hungary in 1300. Andrew having died in the same year, the Hungarians, bent on resisting the Papal candidate, submitted the crown to Venceslaff, King of Bohemia, who set over them his son, bearing the like name. When the latter, unable to make way against his antagonists, had retired to his native country, his late subjects elected Otho of Bavaria to succeed him, who, through the help of treachery, was likewise worsted. It was only in 1307 that Charles Robert obtained the submission of the Hungarian parliament, and that under protest against the Pope's title to dispose of their allegiance. Dante intimates, in the present lines, the sufferings which the country had to undergo from civil contests; but it is not very clear to which party he accords his sympathy, unless we regard his affection for the family of Charles Martel [see Can. 7], and his slighting notice, in the present Canto, of the Bohemian ruler, as decisive evidences on the question.

—blessthe frontier land of Spain.—Navarre became the inheritance of a French prince in the year 1304, by the death of the last native sovereign, Queen Joanna, who had married Philip the Fair, and left her sceptre to their eldest son, afterwards Louis the Tenth of France. Happy had it been for the land, says Dante, if the Pyrenees could have afforded it a safeguard against the disastrous connection with France, which subjected
it, during all the lifetime of the poet, to the government of a tyrannical dynasty. And in truth Louis had employed very harsh measures to establish his power in this realm, causing the leaders of the popular party to be thrown into confinement, and taking three hundred of the nobles to France as hostages.

1. 146. *That Famagost already, and Nicosie.* — These towns represent the isle of Cyprus, governed in 1300 by Henry the Second of the House of Lusignan, who is represented by Benvenuto as one of the most profligate of mortals. The Cyprians in general are bitterly censured by the same author, who tells us that a man of probity should shut his eyes from seeing and his ears from hearing of their lewd, slippery, and loathsome manners. The discontent with which the people, as Dante shows us, had already begun to regard their sovereign, was afterwards fanned into revolt, A.D. 1306, by his younger brother Almeric, who for some time deprived him of the government.

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**CANTO XX.**

**CANT. XX.** *By many a light, in which but shines one flame.* — The stars, as has before been intimated, were considered to shine by a reflection of solar light.

1. 10. *For all those living lights.* — In the speaking of the eagle the voices of the several spirits that composed him were merged in one, but in his song distinguished and symphoniously united.

1. 37. *He in the midst.* — David. [See 2 Sam. 6.]

1. 40. *Now knoweth he how far.* — Not because he received by
grace the inspiration to write the Psalms, but in proportion as
that grace took effect through the co-operation of his free will
is David recompensed with bliss and glory.

Who the poor widow. — Trajan. [See Purg. Can 10.]

The next continuing. — Hezekiah.

The next by yielding. — Constantine the Great, who, by the
election of Byzantium for his capital, had made himself a Greek,
instead of a Roman emperor, and transferred to Greece the seat
of empire, represented by the eagle, and the fountain of law
and order to the universe; and this, as it was supposed, that he
might leave to the Popes the government of Rome, in recom-
pense of the service he received from Sylvester. [See Hell,
Can. 27, l. 94.] "O happy nation, O thou glorious Ausonia,"
says Dante in the Convito, "either if that enfeebler of thy
empire had never been born, or if never his pious intention had
dceived him." [Monarchia, lib. 2, sub fin.]

At William, who is mourned. — A king of Sicily, which island,
at the time referred to, was afflicted by the struggle between
Charles of Naples and Frederic for its possession. William,
surnamed the Good, was nephew of the Constance who, is
mentioned in Can. 3, and king of Sicily from 1166 to 1189.
He restored to the realm the order and tranquillity which it had
lost by the wickedness of his predecessor; and in foreign affairs
distinguished himself by supporting the Pope against the
emperor Frederic the First, and at later periods by brilliant
expeditions against the Saracens and the Greek empire. He
was the last Sicilian sovereign of the Norman line, for his
heir was the emperor Henry the Sixth, who had married Con-
stance.
That could the Trojan Ripheus. — A follower of Aeneas, unrivalled for justice and observance of duty [see 2 Æn. 426—7],—

"—Cadit et Ripheus, justissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris et servantisimus equi."

On the manner in which Dante imagines him to have been saved, see l. 118, &c.

Imagine making our fifth hallowed light. — Six spirits compose the outline of the eagle’s eye, conceived of nearly semicircular form: David is at the centre, Trajan and Ripheus at the inner and outer corners respectively; these three make the base of the figure. The two latter, with Hezekiah, Constantine, and William the Good, arranged at equal distances, make the curved part.

The first and fifth life. — Thou art surprised, says the spirit to Dante, to see in Paradise these two reputed Pagans, Trajan and Ripheus. [See 106 &c., and 118 &c.]

Abounding hope. — That of Gregory the Great, at whose intercession it was said Trajan had been liberated from Hell.

Those ladies three. — Faith, Hope, and Charity. [See Purg. Can. 29, l. 121, &c.]

That God doth in his will. — Compare Can 3, l. 70, &c.

Thus was administered that medicine. — Information.

I witnessed these two spirits. — Ripheus and Trajan, displaying each his sympathy in that part of the narrative which relates to himself.
CANTO XXI.

Now are we lifted.—Here Dante enters the planet Saturn, which is generally considered by commentators as appropriated to the votaries of contemplative life. [See Can. 21, l. 46.] Were this the case, we might expect to find in it many of the theologians who are placed in the sun; especially that Richard

"Who was in contemplation more than man."

And to the same view it may be objected, that the proper contemplative virtues are the theological, or, at all events, Faith and Hope, and these are elsewhere celebrated. For my own part I hope to have proved, that the four higher planets of Dante illustrate the four moral virtues, and that therefore Saturn must correspond to Temperance. I explain by this consideration, first, Dante’s abstinence in this heaven from the smile of Beatris, by which he is made to have some feeling of the virtue whose votaries come before him; secondly, the image of the ladder [l. 29], representing the most arduous and exalted holiness; thirdly, the allusion in l. 25 to the fabled god, “in whose reign men feasted on acorns with water” [see Purg. Can. 29, l. 148]; fourthly, the character of the spirits encountered, who were not the most eminent of men for contemplative powers, but those whose contemplations were exalted by the rigidest self-denial; and lastly, their peculiar zeal in denouncing the luxuriousness of modern Churchmen.

Which from below the Lion’s.—Saturn being, at the time 1. 1 4. referred to, in the sign of Leo. The coldest planet, as it was supposed, was tempered by the warmest constellation.
And in these mirror that similitude. — The ladder of v. 29.

Which in this mirror. — This planet.

I saw a ladder. — Respecting the general meaning of this emblem, see note on l. 13; but it must not be left unnoticed that we have seen in two successive planets the figures of the eagle and the ladder, which composed the escutcheon of the Della Scala family, employed as symbols of justice and temperance, with evidently a subtle compliment to Dante's patron.

Thou dost so near to me. — The spirit is asked, why he, more than any of his companions, came forward singly to meet Dante, and gratify him by his converse. He replies [l. 67, &c.] that he did not thus through feeling more good will than the others, but by God's peculiar ordination. But when Dante inquires after the causes of that ordination, the spirit refuses to answer; for the mystery, he says, is beyond the comprehension of the most exalted beings [l. 91, &c.]. And the poet is directed, therefore, to warn his fellow mortals against diving into similar questions; those, namely, which concern the predestination of God's creatures unto particular offices of mercy.

Betwixt the two Italian shores. — Monte Catria is a spur of the Apennines, which for the most part extend midway between the seas that bound Italy, the Adriatic and the Etruscan. It is situated in Umbria, near the confines of Tuscany, about twenty miles towards the north-east of Gubbio. At its foot lay the monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana, which Dante appears to have visited during the last years of his life, when he had taken refuge with Bosone Raffaelli at Gubbio. Here Petrus Damianus, the present speaker, had been a monk, and afterwards prior, in the eleventh century, distinguishing himself by the severity of his practice and discipline.
That but with juice of olives.—As the only condiment of his bread. It is said he sometimes fasted from all cooked food for forty days continuously.

Petrus Peccator did.—The history of Damianus, it is intimated, was often confounded with that of a so-named Petrus Peccator, originally de Honestis, who founded the monastery of "S. Maria in Porta fuori," near Ravenna, in the year 1096.

Short time in mortal life.—In 1057, when Damianus had nearly reached his sixtieth year, he was urged by Pope Stephen the Ninth (who prevailed only by threatening him with excommunication) to accept the bishopric of Ostia, to which see attached the dignity of the Cardinalate. He was employed in many important missions, both in Italy and Germany, by this Pontiff and his successors, who were stirring heaven and earth to put down simony and enforce celibacy among the clergy. In 1061 he applied to Pope Nicholas the Second for leave to resign his dignities, but was refused; he seems ultimately, however, to have resumed his hermit's life, though recalled from it, from time to time, for the discharge of public duties. He died in 1080.

And the great Vessel.—Referring to St. Paul, as the preceding line to St. Peter. The discourse will appear more appropriate, if we compare it with the letters of Peter Damianus to his fellow cardinals, which represent in the strongest terms the criminality of avarice and luxury among Churchmen.
CANTO XXII.

Anon the largest.—The speaker is Saint Benedict, the founder of the Benedictine order, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century, and led for some time the life of a recluse near Subiaco in the Campagna, whence he removed to found the monastery of Cassino [l. 37] and others.

That mountain which Cassino.—Namely Monte Casino, on the Garigliano, in the neighbourhood of Capua. "On the acclivity of this hill," as we learn from Gregory's Life of Benedict, "and about three miles below the summit, was a deep recess, containing a very old temple, where Apollo was worshipped by the foolish rustic people after the fashion of the ancient heathens. On all sides round flourished groves, consecrated to the worship of devils, in which even at that time a demented multitude of unbelievers used to busy itself with sacrilegious sacrifices. Here then, when the man of God arrived, he shattered the image, overturned the altar, fired the groves, and in the very temple of Apollo erected a chapel to the Virgin Mary, and where the altar of Apollo had been, a chapel to St. John, and began by continual preaching to invite the multitude around him to embrace the faith."

All contemplative men.—Not that contemplation was the peculiar virtue of these spirits, but far rather the guerdon of their temperance.

Here Romuald.—Romuald, the founder of the Camaldulense order, was born, during the tenth century, of a noble family in Ravenna. He was stricken with remorse, while a young man, by the results of an affray which his own father had obliged him
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to participate in, and retired, for the purpose of doing penance, to the convent of St. Apollinaris near Chiassi, where he was persuaded to take the monastic vows. His fellow-monks, after a short time, became jealous of his superior attainments in asceticism, and attempted to murder him; but he eluded their conspiracy, and, having obtained permission to quit the monastery, began to practise a hermit's life, under the tuition of a certain Marinus. The latter, a severe and boorish man, used to lead him, singing psalms, over the mountains, and belaboured him on the head with his staff when he committed any error; till Romuald, by complaining that he was losing the power of one ear, and meekly requesting that he might now be struck on the other side in preference, brought his master to accord a somewhat milder treatment. From this period he aspired to a solitary's life; but was frequently forced to change his abode by the numbers who flocked round him to solicit his instructions. He founded several monasteries; of which the most famous was that of Camaldoli on the mountains between Romagna and the Casentino. The fame of his sanctity attracted Otho the Third and other eminent persons to be his visitors. He died in 1010.

—and Maccarius. — This had been the name of several Egyptian hermits in the fifth century, among whom it is uncertain which Dante means.

Thy semblance to behold.—He asks to see Benedict in his bodily form, and without the veil of light with which he, like the other spirits, has hitherto appeared encompassed. [See Can. 30, L 43, and Can. 32, L 35.]

Yon farthest sphere.—The empyrean, which is the real abode of God, and of the blessed spirits, that have been symbolically presented in the lower spheres of heaven. [See Can. 30.]
There ripe, entire and perfect.—Compare Can. 33, l. 100, &c.

For place it hath not.—For space and time, in Aristotle's view, had no existence beyond the limits of the material universe, and were therefore, according to the philosophy of Dante's time, coextensive with the Primum Mobile, or highest moving heaven, which was a perfect sphere, and revolved perpetually within the same extension. It followed that the empyrean heaven, by which alone the Primum Mobile was comprehended, had no intelligible situation, and we have formerly seen [Can. 1, l. 76] that it had no motion.

Thus far the patriarch Jacob.—Here the ladder of Jacob is identified with that by which Temperance is symbolised; for the patriarch had indeed beheld the former when he was a poor wayfaring man, and had no pillow for his head but one of stones.

For only those that ask it in God's name.—For the poor.

Yet backward in good faith.—The reform of the monastic orders, Benedict intimates, is, humanly speaking, quite hopeless, but would require no greater miracle than those by which the Israelites past Jordan or the Red Sea.

My lady-love me after them impelled.—Here Dante enters the eighth sphere, or heaven of the fixed stars, in which no particular spirits will appear dwelling, but he will see in the sphere above him, or Primum Mobile, the general company of the Blessed descending from the empyrean. And thus the poet reminds us that his distribution of the spirits in the various spheres is but symbolic, and their real common home is in the empyrean. However, the orderly commemoration of the remaining Christian virtues, namely the theological, is continued in the following
Cantos, by the examinations Dante passes before the three Apostles. [See arguments of the Paradise.]

O noble stars. — From this passage Dante seems to have been born when the sun was in Gemini,—a conjunction suitable, according to astrologers, to producing a learned man, a poet, or a prophet. It is observable Dante makes no distinction between the signs of the zodiac and the constellations that severally bear their names.

He that of mortal life. — Namely, the sun.

I saw Latona's daughter. — The dark and bright patches on the moon, discussed by Dante in Can. 2, were no longer visible on her upper surface.

I bore the aspect, Hyperion, of thy son. — There was no doubt a myth which made Hyperion the father of the sun [Hesiod, Theog.]; but it is strange that Dante should cite it, when he has just before alluded to Latona; hence the common reading of this passage is open to much suspicion.

The joys of Maia and Dione. — Mercury and Venus.

The tempered shine of Jove. — On the temperature of Jupiter, as cooler than that of Mars, but warmer than Saturn's, see on Can. 18, l. 68.

In which they toward each other. — In the apparent retrograde movements of these planets.

The area small. — Here Dante beholds the earth, and that indeed from estuaries to mountains, so that his view comprises the whole of our hemisphere, which was supposed to be covered by land. He is therefore traversing the meridian, which passes over Jerusalem, the supposed centre of our continent, and he stands, as we have seen, in the sign of Gemini; hence the sun,
which is in Aries, has past the same meridian about four hours previously. Now the opening Canto of the Paradise refers to the sun as rising on the purgatorial mountain, and as setting therefore at Jerusalem; consequently, some twenty-two hours have elapsed from the period there described; and it is now Friday morning, about two hours before sunrise, in the terrestrial paradise, or two hours before sunset at Jerusalem, and earlier in the afternoon near Rome, or at the place whence Dante descended to Hell gate, though we cannot accurately fix the supposed longitude thereof. [See on Can. 27, l. 80.]

CANTO XXIII.

By which the sun.—The meridian, similarly described in Purg. Can. 33, l. 103. The elaborate introduction to this Canto marks the opening of a major division in the poem. Analogously to the divisions of Purgatory, the three first planetary spheres have made a lower heaven of the imperfect virtues, and the four next a middle heaven of the moral virtues: we are now entering the spheres embleming the theological virtues, and behold the true abiding place of the saints and angels, whose seeming distance from the spectators is now appropriately increased.

Lo there, said Beatris. She points to the triumph of Christ with that army of Saints, to whose conversion all that goes on upon the earth, and therewith all the influences of the spheres, have been subservient.

Titanis forth among.—The moon among the stars and planets.
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— the substance glorified. — The body of Christ appearing through his ambient glory. [See Can. 14, l. 56, &c.] 1. 32.

As fire that cloud. — Lightning. [Comp. Can. 8, l. 22, &c.] 1. 41.

The name of that fair flower. — The Virgin. [Comp. l. 73.] 1. 88.

Which garlands the fair sapphire. — She is represented, Philalethes supposes, in blue robes, after the custom of the early painters.

I am the angelic lover. — Gabriel, who announced to the Virgin the miraculous birth. [Comp. Can. 32, l. 103, &c.] 1. 103.

That covering of all covers. — The Primum Mobile. 1. 112.

CANTO XXIV.

Feast of that holy lamb.—See Revelations, c. xix. v. 9, &c. 1. 48.

To whom our master. — The spirit addressed is St. Peter, who is made the representative of Faith, according to the text, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock," &c. So St. James and St. John will represent Hope and Charity in Can. 25 and 26.

For handling, not for resolution's sake. — Not to instruct by new conclusions, but exercise his critical powers by argument.

Of thy true brother;— i.e. of Paul, who was one of the apostles of the Romans, and whose authority is referred to in l. 64, &c.

Faith is the very substance [read of things sought].—Comp. l. 64. Heb. xi. 1: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen;" —"because," comments Petrus Lombardus, "the things to be hoped for subsist in us even now by faith, and they will subsist at a future time by experience."
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CANTO XXIV.

And the same faith is a proof and conviction of things not apparent; for if any one doubt thereof, "they must be proved by faith." [Sent. iii. 23.]

1. 98. *O'er the new page and ancient.*—The New and Old Testaments, to which Dante refers the sources of his belief.

1. 101. *Are the works done.*—The miracles which, according to the Gospel narrative, accompanied the first promulgation of Christianity.

1. 108. *If without miracles.*—This is the argument of St. Augustine, who says, "If they believe not even this, that the apostles of Christ wrought those miracles to the end they might be believed in preaching Christ's resurrection and ascension, yet us this one great miracle sufficeth, that without any miracles the ends of the earth believed them." [De Civ. Dei, 22, 5.]

1. 110. *A field to plant that scion good.*—The Christian Church of Rome, which Peter had founded in the utmost scarcity of worldly resources and appliances, but which is now ceasing, D. intimates, to bear good fruit, i.e. in private morals or social order.

1. 126. *Thou didst the younger feet.*—For John had indeed outrun Peter, but the former had remained outside, when the latter entered into the Lord's sepulchre. [John xx. 3 to 8.]

CANTO XXV.

If ere 'tis granted.—"This feeling passage must have been written during the last years of the poet's life, when his hopes of returning to his native city were growing fainter and fainter, and yet he could not abandon the idea that his fame as a poet
might at the last appease his enemies, and reopen the way to him homeward.” [Philalethes.]

With altered voice, with altered fleece.—Dante refers simply, I should judge, to the effect which had been produced on him by years.

Because by Faith.—We find obscure traces in Dante's life of his having been accused of heresy; and in his works is a poetical confession of faith, which he wrote, if we may credit the report, to justify himself before an ecclesiastical tribunal. He expresses here the confidence that his writings will vindicate him from the suspicion of heterodoxy, and remove the obstacles which it had opposed to his reception as the poet.

And toward us after this a splendour.—St. James, the son of Zebedee, who is revered at Compostella in Galicia [l. 18]. He is identified by Dante with the author of the Catholic Epistle which is now for the most part attributed to James the son of Alphaeus [l. 29]. He is introduced as the representative of Hope, partly in accordance with the character of the work referred to, and partly that he may contribute, with the two other disciples who were present at the Crucifixion, to the symbolisation of the theological virtues.

Of our high Court the liberalities.—Alluding, perhaps, to the text, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.” [James, i. 5.]

Mountains, from which they erst;—i.e. the previously overpowering aspects of the two apostles. Compare Psalm cxxi. 1: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills," &c.

In court most secret with his Comites.—The original form of the word Counts, which signified companions of the Emperor.

Say what she is.—St. James asks the same three questions
respecting Hope, that St. Peter had asked regarding Charity, viz. what it is, on what it is founded, and whether Dante possesses it.

1. 67. **Hope is that looking forward.**—So Petrus Lombardus defines Hope as “the sure expectation of future beatitude, proceeding from divine grace, and from merits preceding either the hope itself, which by nature charity precedes, or the thing hoped for, that is to say, eternal felicity; for to hope for anything without merits, is not to be called hope, but presumption.”

1. 72. **Who was chief minstrel.**—David, whose words are in the next line referred to. [See Psalm ix. 10, in the Vulgate: “Sperent in te, qui noverunt nomen tuum;” “Let them hope in thee who know thy name.”]

1. 77. **In thy epistle.**—Referring, it seems, to the words in c. 1, v. 12 in the Vulgate: Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem, quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ;” &c.

1. 91. **Isaiah saith.**—See c. lxi. v. 7; in the Vulgate: “In terrâ sua duplicia possidebunt; lætitia sempiterna erit iis;” where Dante, from his inserting the word vest, appears to understand an allusion to the beatific union of the soul and body in Paradise.

1. 94. **Thy brother too.**—Referring to St. John’s words in Revelations, c. ix. v. 7.

1. 102. **If Cancer such a diamond.**—Suppose that towards the winter solstice, when the sun appears in Capricornus, and the opposite sign of Cancer must therefore rise at sunset, and be above the horizon exactly as long as the night lasts, there were placed another sun, or a sunlike luminary, in this latter constellation, then the earth would have a month of unbroken daylight.

1. 112. **Behold whose head.**—Obviously, St. John, who is introduced as the representative of Charity.
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Of our blood-giving.—For this bird, supposed to shed its own blood for the nourishment of its young ones, was familiarly considered a type of Christ.

"And wherefore dazzlest thou."—Dante's attentive scrutiny of St. John having been occasioned by a doubt whether he had ascended to heaven bodily. [See John, xxi. 23.]

With double vesture.—It is only Christ and the Virgin, the apostle intimates, that are yet, both body and soul, in Paradise.

CANTO XXVI.

Begin then, tell me.—Here St. John commences questioning the poet on Charity, which will be defined by implication as meaning this, to love God above all things, and other things for the sake of God. But Dante is not asked respecting Love, as he has been asked respecting Faith and Hope, whether he possesses it; for no creature can be void of love for some object [see Purg. Can. 17, l. 91 to 94]; but he is asked to what object his affections are directed.

—which Ananias had in his hand.—The Ananias who restored St. Paul to sight. [Acts, c. 9.]

The good, that maketh.—God, in whose presence consists the happiness of this Paradise, is the object, directly in Himself, or indirectly through His creatures, of all strongest and weakest affections in me.

Thou hast across a finer sieve to go;—i.e. be examined more nicely. The apostle desires, as we shall see more plainly in VOL. IV. B B
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CAN. XXVI. 1. 52 to 65, to draw from Dante a more explicit account of the charity he professes, by making him distinguish between the direct love of God, and the love of His creatures for His sake. He inquires at the same time [l. 23 and 24] on what reason or authority the love of God is recommended.

1. 28. For who so good, and as good. — The philosophical argument for the love of God. Every smallest good, that we apprehend as such, has a natural tendency to excite love in us. God is the essence and cause of all good; how much more, then, ought He to be loved by every mind which discerns the truth of the latter proposition.

1. 33. Is from his light a glinting. — Compare Can. 13, l. 52, and St. John, c. 1.

1. 37. This truth is plainly shown. — The truth referred to, as I have pointed out in note on l. 28, is this, that God is the cause or essence of all good. But who is the author especially intimated? for on this point commentators differ. Apparently he should be a pagan philosopher; for Dante has to prove, both by reason and revelation [see l. 25 to 36, and l. 40 to 45], his main proposition [that God should be loved above all things], and in this twofold way, therefore, the most important proposition on which he bases this conclusion; he should, therefore, show us that both inspired writers, and one or more who built not upon revelation, teach God to be the cause or essence of all good. For the inspired writers, see l. 40 and l 43. For the other class, it has been said Aristotle teaches this doctrine; for he proves the existence of God as a highest Being, and that all Being is good [omne ens bonum]; whence it follows that the highest Being is the highest Good. But then how is Aristotle said to unfold the first beloved &c. [l. 38], or, more literally, to explain what is the first love or beloved of all the eternal essences, i.e. angels?
This description might better apply to Dionysius Areopagita, the supposed author of the Celestial Hierarchy, who describes the love of God as an original and perpetual habit of the angels that fell not. But Dionysius is a Christian writer, and, besides, I do not find in him any formal assertion of the doctrine here in question; hence I am not satisfied with referring either to him or Aristotle in this passage, and would rather believe that Dante had in view some Neoplatonic passage yet undiscovered.

*This the true Author's voice.* — The voice of God, manifesting his glory to Moses. [See Exodus xxiii. 19, where the Vulgate has *Ego tibi ostendam omne bonus; I will show thee all goodness; not, as our version, I will make all my goodness pass before thee.*]

*Thou tell'st it also plainly.* — See the opening verses of St. John's Gospel.

*Of Christ his Eagle.* — For the four animals in Ezekiel's vision being supposed to symbolise the four Evangelists, the Eagle corresponds to St. John.

*I from the surge of wandering love.* — I am delivered, Dante says, from "loving the creature more than the Creator," and grounded now in His love by all the affections of my nature to imperfect objects.

*About a light, that fourth.* — The representatives of every single human virtue having passed before him, Dante sees lastly, in our general ancestor Adam, the representative of perfected humanity, and will now proceed to behold the angelic hierarchies.

*Read Four thousand and three hundred but and two.* — For 5231 years, according to Eusebius's computation, elapsed between the creation of the world and the death of Christ, out of which time Adam had lived 930 years. [See l. 121, and Gen. v. 5.] The
time that Christ abode in inferis makes a fraction of another
year, and is reckoned after the Hebrew manner to make 5232.

l. 124. That language that I formed.—The lines go against the
common opinion, which I suppose Dante thought somewhat
superstitious, namely, that God endowed mankind with a
perfect language, which they preserved unaltered till the
founding of the tower of Babel.

l. 134. That goodness was upon the earth named El.—The Hebrew
Scriptures contain three forms of the word meaning God,
namely ēl, which is the radical form; elōh, connected with the
Arabic allāh; and elōhīm. The words are inaccurately observed
by Dante, or his authority, who takes ēli, my God [see Matt.
c. xxvii. v. 46], to denote God simply. But from the general fact
of such synonyms existing in Hebrew, he acutely infers that it
is not the uncorrupted primitive language.

l. 141. From dawn to that hour;—i.e. from dawn to the first hour
after noon. It is needless to say that the most various conjectures
have been hazarded by theologians as to the period during
which our first parents continued in Paradise. Dante takes the
very shortest period that can be reconciled with the Scripture
narrative; for he supposes them, as we have elsewhere seen, to
have been created with the most perfect intellectual endowments,
so that they needed no experience to prepare them for the great
trial, but had from the beginning a judgment that made them

“Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.”

CANTO XXVII.

—— and he that came before the rest.—St. Peter, who had the
nearest interest in the conduct of his representatives on earth.
Grew brighter, and a tinge. — From white became red in countenance, as if Jupiter were to take the colour of Mars. [Comp. Can. 18, l. 64, &c.]

He that usurps. — Dante's crowning invective against Pope Boniface the Eighth, whose occupation of the Papal chair is considered illegitimate on account of Celestine's unprecedented abdication.

By Cletus', Linus', and by my last vein. — St. Peter and Linus, the first bishops of Rome, had suffered martyrdom under Nero in the years 64 and 66 of our era, as did Cletus, the next Pope but one, under Domitian in 83.

Sextus, Calixtus, Pius, Urban. — All these Popes were reported to have suffered martyrdom; Sextus in the year 127 under Adrian, Pius in 150 under Antoninus, Calixtus in 222 under Heliogabalus, and Urban in 230 under Alexander. There has been some doubt, however, respecting the fates of Pius and Urban.

It was not our intention. — We meant not that the Head of the Visible Church should involve it in civil war, and become the pastor of only half his people.

Nor from the keys. — Nor that the keys by Christ committed to St. Peter should emblazon the Papal banners, carried to the field against Ghibellines; as when a crusade had been proclaimed, for example, against the Colonnas.

Nor that they for a seal. — A censure of the dispensations and indulgences issued under the Papal seal. The idea is well followed up in Can. 29, sub fin., which contains, with the present Canto, the most Protestant passages, or the only such in Dante.

Lo, Gascons and the dwellers of Cahors. — The first name foreshadows the Papacy of Clement the Fifth, from 1304 to 1314;
the second that of John the Twenty-second, from 1316, who had
probably shown himself, when Dante wrote as above, too sub-
servient a partisan of King Robert's. On Cahors, John's birth-
place, which is contumuously alluded to as a nest of usurers,
compare Hell, Can. 11, l. 50.

1. 69. From the celestial goat's horn. — As the snows fall in the first
months of the year, when the sun is in or near the sign of
Capricornus, so thickly reascended the blessed spirits, who had
come down from the empyrean to the next lower sphere to make
themselves visible to Dante.

1. 79. Now from the moment. — See on Can. 22, l. 151.

1. 80. The sun had past already. — Read, I had already passed
through. From the moment Dante had last looked earthwards,
when he had found himself vertically over Jerusalem, the sphere
had travelled such a distance that the extreme border of the
land comprised in the torrid zone, "the first climate," was now
beneath him; he had therefore traversed a quarter of the earth's
circumference, or a period of six hours had elapsed.

1. 82 Hence the wild cruise. — That hemisphere, which came
within the range of Dante's vision from his position in the 90th
degree of longitude westward from Jerusalem, comprised the
whole ocean, which Ulysses had traversed [see Hell, Can. 26],
between the Pillars of Hercules and the Purgatorial Mountain.
On the other side he might have seen half our continent, but
that a portion, from the position of the sun, was already involved
in obscurity. Hence, he represents his view as bounded by the
Cretan shore, to which Jupiter, in the likeness of a bull, had
carried off Europa. The sun, therefore, having passed the
Pillars of Hercules, was shedding a twilight gleam in the longi-
tude of Crete, and setting upon Italy, completing the seventh
day since the poet had descended to Hell gate. And from
PARADISE. CAN. XXVII. L. 69—115.

this passage all account of time ceases in the Divine Comedy, for we are entering the regions where it exists not.

Disparted me from Leda's lovely nest. — From the stars which, according to mythology, were produced by the transformation of Castor and Pollux, who had sprung from the egg of Leda.

And urged me into the rapidest heaven on. — Into the Primum Mobile.

The nature of those motions. — In this sphere, says Beatris, commence the movements of all the under spheres, on which it impresses their common rotation around the terrene centre. [See note on Can. 1, L. 76.]

And to this Heaven. — Outside this sphere, which is the boundary of the material universe, there is no space, nor even time [see l. 118, &c.], according to the doctrine of Aristotle's De Coelo et Terra: "It is evident that there is neither place, nor vacuum, nor time beyond the Heaven; for in all place it is possible that body should exist; and vacuum is the name given to that in which body does not exist, but can become existent; and time is a number [or numerator, δρομὸς] of motion; but there is no motion except in a material body, and outside the Heaven it has been shown that body exists not, and cannot become existent. It is manifest, then, that outside it there is neither space, nor vacuum, nor time." [Lib. 1. cap. 9.]

Except God's mind, in which the Love is lit.—This sphere has no position in space, for there existeth no space beyond it; and the empyrean, which in a manner comprehends it, is no portion of space, but an entity in the Divine Mind [see Can. 1, L. 76], and is called light and love [L. 112], like God himself.

No measure of its march. — The motion of this sphere is the standard of all other motions, and it is neither swift nor slow in
itself, but makes others such by comparison with it. And this motion is the standard of time, which, according to the Aristotelian philosophy, subsists only by motion, and would have no farther continuance if the latter were suspended throughout the universe.

1. 121. _O Covetousness, who._ — Here Beatris, who has been touching on the highest and subtlest doctrines of physical philosophy,

\[ \text{" — de summā coeli ratione, deēaque}
\text{Disserere incipiens ——"} \]  

\[ \text{Luc. i. 49,} \]

suddenly glances aside to censure the vice which most impeded amongst mankind the study and contemplation of its high truths, the poet’s “majestas cognita rerum.” And this she finds in covetousness, which evil, according to her prediction, is to be pruned of its excessive growth, at some distant future period, by the restoration upon earth of the divinely appointed civil order; that is to say, of universal monarchy. It was manifestly Dante’s intention to intimate that the establishment, on a solid basis, of a supreme imperial power, would tend to abridge the superfluous pomp and power of the Catholic Hierarchy, which, by opening an unbounded field to the avarice and ambition of ecclesiastics, had corrupted the morals of that class whose example is most influential on the age in general.

1. 187. — of some daughter fair. — For the Sun is the parent, according to Can. 22, l. 116, of mortal life collectively, and particularly, therefore, as it is here intimated, of each fair daughter of humanity.

1. 142. _Your January shall enter._ — The Calendar not having been corrected in Dante’s time by the rule of omitting three leap-years in four centuries, he anticipated that the season, in which January was reckoned as elapsing, would gradually become later and later, till it reached the equinox.
CANTO XXVIII.

Appeared what is apparent in your book. — For of all heavenly things to be seen in Nature, there is a reflection, as it were, in the divine philosophy, which is here emblemed in the eyes of Beatris.

A point, that light was radiating. — The point represents, to all appearance, the unity and indivisibility of God’s nature. The nine circles round it are the nine orders of angels, the movers of the nine material heavens.

From that point are hung. — “From the unmoved,” according to Aristotle, “which moves all things, depend Heaven, and the whole scheme of Nature;” ex tali igitur principio dependet calum et Natura. [Metaph. c. 12.]

Observe the circle. — The circle revolving closest round the fiery centre represents the order of Intelligences (or angels) which is most nearly related to God, and highest in the scale of being. So its most rapid motion indicates the supreme degree of fervent affection with which these Intelligences are possessed for the Divine nature.

“If,” hereupon said I, “the world.” — Dante, having inferred from the words of Beatris that the circles which he saw represented the nine spheres of heaven, expresses his surprise that the inmost sphere should be the rapider in its movement; for physics taught him that the earth was the centre of the celestial revolutions, and the spheres nearest that centre were the most tardy. He seeks an explanation, therefore [l. 55], of the apparent contrariety between the emblem manifested, and the plan he recognises in the material universe. In reply, Beatris intimates that, the earth being the centre of the material universe, God is, in a manner, its circumference; but it is otherwise in
the world of Intelligences, where God takes the place of a centre, being the object upon which converge all thoughts and feelings. [Comp. Can. 31, l. 27.] Hence the inmost circles, in the emblem before us, represent the noblest beings, and the most nearly related to God, and these, to indicate the intensity of their affections, must have the rapidest movement.

L. 64. *The spheres of matter.*—The largest material sphere requires the greatest power to actuate it, and must be governed by those Intelligences whose love to God is most ardent, and who, in a corresponding degree, impress upon it the most rapid motion.

L. 80. *Remain, if Boreas from the cheek.*—Here Boreas is supposed to command two winds by blowing from one or the other cheek; as, suppose, the North-North-East and North-North-West, of which the former is commonly the most vehement.

L. 108. *Those other, circling in the next degree.*—The angels, as we shall find expressed, compose three hierarchies, each of which is subdivided into three orders. The generic title of the first hierarchy is applied especially to the lowest order in it, as the title of soldier is applied to a private; so the word Throne expresses an attribute common to the Seraphim and Cherubim, as well as to the next succeeding order; the attribute, namely, of enjoying the most direct contemplation of the Deity, while inferior hierarchies contemplate it through their medium, or in the plan or in the details of nature. [See notes on l. 133.] The Thrones, also, as we have seen under Can. 9, l. 61, were the immediate ministers of God's judgments. [See Psalm ix. 5, in the Vulgate: "Sedisti super thronum, qui judicas equitatem."

L. 106. *And know that they are blissful.*—There is nothing arbitrary in the degree of love that possesses each angel to Godward, but it is proportioned to his insight or power of apprehending some part of the Divine glory. This insight is also the reward of
will, which prevenient grace gave occasion to, but did not necessitate. Nearly the same doctrine has been asserted of the spirits of redeemed mortals in Can. 14.

That never nightly Aries. — This is a spring without autumn or winter; for the latter are the seasons in which Aries rises or is visible by night-time.

There tripartite the Goddesses. — An appellation playfully applied to the orders of the second hierarchy, from their titles, in the classical languages, being of the feminine gender, Domination, Virtus, Potentia.

Thus gazing upwards. — Deriving intuitions from the hierarchy above it, and communicating them to that beneath it.

And Dionysius. — Namely, Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of St. Paul, and supposed author of a Greek treatise on the Celestial Hierarchy, in which the divisions of the angels are set forth in the manner here followed by Dante.

But Gregory his opinion. — The orders of the angels are investigated by Pope Gregory the Seventh in his Homilies on the Gospels, lib. 2, Hom. 34. He departs in some respects from the system of Dionysius; the latter arranging thus:

First Hierarchy — Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones;
Second Hierarchy — Dominations, Virtues, Powers;
Third Hierarchy — Principalities, Archangels, Angels;
and the former as follows, without distinguishing the hierarchies; Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Virtues, Powers, Archangels, Angels. It may be observed that the names of most of these orders, and the different opinions respecting their precedences, are grounded on two passages in St. Paul's epistles, viz. Eph. c. i. v. 21, and Col. c. i. v. 16, in either of which the Apostle may be thought to speak of an ascending or descending series of heavenly dignities.
A system, differing from both the above, had been set forth by Dante in the Convito, and was accompanied by a curious theory of the mode in which the several orders contemplated the persons of the Trinity. Our own epic poet must have indulged himself in some speculations on the arrangement of this heavenly feudality, to which he makes frequent allusions in such lines of the Paradise Lost as,

"Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers;"

but he has taken, as far as I know, quite an original view of the dignity of the Archangels, whom he places above all the orders, even those

"...great Seraphic lords and Cherubim"

who take seats apart from the denominations above cited, as well as from the plebeian angels, in the inmost hall of Pandemonium.

CANTO XXIX.

When both Latona's twins.—Suppose the sun to be entering Aries, and the moon to be full, and consequently in the opposite constellation of Libra, then she will rise as he sets, and the contrary; and if you mark the time that both are visible above the horizon, you will find it only amount to a few seconds; "for such a time had Beatris been still."

In that which centres every where and when.—In the mind, to which all place and time are present.

Not that good might.—Every act of God's having a good for its end, yet not in such a manner that He could be made greater
or better by it—it was not therefore for his interest or advantage that He created the world, but that his attribute of goodness might have external objects upon which to manifest or realise itself.

Into nine loves.—The nine orders of the Angelic Hierarchy. 1. 18. Nor erst was like.—For before God had—contemporaneously, as it is here represented—created the spiritual and material worlds, time itself had not been created, and existed not; and by intimating this, Dante warns us against the profane conception of a time through which God's power had been dormant, and of a time at which it began to operate; the conception, which Shelley has expressed, but not originated, in the line of his Queen Mab,—

"From an eternity of idleness
I, God, awoke——"

[See on this doctrine Augustin. ad Genesim, and Aquinas, Summa Theol. i. 10].

That o'er these waters moved the Spirit of God.—It is intimated that the creation of the angels was contemporaneous with that of the material world, and this doctrine had been derived by the Fathers and Churchmen from the words of the Son of Sirach [c. xviii. v. 1]: Qui vivit in eternum, creavit omnia simul;—"He that liveth eternally created all things together;" and in conformity with this text it was supposed that the "Heavens and Earth" in the first verse of Genesis signified the spiritual and material worlds, and that further, in the production of the latter, the work of the six days had been one of evolution and development, but that all organic and inorganic bodies had been created at once, at least in their constituent matter, and their germs or seminal principles. [See Petrus Lombardus, ii. 12].
Matter and Form, both maiden, both allied.—The maiden form, which is the "Energy" of l. 32, is a purely active principle, namely, that of the Angelic Intelligence. The maiden matter is the "Passiveness" of l. 34, or mere inorganic matter. The allied matter and form [comp. l. 35] is the mixed nature of organic beings, men and animals.

And as through amber.—Dante admits a kind of priority in the creation of the angels, but such as to be measurable by no conceivable division or, as it were, atom of time.

St. Jerome wrote at large.—St. Jerome expressed this opinion in his comments on the epistle of Titus, saying, "What spaces of time must we suppose to have elapsed, what ages to have succeeded one another, during which the Angels, Thrones, Dominations, and other orders, served God without change and without measure of time [i.e. before time and the world], and abode by God's commandment." Dante censures this view by the authority of the texts above referred to, and intimates there would be something irrational in supposing the angels to have come into existence before the spheres on which their activity was to be expended, and so to have remained in an imperfect condition, like beings whose powers are objectless.

Three burnings from thy bosom.—Three of thy desires, Beatris intimates, have been slaked by the solution of the above questions.

And of these angels.—The angels, it was thought, had scarcely begun to exist, when some of them rebelled against God. The place for their reception was prepared by a revolution in the elements, through which Hell was hollowed out in our globe, and the mountain of Purgatory upheaved, as we have seen in Can. 34 of the first part of the Comedy.

Those who were left behind.—The angels, who remained
faithful, began at once to operate the revolutions of the spheres, in the manner which was brought before Dante's eye by the representation in the last Canto.

The cause of falling.—The sin of the fallen angels is represented, in accordance with the common opinion, to have consisted in pride, or the desire to raise themselves toward an equality with God; for other vices to which creatures may be subject, and which spring from inordinate love of finite goods or sensual pleasures, could have had no place in their purer natures.

Their intuitions.—The faithful angels were rewarded, through the effect of their own merits, and the corresponding additional grace bestowed on them, by such a knowledge of God as the cause and essence of all weal, as rendered it impossible they should afterwards be willing to disobey him. [Compare Can. 33, l. 100.]

There's merit in receiving grace.—There is a grace preceding all merit, but it is offered and not forced upon our acceptance; whence those who make a right use of it are deserving, in a manner, of the further grace which they need for continuance in well-doing.

But since on earth.—In censuring certain preachers, who with too much of vanity and presumption had enlarged their discourses upon the nature of angels, Dante finds them in fault for distinguishing therein the same principles as compose our own intellectual nature—as Love, Will, and Memory; for what need, he says, have angels of memory, seeing that all their knowledge is reflected from the Mind, whereinto they have perpetual insight, and must therefore be matter of apprehension, and not of remembrance, perpetually. And in this doctrine Dante is more thorough-going, as has been shown in the comment of Philalethes, than the theologians by whom he is usually persuaded.
One tells you that the moon.—This theory had been saggaciously impugned by Petrus Comestor, from the fact that the moon had been full when our Saviour suffered, and was not, therefore, in a position to eclipse the sun.

There's not so many Lappis.—These were evidently the most familiar Christian names. Bindo is thought to have been a contraction of Aldobrandino; in Lapo there may be implied a sneer at the Lapo Salterello, previously mentioned in Can. 15, l. 128.

But now with crotchets.—An old commentator gives this amusing specimen of the humorous familiarities of such preachers. Two men, it had been related, questioned once among themselves to what purpose God had created the external ear, since the parts within the orifice were sufficient to produce the sense of hearing; and having been unable to solve this difficulty, they began walking towards Bologna, that they might lay the doubt before her learned doctors. And a stream somewhere having overflowed their way, they prepared to wade across it; and one of them, when he was tired of carrying his boots, bethought himself to sling them by the laces upon his external ears. And a moment after, "Halt! comrade," he exclaimed; "let us not go farther towards Bologna, for thou seest the purpose answered by these organs."

By such St. Anthony.—It was usual for the monks in many places to keep a pig in honour of Anthony's temptations, and to collect alms from the people for its maintenance, as they did for other purposes devout and profitable.

This nature doth to such high number.—On the infinite number of the angels there is a fine but fanciful dissertation in Dante's Convito, ii. 4. The words of Daniel referred to in the following lines may be found at Chap. vii. v. 10.
CANTO XXX.

About six thousand miles.—This distance represents somewhat more than a quarter of the earth's circumference, so that Dante indicates the hour when morning twilight, towards the equinoctial period, begins at Florence. He intimates his ascent to another sphere—namely, the empyrean—by describing how the pageant mentioned in the preceding Cantos, symbolising the angelic hierarchies, fades gradually from his view, as stars fade at the approaches of Aurora.

Child of Thalia nor Melpomene.—Here Dante seems at last to claim the honours of a writer both of Tragedy and Comedy, in the significations previously referred to. [See Notes on Hell, Can. 21, l. 2.]

Joy that no pain.—I read dolore, pain, instead of the common dolzore, sweetness, which I think gives a less beautiful signification.

'Tis here thou shalt the twofold armies meet.—Evidently the saints and the angels; for the latter class have now the same appearance as they are always to wear—but the former class a different appearance, from the spirit being not yet reunited to the body.

Thus was I flashed around with light enlived.—Figuring a mysterious illumination, which enables him to perceive God and disembodied spirits according to their real essence. That this illumination means a union with the Light of Light, "the only-begotten Son, who hath declared the Father," will appear from l. 97, and the following page.

To the yellow of that rose.—The river of Light of l. 61, l. 124, having become rounded [l. 90] and formed the circular light
of 103, is now the centre of an amphitheatre, whose general
form is compared to a rose, and which had at first been seen, we
may suppose, as if forming the banks of the river. [See l. 62.]
Meantime the sparks and flowers of l. 64 have become the
saints and angels described in the beginning of next order.

l. 186. *A soul that empire.* — Referring to Henry of Luxemburg, the
last emperor who could be expected to vindicate in Italy the
rights of monarchical government. Henry had been elected
king of the Romans through the influence of Clement the
Seventh, in November 1308, about six months before his great
antagonist Robert ascended the throne of Naples. In 1310 he
prepared to visit Italy, to receive the crowns of Lombardy and
of the empire, and strove to reduce to his obedience the cities
amid which he had to pass, by emissaries whose proceedings
were diligently counteracted by those of the King of Naples.
Towards the end of the same year he passed through Piedmont,
and in 1311 was invested with the Iron Crown at Milan; he
established his supremacy in most of the Lombard cities,
endeavoured to reconcile the contending factions, and distributed
his favours among them with admirable impartiality. But
having been induced, by Guelf conspiracy or Ghibelline calumny,
to expel from Milan the powerful Guido della Torre, he at
length raised against himself a storm of suspicion and enmity;
and the city of Brescia, in which he had raised to power a
perfidious foe in Tebaldo Brusato, united with Lodi and
Cremona in open league against him. Lodi and Cremona he
quickly punished, but was detained six months in the besieging
of Brescia, from which enterprise Dante sought vainly, by an
eloquent epistle, to induce him to desist, foreseeing that the time
he consumed there would enable a powerful combination to be
raised against him among the cities of Tuscany. He obtained
Brescia by capitulation in the autumn, and retired to Genoa, after having attempted to settle the affairs of Northern Italy by leaving imperial vicars in several of the chief cities; notwithstanding which measures he soon found an almost general revolt kindled against him. In 1312 he sailed to Pisa, and thence proceeded to Rome, which he found occupied in great part by the partisans of King Robert, whom he could not succeed in dispossessing. With some difficulty he had his coronation performed, not in St. Peter's, but in the Lateran, and proceeded to invade Tuscany, and besiege Florence, which held out vigorously against him till the winter, when he retreated with shattered forces to Casciano, then to Poggibonizzi (where he concluded an alliance with Frederic, king of Sicily), and subsequently to Pisa. In August 1313, he invaded the territory of Siena, in which he died on the 24th, from a sudden attack of tertian ague, having won the highest respect of all parties by his kingly virtues and talents, which had not, however, preserved him from committing several errors and odious severities. The hopes of the Ghibelline party, overthrown by the death of their great champion, revived for a season under the vigorous conduct of such leaders as Uguccion della Faggiuola, Castruccio Castracani, and Can della Scala; but the long interregnum and the disputed succession of the empire prevented for ever afterwards the restoration of a common head to the Italian states and cities, which fell rapidly into the power of independent tyrants.

*And at this time.* — See Can. 17, l. 82, on the perfidious policy of Clement towards the emperor Henry the Seventh.

*Where Simon Magus.* — See the punishment inflicted on simoniacl papes, and especially threatened to Boniface the Eighth, in Hell, Can. 20.
CANTO XXXI.

The form as a white rose.—In the concentric tiers of seats, which, rising one above the other in gradually enlarging circles, present the general appearance of a rose, the spirits of the saints are represented as occupying fixed positions, while the angels ascend and descend above them, communicating [see l. 16 to 19] the love and rapture which they derive from the contemplation of the Deity. For the angels, it is intimated, differ from the human spirits, in the same manner as one angel differs from another, by possessing a more direct and perfect insight into God's nature; but this insight the superior orders are delighted, in their charity, to impart to those beneath them. [See Can. 28, l. 127.]

1. 13. Their faces all.—Love, wisdom, and purity are apparently typified in these colours.

1. 31. —from the coast o'er which Calisto.—From the northern parts of Europe, where the constellation into which Calisto was changed never sets, and seems always pursuing Bootes, the fabled son of that nymph, around the pole. [See Ovid, Met. b. 2.]

1. 84. When Laterano topped the world.—The Roman church of St. John of Laterano, which had adorned, in former times, a city that was the metropolis of the Christian world.

1. 59. —an ancient man.—This will appear to be St. Bernard, who was abbot of Clairvaux in Champaigne towards the middle of the twelfth century, and had been a great panegyrist of the Holy Virgin. [See l. 100.]

1. 67. And the third circle.—Compare Can. 32, l. 7 to 9.

1. 104. To see our Veronica.—The portrait of our Lord, that had
been miraculously imprinted on a kerchief handed to him by a pious woman on his way to crucifixion.

The appearance and enthronement.—St. Bernard points out the Holy Virgin, enthroned in the foremost and most conspicuous part of the highest circle.

So likewise that pacific Auriflame.—The Oriflamme, or Aurea flamme [gold flame], was a standard originally belonging to the monks of St. Denis, and assumed by the French kings in the field during the twelfth and following centuries.

CANTO XXXII.

The wound that was by Mary.—St. Bernard points out the Holy Virgin in the first circle, Eve next beneath her in the second circle (somewhat towards the left), and in the third and following circles other ancestresses of our Saviour's, with whom Judith is joined.

And the third womb.—Ruth, third ancestress of the Psalmist, is referred to by the "Miserere" of Psalm li.

They are divided at this boundary wall.—Suppose a plane passing vertically through the centre of the rose, and intersecting each of the circular tiers of seats in one of its diameters: on one side of the plane sit the saints of the old dispensation, whose number is now perfect; on the other the Christian saints, who have yet to expect amongst them new arrivals. At one end of the plane sits Mary, at the opposite end St. John; and the extreme rank of the Hebrew saints on her side of the rose and of the Christians on his side, are formed by the holy women.
mentioned above, and the founders of monastic orders mentioned in l. 35, et seq.

1. 38. *For the two aspects of the Faith.*—That is, there shall be the same number of saints under the Christian as there were under the Mosaical dispensation. This opinion, however fanciful, would not prevent our believing it a great benefit to live in the Christian period, which being supposed shorter than that preceding it, the number of the saved thereunder would hold a greater proportion to that of births.

1. 40. *And from the seats.*—Thus in each of the transverse divisions half the circles (namely, those nearest the centre) are occupied by infants, who are saved in no way by their own merits, but by the grace of God freely bestowed on them.

1. 49. *Now dost thou doubt.*—Dante’s difficulty evidently arises from seeing that the infantile spirits, no less than those saved by merits, appear to differ in glory from one another; and this proceeds, as St. Bernard will explain, from their having received in different measures the free grace of God (which He has a right, for His own purposes, so to distribute), and with that grace corresponding measures, both of the insight that produces love to God, and of the love that makes beatitude.

1. 67. *And this to you doth Holy Scripture.*—By the example of Esau and Jacob. [See Romans, Chap. ix. v. 10 to 13, and Gen., Chap. xxv. v. 22.]

1. 121. *See who beside her.*—Adam, Peter, John, and Moses, who sit in the highest circle, near the Holy Virgin, are successively named in the following triplets down to l. 132.

1. 133. *Right opposite to Peter.*—That is, on the opposite side of the roses near St. John the Baptist.