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DANTE ALIGHIERI.

THE VISION;
OR
HELL, PURGATORY, AND PARADISE,
OF
DANTE ALIGHIERI.

TRANSLATED BY
THE REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY, M. A.
OF SOUTH

A New Edition, Corrected. Subject....

WITH THE LIFE OF DANTE, CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW OF HIS
AGE, ADDITIONAL NOTES, AND INDEX.

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PREFACE.

IN the years 1805 and 1806, I published the First Part of the following Translation, with the Text of the Original. Since that period, two impressions of the whole of the Divina Commedia, in Italian, have made their appearance in this country. It is not necessary that I should add a third: and I am induced to hope that the Poem, even in the present version of it, may not be without interest for the mere English reader.

The translation of the Second and Third Parts, "The Purgatory" and "The Paradise," was begun long before the First, and as early as the year 1797; but, owing to many interruptions, not concluded till the summer before last. On a retrospect of the time and exertions that have been thus employed, I do not regard those hours as the least happy of my life, during which (to use the eloquent language of Mr. Coleridge) "my individual recollections have been

suspended, and lulled to sleep amid the music of nobler thoughts ;” nor that study misapplied, which has familiarized me with one of the sublimest efforts of the human invention.

To those, who shall be at the trouble of examining into the degree of accuracy with which the task has been executed, I may be allowed to suggest, that their judgment should not be formed on a comparison with any single text of my Author ; since, in more instances than I have noticed, I have had to make my choice out of a variety of readings and interpretations, presented by different editions and commentators.

In one or two of those editions is to be found the title of “ The Vision ;” which I have adopted, as more conformable to the genius of our language than that of “ The Divine Comedy.” Dante himself, I believe, termed it simply “ The Comedy ;” in the first place, because the style was of the middle kind ; and in the next, because the story (if story it may be called) ends happily.

January, 1814.

The above Advertisement was prefixed to an edition of the following Translation, printed in so small a character as to deter a numerous class of readers from perusing it. Amongst the few into whose hands it fell, about two years ago, Mr. Coleridge became one; and I have both a pride and a pleasure in acknowledging, that it has been chiefly owing to the prompt and strenuous exertions of that Gentleman in recommending the book to public notice, that the opportunity has been afforded me of sending it forth in its present form.

July, 1819

When a Third Edition was called for in 1831, my duties as an Assistant Librarian in the British Museum were such as to prevent me from engaging in any task that would have required an increase of sedentary labour. I was thus hindered not only from attending to the accuracy of the press, (which indeed the care of my Publisher rendered almost unnecessary,) but from collecting and putting in order the several corrections and additions, which I had occasionally noted with the purpose of introducing them into that edition.

A long interval of leisure may since have enabled me to do more effectually what I was before compelled to leave

undone. In the hope of rendering the *Life of Dante* and the *Notes on the Poem* less imperfect, I have consulted most of the writers by whom my Author has been recently illustrated. Wherever an omission or an error in the translation has been pointed out to me, I have done my best to supply the one and to correct the other; and my obligations in all these instances are acknowledged in the *Notes*. Among those who have not thought a few hours thrown away in noticing such oversights, it is gratifying to me to mention the names of Mr. Carlyle, one of the most original thinkers of our time; my long experienced friend, Mr. Darley, one of our most genuine poets; and Mr. Lyell, my respected fellow-labourer in the mine of Dante. At an advanced age, I do not imagine myself capable of otherwise improving an attempt which, however defective, has at least the advantage of having had my earlier days bestowed on it.

February, 1844.

LIFE OF DANTE.

DANTE¹, a name abbreviated, as was the custom in those days, from Durante or Durando, was of a very ancient Florentine family. The first of his ancestors², concerning whom any thing certain is known, was Cacciaguida³, a Florentine knight, who died fighting in the holy war, under the Emperor Conrad III. Cacciaguida had two brothers, Moronto and Eliseo, the former of whom is not recorded to have left any posterity; the latter is the head of the family of the Elisei, or perhaps (for it is doubtful which is the case) only transmitted to his descendants a name which he had himself inherited. From Cacciaguida himself were sprung the Alighieri, so called from one of his sons, who bore the appellation from his mother's family⁴, as is affirmed by the Poet himself, under the person of Cacciaguida, in the fifteenth canto of the Paradise. This

¹ A note by Salvini, on Muratori della Perf. Poes. Ital. lib. iii. cap. 8.

² Leonardo Aretino, Vita di Dante.

³ Par. xv. He was born, as most have supposed, in 1106, and died about 1147. But Lombardi computes his birth to have happened about 1090. See note to Par. xvi. 31. For what is known of his descendants till the birth of Dante, see note to Par. xv. 86.

⁴ Vellutello, Vita di Dante. There is reason to suppose that she was the daughter of Aldigerio, who was a lawyer of Verona, and brother of one of the same name, bishop of that city, and author of an epistle addressed to his mother, a religious recluse, with the title of *Tractatus Adalgeri Episc. ad Rosuvidam reclusam* (or, *ad Orismundam matrem inclusam*) de Rebus moralibus. See Cancellieri Osservazioni, &c. Roma, 1818, p. 119.

name, Alighieri, is derived from the coat of arms¹, a wing or, on a field azure, still borne by the descendants of our Poet at Verona, in the days of Leonardo Aretino.

Dante was born at Florence in May, 1265. His mother's name was Bella, but of what family is no longer known. His father² he had the misfortune to lose in his childhood; but by the advice of his surviving relations, and with the assistance of an able preceptor, Brunetto Latini, he applied himself closely to polite literature and other liberal studies, at the same time that he omitted no pursuit necessary for the accomplishment of a manly character, and mixed with the youth of his age in all honourable and noble exercises.

In the twenty-fourth year of his age, he was present at the memorable battle of Campaldino³, where he served in the foremost troop of cavalry, and was exposed to imminent danger. Leonardo Aretino refers to a letter of Dante, in which he described the order of that battle, and mentioned his having been engaged in it. The cavalry of the Aretini at the first onset gained so great an advantage over the Florentine horse, as to compel them to retreat to their body of infantry. This circumstance in the event proved highly fortunate to the Florentines; for their own cavalry being thus joined to their foot, while that of their enemies was led by the pursuit to a considerable distance from theirs, they were by these means enabled to defeat with ease their separate forces. In this battle, the Uberti, Lamberti, and Abati, with all the other ex-citizens of Florence who adhered to the Ghibelline⁴ interest, were with the Aretini; while those inhabitants of Arezzo, who, owing to their attachment to the Guelph⁴ party, had been banished from their own city, were ranged on the side of the Florentines. In the following year, Dante took part in another en-

¹ Pelli describes the arms differently. *Memorie per la Vita di Dante. Opere di Dante. Ediz. Zatta, 1758, tom. iv. part. ii. p. 16.* The male line ended in Pietro, the sixth in descent from our Poet, and father of Ginevra, married in 1549 to the Conte Marcantonio Sarego, of Verona. *Pelli, p. 19.*

² His father Alighiero had been before married to Lapa, daughter of Chiarissimo Cialuffi; and by her had a son named Francesco, who left two daughters and a son, whom he named Durante after his brother. Francesco appears to have been mistaken for a son of our Poet's. Boccaccio mentions also a sister of Dante, who was married to Poggi, and was the mother of Andrea Poggi, Boccaccio's intimate. *Pelli, p. 267.*

³ G. Villani describes this engagement, lib. vii. cap. cxxx.

⁴ For the supposed origin of these denominations, see note to Par. vi. 107.

agement between his countrymen and the citizens of Pisa, from whom they took the castle of Caprona¹, situated not far from that city.

From what the Poet has told us in his Treatise, entitled the *Vita Nuova*, we learn that he was a lover long before he was a soldier, and that his passion for the Beatrice whom he has immortalized, commenced² when she was at the beginning and he near the end of his ninth year. Their first meeting was at a banquet in the house of Folco Portinari³ her father; and the impression, then made on the susceptible and constant heart of Dante, was not obliterated by her death, which happened after an interval of sixteen years.

But neither war, nor love, prevented Dante from gratifying the earnest desire which he had of knowledge and mental improvement. By Benvenuto da Imola, one of the earliest of his commentators, it is related, that he studied in his youth at the universities of Bologna and Padua, as well as in that of his native city, and devoted himself to the pursuit of natural and moral philosophy. There is reason to believe that his eagerness for the acquisition of learning, at some time of his life, led him as far as Paris, and even Oxford⁴; in the former

¹ *Hell*, xxi. 92.

² See also the beginning of the *Vita Nuova*.

³ Folco di Ricovero Portinari was the founder of the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, in 1280, and of other charitable institutions, and died in 1289, as appeared from his epitaph. *Pelli*, p. 65.

⁴ Giovanni Villani, who was his contemporary, and, as Villani himself says, his neighbour in Florence, informs us, that "he went to study at Bologna, and then to Paris, and to many parts of the world," (an expression that may well include England,) "subsequently to his banishment." *Hist. lib. ix. cap. cxxxv.* Indeed, as we shall see, it is uncertain whether he might not have been more than once a student at Paris.

But the fact of his having visited England rests on a passage alluding to it in the Latin poems of Boccaccio, and on the authority of Giovanni da Seravalle, Bishop of Fermo, who, as Tiraboschi observes, though he lived at the distance of a century from Dante, might have known those who were contemporaries with him. This writer, in an inedited commentary on the *Commedia*, written while he was attending the council of Constance, says of our Poet: "Anagoricæ dilexit theologiam sacram, in qua diu studuit tam in Oxoniis in regno Angliæ, quam Parisiis in regno Franciæ," &c. And again; "Dantes se in juventute dedit omnibus artibus liberalibus, studentes eas Paduæ, Bononiæ, demum Oxoniis et Parisiis, ubi fecit multos actus mirabiles, intantum quod ab aliquibus dicebatur magnus philosophus, ab aliquibus magnus Theologus, ab aliquibus magnus poeta." *Tiraboschi, Stor. della Poes. Ital. vol. ii. cap. iv. p. 14*, as extracted from Tiraboschi's great work by Mathias, and edited by that gentleman. Lond. 1803.

of which universities he is said to have taken the degree of a Bachelor, and distinguished himself in the theological disputations; but to have been hindered from commencing Master, by a failure in his pecuniary resources. Francesco da Buti, another of his commentators in the fourteenth century, asserts that he entered the order of the Frati Minori, but laid aside the habit before he was professed.

In his own city, domestic troubles, and yet more severe public calamities, awaited him. In 1291, he was induced, by the solicitation of his friends, to console himself for the loss of Beatrice by a matrimonial connexion with Gemma, a lady of the noble family of the Donati, by whom he had a numerous offspring. But the violence of her temper proved a source of the bitterest suffering to him; and in that passage of the Inferno, where one of the characters says,

La fiera moglie più ch' altro, mi nuoce.

Canto xvi.

——— me, my wife

Of savage temper, more than aught beside,
Hath to this evil brought,

his own conjugal unhappiness must have recurred forcibly and painfully to his mind¹. It is not improbable that political

The bishop translated the poem itself into Latin prose, at the instance of Cardinal Amedeo di Saluzzo, and of two English bishops, Nicholas Bubwith, of Bath, and Robert Halam, of Salisbury, who attended the same council. One copy only of the version and commentary is known to be preserved, and that is in the Vatican. I would suggest the probability of others existing in this country. Stillingfleet, in the *Origines Sacræ*, twice quotes passages from the *Paradiso*, "rendered into Latin," (and it is Latin prose,) as that learned bishop says, "by F. S." *Orig. Sacr.* b. ii. chap. ix. sect. xviii. § 4, and chap. x. sect. v. Edit. Cambridge, 1701. See notes to Par. xxiv. 86, and 104. This work was begun in February 1416, and finished in the same month of the following year.

The word "anagorice" (into which the Italians altered "anagogice") which occurs in the former of the above extracts, is explained by Dante in the *Convito*. *Opere di Dante*, tom. i. p. 43. Ediz. Venez. 1793, and more briefly by Field. Of the Church, b. iii. cap. 26. "The Anagogicall" sense is, "when the things literally expressed unto us do signifie something in the state of heaven's happiness." It was used by the Greek Fathers to signify merely a more recondite sense in a text of Scripture than that which the plain words offered. See Origen in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. iv. p. 323.

¹ Yet M. Artaud, in his "Histoire de Dante" (8vo. Paris, 1841, p. 85), represents Gemma as a tender, faithful, and affectionate wife. I certainly

animosity might have had some share in these dissensions; for his wife was a kinswoman of Corso Donati, one of the most formidable, as he was one of the most inveterate of his opponents.

In 1300 he was chosen chief of the Priors, who at that time possessed the supreme authority in the state; his colleagues being Palmieri degli Altoviti and Neri di Jacopo degli Alberti. From this exaltation our Poet dated the cause of all his subsequent misfortunes in life¹.

In order to show the occasion of Dante's exile, it may be necessary to enter more particularly into the state of parties at Florence. The city, which had been disturbed by many divisions between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, at length remained in the power of the former; but after some time these were again split into two factions. This perverse occurrence originated with the inhabitants of Pistoia, who, from an unhappy quarrel between two powerful families in that city, were all separated into parties known by those denominations. With the intention of composing their differences, the principals on each side were summoned to the city of Florence; but this measure, instead of remedying the evil, only contributed to increase its virulence, by communicating it to the citizens of Florence themselves. For the contending parties were so far from being brought to a reconciliation, that each contrived to gain fresh partisans among the Florentines, with whom many of them were closely connected by the ties of blood and friendship; and who entered into the dispute with such acrimony and eagerness, that the whole city was soon engaged either on one part or the other, and even brothers of the same family were divided. It was not long before they passed, by the usual gradations, from contumely to violence. The factions were now known by the names of the Neri and the Bianchi, the former generally siding with the Guelphs or adherents of the papal power, the latter with the Ghibellines or those who

do not find any mention of her unhappy temper in the early biographers. Regard for her or for her children might have restrained them. But in the next century, Landino, though commending her good qualities, does not scruple to assert that in this respect she was more than a Xanthippe.

¹ Leonardo Aretino. A late biographer, on the authority of Marchionne Stefani, assigns different colleagues to Dante in his office of Prior. See Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, vol. i, p. 219. Ediz. Torin. 1839.

supported the authority of the Emperor. The Neri assembled secretly in the church of the Holy Trinity, and determined on interceding with Pope Boniface VIII. to send Charles of Valois to pacify and reform the city. No sooner did this resolution come to the knowledge of the Bianchi, than, struck with apprehension at the consequences of such a measure, they took arms, and repaired to the Priors; demanding of them the punishment of their adversaries, for having thus entered into private deliberations concerning the state, which they represented to have been done with the view of expelling them from the city. Those who had met, being alarmed in their turn, had also recourse to arms, and made their complaints to the Priors. Accusing their opponents of having armed themselves without any previous public discussion; and affirming that, under various pretexts, they had sought to drive them out of their country, they demanded that they might be punished as disturbers of the public tranquillity. The dread and danger became general, when, by the advice of Dante, the Priors called in the multitude to their protection and assistance; and then proceeded to banish the principals of the two factions, who were these: Corso Donati¹, Geri Spini, Giachonotto de' Pazzi, Rosso della Tosa, and others of the Nera party, who were exiled to the Castello della Pieve in Perugia; and of the Bianca party, who were banished to Serrazana, Gentile and Torrigiano de' Cerchi, Guido Cavalcanti², Baschiera della Tosa, Baldinaccio Adimari, Naldo son of Lottino Gherardini, and others. On this occasion Dante was accused of favouring the Bianchi, though he appears to have conducted himself with impartiality; and the deliberation held by the Neri for introducing Charles of Valois³ might, perhaps, have justified him in treating that party with yet greater rigour. The suspicion against him was increased, when those, whom he was accused of favouring, were soon after allowed to return from their banishment, while the sentence passed upon the other faction still remained in full force. To this Dante replied, that when those who had been sent to Serrazana were recalled, he was no longer in office; and that

¹ Of this remarkable man, see more in the *Purg.* xxiv. 81.

² See notes to *Hell*, x. 69, and *Purg.* xi. 96.

³ See *Purg.* xx. 69.

their return had been permitted on account of the death of Guido Cavalcanti, which was attributed to the unwholesome air of that place. The partiality which had been shown, however, afforded a pretext to the Pope¹ for despatching Charles of Valois to Florence, by whose influence a great reverse was soon produced in the public affairs; the ex-citizens being restored to their place, and the whole of the Bianca party driven into exile. At this juncture, Dante was not in Florence, but at Rome, whither he had a short time before been sent ambassador to the Pope, with the offer of a voluntary return to peace and amity among the citizens. His enemies had now an opportunity of revenge, and, during his absence on this pacific mission, proceeded to pass an iniquitous decree of banishment against him and Palmieri Altoviti; and at the same time confiscated his possessions, which indeed had been previously given up to pillage².

On hearing the tidings of his ruin, Dante instantly quitted Rome, and passed with all possible expedition to Sienna. Here being more fully apprized of the extent of the calamity, for which he could see no remedy, he came to the desperate resolution of joining himself to the other exiles. His first meeting with them was at a consultation which they had at Gorgonza, a small castle subject to the jurisdiction of Arezzo, in which city it was finally, after a long deliberation, resolved that they should take up their station³. Hither they accord-

¹ Boniface VIII. had before sent the Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta to Florence, with the view of supporting his own adherents in that city. The cardinal is supposed to be alluded to in the *Paradise*, xii. 115.

² On the 27th of January, 1302, he was mulcted 8000 lire, and condemned to two years' banishment; and in case the fine was not paid, his goods were to be confiscated. On the 16th of March, the same year, he was sentenced to a punishment due only to the most desperate of malefactors. The decree, that Dante and his associates in exile should be burned, if they fell into the hands of their enemies, was first discovered in 1772, by the Conte Lodovico Savioli. See Tiraboschi, where the document is given at length.

³ At Arezzo it was his fortune, in 1302, to meet with Busone da Gubbio, who two years before had been expelled from his country as a Ghibelline, in about the twentieth year of his age. Busone, himself a cultivator of the Italian poetry, here contracted a friendship with Dante, which was afterwards cemented by the reception afforded him under Busone's roof during a part of his exile. He was of the ancient and noble family of the Rafaelli of Gubbio; and to his banishment owed the honourable offices which he held of governor of Arezzo in 1316 and 1317; of governor of Viterbo in the latter of these years; then of captain of Pisa; of deputy to the Emperor in 1327; and finally of Roman senator in 1337. He died probably about 1350. The

ingly repaired in a numerous body, made the Count Alessandro da Romena their leader, and appointed a council of twelve, of which number Dante was one. In the year 1304, having been joined by a very strong force, which was not only furnished them by Arezzo, but sent from Bologna and Pistoia, they made a sudden attack on the city of Florence, gained possession of one of the gates, and conquered part of the territory, but were finally compelled to retreat without retaining any of the advantages they had acquired.

Disappointed in this attempt to reinstate himself in his country, Dante quitted Arezzo; and his course is¹, for the most part, afterwards to be traced only by notices, casually dropped in his own writings, or discovered in documents, which either chance or the zeal of antiquaries may have brought to light. From an instrument² in the possession of

historian of Italian literature speaks slightly of his poetical productions, consisting chiefly of comments on the Divina Commedia, which were written in terza rima. They have been published by Sig. Francesco Maria Rafaelli, who has collected all the information that could be obtained respecting them. *Deliciae Eruditor.* v. xvii. He wrote also a romance, entitled *L'Avventuroso Ciciliano*, which has never been printed. *Tiraboschi, Stor. della Poes. Ital.* v. ii. p. 56. In Allacci's Collection, Ediz. Napoli, 1661, p. 112, is a sonnet by Busone, on the death of a lady and of Dante, which concludes,

Ma i mi conforto ch' io credo che Deo

Dante abbia posto in glorioso scanno.

At the end of the Divina Commedia, in No. 3581 of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, are four poems. The first, beginning,

O voi che siete nel verace lume,

is attributed, as usual, to Jacopo Dante. The second, which begins,

Acio che sia più frutto e più diletto

A quei che si diletta di sapere

Dell' alta comedia vero intelletto,

and proceeds with a brief explanation of the principal parts of the poem, is here attributed to Messer Busone d'Agobbio. It is also inserted in Nos. 3459 and 3460 of the same MSS.; and I have had occasion to refer to it in the notes to Purg. xxix. 140. The third is a sonnet by Cino da Pistoia to Busone; and the fourth, Busone's answer. Since this note was written, Busone's Romance, above mentioned, has been edited at Florence in the year 1832, by the late Doctor Nott.

¹ A late writer has attempted a recital of his wanderings. For this purpose, he assigns certain arbitrary dates to the completion of the several parts of the Divina Commedia; and selecting from each what he supposes to be reminiscences of particular places visited by Dante, together with allusions to events then passing, contrives, by the help of some questionable documents, to weave out of the whole a continued narrative, which, though it may pass for current with the unwary reader, will not satisfy a more diligent inquirer after the truth. See Troya's *Veltro Allegorico di Dante*. Florence, 1826.

² Millesimo trecentesimo sexto, die vigesimo septimo mensis Augusti,

the Marchesi Papafavi, of Padua, it has been ascertained that, in 1306, he was at that city and with that family. Similar proof¹ exists of his having been present in the following year at a congress of the Ghibellines and the Bianchi, held in the sacristy of the church belonging to the abbey of S. Gaudenzio in Mugello; and from a passage in the Purgatory² we collect, that before the expiration of 1307 he had found a refuge in Lunigiana, with the Marchese Morello or Marcello Malaspina, who, though formerly a supporter³ of the opposite party, was now magnanimous enough to welcome a noble enemy in his misfortune.

The time at which he sought an asylum at Verona, under the hospitable roof of the Signori della Scala, is less distinctly marked. It would seem as if those verses in the Paradise, where the shade of his ancestor declares to him,

Lo primo tuo rifugio e' l primo ostello
Sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
First⁴ refuge thou must find, first place of rest,
In the great Lombard's courtesy,

should not be interpreted too strictly: but whether he experienced that courtesy at a very early period of his banishment, or, as others have imagined, not till 1308, when he had quitted the Marchese Morello, it is believed that he left Verona in disgust at the flippant levity of that court, or at some slight which he conceived to have been shown him by his munificent patron Can Grande, on whose liberality he has passed so high an encomium⁵. Supposing the latter to have been the cause of his departure, it must necessarily be placed at a date posterior to 1308; for Can Grande, though associated with his amiable brother Alboino⁶ in the government of Ve-

Padue in contrata Sancti Martini in domo Domine Amate Domini Papafave, presentibus Dantino quondam Alligerii de Florentia et nunc stat Padue in contrata Sancti Laurentii, &c. *Pelli*, p. 83.

¹ *Pelli*, p. 85, where the document is given.

² Canto viii. 133.

³ *Hell*, xxiv. 144. Morello's wife Alagia is honourably mentioned in the *Purg.* xix. 140.

⁴ Canto xvii. 68.

⁵ *Hell*, i. 98, and *Par.* xvii. 75. A Latin Epistle dedicatory of the Paradise to Can Grande is attributed to Dante. Without better proof than has been yet adduced, I cannot conclude it to be genuine. See the question discussed by Fraticelli, in the *Opere Minori di Dante*, tom. iii. p.^{to} ii. 12^o. *Fir.* 1841.

⁶ Alboino is spoken of in the *Convito*, p. 179, in such a manner, that it is

rona, was then only seventeen years of age, and therefore incapable of giving the alleged offence to his guest.

The mortifications, which he underwent during these wanderings, will be best described in his own language. In his Convito he speaks of his banishment, and the poverty and distress which attended it, in very affecting terms. "Alas¹," said he, "had it pleased the Dispenser of the Universe, that the occasion of this excuse had never existed; that neither others had committed wrong against me, nor I suffered unjustly; suffered, I say, the punishment of exile and poverty; since it was the pleasure of the citizens of that fairest and most renowned daughter of Rome, Florence, to cast me forth out of her sweet bosom, in which I had my birth and nourishment even to the ripeness of my age; and in which, with her good will, I desire, with all my heart, to rest this wearied spirit of mine, and to terminate the time allotted to me on earth. Wandering over almost every part, to which this our language extends, I have gone about like a mendicant; showing, against my will, the wound with which fortune has smitten me, and which is often imputed to his ill-deserving, on whom it is inflicted. I have, indeed, been a vessel without sail and without steerage, carried about to divers ports, and roads, and shores, by the dry wind that springs out of sad poverty; and have appeared before the eyes of many, who, perhaps, from some report that had reached them, had imagined me of a different form; in whose sight not only my person was disparaged, but every action of mine became of less value, as well already performed, as those which yet remained for me to attempt." It is no wonder that, with feelings like these, he was now willing to obtain by humiliation and entreaty, what he had before been unable to effect by force.

He addressed several supplicatory epistles, not only to individuals who composed the government, but to the people at large; particularly one letter, of considerable length, which Leonardo Aretino relates to have begun with this expostulation: "Popule mi, quid feci tibi?"

While he anxiously waited the result of these endeavours to obtain his pardon, a different complexion was given to the

not easy to say whether a compliment or a reflection is intended; but I am inclined to think the latter.

¹ "Ahi piacciuto fosse al Dispensatore dell' Universo," &c. p. 11.

face of public affairs by the exaltation of Henry of Luxemburgh¹ to the imperial throne; and it was generally expected that the most important political changes would follow, on the arrival of the new sovereign in Italy. Another prospect, more suitable to the temper of Dante, now disclosed itself to his hopes: he once more assumed a lofty tone of defiance, and, as it should seem, without much regard either to consistency or prudence, broke out into bitter invectives against the rulers of Florence, threatening them with merited vengeance from the power of the Emperor, which he declared that they had no adequate means of opposing. He now decidedly relinquished the party of the Guelphs, which had been espoused by his ancestors, and under whose banners he had served in the earlier part of his life on the plains of Campaldino; and attached himself to the cause of their opponents, the Ghibellines. Reverence for his country, says one of his biographers², prevailed on him to absent himself from the hostile army, when Henry of Luxemburgh encamped before the gates of Florence; but it is difficult to give him credit for being now much influenced by a principle which had not formerly been sufficient to restrain him from similar violence. It is probable that he was actuated by some desire, however weak, of preserving appearances; for of his personal courage no question can be made. Dante was fated to disappointment. The Emperor's campaign ended in nothing; the Emperor himself died the following summer (in 1313), at Buonconvento; and, with him, all hopes of regaining his native city expired in the breast of the unhappy exile. Several of his biographers³ affirm that he now made a second journey to Paris, where Boccaccio adds that he held a public disputation⁴ on various questions of theology. To what other places⁵ he

¹ Par. xvii. 80, and xxx. 141.

² Leonardo Aretino.

³ Benvenuto da Imola, Filippo Villani, and Boccaccio.

⁴ Another public philosophical disputation at Verona, in 1320, published at Venice in 1508, seems to be regarded by Tiraboschi with some suspicion of its authenticity. It is entitled, "Questio florulenta et perutilis de duobus elementis aquæ et terræ tractans, nuper reperta, quæ olim Mantuæ auspicata, Veronæ vero disputata et decisa, ac manu propriâ scripta a Dante Florentino Poetâ clarissimo, quæ diligenter et accurate correctâ fuit per Rev. Magistrum Joan. Benedictum Moncettum de Castilione Aretino Regentem Patavinum Ordinis Eremitarum Divi Augustini, sacræque Theologiæ Doctorem excellentissimum."

⁵ Vollutello says that he was also in Germany. Vita del Poetâ.

might have roamed during his banishment, is very uncertain. We are told that he was in Casentino, with the Conte Guido Salvatico¹, at one time; and, at another, in the mountains near Urbino, with the Signori della Faggiola. At the monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana, a wild and solitary retreat in the territory of Gubbio, was shown a chamber, in which, as a Latin inscription² declared, it was believed that he had composed no small portion of his divine work. A tower³, belonging to the Conti Falcucci, in Gubbio, claims for itself a similar honour. In the castle of Colmollaro, near the river Saonda, and about six miles from the same city, he was courteously entertained by Busone da Gubbio⁴, whom he had

¹ He was grandson to the valiant Guidoguerra. *Pelli*, p. 95. See H. xvi. 38.

*
 Hocce cubiculum hospes
 In quo Dantes Aligherius habitasse
 In eoque non minimum præclari ac
 Pene divini operis partem composuisse
 dicitur undique fatiscens
 Ac tantum non solo æquatum
 Philippus Rodolphus
 Laurentii Nicolai Cardinalis
 Amplissimi Fratris Filii summus
 Collegii Præses pro eximia erga
 Civem suum pietate refici hancque
 Illius effigiem ad tanti viri memoriam
 revocandam Antonio Petreio
 Canon. Floren: procurante
 Collocari mandavit
 Kal. Maii. M.D.L.VII.

Pelli, p. 98.

* In this is inscribed,

Hic mansit Dantes
 Aleghierius Poeta
 Et carmina scripsit.

Pelli, p. 97.

⁴ The following sonnet, said to be addressed to him by Dante, was published in the *Delitiæ Eruditorum*, and is inserted in the Zatta edition of our Poet's Works, tom. iv. part. ii. p. 264, in which alone I have seen it.

Tu, che stampi lo colle ombroso e fresco,
 Ch' è co lo Fiume, che non è torrente,
 Linci molle lo chiama quella gente
 In nome Italiano e non Tedesco:
 Ponti, sera e mattin, contento al desco,
 Perchè del car figliuol vedi presente
 El frutto che sperassi, e sì repente
 S' avaccia nello stil Greco e Francesco.
 Perchè cima d'ingegno non s'astalla
 In quella Italia di dolor ostello,
 Di cui si spera già cotanto frutto;
 Gavazzi pur el primo Raffaello,
 Che tra doti vedrallo esser veduto,
 Come sopr' acqua si sostien la galla.

formerly met at Arezzo. There are some traces of his having made a temporary abode at Udine, and particularly of his having been in the Friuli with Pagano della Torre, the patriarch of Aquileia, at the castle of Tolmino, where he is also said to have employed himself on the *Divina Commedia*, and where a rock was pointed out that was called the seat of Dante¹. What is known with greater certainty is, that he at last found a refuge at Ravenna, with Guido Novello da Polenta²; a splendid protector of learning; himself a poet; and the kinsman of that unfortunate Francesca³, whose story has been told by Dante with such unrivaled pathos.

It would appear from one of his Epistles that about the year 1316 he had the option given him of returning to Florence, on the ignominious terms of paying a fine, and of making

Translation.

Thou, who where Linci sends his stream to drench
 The valley, walk'st that fresh and shady hill
 (Soft Linci well they call the gentle rill,
 Nor smooth Italian name to German wrench)
 Evening and morning, seat thee on thy bench,
 Content; beholding fruit of knowledge fill
 So early thy son's branches, that grow still
 Enrich'd with dews of Grecian lore and French.
 Though genius, with like hopeful fruitage hung,
 Spread not aloft in recreant Italy,
 Where grief her home, and worth has made his grave;
 Yet may the elder Raffaello see,
 With joy, his offspring seen the learn'd among,
 Like buoyant thing that floats above the wave.

¹ The considerations which induced the Cavalier Vannetti to conclude that a part of the *Commedia*, and the *Canzone* beginning

Canzon, da che convien pur, ch' io mi doglia,

were written in the valley Lagarina, in the territory of Trento, do not appear entitled to much notice. Vannetti's letter is in the Zatta edition of Dante, tom. iv. part ii. p. 143. There may be better ground for concluding that he was, sometime during his exile, with Lanteri Paratico, a man of ancient and noble family, at the castle of Paratico, near Brescia, and that he there employed himself on his poems. The proof of this rests upon a communication made by the Abate Rodella to Dionisi, of an extract from a chronicle remaining at Brescia. See Cancellieri. *Osservazioni intorno alla questione sopra l'originalità della Divina Commedia*, &c. Roma, 1814, p. 125.

² See Hell, xxvii. 38.

³ Hell, v. 113, and note. Former biographers of Dante have represented Guido, his last patron, as the father of Francesca. Troya asserts that he was her nephew. See his *Veltro Allegorico di Dante*. Ed. Florence, 1826, p. 176. It is to be regretted that, in this instance, as in others, he gives no authority for his assertion. He is however followed by Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, Torino, 1839, v. ii. p. 315; and Artaud, *Histoire de Dante*, Paris, 1841, p. 470.

a public avowal of his offence. It may, perhaps, be in reference to this offer, which, for the same reason that Socrates refused to save his life on similar conditions, he indignantly rejected, that he promises himself he shall one day return "in other guise,"

and standing up
At his baptismal font, shall claim the wreath
Due to the poet's temples. *Purg. xiv.*

Such, indeed, was the glory which his compositions in his native tongue had now gained him, that he declares, in the treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*¹, it had in some measure reconciled him even to his banishment.

In the service of his last patron, in whom he seems to have met with a more congenial mind than in any of the former, his talents were gratefully exerted, and his affections interested but too deeply; for having been sent by Guido on an embassy to the Venetians, and not being able even to obtain an audience, on account of the rancorous animosity with which they regarded that prince, Dante returned to Ravenna so overwhelmed with disappointment and grief, that he was seized by an illness which terminated fatally, either in July or September 1321². Guido testified his sorrow and respect by the sumptuousness of his obsequies, and by his intention to erect a monument, which he did not live to complete. His countrymen showed, too late, that they knew the value of what they had lost. At the beginning of the next century, their posterity marked their regret by entreating that the mortal remains of their illustrious citizen might be restored to them, and deposited among the tombs of their fathers. But the people of Ravenna were unwilling to part with the sad and honourable memorial of their own hospitality. No better success attended the subsequent negotiations of the Florentines for the same purpose, though renewed under the auspices of Leo X., and conducted through the powerful mediation of Michael Angelo³.

¹ *Quantum vero suos familiares gloriosos efficiat, nos ipsi novimus, qui hujus dulcedine gloriæ nostrum exilium postergamus. Lib. i. cap. 17.*

² Filippo Villani; Domenico di Bandino d'Arezzo; and Giov. Villani, *Hist. lib. ix. cap. cxxxv.* The last writer, whose authority is perhaps the best on this point, in the Giunti edition of 1559, mentions July as the month in which he died; but there is a MS. of Villani's history, it is said, in the library of St. Mark, at Venice, in which his death is placed in September.

³ Pelli, p. 104.

The sepulchre, designed and commenced by Guido da Pòlenta, was, in 1483, erected by Bernardo Bembo, the father of the Cardinal; and, by him, decorated, besides other ornaments, with an effigy of the Poet in bas-relief, the sculpture of Pietro Lombardo, and with the following epitaph:

Exiguâ tumuli, Danthes, hic sorte jacebas,
Squalenti nulli cognite penè situ.
At nunc marmoreo subnixus conderis arcu,
Omnibus et cultu splendidior nites.
Nimirum Bembus Musis incensus Etruscis
Hoc tibi, quem imprimis hæ coluere, dedit.

A yet more magnificent memorial was raised so lately as the year 1780, by the Cardinal Gonzaga¹.

His children consisted of one daughter and five sons, two of whom, Pietro² and Jacopo³, inherited some portion of their

¹ Tiraboschi.

In the Literary Journal, Feb. 16, 1804, p. 192, is the following article:— "A subscription has been opened at Florence for erecting a monument in the cathedral there, to the memory of the great poet Dante. A drawing of this monument has been submitted to the Florentine Academy of the Fine Arts, and has met with universal approbation." A monument, executed by Stefano Ricci of Arezzo, has since been erected to him in the Santa Croce at Florence, which I had the gratification of seeing in the year 1833.

² Pietro was also a poet. His commentary on the Divina Commedia, which is in Latin, has never been published. Lionardo, the grandson of Pietro, came to Florence, with other young men of Verona, in the time of Leonardo Aretino, who tells us, that he showed him there the house of Dante and of his ancestors. Vita di Dante. To Pietro, the son of Lionardo, Mario Filelfo addressed his Life of our Poet. The son of this Pietro, Dante III., was a man of letters, and an elegant poet. Some of his works are preserved in collections: he is commended by Valerianus de Infelicitate Literat. lib. 1, and is, no doubt, the same whom Landino speaks of as living in his time at Ravenna, and calls "uomo molto literato ed eloquente e degno di tal sangue, e quale meritamente si dovrebbe rivocar nella sua antica patria e nostra republica." In 1495, the Florentines took Landino's advice, and invited him back to the city, offering to restore all they could of the property that had belonged to his ancestors; but he would not quit Verona, where he was established in much opulence. *Vellutello, Vita*. He afterwards experienced a sad reverse of fortune. He had three sons, one of whom, Francesco, made a translation of Vitruvius, which is supposed to have perished. A better fate has befallen an elegant dialogue written by him, which was published, not many years ago, in the *Anecdota Literaria*, edit. Roma (no date), vol. ii. p. 207. It is entitled *Francisci Aligerii Dantis III. Filii Dialogus Alter de Antiquitatibus Valentinis ex Cod. MS. Membranaceo. Sæc. xvi. nunc primum in lucem editus*. Pietro, another son of Dante III., who was also a scholar, and held the office of Provveditore of Verona in 1539, was the father of Ginevra, mentioned above in the note to p. x. See Pelli, p. 28, &c. *Vellutello*, in his Life of the Poet, acknowledges his obligations to this last Pietro for the information he had given him.

³ Jacopo is mentioned by Bembo among the *Rimatori*, lib. ii. della *Volg. Ling.* at the beginning; and some of his verses are preserved in MS. in the

father's abilities, which they employed chiefly in the pious task of illustrating his *Divina Commedia*. The former of these possessed acquirements of a more profitable kind; and obtained considerable wealth at Verona, where he was settled, by the exercise of the legal profession. He was honoured with the friendship of Petrarch, by whom some verses were addressed to him¹ at Trevigi, in 1361.

His daughter Beatrice² (whom he is said to have named after the daughter of Folco Portinari) became a nun in the convent of S. Stefano dell' Uliva, at Ravenna; and, among the entries of expenditure by the Florentine Republic, appears a present of ten golden florens sent to her in 1350, by the hands of Boccaccio, from the state. The imagination can picture to itself few objects more interesting, than the daughter of Dante, dedicated to the service of religion in the city where her father's ashes were deposited, and receiving from his countrymen this tardy tribute of their reverence for his divine genius, and her own virtues.

It is but justice to the wife of Dante not to omit what Boccaccio³ relates of her; that after the banishment of her husband she secured some share of his property from the popular fury, under the name of her dowry; that out of this she contrived to support their little family with exemplary discretion; and that she even removed from them the pressure of poverty, by such industrious efforts as in her former affluence she had never been called on to exert. Who does not regret, that with qualities so estimable, she wanted the sweetness of temper necessary for riveting the affections of her husband?

Dante was a man of middle stature and grave deportment; of a visage rather long; large eyes; an aquiline nose; dark complexion; large and prominent cheek-bones; black curling hair and beard; the under lip projecting beyond the upper. He mentions, in the *Convito*, that his sight had been transiently impaired by intense application to books⁴. In his

Vatican, and at Florence. He was living in 1342, and had children, of whom little is known. The names of our Poet's other sons were Gabriello, Aligero, and Eliseo. The last two died in their childhood. Of Gabriello, nothing certain is known.

¹ *Carm.* lib. iii. ep. vii.

² Pelli, p. 33.

³ *Vita di Dante*, p. 57, ed. Firenze, 1576.

⁴ "Per affaticare lo viso molto a studio di leggere, intanto debilitai gli

dress, he studied as much plainness as was suitable with his rank and station in life; and observed a strict temperance in his diet. He was at times extremely absent and abstracted; and appears to have indulged too much a disposition to sarcasm. At the table of Can Grande, when the company was amused by the conversation and tricks of a buffoon, he was asked by his patron, why Can Grande himself, and the guests who were present, failed of receiving as much pleasure from the exertion of his talents, as this man had been able to give them. "Because all creatures delight in their own resemblance," was the reply of Dante¹. In other respects, his manners are said to have been dignified and polite. He was particularly careful not to make any approaches to flattery, a vice which he justly held in the utmost abhorrence. He spoke seldom, and in a slow voice; but what he said derived authority from the subtileness of his observations, somewhat like his own poetical heroes, who

Parlavan rado con voci soavi.

— spake

Seldom, but all their words were tuneful sweet.

Hell, iv.

He was connected in habits of intimacy and friendship with the most ingenious men of his time; with Guido Cavalcanti²; with Buonaggiunta da Lucca³; with Forese Donati⁴; with Cino da Pistoia⁵; with Giotto⁶, the celebrated painter, by whose

spiriti visivi, che le stelle mi pareano tutte d'alcuno albore ombrate: e per lunga riposanza in luoghi scuri, e freddi, e con affreddare lo corpo dell'occhio con acqua pura, rivinsi la virtù disgregata, che tornai nel prima buono stato della vista." *Convito*, p. 108.

¹ There is here a point of resemblance (nor is it the only one) in the character of Milton. "I had rather," says the author of *Paradise Lost*, "since the life of man is likened to a scene, that all my entrances and exits might mix with such persons only, whose worth erects them and their actions to a grave and tragic department, and not to have to do with clowns and vices." *Colasterion, Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 339. Edit. London, 1753.

² See *Hell*, x. and notes.

³ See *Purg.* xxiv. Yet Tiraboschi observes, that though it is not improbable that Buonaggiunta was the contemporary and friend of Dante, it cannot be considered as certain. *Stor. della Poes. Ital.* tom. i. p. 109, Mr. Mathias's Edit.

⁴ See *Purg.* xxiii. 44.

⁵ Guittorino de' Sigibuldi, commonly called Cino da Pistoia, (besides the passage that will be cited in a following note from the *De Vulg. Eloq.*) is again spoken of in the same treatise, lib. i. c. 17, as a great master of the vernacular diction in his *Canaoni*, and classed with our Poet himself, who is

hand his likeness was preserved; with Oderigi da Gubbio², the illuminator; and with an eminent musician³—

— his Casella, whom he wooed to sing,
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory. *Milton's Sonnets.*

Besides these, his acquaintance extended to some others, whose names illustrate the first dawn of Italian literature. Lapo⁴

termed "Amicus ejus;" and likewise in lib. ii. c. 2, where he is said to have written of "Love." His verses are cited too in other chapters. He addressed and received sonnets from Dante; and wrote a sonnet, or canzone, on Dante's death, which is preserved in the library of St. Mark, at Venice. Tiraboschi, della Poes. Ital. v. i. p. 116, and v. ii. p. 60. The same honour was done to the memory of Cino by Petrarch, son. 71, part. i. "Celebrated both as a lawyer and a poet, he is better known by the writings which he has left in the latter of these characters," insomuch that Tiraboschi has observed, that amongst those who preceded Petrarch, there is, perhaps, none who can be compared to him in elegance and sweetness. "There are many editions of his poems, the most copious being that published at Venice in 1589, by P. Faustino Tasso; in which, however, the Padre degli Agostini, not without reason, suspects that the second book is by later hands." *Tiraboschi, ibid.* There has been an edition by Seb. Ciampi, at Pisa, in 1813, &c.; but see the remarks on it in Gamba's Testi di Lingua Ital. 294. He was interred at Pistoia, with this epitaph: "Cino eximio Juris interpreti Bartolique preceptori dignissimo populus Pistoriensis Civi suo B. M. fecit. Obiit anno 1336." *Guidi Panzirolì de Claris Legum Interpretibus*, lib. ii. cap. xxix. Lips. 4to. 1721. A Latin letter supposed to be addressed by Dante to Cino was published for the first time from a MS. in the Laurentian library, by M. Witte.

¹ See Purg. xi.

² Mr. Eastlake, in a note to *Kugler's Hand-Book of Painting, translated by a Lady*, Lond. 1842, p. 50, describes the discovery and restoration, in July 1840, of Dante's portrait by Giotto in the chapel of the Podestà at Florence, where it had been covered with whitewash or plaster. But it could scarcely have been concealed so soon as our distinguished artist supposes, since Landino speaks of it as remaining in his time, and Vasari says it was still to be seen when he wrote.

³ See Purg. xi.

⁴ *Ibid.* Canto ii.

⁵ Lapo is said to have been the son of Farinata degli Uberti, (see Hell, x. 33, and Tiraboschi della Poes. Ital. v. i. p. 116,) and the father of Fazio degli Uberti, author of the *Dittamondo*, a poem, which is thought, in the energy of its style, to make some approaches to the *Divina Commedia*, (*Ibid.* v. ii. p. 63,) though Monti passes on it a much less favourable sentence (see his *Proposta*, v. iii. p.^{te} 2, p. ccx. 8vo. 1824). He is probably the Lapo mentioned in the sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti, beginning,

Guido vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io,

which Mr. Hayley has so happily translated (see Hell, x. 62); and also in a passage that occurs in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* v. i. p. 116. "Quonquam fere omnes Tusci in suo turpiloquio sint obtusi, nonnullos Vulgaris excellentiam cognovisse sentimus, scilicet Guidonem Lapum, et unum alium, Florentinos, et Cinum Pistoriensem, quem nunc indigne postponimus, non indigne coacti." "Although almost all the Tuscans are marred by the baseness of their dialect, yet I perceive that some have known the excellence of the ver-

degli Uberti; Dante da Majano¹; Cecco Angiolieri²; Dino Frescobaldi³; Giovanni di Virgilio⁴; Giovanni Quirino⁵; and Francesco Stabili⁶, who is better known by the appellation of Cecco d'Ascoli; most of them either honestly declared their sense of his superiority, or betrayed it by their vain endeavours to detract from the estimation in which he was held.

He is said to have attained some excellence in the art of designing; which may easily be believed, when we consider that no poet has afforded more lessons to the statuary and the painter⁷, in the variety of objects which he represents, and in

naacular tongue, namely Guido Lapo," (I suspect Dante here means his two friends Cavalcanti and Uberti, though this has hitherto been taken for the name of one person,) "and one other," (who is supposed to be the Author himself,) "Florentines; and last, though not of least regard, Cino da Pistoia."

¹ Dante da Majano flourished about 1290. He was a Florentine, and composed many poems in praise of a Sicilian lady, who, being herself a poetess, was insensible neither to his verses nor his love, so that she was called the Nina of Dante. Pelli, p. 60, and Tiraboschi, *Storia della Poes. Ital.* v. i. p. 137. There are several of his sonnets addressed to our Poet, who declares, in his answer to one of them, that, although he knows not the name of its author, he discovers in it the traces of a great mind.

² Of Cecco Angiolieri, Boccaccio relates a pleasant story in the Decameron, G. 9. N. 4. He lived towards the end of the thirteenth century, and wrote several sonnets to Dante, which are in Allacci's collection. In some of them he wears the semblance of a friend; but in one the mask drops, and shows that he was well disposed to be a rival. See Crescimbeni, *Com. alla Storia di Volg. Poes.* v. ii. par. ii. lib. ii. p. 103; Pelli, p. 61.

³ Dino, son of Lambertuccio Frescobaldi. Crescimbeni (*ibid.* lib. iii. p. 120) assures us that he was not inferior to Cino da Pistoia. Pelli, p. 61. He is said to have been a friend of Dante's, in whose writings I have not observed any mention of him. Boccaccio, in his *Life of Dante*, calls Dino "in que' tempi famosissimo dicitore in rima in Firenze."

⁴ Giovanni di Virgilio addressed two Latin eclogues to Dante, which were answered in similar compositions; and is said to have been his friend and admirer. See Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*; and Pelli, p. 137. Dante's poetical genius sometimes breaks through the rudeness of style in his two Latin eclogues.

⁵ Muratori had seen several sonnets, addressed to Giovanni Quirino by Dante, in a MS. preserved in the Ambrosian library. *Della Perfetta Poesia Ital.* Ediz. Venetia, 1770, tom. i. lib. i. c. iii. p. 9.

⁶ For the correction of many errors respecting this writer, see Tiraboschi, *Stor. della Lett. Ital.* tom. v. lib. ii. cap. ii. § 15, &c. He was burned in 1317. In his *Acerba*, a poem in *sesta rima*, he has taken several occasions of venting his spleen against his great contemporary.

⁷ Besides Filippo Brunelleschi, who, as Vasari tells us, diede molta opera alle cose di Dante, and Michael Angelo, whose Last Judgment is probably the mightiest effort of modern art, as the loss of his sketches on the margin of the *Divina Commedia* may be regarded as the severest loss the art has sustained; besides these, Andrea Orgagna, Gio. Angelico di Fiesole, Luca Signorelli, Spinello Aretino, Giacomo da Pontormo, and Aurelio Lomi, have

the accuracy and spirit with which they are brought before the eye. Indeed, on one occasion¹, he mentions that he was employed in delineating the figure of an angel, on the first anniversary of Beatrice's death. It is not unlikely that the seed of the *Paradiso* was thus cast into his mind; and that he was now endeavouring to express by the pencil an idea of celestial beatitude, which could only be conveyed in its full perfection through the medium of song.

As nothing that related to such a man was thought unworthy of notice, one of his biographers², who had seen his handwriting, has recorded that it was of a long and delicate character, and remarkable for neatness and accuracy.

Dante wrote in Latin a *Treatise de Monarchiâ*, and two books de *Vulgari Eloquio*³. In the former, he defends the Imperial rights against the pretensions of the Pope, with arguments that are sometimes chimerical, and sometimes sound and conclusive. The latter, which he left unfinished, contains not only much information concerning the progress which the vernacular poetry of Italy had then made, but some reflections on the art itself, that prove him to have entertained large and philosophical principles respecting it.

His Latin style, however, is generally rude and unclassical. It is fortunate that he did not trust to it, as he once intended, for the work by which his name was to be perpetuated. In the use of his own language he was, beyond measure, more successful. The prose of his *Vita Nuova* and his *Con-*

been recounted among the many artists who have worked on the same original. See Cancellieri, *Osservazioni*, &c. p. 75. To these we may justly pride ourselves in being able to add the names of Reynolds, Fuseli, and Flaxman. The frescoes by Cornelius in the Villa Massimi at Rome, lately executed, entitle the Germans to a share in this distinction.

¹ "In quel giorno, nel quale si compieva l'anno, che questa donna era fatta delle cittadine di vita eterna, io mi sedeva in parte, nella quale, ricordandomi di lei, io disegnava uno Angelo sopra certe tavolette, e mentre io il disegnava, volsi gli occhi, &c." *Vita Nuova*, p. 268.

² Leonardo Aretino. A specimen of it was believed to exist when Pelli wrote, about sixty years ago, and perhaps still exists in a MS. preserved in the archives at Gubbio, at the end of which was the sonnet to Busone, said to be in the hand-writing of Dante. Pelli, p. 51.

³ These two were first published in an Italian translation, supposed to be Trissino's, and were not allowed to be genuine, till the Latin original was published at Paris in 1577. Tiraboschi. A copy, written in the fourteenth century, is said to have been lately found in the public library at Grenoble. See Fraticelli's *Opere minori di Dante*, 12°. Fir. 1840, v. 3, p.^o ii p. xvi. A collation of this MS. is very desirable.

vito, although five centuries have intervened since its composition, is probably, to an Italian eye, still devoid neither of freshness nor elegance. In the *Vita Nuova*, which he appears to have written about his twenty-eighth year, he gives an account of his youthful attachment to Beatrice. It is, according to the taste of those times, somewhat mystical: yet there are some particulars in it, which have not at all the air of a fiction, such as the death of Beatrice's father, Folco Portinari; her relation to the friend whom he esteemed next after Guido Cavalcanti; his own attempt to conceal his passion, by a pretended attachment to another lady; and the anguish he felt at the death of his mistress¹. He tells us too, that at the time of her decease, he chanced to be composing a canzone in her praise, and that he was interrupted by that event at the conclusion of the first stanza; a circumstance which we can scarcely suppose to have been a mere invention.

Of the poetry, with which the *Vita Nuova* is plentifully interspersed, the two sonnets that follow may be taken as a specimen. Near the beginning he relates a marvellous vision, which appeared to him in sleep, soon after his mistress had for the first time addressed her speech to him; and of this dream he thus asks for an interpretation:—

- To every heart that feels the gentle flame, .
 To whom this present saying comes in sight,
 In that to me their thoughts they may indite,
 All health! in Love, our lord and master's name.
 Now on its way the second quarter came
 Of those twelve hours, wherein the stars are bright,
 When Love was seen before me, in such might,
 As to remember shakes with awe my frame.
 Suddenly came he, seeming glad, and keeping
 My heart in hand; and in his arms he had
 My Lady in a folded garment sleeping:
 He waked her; and that heart all burning bade
 Her feed upon, in lowly guise and sad:
 Then from my view he turned; and parted, weeping.

To this sonnet, Guido Cavalcanti, amongst others, returned an answer in a composition of the same form; endeavouring to give a happy turn to the dream, by which the mind of the Poet had been so deeply impressed. From the intercourse

¹ Beatrice's marriage to Simone de' Bardi, which is collected from a clause in her father's will dated January 15, 1287, would have been a fact too unsentimental to be introduced into the *Vita Nuova*, and is not, I believe, noticed by any of the early biographers.

thus begun, when Dante was eighteen years of age, arose that friendship which terminated only with the death of Guido.

The other sonnet is one that was written after the death of Beatrice :—

Ah pilgrims! ye that, haply musing, go,
 On aught save that which on your road ye meet,
 From land so distant, tell me, I intreat,
 Come ye, as by your mien and looks ye show?
 Why mourn ye not, as through these gates of woe
 Ye wend along our city's midmost street,
 Even like those who nothing seem to weet
 What chance hath fall'n, why she is grieving so?
 If ye to listen but a while would stay,
 Well knows this heart, which inly sigheth sore,
 That ye would then pass, weeping on your way.
 Oh hear: her Beatrice is no more;
 And words there are a man of her might say,
 Would make a stranger's eye that loss deplore.

In the *Convito*¹, or Banquet, which did not follow till some time after his banishment, he explains very much at large the sense of three, out of fourteen, of his canzoni, the remainder of which he had intended to open in the same manner. "The viands at his Banquet," he tells his readers, quaintly enough, "will be set out in fourteen different manners; that is, will consist of fourteen canzoni, the materials of which are love and virtue. Without the present bread, they would not be free from some shade of obscurity, so as to be prized by many less for their usefulness than for their beauty; but the bread will, in the form of the present exposition, be that light, which will bring forth all their colours, and display their true meaning to the view. And if the present work, which is named a Banquet, and I wish may prove so, be handled after a more manly guise than the *Vita Nuova*, I intend not, therefore, that the former should in any part derogate from the latter, but that the one should be a help to the other: seeing that it is fitting in reason for this to be fervid and impassioned; that, temperate and manly. For it becomes us to act and speak otherwise at one age than at

¹ Peticari (Degli Scrittori del trecento, lib. ii. c. v.) speaking of the *Convito*, observes that Salviati himself has termed it the most ancient and principal of all excellent prose works in Italian. On the other hand, Balbo (*Vita di Dante*, v. ii, p. 86) pronounces it to be, on the whole, certainly the lowest among Dante's writings. In this difference of opinion, a foreigner may be permitted to judge for himself.

another ; since at one age, certain manners are suitable and praise-worthy, which, at another, become disproportionate and blameable." He then apologizes for speaking of himself. "I fear the disgrace," says he, "of having been subject to so much passion, as one, reading these canzoni, may conceive me to have been ; a disgrace, that is removed by my speaking thus unreservedly of myself, which shows not passion, but virtue, to have been the moving-cause. I intend, moreover, to set forth their true meaning, which some may not perceive, if I declare it not." He next proceeds to give many reasons why his commentary was not written rather in Latin than in Italian ; for which, if no excuse be now thought necessary, it must be recollected that the Italian language was then in its infancy, and scarce supposed to possess dignity enough for the purposes of instruction. "The Latin," he allows, "would have explained his canzoni better to foreigners, as to the Germans, the English, and others ; but then it must have expounded their sense, without the power of, at the same time, transferring their beauty : " and he soon after tells us, that many noble persons of both sexes were ignorant of the learned language. The best cause, however, which he assigns for this preference, was his natural love of his native tongue, and the desire he felt to exalt it above the Provençal, which by many was said to be the more beautiful and perfect language ; and against such of his countrymen as maintained so unpatriotic an opinion he inveighs with much warmth.

In his exposition of the first canzone of the three, he tells the reader, that "the Lady, of whom he was enamoured after his first love, was the most beauteous and honourable daughter of the Emperor of the universe, to whom Pythagoras gave the name of Philosophy : " and he applies the same title to the object of his affections, when he is commenting on the other two.

The purport of his third canzone, which is less mysterious, and, therefore, perhaps more likely to please than the others, is to show that "virtue only is true nobility." Towards the conclusion, after having spoken of virtue itself, much as Pindar would have spoken of it, as being "the gift of God only ; "

Che solo Iddio all' anima la dona,

he thus describes it as acting throughout the several stages of life.

L' anima, cui adorna, &c.

The soul, that goodness like to this adorns,
 Holdeth it not conceal'd;
 But, from her first espousal to the frame,
 Shows it, till death, reveal'd.
 Obedient, sweet, and full of seemly shame,
 She, in the primal age,
 The person decks with beauty; moulding it
 Fitly through every part.
 In riper manhood, temperate, firm of heart,
 With love replenish'd, and with courteous praise,
 In loyal deeds alone she hath delight.
 And, in her elder days,
 For prudent and just largeness is she known;
 Rejoicing with herself,
 That wisdom in her staid discourse be shown.
 Then, in life's fourth division, at the last
 She weds with God again,
 Contemplating the end she shall attain;
 And looketh back; and blesseth the time past.

His lyric poems, indeed, generally stand much in need of a comment to explain them; but the difficulty arises rather from the thoughts themselves, than from any imperfection of the language in which those thoughts are conveyed. Yet they abound not only in deep moral reflections, but in touches of tenderness and passion.

Some, it has been already intimated, have supposed that Beatrice was only a creature of Dante's imagination; and there can be no question but that he has invested her, in the *Divina Commedia*, with the attributes of an allegorical being. But who can doubt of her having had a real existence, when she is spoken of in such a strain of passion as in these lines?

Quel ch' ella par, quando un poco sorride, Non si può dicer ne tenere a mente, Si è nuovo miracolo e gentile.	<i>Vita Nuova.</i>
Mira che quando ride Passa ben di dolcezza ogni altra cosa.	<i>Canz. xv.</i>

The canzone, from which the last couplet is taken, presents a portrait which might well supply a painter with a far more exalted idea of female beauty, than he could form to himself from the celebrated Ode of Anacreon on a similar subject. After a minute description of those parts of her form, which the garments of a modest woman would suffer to be seen, he raises the whole by the superaddition of a moral grace and dignity, such as the Christian religion alone could supply, and such as the pencil of Raphael afterwards aimed to represent.

Umile vergognosa e temperata,
 E sempre a virtù grata,
 Intra suoi be' costumi un atto regna,
 Che d' ogni riverenza la fa degna¹.

One or two of the sonnets prove that he could at times condescend to sportiveness and pleasantry. The following to Brunetto, I should conjecture to have been sent with his *Vita Nuova*, which was written the year before Brunetto died.

- Master Brunetto; this I send, entreating
 Ye'll entertain this lass of mine at Easter;
 She does not come among you as a feaster;
 No: she has need of reading, not of eating.
 Nor let her find you at some merry meeting,
 Laughing amidst buffoons and drollers, lest her
 Wise sentence should escape a noisy jester:
 She must be wooed, and is well worth the weeting.
 If in this sort you fail to make her out,
 You have amongst you many sapient men,
 All famous as was Albert of Cologne.
 I have been posed amid that learned rout.
 And if they cannot spell her right, why then
 Call Master Giano, and the deed is done.

Another, though on a more serious subject, is yet remarkable for a fancifulness, such as that with which Chaucer, by a few spirited touches, often conveys to us images more striking than others have done by repeated and elaborate efforts of skill.

- Came Melancholy to my side one day,
 And said: "I must a little bide with thee:"
 And brought along with her in company
 Sorrow and Wrath.—Quoth I to her; "Away:
 I will have none of you: make no delay."
 And, like a Greek, she gave me stout reply.
 Then, as she talk'd, I look'd and did espy
 Where Love was coming onward on the way,
 A garment new of cloth of black he had,
 And on his head a hat of mourning wore;

¹ I am aware that this canzone is not ascribed to Dante, in the collection of *Sonetti e Canzoni* printed by the Giunti in 1527. Monti, in his *Proposta* under the word "Induare," remarks that it is quite in the style of Fazio degli Uberti; and adds, that a very rare MS. possessed by Perticari restores it to that writer. On the other hand, Missirini, in a late treatise "On the Love of Dante and on the Portrait of Beatrice," printed at Florence in 1832, makes so little doubt of its being genuine, that he founds on it the chief argument to prove an old picture in his possession to be intended for a representation of Beatrice. See Fraticelli's *Opere Minori di Dante*, tom. i. p. cciii. 12°. Fir. 1834.

² Fraticelli (*Ibid.* p. eccii. cccliii.) questions the genuineness of this sonnet, and decides on the spuriousness of that which follows. I do not, in either instance, feel the justness of his reasons.

And he, of truth, unfeignedly was crying.
 Forthwith I ask'd: "What ails thee, caitiff lad?"
 And he rejoin'd: "Sad thought and anguish sore,
 Sweet brother mine! our lady lies a-dying."

For purity of diction, the *Rime* of our author are, I think, on the whole, preferred by Muratori to his *Divina Commedia*, though that also is allowed to be a model of the pure Tuscan idiom. To this singular production, which has not only stood the test of ages, but given a tone and colour to the poetry of modern Europe, and even animated the genius of Milton and of Michael Angelo, it would be difficult to assign its place according to the received rules of criticism. Some have termed it an epic poem; and others, a satire: but it matters little by what name it is called. It suffices that the poem seizes on the heart by its two great holds, terror and pity; detains the fancy by an accurate and lively delineation of the objects it represents; and displays throughout such an originality of conception, as leaves to Homer and Shakspeare alone the power of challenging the pre-eminence or equality¹. The fiction, it has

¹ Yet his pretensions to originality have not been wholly unquestioned. Dante, it has been supposed, was more immediately influenced in his choice of a subject by the Vision of Alberico, written in barbarous Latin prose about the beginning of the twelfth century. The incident which is said to have given birth to this composition, is not a little marvellous. Alberico, the son of noble parents, and born at a castle in the neighbourhood of Alvito in the diocese of Sora, in the year 1101 or soon after, when he had completed his ninth year, was seized with a violent fit of illness, which deprived him of his senses for the space of nine days. During the continuance of this trance, he had a vision, in which he seemed to himself to be carried away by a dove, and conducted by St. Peter, in company with two angels, through Purgatory and Hell, to survey the torments of sinners; the saint giving him information, as they proceeded, respecting what he saw: after which they were transported together through the seven heavens, and taken up into Paradise, to behold the glory of the blessed. As soon as he came to himself again, he was permitted to make profession of a religious life in the monastery of Monte Casino. As the account he gave of his vision was strangely altered in the reports that went abroad of it, Girardo the abbot employed one of the monks to take down a relation of it, dictated by the mouth of Alberico himself. Senioreto, who was chosen abbot in 1127, not contented with this narrative, although it seemed to have every chance of being authentic, ordered Alberico to revise and correct it, which he accordingly did with the assistance of Pietro Diacono, who was his associate in the monastery, and a few years younger than himself; and whose testimony to his extreme and perpetual self-mortification, and to a certain abstractedness of demeanour, which showed him to converse with other thoughts than those of this life, is still on record. The time of Alberico's death is not known; but it is conjectured that he reached to a good old age. His Vision, with a preface by the first editor Guido, and preceded by a letter from Alberico himself, is preserved in a MS. numbered 257 in the archives of the monastery, which

been remarked¹, is admirable, and the work of an inventive talent truly great. It comprises a description of the heavens and heavenly bodies; a description of men, their deserts and punishments, of supreme happiness and utter misery, and of the middle state between the two extremes: nor, perhaps, was there ever any one who chose a more ample and fertile subject; so as to afford scope for the expression of all his ideas, from the vast multitude of spirits that are introduced speaking

contains the works of Pietro Diacono, and which was written between the years 1159 and 1181. The probability of our Poet's having been indebted to it, was first remarked either by Giovanni Bottari in a letter inserted in the *Deca di Simboli*, and printed at Rome in 1753; or, as F. Cancellieri conjectures, in the preceding year by Alessio Simmaco Mazzocchi. In 1801, extracts from Alberico's Vision were laid before the public in a quarto pamphlet, printed at Rome with the title of *Lettera di Eustazio Dicearcheo ad Angelio Sidicino*, under which appellations the writer, Giustino di Costanzo, concealed his own name and that of his friend Luigi Anton. Sompano; and the whole has since, in 1814, been edited in the same city by Francesco Cancellieri, who has added to the original an Italian translation. Such parts of it, as bear a marked resemblance to passages in the *Divina Commedia*, will be found distributed in their proper places throughout the following notes. The reader will in these probably see enough to convince him that our author had read this singular work, although nothing to detract from his claim to originality.

Long before the public notice had been directed to this supposed imitation, Malatesta Porta, in the Dialogue entitled *Rossi*, as referred to by Fontanini in his *Eloquenza Italiana*, had suggested the probability that Dante had taken his plan from an ancient romance, called *Guerrino di Durazzo il Meschino*. The above-mentioned Bottari, however, adduced reasons for concluding that this book was written originally in Provençal, and not translated into Italian till after the time of our Poet, by one Andrea di Barberino, who embellished it with many images, and particularly with similes, borrowed from the *Divina Commedia*.

Mr. Warton, in one part of his *History of English Poetry*, (vol. i. s. xviii. p. 463.) has observed, that a poem, entitled *Le Voye on le Songe d'Enfer*, was written by Raoul de Houdane, about the year 1180; and in another part (vol. ii. s. x. p. 219) he has attributed the origin of Dante's Poem to that "favourite apologue, the *Sompium Scipionis* of Cicero, which, in Chaucer's words, treats

of heaven and hell
And yearth and souls that therein dwell."

Assembly of Fowles.

It is likely that a little research might discover many other sources, from which his invention might with an equal appearance of truth be derived. The method of conveying instruction or entertainment under the form of a vision, in which the living should be made to converse with the dead, was so obvious, that it would be, perhaps, difficult to mention any country in which it had not been employed. It is the scale of magnificence on which this conception was framed, and the wonderful development of it in all its parts, that may justly entitle our Poet to rank among the few minds, to whom the power of a great creative faculty can be ascribed.

¹ Leonardo Aretino, *Vita di Dante*.

on such different topics ; who are of so many different countries and ages, and under circumstances of fortune so striking and so diversified ; and who succeed, one to another, with such a rapidity as never suffers the attention for an instant to pall.

His solicitude, it is true, to define all his images in such a manner as to bring them distinctly within the circle of our vision, and to subject them to the power of the pencil, sometimes renders him little better than grotesque, where Milton has since taught us to expect sublimity. But his faults, in general, were less those of the poet, than of the age in which he lived. For his having adopted the popular creed in all its extravagance, we have no more right to blame him, than we should have to blame Homer because he made use of the heathen deities, or Shakspeare on account of his witches and fairies. The supposed influence of the stars, on the disposition of men at their nativity, was hardly separable from the distribution which he had made of the glorified spirits through the heavenly bodies, as the abodes of bliss suited to their several endowments. And whatever philosophers may think of the matter, it is certainly much better, for the ends of poetry at least, that too much should be believed, rather than less, or even no more than can be proved to be true. Of what he considered the cause of civil and religious liberty, he is on all occasions the zealous and fearless advocate ; and of that higher freedom, which is seated in the will, he was an assertor equally strenuous and enlightened. The contemporary of Thomas Aquinas, it is not to be wondered if he has given his poem a tincture of the scholastic theology, which the writings of that extraordinary man had rendered so prevalent, and without which it could not perhaps have been made acceptable to the generality of his readers. The phraseology has been accused of being at times hard and uncouth ; but, if this is acknowledged, yet it must be remembered that he gave a permanent stamp and character to the language in which he wrote, and in which, before him, nothing great had been attempted ; that the diction is strictly vernacular, without any debasement of foreign idiom ; that his numbers have as much variety as the Italian tongue, at least in that kind of metre, could supply ; and that, although succeeding writers may have surpassed him in the lighter graces and embellishments of style, not one of them has equaled him in succinctness, vivacity, and strength.

Never did any poem rise so suddenly into notice after the death of its author, or engage the public attention more powerfully, than the *Divina Commedia*. This cannot be attributed solely to its intrinsic excellence. The freedom with which the writer had treated the most distinguished characters of his time, gave it a further and stronger hold on the curiosity of the age: many saw in it their acquaintances, kinsmen, and friends, or, what scarcely touched them less nearly, their enemies, either consigned to infamy or recorded with honour, and represented in another world as tasting

Of heaven's sweet cup, or poisonous drug of hell;

so that not a page could be opened without exciting the strongest personal feelings in the mind of the reader. These sources of interest must certainly be taken into our account, when we consider the rapid diffusion of the work, and the unexampled pains that were taken to render it universally intelligible. Not only the profound and subtle allegory which pervaded it, the mysterious style of prophecy which the writer occasionally assumed, the bold and unusual metaphors which he every where employed, and the great variety of knowledge he displayed; but his hasty allusions to passing events, and his description of persons by accidental circumstances, such as some peculiarity of form or feature, the place of their nativity or abode, some office they held, or the heraldic insignia they bore—all asked for the help of commentators and expounders, who were not long wanting to the task. Besides his two sons, to whom that labour most properly belonged, many others were found ready to engage in it. Before the century had expired, there appeared the commentaries of Accorso de' Bonfantini¹, a Franciscan; of Micchino da Mezzano, a canon of Ravenna; of Fra. Riccardo, a Carmelite; of Andrea, a Neapolitan; of Guiniforte Bazzisio, a Bergamese; of Fra. Paolo Albertino; and of several writers whose names are unknown, and whose toils, when Pelli wrote, were concealed in the dust of private libraries². About the year 1350, Giovanni Visconti, archbishop of Milan, selected six of the most learned men in Italy, two

¹ Tiraboschi, *Stor. della Poes. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 39; and Pelli, p. 119.

² The *Lettera di Eustazio Dicearcheo*, &c. mentioned above, p. xxxv., contains many extracts from an early MS. of the *Divina Commedia*, with marginal notes in Latin, preserved in the monastery of Monte Casino. To these extracts I shall have frequent occasion to refer.

divines, two philosophers, and two Florentines; and gave it them in charge to contribute their joint endeavours towards the compilation of an ample comment, a copy of which is preserved in the Laurentian library at Florence. Who these were is no longer known; but Jacopo della Lana¹, and Petrarch, are conjectured to have been among the number. At Florence, a public lecture was founded for the purpose of explaining a poem, that was at the same time the boast and the disgrace of the city. The decree for this institution was passed in 1373; and in that year Boccaccio, the first of their writers in prose, was appointed, with an annual salary of a hundred florens, to deliver lectures in one of the churches, on the first of their poets. On this occasion he wrote his comment, which extends only to a part of the *Inferno*, and has been printed. In 1375 Boccaccio died; and among his successors in this honourable employment we find the names of Antonio Piovano in 1381, and of Filippo Villani in 1401.

The example of Florence was speedily followed by Bologna, by Pisa, by Piacenza, and by Venice. Benvenuto da Imola, on whom the office of lecturer devolved at Bologna, sustained it for the space of ten years. From the comment, which he composed for the purpose, and which he sent abroad in 1379, those passages, that tend to illustrate the history of Italy, have been published by Muratori². At Pisa, the same charge was committed to Francesco da Buti about 1386.

On the invention of printing, in the succeeding century, Dante was one of those writers who were first and most frequently given to the press. But I do not mean to enter on an account of the numerous editions of our author, which were then, or have since been published; but shall content myself with adding such remarks as have occurred to me on reading the principal writers, by whose notes those editions have been accompanied.

¹ Pelli, p. 119, informs us, that the writer, who is termed sometimes "the good," sometimes the "old commentator," by those deputed to correct the *Decameron*, in the preface to their explanatory notes, and who began his work in 1334, is known to be Jacopo della Lana; and that his commentary was translated into Latin by Alberigo da Rosada, Doctor of Laws at Bologna.

² *Antiq. Ital.* v. i. The Italian comment published under the name of Benvenuto da Imola, at Milan, in 1473, and at Venice in 1477, is altogether different from that which Muratori has brought to light, and appears to be the same as the Italian comment of Jacopo della Lana before mentioned. See Tiraboschi.

Of the four chief commentators on Dante, namely Landino, Vellutello, Venturi, and Lombardi, the first appears to enter most thoroughly into the mind of the Poet. Within little more than a century of the time in which Dante had lived; himself a Florentine, while Florence was still free, and still retained something of her ancient simplicity; the associate of those great men who adorned the age of Lorenzo de' Medici; Landino¹ was the most capable of forming some estimate of the mighty stature of his compatriot, who was indeed greater than them all. His taste for the classics, which were then newly revived, and had become the principal objects of public curiosity, as it impaired his relish for what has not inaptly been termed the romantic literature, did not, it is true, improve him for a critic on the *Divina Commedia*. The adventures of King Arthur; by which² Dante had been delighted, appeared to Landino no better than a fabulous and inelegant book³. He is, besides, sometimes, unnecessarily prolix; at others, silent, where a real difficulty asks for solution; and, now and then, a little visionary in his interpretation. The commentary of his successor, Vellutello⁴, is more evenly diffused over the text; and although without pretensions to the higher qualities, by which Landino is distinguished, he is generally under the influence of a sober good sense, which renders him a steady and useful guide. Venturi⁵, who followed after a long interval of time, was too much swayed by his principles, or his prejudices, as a Jesuit, to suffer him to judge fairly of a Ghibelline poet; and either this bias, or a real want of tact for the higher excellence of his author, or, perhaps, both these imperfections together, betray him into such impertinent and injudicious sallies, as dispose us to quarrel with our companion, though, in the main, a very attentive one, generally acute and lively, and at times even not devoid of a better understanding for the merits of his master. To him, and in our own times, has succeeded the Padre Lom-

¹ Cristofforo Landino was born in 1424, and died in 1504 or 1508. See Bandini, *Specimen Litterat. Florent.* Edit. Florence, 1751.

² See note to Purgatory, xxvi. 132.

³ "Il favoloso, e non molto elegante libro della Tavola Rotonda." *Landino, in the notes to the Paradise*, xvi.

⁴ Alessandro Vellutello was born in 1519.

⁵ Pompeo Venturi was born in 1693, and died in 1752.

bardi¹. This good Franciscan, no doubt, must have given himself much pains to pick out and separate those ears of grain, which had escaped the flail of those who had gone before him in that labour. But his zeal to do something new often leads him to do something that is not over wise; and if on certain occasions we applaud his sagaciousness, on others we do not less wonder that his ingenuity should have been so strangely perverted. His manner of writing is awkward and tedious; his attention, more than is necessary, directed to grammatical niceties; and his attachment to one of the old editions, so excessive, as to render him disingenuous or partial in his representation of the rest. But to compensate this, he is a good Ghibelline; and his opposition to Venturi seldom fails to awaken him into a perception of those beauties which had only exercised the spleen of the Jesuit.

He, who shall undertake another commentary on Dante² yet completer than any of those which have hitherto appeared, must make use of these four, but depend on none. To them he must add several others of minor note, whose diligence will nevertheless be found of some advantage, and among whom I can particularly distinguish Volpi. Besides this, many commentaries and marginal annotations, that are yet inedited, remain to be examined; many editions and manuscripts³ to be more carefully collated; and many separate dissertations and works of criticism to be considered. But this is not all. That line of reading which the Poet himself appears to have pursued (and there are many vestiges in his works by which we shall be enabled to discover it) must be diligently tracked; and the search, I have little doubt, would lead to sources of information, equally profitable and unexpected.

If there is any thing of novelty in the notes which accompany the following translation, it will be found to consist

¹ Baldassare Lombardi died January 2, 1802. See Cancellieri, *Osservazioni*, &c. Roma, 1814, p. 112.

² Francesco Cionacci, a noble Florentine, projected an edition of the *Divina Commedia* in one hundred volumes, each containing a single canto, followed by all the commentaries, according to the order of time in which they were written, and accompanied by a Latin translation for the use of foreigners. *Cancellieri*, *ibid.* p. 64.

³ The Count Mortara has lately shown me many various readings he has remarked on collating the numerous MSS. of Dante in the Canonici collection at the Bodleian. It is to be hoped he will make them public [Jan^{ry}, 1843.]

chiefly in a comparison of the Poet with himself, that is, of the *Divina Commedia* with his other writings¹; a mode of illustration so obvious, that it is only to be wondered how others should happen to have made so little use of it. As to the imitations of my author by later poets, Italian and English, which I have collected in addition to those few that had been already remarked, they contribute little or nothing to the purposes of illustration, but must be considered merely as matter of curiosity, and as instances of the manner in which the great practitioners in art do not scruple to profit by their predecessors.

¹ The edition which is referred to in the following notes, is that printed at Venice in 2 vols. 8vo. 1793.

CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW
OF
THE AGE OF DANTE.

- A. D.
1265 May.—DANTE, son of Alighieri degli Alighieri and Bella, is born at Florence. Of his own ancestry he speaks in the *Paradise*, Canto xv. and xvi.
In the same year, Manfredi, king of Naples and Sicily, is defeated and slain by Charles of Anjou. H. xxviii. 13. and *Purg.* iii. 110.
Guido Novello of Polenta obtains the sovereignty of Ravenna. H. xxvii. 38.-
Battle of Evesham. Simon de Montfort, leader of the barons, defeated and slain.
- 1266 Two of the Frati Godenti chosen arbitrators of the differences of Florence. H. xxiii. 104.
Gianni de' Soldanieri heads the populace in that city. H. xxxii. 118.
Roger Bacon sends a copy of his *Opus Majus* to Pope Clement IV.
- 1268 Charles of Anjou puts Conradine to death, and becomes king of Naples. H. xxviii. 16. and *Purg.* xx. 66.
- 1270 Louis IX. of France dies before Tunis. His widow, Beatrice, daughter of Raymond Berenger, lived till 1295. *Purg.* vii. 126. Par. vi. 135.
- 1272 Henry III. of England is succeeded by Edward I. *Purg.* vii. 129.
Guy de Montfort murders Prince Henry, son of Richard, king of the Romans, and nephew of Henry III. of England, at Viterbo. H. xii. 119. Richard dies, as is supposed, of grief for this event.
Abulfeda, the Arabic writer, is born.

A. D.

- 1274 Our Poet first sees Beatrice, daughter of Folco Portinari.
Rodolph acknowledged emperor.
Philip III. of France marries Mary of Brabant, who lived till 1321. Purg. vi. 24.
Thomas Aquinas dies. Purg. xx. 67. and Par. x. 96.
Buonaventura dies. Par. xii. 25.
- 1275 Pierre de la Brosse, secretary to Philip III. of France, executed. Purg. vi. 23.
- 1276 Giotto, the painter, is born. Purg. xi. 95.
Pope Adrian V. dies. Purg. xix. 97.
Guido Guinicelli, the poet, dies. Purg. xi. 96. and xxvi. 83.
- 1277 Pope John XXI. dies. Par. xii. 126.
- 1278 Ottocar, king of Bohemia, dies. Purg. vii. 97. Robert of Gloucester is living at this time.
- 1279 Dionysius succeeds to the throne of Portugal. Par. xix. 135.
- 1280 Albertus Magnus dies. Par. x. 95.
Our Poet's friend, Busone da Gubbio, is born about this time. See the Life of Dante prefixed.
William of Ockham is born about this time.
1281. Pope Nicholas III. dies. H. xix. 71.
Dante studies at the universities of Bologna and Padua.
About this time Ricordano Malaspina, the Florentine annalist, dies.
- 1282 The Sicilian vespers. Par. viii. 80.
The French defeated by the people of Forli. H. xxvii. 41.
Tribaldello de' Manfredi betrays the city of Faenza. H. xxxii. 119.
- 1284 Prince Charles of Anjou is defeated and made prisoner by Rugier de Lauria, admiral to Peter III. of Arragon. Purg. xx. 78.
Charles I. king of Naples, dies. Purg. vii. 111.
Alonzo X. of Castile, dies. He caused the Bible to be translated into Castilian, and all legal instruments to be drawn up in that language. Sancho IV. succeeds him.
Philip (next year IV. of France) marries Jane, daughter of Henry of Navarre. Purg. vii. 102

- A. D.
 1285 Pope Martin IV. dies. Purg. xxiv. 23.
 Philip III. of France and Peter III. of Arragon die.
 Purg. vii. 101 and 110.
 Henry II. king of Cyprus, comes to the throne. Par.
 xix. 144.
 Simon Memmi, the painter, celebrated by Petrarch, is
 born.
- 1287 Guido dalle Colonne (mentioned by Dante in his *De
 Vulgari Eloquio*) writes "The War of Troy."
 Pope Honorius IV. dies.
- 1288 Haquin, king of Norway, makes war on Denmark.
 Par. xix. 135.
 Count Ugolino de' Gherardeschi dies of famine. H.
 xxxiii. 14.
 The Scottish poet, Thomas Learmouth, commonly called
 Thomas the Rhymer, is living at this time.
- 1289 Dante is in the battle of Campaldino, where the Floren-
 tines defeat the people of Arezzo, June 11. Purg. v. 90.
- 1290 Beatrice dies. Purg. xxxii. 2.
 He serves in the war waged by the Florentines upon
 the Pisans, and is present at the surrender of Caprona
 in the autumn. H. xxi. 92.
 Guido dalle Colonne dies.
 William, marquis of Montferrat, is made prisoner by his
 traitorous subjects, at Alessandria in Lombardy.
 Purg. vii. 133.
 Michael Scot dies. H. xx. 115.
- 1291 Dante marries Gemma de' Donati, with whom he lives
 unhappily. By this marriage he had five sons and a
 daughter.
 Can Grande della Scala is born, March 9. H. i. 98.
 Purg. xx. 16. Par. xvii. 75. and xxvii. 135.
 The renegade Christians assist the Saracens to recover
 St. John D'Acre. H. xxvii. 84.
 The Emperor Rodolph dies. Purg. vi. 104. and vii. 91.
 Alonzo III. of Arragon dies, and is succeeded by James
 II. Purg. vii. 113. and Par. xix. 133.
 Eleanor, widow of Henry III. dies. Par. vi. 135.
- 1292 Pope Nicholas IV. dies.
 Roger Bacon dies.
 John Baliol, king of Scotland, crowned.

- A. D.
- 1294 Clement V. abdicates the papal chair. II. iii. 56.
Dante writes his *Vita Nuova*.
Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, the poet, dies. Purg. xxiv. 56.
Andrea Taffi, of Florence, the worker in Mosaic, dies.
- 1295 Dante's preceptor, Brunetto Latini, dies. H. xv. 28.
Charles Martel, king of Hungary, visits Florence. Par. viii. 57. and dies in the same year.
Frederick, son of Peter III. of Arragon, becomes king of Sicily. Purg. vii. 117. and Par. xix. 127.
Taddeo, the physician of Florence, called the Hippocratican, dies. Par. xii. 77.
Marco Polo, the traveller, returns from the East to Venice.
Ferdinand IV. of Castile comes to the throne. Par. xix. 122.
- 1296 Forese, the companion of Dante, dies. Purg. xxxiii. 44.
Sadi, the most celebrated of the Persian writers, dies.
War between England and Scotland, which terminates in the submission of the Scots to Edward I.; but in the following year, Sir William Wallace attempts the deliverance of Scotland. Par. xix. 121.
- 1298 The Emperor Adolphus falls in a battle with his rival, Albert I., who succeeds him in the Empire. Purg. vi. 98.
Jacopo da Varagine, archbishop of Genoa, author of the *Legenda Aurea*, dies.
- 1300 The Bianca and Nera parties take their rise in Pistoia. H. xxxii. 60.
This is the year in which he supposes himself to see his Vision. H. i. l. and xxi. 109.
He is chosen chief magistrate, or first of the Priors of Florence: and continues in office from June 15, to August 15.
- Cimabue, the painter, dies. Purg. xi. 93.
Guido Cavalcanti, the most beloved of our Poet's friends, dies. H. x. 59. and Purg. xi. 96.
- 1301 The Bianca party expels the Nera from Pistoia. H. xxiv. 142.
- 1302 January 27. During his absence at Rome, Dante is mulcted by his fellow-citizens in the sum of 8000 lire, and condemned to two years' banishment.

- A. D.
 1285 Pope Martin IV. dies. Purg. xxiv. 23.
 Philip III. of France and Peter III. of Arragon die.
 Purg. vii. 101 and 110.
 Henry II. king of Cyprus, comes to the throne. Par.
 xix. 144.
 Simon Memmi, the painter, celebrated by Petrarch, is
 born.
- 1287 Guido dalle Colonne (mentioned by Dante in his *De
 Vulgari Eloquio*) writes "The War of Troy."
 Pope Honorius IV. dies.
- 1288 Haquin, king of Norway, makes war on Denmark.
 Par. xix. 135.
 Count Ugolino de' Gherardeschi dies of famine. H.
 xxxiii. 14.
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- 1302 March 10. He is sentenced, if taken, to be burned.
 Fulcieri de' Calboli commits great atrocities on certain
 of the Ghibelline party. Purg. xiv. 61.
 Carlino de' Pazzi betrays the castle di Piano Travigne,
 in Valdarno, to the Florentines. H. xxxii. 67.
 The French vanquished in the battle of Courtrai. Purg.
 xx. 47.
 James, king of Majorca and Minorca, dies. Par. xix.
 133.
- 1303 Pope Boniface VIII. dies. H. xix. 55. Purg. xx. 86;
 xxxii. 146. and Par. xxvii. 20.
 The other exiles appoint Dante one of a council of
 twelve, under Alessandro da Romena. He appears
 to have been much dissatisfied with his colleagues.
 Par. xvii. 61.
 Robert of Brunne translates into English verse the
 Manuel de Pechés, a treatise written in French by
 Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln.
- 1304 Dante joins with the exiles in an unsuccessful attack on
 the city of Florence.
 May. The bridge over the Arno breaks down during
 a representation of the infernal torments exhibited
 on that river. H. xxvi. 9.
 July 20. Petrarch, whose father had been banished
 two years before from Florence, is born at Arezzo.
- 1305 Wincseslaus II. king of Bohemia, dies. Purg. vii. 99.
 and Par. xix. 123.
 A conflagration happens at Florence. H. xxvi. 9.
 Sir William Wallace is executed at London.
- 1306 Dante visits Padua.
- 1307 He is in Lunigiana with the Marchese Marcello Mala-
 spina. Purg. viii. 133; xix. 140.
 Dolcino, the fanatic, is burned. H. xxviii. 53.
 Edward II. of England comes to the throne.
- 1308 The Emperor Albert I. murdered. Purg. vi. 98. and
 Par. xix. 114.
 Corso Donati, Dante's political enemy, slain. Purg.
 xxiv. 81.
 He seeks an asylum at Verona, under the roof of the
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- 1309 Italy. See his *Convito*. He is at Paris a second time; and, according to one of the early commentators, visits Oxford.
Robert, the patron of Petrarch, is crowned king of Sicily. Par. ix. 2.
Duns Scotus dies. He was born about the same time as Dante.
- 1309 Charles II. king of Naples, dies. Par. xix. 125.
- 1310 The Order of the Templars abolished. Purg. xx. 94.
Jean de Meun, the continuer of the *Roman de la Rose*, dies about this time.
Pier Crescenzi of Bologna writes his book on agriculture, in Latin.
- 1311 Fra Giordano da Rivalta, of Pisa, a Dominican, the author of sermons esteemed for the purity of the Tuscan language, dies.
- 1312 Robert, king of Sicily, opposes the coronation of the Emperor Henry VII. Par. viii. 59.
Ferdinand IV. of Castile, dies, and is succeeded by Alonzo XI.
Dino Compagni, a distinguished Florentine, concludes his history of his own time, written in elegant Italian.
Gaddo Gaddi, the Florentine artist, dies.
- 1313 The Emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, by whom he had hoped to be restored to Florence, dies. Par. xvii. 80. and xxx. 135. Henry is succeeded by Lewis of Bavaria.
Dante takes refuge at Ravenna, with Guido Novello da Polenta.
Giovanni Boccaccio is born.
Pope Clement V. dies. H. xix. 86. and Par. xxvii. 53. and xxx. 141.
- 1314 Philip IV. of France dies. Purg. vii. 108. and Par. xix. 117.
Louis X. succeeds.
Ferdinand IV. of Spain, dies. Par. xix. 122.
Giacopo da Carrara defeated by Can Grande, who makes himself master of Vicenza. Par. ix. 45.
- 1315 Louis X. of France marries Clemenza, sister to our Poet's friend, Charles Martel, king of Hungary. Par. ix. 2.

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- 1316 Louis X. of France dies, and is succeeded by Philip V.
John XXII. elected Pope. Par. xxvii. 53.
Joinville, the French historian, dies about this time.
- 1320 About this time John Gower is born, eight years before
his friend Chaucer.
- 1321 July. Dante dies at Ravenna, of a complaint brought
on by disappointment at his failure in a negotiation
which he had been conducting with the Venetians,
for his patron Guido Novello da Polenta.
His obsequies are sumptuously performed at Ravenna
by Guido, who himself died in the ensuing year.

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Plunges on either side; so saw I plunge
 The Minotaur; whereat the sage exclaim'd:
 "Run to the passage! while he storms, 'tis well
 That thou descend." Thus down our road we took
 Through those dilapidated crags, that oft
 Moved underneath my feet, to weight¹ like theirs
 Unused. I pondering went, and thus he spake:
 "Perhaps thy thoughts are of this ruin'd steep,
 Guarded by the brute violence, which I
 Have vanquish'd now. Know then, that when I erst
 Hither descended to the nether hell,
 This rock was not yet fallen. But past doubt,
 (If well I mark) not long ere He arriv'd²,
 Who carried off from Dis the mighty spoil
 Of the highest circle, then through all its bounds
 Such trembling seized the deep concave and foul,
 I thought the universe was thrill'd with love,
 Whereby, there are who deem, the world hath oft
 Been into chaos turn'd³: and in that point,
 Here, and elsewhere, that old rock toppled down:
 But fix thine eyes beneath: the river of blood⁴
 Approaches, in the which all those are steep'd,
 Who have by violence injured." O blind lust!
 O foolish wrath! who so dost goad us on
 In the brief life, and in the eternal then
 Thus miserably o'erwhelm us. I beheld
 An ample foss, that in a bow was bent,
 As circling all the plain; for so my guide
 Had told. Between it and the rampart's base,
 On trail ran Centaurs, with keen arrows arm'd,
 As to the chase they on the earth were wont.
 At seeing us descend they each one stood;
 And issuing from the troop, three sped with bows

¹ *To weight.*] — Incumbent on the dusky air

That felt unusual weight. *Milton, P. L. b. i. 227.*

² *He arriv'd.*] Our Saviour, who, according to Dante, when he ascended from hell, carried with him the souls of the Patriarchs, and of other just men, out of the first circle. See Canto iv. ³ *Been into chaos turn'd.*] This opinion is attributed to Empedocles. ⁴ *The river of blood.*] Deinde vidi locum (Qu. lacum?) magnum totum, ut mihi videbatur, plenum sanguine. Sed dixit mihi Apostolus, sed non sanguis, sed ignis est ad concremandos homicidas, et odiosos deputatus. Hanc tamen similitudinem propter sanguinis effusionem retinet. *Alberici Visio*, § 7