DANTE, DIVINA COMMEDIA

HOLKHAM MS. No. 514

COLOUR FILMSTRIPS:-
INFERNO No. 517
PURGATORIO No. 516
PARADISO No. 518

BLACK & WHITE MICROFILM
No. MS 514

COLOUR SLIDES:-
INFERNO No. S 7011
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Dante, Divina Commedia

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(Holkham MS. 514)

FOREWORD

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY DANTE ILLUSTRATIONS
AT HOLKHAM HALL

Since Lord Ashburnham sold 27 Dante MSS. to the Laurentian library the largest assemblage of privately owned Dante MSS. in England has been that of the Earls of Leicester at Holkham. These are numbered 513-8 in the Holkham catalogue but are numbered, by an unhappy coincidence, 510-5 in Colomb de Batines Bibliografia Dantesca. They were bought in the second decade of the eighteenth century by the builder of Holkham when on the Grand Tour.

MS. 514 (no. 511 in Colomb de Batines) has now been reproduced in full on colour filmstrips and black-and-white microfilm. At the foot of each of the 148 pages is an illustrated panel typical of Neapolitan art and resembling MS. Pierpont Morgan 676 as shown in T. De Marinis, Biblioteca Napoletana, 1947. The text is discussed in E. Moore, Contributions to the textual criticism of the Divina Commedia, 1889. A few leaves are missing which contained Purg. xxv, 91-xxxi, 66 and Par. ix, 136-xv, 132, xviii, 115-xix, 120, xxi, 109-xxii, 108 and xxxiv, 94-xxxii, 69, but the rest of the text is illustrated and provides a record iconographically unique. The black and red used for the Inferno contrast with pale colours in the Purgatorio and with sky blue and gold in the Paradiso. In Paradiso black only occurs once and brown three times, where nature requires it. The heavy backgrounds framing the earlier pictures contrast with the unconfined open compositions of the Paradiso sequence and help to dispel the claustrophobia of Hell with the spacious atmosphere of the heavens.

L. Dorex, Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall, Paris 1908, and Saxl and Meier, Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften omit this Dante, wherefore it is less widely known among international scholars than among children who see reproductions in the Junior Encyclopaedia. Dorez had three photographs which he
lent to L. Volkman who mentions it in *Iconografia Dantesca*, Leipzig, 1897, as stylistically associated with British Museum, MS. Add. 19587.

In 1924 Guido Biagi marked Dante’s sixth centenary by reproducing 180 pictures of the Inferno from 33 sources in *La Divina Commedia nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento* but his claim to include only early illustrations, so as to reflect the concepts of Dante’s age, is falsified by the inclusion of pictures two centuries later than Dante.

Dante wrote in the vulgar tongue so that even women could understand, but he hated translation. These pictures show scholars and children alike how the literal meaning of his vision was visualised by one fourteenth-century Italian. No edition, commentary or translation has attempted this. F. X. Kraus (*Dante sein Leben und sein Werk sein Verhältnis zur Kunst und Politik, Berlin 1897*) stresses the importance of the 300 pictures in MS. Egerton 19587, but as usual it fails to illustrate the Paradiso. John Pope-Hennessy’s Phaidon Press reproduction from a Siennese manuscript poses the question “what better visual introduction could there be to Dante’s poem?”, but cost excluded colour, the whole manuscript was not reproduced and the originals were a full century later than Dante’s death. Holkham MS. 514 with 148 illustrations compares with 110 in Flaxman, 115 at Siena, 135 in Gustave Doré and 144 in Bartolomeo Pinelli. Sir Frederick Madden and E. Moore call Holkham MS. 514 “very rude”, as indeed it is compared with Botticelli, Signorelli, Michelangelo and Blake: but the work of the Warburg Institute teaches us to appreciate crude medieval misconceptions of antiquity exemplified in centaurs with two legs, Cerberus with three faces, a minotaur with a bull’s body and Mercury in a mitre. A proper preference for medieval illustrations over those of Doré was proclaimed in Milan edition of 1896 and inspired C. Morel (*Une illustration de l’enfer de Dante, lxxi miniatures du xv siecle, Paris 1896*) to reproduce Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italien, MS. 2017. A belief that modern readers prefer the elimination of astrology, theology and contemporary history mars Paul Schubring, *Illustrationen zu Dante’s Gottlicher Komodie*, 1931, which contains 387 illustrations conveniently grouped by cantos.

Dante is the most illustrated writer and twenty-five illustrated editions appeared before 1596 and Corrado Ricci, *La Divina Com-
media nei Luoghi e nelle persone, 1921, struck a new note in reproducing representations of persons and places mentioned in the text. Sample early illustrations from Italian libraries are available in A. Bassermann's Dante's Spuren in Italien, Heidelberg, 1897 and complete facsimiles of early manuscripts were published to mark the sixth centenary in Milan and Florence. Unfortunately the important manuscripts thus reproduced, Codice Trivulziano 1080 and Codice Landiano, happen not to be highly illustrated and no one has hitherto reproduced a long series of fourteenth-century illustrations in its entirety. The modern technique of colour microfilm has now made it possible to reproduce all the illustrated pages from MS. 514. If Lord Leicester's kindness in allowing this manuscript to be filmed can lead to an increasing exchange of colour facsimiles he will indeed have carried further the work of such Englishmen as Lord Vernon, E. Moore and Paget Toynbee in deepening the world's appreciation of its greatest poet.

Volkmann complained that proper study was impossible while illustrated Dantes were in private hands. Paradoxically the first fourteenth-century illustrated Dante to be rendered accessible is the last to remain in private ownership; and in doing this service Lord Leicester has helped repay part of the intellectual debt owed by England to Italy. This is right, for it was to Italy that the builder of Holkham owed his inspiration.

These notes describe the frames in each of the three colour filmstrips. A black and white microfilm of all frames of the complete Divina Commedia has also been produced together with slide sets. The frames which have been incorporated in slide sets are shown on page 28.

INFERNO

MS. Page 1. Canto 1. Good Friday Morning, 1300. The Dark Wood. Dante in blue robe and liripipe between black rocky mountains with fifteen green trees touched with red. On the mountain in the centre stand a leopard (luxuria), a lion (superbia) and a lean wolf (avaritia), yellow-brown. This echoes Aristotle's threefold classification of evil and corresponds to the three ages of man. The right corner is missing. On it was shown Dante with his back to the mountain from which he has been driven.
2. Dante (as above) meets Virgil, in red cap and undergarment and mauve cloak. Virgil unlike Dante has a beard (forked). Virgil (Reason) offers his guidance.

3. Canto 2. Dante encouraged not to turn back by Virgil (missing) whom Beatrice (Grace) had sent from Limbo to help him.

4. Canto 3. Hell's Vestibule
Dante (blue) at the entrance of a black tunnel beneath rocks in which are selfish neutrals, five sitting, two lying and seventeen walking to the right. In the van is a leader with a red flag and a nude figure wearing a black mitre. Insects sting them and green worms at their feet catch the blood.

5. The poets regard nine seated figures by Acheron on which Charon (horned and bearded) rows a violet boat with yellow oars. On the right bank three figures stand outside and three inside a cave. Michelangelo shows Charon striking the hesitant with his oar.

On the right a naked and hopeless mob of sinless pre-christians crowd in a black cave, the limbo whence Christ rescued the Patriarchs. Virgil and Dante (centre) meet four poets, Homer (with sword), Horace, Ovid and Lucan in front of a castle with seven walls (virtues) and gates. On the fifth wall flares a torch.

7. Canto 4 cont. and 5.
The poets on a green meadow see a company which includes Electra, Hector, Aeneas (Trojan ancestors of the Romans), Caesar, Camilla, Penthesilea, Latinus (crowned), Saladin (in high red head-dress) and Aristotle.
Circle 2. On right Virgil and Dante in dark place in which Minos (partly missing) judges two groups of damned.

8. The Flesh (The Leopard)
They issue from cave (left) and approach moun-
tain (right) from which the lustful including Semiramis, Dido, Cleopatra, Helen, Achilles, Paris, Tristram and a couple (Paolo and Francesca) are swept towards the poets.

They approach huge Cerberus, horned, bat-winged, three-mouthed, with webbed feet on the putrid ground. Cold rain and hail make a filthy mixture in which gluttons wallow. Cerberus has red eyes and clawed hands but a single head. Ciacco (hog), a diner-out, foretells party changes to Dante. On right is a cliff.

Pluto (naked and horned) delays the poets. Between rocks ten squanderers and hoarders, undistinguished though some are popes, struggle pushing boulders with their chests.

Heads and shoulders of souls inextricably bogged in a black slough, Styx. The poets approach two beacon towers.

12. A horned devil, Phlegyas, the child of Wrath and foe to Light, rows them across the mere, and the accursedly wrathful Filippo Argenti, the last sinner from incontinence described in Upper Hell, accosts them. Dante is left alone with hands raised outside the burning red city of Dis, while Virgil reasons vainly with horned devil outside the gate.

13. Canto 9. Between crags outside the flaming tower they suddenly see the three furies, entwined by great green snakes. Virgil shields Dante's eyes from the threat of Medusa's petrifying head.

14. Circle 6. They follow a Messenger of Heaven (in red). Like frogs before a snake twelve damned flee through a gate which he opens with a wand. Within are flaming coffins, under two arches. Heat varies for different sects of heretics in each according to flagrancy.
15. Canto 10. Several heads emerge from each of eight open coffins. Farinata degli Uberti, the Ghibelline exile condemned for heresy in 1283, tells the poets the length of Dante’s exile and explains that ghosts know the future but not contemporary events. The coffins seem to float on flames.

16. Canto 11. On a rocky slope the poets see the coffin of the heretic Pope, Anastatius II. On a cliff on the right are three circles of burning heads and shoulders, as Virgil explains for violence, fraud and treason. The legend incorrectly assigns the last to robbery which is included by Dante with violence.

17. Canto 12. In a chasm leading to circle 7 the poets meet the Minotaur, shown as a centaur gnawing his hands in bestial rage, emblematic sentinel of violence (The Lion).

Having descended by a rock which crashed when Christ descended and harrowed Hell the poets regard the heads and shoulders of tyrants in a blood-bath (Phlegethon). Here boil King Alexander, Dionysius (both crowned), Obizzo (slain by his son for money), Azzolino (whose atrocities are the theme of Musato’s tragedy), Guy de Montfort (avenger of Simon de Montfort by murder) and Attila. From the right advance on guard with bent bows, Nessus, Chiron, Pholus and six other bearded Centaurs. Unlike the Minotaur they are bipeds.

Nessus is on the left of a pathless wood before which stand the poets. Harpies, birds with ladies’ heads, perch on fruitless trees with dark green leaves (Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco). Bidden by Virgil, Dante plucks a twig which bleeds and cries, for the tree was the soul of Frederick II’s counsellor, who had destroyed his own body.
20. The poets on left. Jacomo da Sant' Andrea and Lano the Sienese bitten by bitches. These wastrels went to the dogs, burning houses for fun and playing ducks and drakes with money.


22. Canto 15. Clerical sodomites. Blasphemers against nature are more numerous but less tormented and able to stand. Between rocks a crowd of men of letters and learning are ever on the run in the rain of fire. Brunetto Latini, little and naked, approaches the poets.

23. Brunetto Latini, Dante's beloved mentor, proceeds to the left through showers of fire. The poets approach banks on right.

24. On the right of a resounding waterfall which falls into circle 8 at the end of the sand, three secular sodomites, Florentine patriots, approach the poets and recognise Dante as a compatriot by his dress. They quit a troop in torment.

25. Canto 17. In front of a rock the poets stand and regard with amazement Geryon. The figure of this beast with a pointed tail is missing but is shown in the next picture. He is a reptile with a just man's head, green with red and blue spots "like embroidery".

26. In front of a rock three usurerers, blasphemers against Nature and Art, crouch in a hail of fire, unrecognisable save by the armorial money-bags round their necks. The poets are missing except for the top of Dante's head. On the right, the poets ride off over a green plain on Geryon's back. Nos. 25-26 are shown on a page of British Museum Additional MS. 19587 reproduced in Palaeographical Society, plate 248.

28. Canto 19. Simonists (third chasm). Before a rock the poets see four cylinders whence protrude legs, writhing in fire, of those who put earthly things before heavenly. In the first Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) suffers worst and expects Boniface VIII and Clement V. Dante is like a Friar confessing assassins condemned to burial alive head downwards. The Spanish Inquisition suppressed his remarks on papal worship of gold and excessive endowment of the Church.

29. Four similar cylinders on left. The poets, with arms on each others’ shoulders, approach a hill. Unwearied, Virgil bore Dante up to the church which crosses the third chasm.

30. Canto 20. Diviners punished (fourth chasm). Between rocks the poets approach distorted figures with heads and breasts facing backwards. Amphiaraus, Tiresias, Aruns, Manto (daughter of Tiresias and founder of Mantua), Eurypylus, Michael Scot (the wizard of Balwearie in The Lay of the Last Minstrel), Guido Bonatti, an astrologer, and Asdente, a soothsaying shoemaker of Parma. This nuova pena is not a novelty of Dante as suggested in Lord Vernon’s Readings on the Inferno, but an echo of Isaiah xliv. 24-5. “Ego sum Dominus . . . convertens sapientes retrorsum.”

31. Canto 21. Corrupt local government officers (fifth chasm). A horned devil with bat’s wings slings on his back a senator from Lucca. He descends from a rock on the right towards the poets. On their
right is a pitch lake between rocks. This recalls the arsenal of Venice and punishes dealers in darkness, black marketeers with hands where money sticks.

32. Dante stands by a cavern whence issue devils with flesh-hooks to attack Virgil from behind. Mala-coda and two others attack him from the front. Others on the left surround a pool of pitch in which swims the lacerated body of an alderman of Lucca, as scullions keep meat down in a cauldron with forks.

33. Canto 22. Between rocks the poets approach eight demons, led by a ninth (green) who tears with his hooks Ciampolo, one of a group of these "barrators" in a pool of pitch between rocks. A tenth bat-winged demon also rends him.

34. To left, four demons stand in a gulch, tricked into withdrawal by Ciampolo who vanishes into the pool. Calcabrina and Alichino (perhaps Hellequin or Harlequin) fall into the pitch, on right of which come two devils to the rescue.

35. Canto 23. Hypocrites (chasm 6). Between rocks the poets talk to Catalano and Loderineo, two Bolognese, a Guelf and a Ghibelline, joint founders of the Jovial Friars, and joint podestas of Bologna and Florence. They stand detached from a crowd of eleven others dressed in gilded hoods and cloaks over yellow-brown lead. In a cave on the right lies Caiaphas crucified for advising that one man should suffer for the people.

36. Canto 24. Virgil was annoyed to find that the devil tricked him about there being an unbroken bridge. He stands on the slope of the bridge's ruins stretching his hands towards Dante who toils upwards out of the chasm of hypocrisy.

37. Thieves (Chasm 7). In front of rocks the poets address the sacrilegious Vanni Fucci da Pistoia (for whose crime a namesake was hanged) and
another figure (Vanni Fucci instantaneously re-assembled after combustion following snake-bite). Four other thieves move to the right, all entwined with green snakes, symbols of thievery, which bite their shoulders.

38. Canto 25. By a rock the poets see Vanni raise his hands in an improper gesture in reptilian coils. Cacus of Aventine (the cattle-thief) attacked by snakes, one with wings. Agnello de’ Brunelleschi (who robbed his parents and stole disguised as a beggar). Puccio Sciancato de’ Galigai with the limp and Cianfa de Donati, a noble shop-breaker. These three were Florentines. Only Puccio did not change into someone else, remaining unmistakable.

39. Buoso degli Abati lies attacked by a four-legged reptile. Guercio de’ Cavalcanti exchanges shape with Buoso. “Buoso” is written above a reptile into which he was transformed by snake-bite. It walks towards a rock on right. The identification of Buoso as degli Abati is that of Lana and Pietro di Dante. Benvenuto thought he was Buoso Donati. “I” and “Thou” are interchanged among those who confused “Thy” for “My”.

40. Canto 26. Evil Counsellors (chasm 8). The poets (shown twice) in a cave approach a flame from which two crowned heads emerge. Ulysses and Diomede, united in punishment in a single burning tongue for making others lie.

41. Canto 27. Four more flames. The poets converse with Count Guido da Montefeltro in the centre. He was a Ghibelline captain (d. 1298) who gave Boniface VIII evil advice.

42. Canto 28. Schismatics punished (chasm 9). The poets in front of a rock meet Mahomet, holding apart the sides of his riven body. Two other riven souls, one with a cloven head (Caliph Ali) approach a horned devil who splits them open whenever the divisions are healed.
43. The poets address Pier da Medicina, with wounded ear, nose and throat, who thrived on making mischief between the houses of Polenta and Malatesta—Benvenuto's \textit{pessimus seminat\or{o}r} scandal and the Anonimo Fiorentino's \textit{grandissimo seminatore di scisma et di divisione}. He turns and puts his hand to Curio's mouth where the tongue is mutilated for boldly advising Caesar to cross the Rubicon. On the left of a rock stand three souls with riven bodies.

44. Canto 28 cont. and 29. Between rocks the poets approach Messer Mosca Lamberti, instigator of a murder which brought Guelf and Ghibelline discord to Florence and the extinction of his family. He holds up two bleeding stumps with no hands. Five trunks with bleeding necks each holds its decapitated head by the hair. The end ones are Bertram de Born, the troubadour who divided Henry II of England from his son, and Geri del Bello, indignant with his kinsman Dante for not avenging his death.

45. Falsifiers (chasm 10). On the right of a rock the poets approach a mass of spotted souls of which only Albero da Siena (who could not learn to fly) and Capocchio ("Blockhead") of Florence, burnt for alchemy in 1293, are standing. Capocchio tells Dante about the Spendthrift's Club. Virgil faces to the right.

46. Canto 29 cont. and 30. On the left of a rock Griffolino d'Arezzo (who was burnt for pretending to have discovered flying) shows to the poets Gianni Schicchi (a famous mimic) crouching on top of Capocchio and biting him rabidly and Mirra (who sought incest with her father by guile as Ovid tells) and Buoso Donati (whom Gianni impersonated on his death to dictate a fraudulent will leaving himself a fine mare as commission).

47. The poets see the spotted souls of Adamo da Brescia (burnt for counterfeiting the florins of
Florence in 1281 and himself inflated in Hell), Sinon the lying Greek and Potiphar's wife, lying steaming “like bathed hands in winter”, without having moved since Adamo arrived.

48. Giants (Ninth Circle). Before a rock Virgil shows Dante nine Giants fettered in a circle, including Nimrod blowing a horn and Briareus, who fought Olympus. He occurs with Nimrod, builder of Babel in medieval opinion, in Purgatory to typify fallen pride. He tried to put Pelion on Ossa. Orosius and Augustine unscripturarily considered Nimrod a giant. His face is as big as the pine-cone on St. Peter’s.

49. The poets regard Ephialtes. Antaeus lifts up the poets. The poets see the lake which freezes cold traitors to their own kin like the sons of Count Alberto degli Alberti and Camicion de’ Pazzi.

50. Canto 32 cont. In icy Antenora (called after the Trojan Traitor) among the heads of traitors to their countries, Dante pulls the hair of Bocca degli Abbati, who cut off the Florentine standard-bearer’s hand and would like to remain anonymous. Here is the Abbot of Vallombrosa, executed for plotting, and Gianni de Soldanier, a Ghibelline, who led the Guelphs at Florence. Canto 33. Ugolino stops gnawing Archbishop Roger to whom he is frozen, a fellow-conspirator who left him to starve to death.

51. Canto 33 cont. The poets approach a black crag of ice, Tolomea, where cold-blooded traitors to friends and guests (like Ptolemy in 1 Maccabees. xvi, 11-17) are ice-bound.

52. Canto 33 cont. The poets talk with Friar Alberigo. He and the others in Tolomea have frozen tears.

53. Canto 34. In Judecca at the earth’s deep centre the poets stand at the feet of Lucifer. He sits with bat-wings outspread gnawing in his three mouths, Judas, Brutus and Cassius, traitors to their lords.
Lucifer’s faces are yellowish white, red and black. Only Judas has his head inside. The Evil Trinity punishes the foes of God and Caesar.

54. Canto 34. cont. Dante struggles up out of a round opening after Virgil towards the stars. Hitherto the pictures have been divided from the text by a frame of two lines, black and purple. In Purgatory the black line is replaced by one of yellow and finally of scarlet. Fifteen orange stars are above these lines, and a yellow star breaks the frame.

55 and 56 are blank pages.

PURGATORIO

MS. Page 57. Canto 1. Virgil touches the shoulder of Dante who looks up from his knees at bearded Cato (green over mauve with blue lining) on whom shine from a blue sky ‘four stars never yet seen except by the first people’. Behind Cato grow rushes. The stars mean the four cardinal virtues. They are shown in a line, not like the Southern Cross, of which some think Dante may have heard.

58. Canto 1 cont. Dante kneels with crossed arms while Virgil washes the stains of Hell from his face with dew. Dante stands with crossed arms while Virgil girds him with a rush lowly and yielding.

59. Canto 2. With golden pinions spread to heaven an angel sails an empty blue boat over the green water to ferry over a second party of souls to join those already landed and singing the psalm of the exodus. The poets are shown on both reedy shores. Souls and angel are robed in white. They ask the poets the way.

60. Canto 2. cont. Dante’s musical friend Casella sings to him while Virgil looks back at Cato who bids the spirits leave the slough and scale the mount.

61. Canto 3. The poets wonder how to mount. A flock of souls approaches from their left slowly like sheep without a shepherd for they had disobeyed the Church.
62. Canto 3. cont. The souls indicate with the backs of their hands that the poets should turn. Dante sees Manfred's wounded brow and breast. He was king of Sicily (1258-66). The pope had him exhumed as one excommunicated.

63. Canto 4. The souls point the way. Dante clambers up after Virgil who points upward. The slope is over 45°. They sit on a terrace. Above the summit are six stars.

64. Canto 4 cont. On the left of the poets linger the late-repentant. Belacqua sits with sunken head clasping his knees. Virgil tells Dante to come on. Belacqua was a notoriously lazy musical-instrument-maker at Florence.

65. Canto 5. The violently slain late-repentant are amazed, for Virgil tells their two emissaries that Dante is still alive. Virgil tells Dante to go on while Jacopo del Cassero, an assassinated Guelf of Fano, and La Pia tell their tales.

66. La Pia and Buonconte who was slain at Campaldino address Dante while Virgil leads on. Canto 6. Virgil looks back at Dante making promises to crowds on both sides who long for prayers.


68. Canto 6 cont. Sordello embracing Virgil's knees makes Dante consider the fratricidal strife of Italy while the Emperor should rule properly and come and see Montagues and Capulets.

69. Canto 7. Dante sees Sordello begin to fall at Virgil's feet when he learns that he is not only a Mantuan but the glory of the Latins and their tongue. (His own poetry was in provençal.)

70. Canto 7 cont. Sordello points out to the poets a flowery hollow in the mountains where sit negligent rulers. Above flies a fair-haired guardian angel green with a red (flaming) unpointed sword.
Rudolph the Emperor who left undone what he ought to have done. Ottocar, Philip III. and others here are kept waiting. Henry III of England, of the simple life, sits alone.

71. Canto 7 cont. Other negligent rulers include William, the Marquis of Montferrato, lower down and without a crown, gazing upward. Canto 8. Beneath a second guardian angel they sing "Te lucis ante terminum", pale and gazing upward, for it is evening. Nino de Visconti, judge of Gallura, and Dante welcome each other. Nearby are Virgil and Conrad Malaspina.

72. Canto 8 cont. Nino and Conrad talk to Dante. Sordello shows Virgil the Serpent, routed by the green-winged guardian-angels. It turns its head to lick its green body.

73. Canto 9. Nino, Conrad and Sordello sit on the left. In the centre Virgil watches Lucia who bore up Dante as he slept dreaming that an eagle raised him up. On the right the poets sit in another part of the mount. Lucia and the eagle are brown. Virgil indicates a cleft in the rampart of purgatory in the morning.

74. Canto 9 cont. Three steps (white marble, cracked and darker than perse and of red porphyry) lead to a gate guarded by an angel with gold sword and violet wings. Dante, led near by Virgil, kneels smiting his breast and P's (for the seven sins, peccata) are described on his brow. The angel draws two keys from under an ash-coloured gown and lets Dante through. Virgil emerges in the open.

75. Canto 10. The poets stand on the edge of the first terrace on the brink of the void. They sit and gaze at carvings cut vertically on marble out of the mountain to demonstrate humility. the Annunciation, the ark drawn on an ox-cart and Trajan with the widow at his bridle.
76. Canto 10 cont. Pride’s Purge. Three figures sit supporting great rocks, like corbels supporting a roof.

77. Canto 11. Last of five humbled rock-bearers, the insolent Omberto, count of Santafiora, directs the poets.

78. Canto 11 cont. The poets and four rock-bearers, of whom Oderisi, the painter, reflects on the transience of reputation in art as is illustrated by Giotto’s school superseding Cimabue’s.

79. Canto 12. Dante bent down to talk to Oderisi and is still bowed down in heart. Virgil shows him the pavement where the proud are laid low, like Arachne, half a spider. noble Lucifer with red shield, green wings and violet armour, Nimrod at the foot of Babel, and Saul in mauve over blue, with red hose, transfixed on his sword.

80. Canto 12. Virgil tells Dante to look up as the Angel of Humility with violet robe and pinions descends and touches Dante’s brow with his right wing. The poets ascend without difficulty and Virgil watches Dante feel his brow, from which one of the P’s has been deleted.

81. Canto 13. Envy’s Purge. Terrace 2. Virgil shows Dante a crowd of once envious spirits leaning against each other for support as they sit in sackcloth with blinded eyes wired shut. The artist does not render the “livido color della petraia” but shows the unseen spirits which flew towards the poets singing of generosity. The first, not the second one as in the text, is Orestes, paragon of fraternal love.

82. Canto 13 cont. One of a group of huddling spirits in sackcloth with wired eyes, Sapia, raises her chin to address the poets. Through envy she had rejoiced at the defeat of her fellow Sienese.

83. Canto 14. Apart from the sackclothed throng the poets converse with Guido del Duca of Bertinoro
and Rirneri da Calboli of Forti who hold up their faces.

84. Canto 14 cont. Another scene of the poets in converse with Guido and Rinieri.

85. Canto 15. Virgil tells Dante that the light from which he cannot shield his dazzled eye is the angel of Brotherly Love (with mauve robes and wings). He bids them enter an ascent less steep. As the poets mount Virgil explains that one man can only have more material goods at another's expense, unlike peace, knowledge and love, so material desires breed envy.

86. Canto 15 cont. Virgil and Dante in discourse. They journey on upwards as evening comes.

87. Canto 16. Anger's Purge. Circle 3. Virgil supports Dante on the edge of a bitter fog, though Dante's eyes are not shown closed as in the text. Voices hymn the Lamb of God and from among the wrathful Marco Lombardo explains that human degeneracy is not the fault of the stars for free will exists but there is no good leader and the clergy are worldly.

88. Canto 16 cont. The same conversation; but Dante has stepped away from Virgil and Marco has stood up.

89. Canto 17. By evening the fog has cleared and Dante stands with eyes closed in a trance about wrathful characters in classical mythology and the Bible. Virgil walks on open eyed.

90. Canto 17 cont. The (violet) Angel of Meekness wakes Dante touching him with her wing. Virgil says they should accept the angel's invitation to ascend. "Blessed are the peacemakers" the angel sings as the poets mount the slope.

91. Canto 17 and 18. Sloth's Purge. Circle 4. While the poets' feet linger and no sound is heard Virgil discusses the nature of Love, its perversion (in
pride, envy and anger), defect (in sloth) and excess (in avarice, gluttony and lust).

92. Canto 18 cont. Dante is roused from drowsiness by a racing crowd of the formerly slothful. Virgil asks the way. One of two in advance, the Abbot of San Zeno at Verona bids them follow and to excuse any apparent rudeness in his penance.

93. Canto 19. Before dawn Dante sits dreaming of the Siren, with two fish-tails and maimed hands. A lady in violet with a blue mantle rends her red garment and shows her stinking belly. Virgil says he has called Dante thrice.

94. Canto 19. Circle 5. The Angel of zeal (violet) fans the poet with his wings singing the fourth Beatitude, “Blessed are they that mourn.”

95. Canto 20. Avarice’s Purge. The poets see prostrate spirits weeping. Of these Pope Adrian V tells Dante not to kneel where spirits have no official rank. He was avaricious until he won empty greatness. They moan “My soul cleaveth unto dust.”

96. Canto 20 cont. Among the prostrate spirits Hugh Capet raises his head to tell Dante that he was the root of an evil tree which darkens Christendom, the French royal house. Virgil bids Dante “Fear not,” as the mountain shakes and a triumphant shout is raised.

97. Canto 21. Naked spirits kneel on the left. Statius follows the poets and appears to them, as Christ appeared to the two wayfarers (on the road to Emmaus).

98. Canto 21 cont. Statius between the poets. Virgil explains Dante’s state.

99. Canto 21 cont. Statius drops at Virgil’s feet when he learns it is his master, forgetting both are shades. The Angel of Liberality (violet) has struck another “P” from Dante. Statius explains that prodigality, not avarice with which it is punished.
was his sin and he would have gone to Hell but for Virgil’s Fourth Eclogue.

100. Canto 22. Virgil tells Statius that other classical poets and heroes are in Limbo.

101. Canto 23. Circle 6. Gluttony’s Purge. Dante follows the other two poets. The face is shown in a fruit tree from which a voice recites classical and biblical examples of Temperance.

102. Canto 23 cont. Emaciated souls, once gluttonous, overtake the poets and look back at them. One, Dante’s old friend Forese Donati, says they rejoice at crucifying the old Adam in themselves.

103. Canto 23 cont. Forese shows the three poets one of the fruit-trees which tempt the emaciated gluttons with purging pain.

104. Canto 24. Bonagiunta da Lucca, the poet. sits. The three poets proceed after Dante has told the secret of his poetry. Having named the unrecognisable emaciated who hurry like a squadron of migrating birds, Forese lingers to hear Dante lamenting Florence, and then hurries.

105. Canto 24 cont. Another fruit-tree surrounded by folk with upraised hands like spoilt children. One speaks from the tree bidding them proceed, for Eve’s tree is higher up and this one sprang therefore, and reciting classical and biblical examples of gluttony. Dante starts and raises his head as the red Angel of Temperance addresses him and the other two poets behind. Hunger after righteousness is blessed.


(The illustrations for cantos 26-30 are missing, with Guido Guinicelli, herald of the new style in Tuscan poetry, and the troubadour Arnaut Daniel, his better, purged of lust in circle 7. The Angel of chastity says “Blessed are the Pure in Heart”.)
poets enter the burning and Dante dreams of Leah and Rachel. Dante enters Eden and sees its genius. Matilda, picking flowers beyond a stream. A pageant approaches with a griffin-car, the Gospel beasts and four and twenty elders. Beatrice appears in red, green mantle and white veil, the colours of the theological virtues, as she is shown throughout. For living flame is the colour of Faith. Hope is green and Charity is white. cf. Purg. iii, 135 “as long as Hope keeps any Green” — “mentre chi la speranza la fior del verdi.”

107. Canto 31. Matilda plunges Dante into Lethe and leads him to four dancing Virtues who cover him with their arms. Their sisters, Faith, Hope and Charity (in proper colours) strengthen him to gaze at Beatrice’s eyes as she stands by (the chariot of the Church, with two wheels of the active and contemplative life (red) and a griffin (gold and red mixed with white) representing the heavenly and earthly natures of Christ. The moral virtues are clad in robes with red and blue spots, though in canto 29 they are in porpora vestite.

108. Canto 32. The procession proceeds. Dante and Statius follow behind the right wheel with Matilda. In front are the seven golden candlesticks, the elders are in white. Around the car are the four signs of the Evangelists, six-winged, agreeing with St. John and not Ezekiel.

109. Canto 32 cont. The car (the Church) reaches the despoiled Tree of Knowledge (the Empire) violet “men che di rose e piu che di viole.” The chariot-pole is bound to the tree. Matilda tells Dante that Beatrice (obliterated) is at the root of the tree guarding the car, while the seven virtues hold lights. He sees an eagle swoop through the tree to smite the car. Then a hungry fox leapt upon the car and the eagle swooped again. Thus persecution and heresy threaten the church while God looks down from the blue Heaven.
110. Canto 32 cont. Dante sees seven horned heads spring from the car and on it a giant beats a harlot. Her robe is yellow with violet diagonal bands while his has blue wavy ones. The giant looses it and drags it off. The harlot is the simony of the church and the giant is Philip the Fair — thus the papacy is taken to Avignon, and the church which became a monster becomes a prey.

111. Canto 33. Matilda and Statius follow while Beatrice calls Dante to her and the virtues lament that "the heathen are come into thine inheritance thy holy temple have they defiled." At noon the virtues sit in the shadow of two green trees where Euphrates and Tigris rise from one source.

112. Canto 33 cent. Beatrice tells Matilda to lead Dante to Eunoe to revive all memory of good. Statius follows Dante through the stream to Matilda and Beatrice points upward for Dante is pure and ready to mount to the stars. The first page of the Paradiso is shown opposite the last page of the Purgatorio. It shows the ascent of Dante and Beatrice.

PARADISO

MS. Page 113. Canto 1. With eyes fixed on the sun Dante ascends after Beatrice. Stars shine in the blue sky as elsewhere in the Paradiso but unlike the other pages there is here no blue sky beneath the picture. (On the left-hand side of the frame is seen the last page of the Purgatorio, canto 33 on which Beatrice tells Matilda to lead Dante through the stream to Matilda, and Beatrice points upward for Dante is pure and ready to mount to the stars).

114. Canto 1 cont. Beatrice tells Dante the law of spiritual gravity whereby souls tend upwards toward God.

115. Canto 2. Beatrice explains to Dante the dark patches on the Moon, the first and lowest heaven. In the starry sky is a yellow crab, for Cancer is the
domicile or house of the moon in early astrology, the radiant sign which intensifies the influence of the inconstant moon. Though very conscious of the influence of the planets Dante never mentions the domiciles or houses which the artist represents.

116. Canto 2 cont. Beatrice propounds an experiment letting light strike on three mirrors, two equidistant and the other further away from Dante.

117. Canto 3. Beatrice invites Dante to speak with Piccarda (Forese's sister) and Constance, heiress of the two Sicilies (both in pale brown robes) on her right. Other spirits in the inconstant moon are clad in red, green and blue while a nun is in black over white.

118. Canto 3 cont. Beatrice watches Piccarda, in advance of the other spirits, talk with Dante of the contentment of souls in heaven with their places and of how she was torn from the cloister.

119. Canto 4. Beatrice resolves two of Dante's problems about the spiritual state of those symbolically considered as in the inconstant moon for consenting to break faith to vows, though unwillingly. All are with God in the Empyrean.

120. Canto 4 cont. The discussion continues but with Dante on the right.

121. Canto 5. Beatrice tells Dante about Free Will and vows whereby it sacrifices itself.

122. Canto 5 cont. The Twins (naked) and the Virgin (winged with green robe, holding three heads of corn), the "domiciles" of Mercury. The star, normally lost in the rays of the sun (to which it keeps closest) is grown bright for Dante and Beatrice. The second heaven. Mercury himself sits enthroned with beasts' heads on the arms of his chair in a red robe lined with blue and a white mitre. His undergarment is pale mauve.

123. Canto 5 cont. Here is a crowd of souls who once hoped to be exalted, including honest Romeo. poor
but jealous of his repute. Apart stands Justinian, shining for joy. They wear blue, red, mauve and green with hose contrasting with their gowns and Romeo has a mauve hood. Justinian’s red robe is lined with vair as is his mauve undergarment.

124. Canto 6. Justinian glows as he recapitulates Roman history, from Aeneas. The Empire brought peace. Around stand the lovers of glory with clasped hands. Romeo and another have red hoods. Dante stands, marvelling.

125. Canto 7. The spirits having vanished triumphantly Beatrice explains to Dante the Incarnation. God created heavenly powers who made matter and drew thence living things.


127. Canto 8. cont. A crowd of the amorous sing “Hosannah” (for Venus is the star of love which incites to love, Purgatorio, 1, 19). Leaving their circle comes Charles Martel in the crown of Hungary with red hood and blue gown lined with vair. Three of the others have blue and green sleeves under red and mauve pointed outer-sleeves.

128. Canto 8 cont. Beatrice watches Charles, in front of the troop, tell Dante that his brother did not inherit generosity from his sire. Heavenly influences give diverse talents so incompetence comes from the hereditary principle.

129. Canto 9. From the throng (in which stand two ladies with white coverchiefs and a third with long yellow hair) the promiscuous but charitable Cunizza comes to tell Dante and Beatrice that past sin troubles not. She is here because the light of Venus overcame her.
130. **Canto 9 cont.** Beatrice and Dante listen to Folco of Marseilles, an episcopal troubadour who exterminated heretics but whose youth was dissolute. In front of the throng he points out Rahab in a mauve robe holding a cord. Unlike Boniface VIII, she helped win the Holy Land. Prelates find the study of ecclesiastical law more profitable, but the Papacy will be delivered from such prostitution. Folco wears red, lined with green over blue. (Missing pages illustrated cantos 10-15. Twelve spirits circle round Dante and Beatrice with music. One is Thomas Aquinas, in the fourth heaven, the sun, the sphere of prudence. He discusses St. Francis. A second circle surrounds the first, and Bonaventura praises St. Dominic's zeal for learning and against heresy. Solomon says the souls will be more complete after the resurrection of the bodies. A white cross gleams across red Mars with souls of Christian warriors hymning thereon, in the fifth heaven, fortitude. Down shoots the soul of Dante's crusading ancestor, Cacciaguida. He is the only Florentine, save Piccarda de' Donati, in Paradise compared with thirty-two in Hell.)

131. **Canto 16.** Beatrice stands back while Dante respectfully asks Cacciaguida (cut out) about Florentine antiquities in front of a martial band (whose inner sleeves, linings and hose generally contrast with their robes).

132. **Canto 16 cont.** The same, with figures in reversed positions exactly, so that Cacciaguida is again missing as he tells of the growth and discords of Florence. Beatrice's finger is raised in admonition, perhaps against excessive interest in family and local history.

133. **Canto 17.** Encouraged by Beatrice, Dante learns from Cacciaguida the details of his exile and welcome by Can Grande Della Scala. His robe is red lined with yellow, over violet. The crown of his hat is red.
134. Canto 17 cont. The same. Caccia-guida bids Dante incur worldly offence by veracity.

135. Canto 18. Beatrice arouses Dante to turn to see crusaders flashing along the Cross — Joshua, Charlemagne, William Count of Orange (died 812) and Robert Guiscard (died 1058).

136. Canto 18 cont. The sixth heaven. Justice. White light replaces red. Sagittarius and Pisces, white light with green water, the domiciles of Jupiter. Jupiter, with red liripipe, wears blue over red with mauve inner sleeve. Faces of souls form shining letters, eventually to spell “Love righteousness” (Wisdom i. i.)

(Canto 18 line 115 to Canto 19 line 120 is missing, wherein the letter M turns into a spread eagle, symbol of imperial Rome. The good kings which form it acquit virtuous infidels with a single voice, that of justice, the highest manifestation of the active life.)

137. Canto 20. The eagle turned sideways. Ripheus, as the justest of the Trojans, and Trajan are among the six who form the pupil and eyebrow of the eagle as the greatest of the kings. These alone are crowned. Red, purple and gold, with some green, predominate.

138. Canto 20 cont. The six are named, David, Trajan, Hezekiah, Constantine, William of Sicily and Ripheus. Dante learns how two “heathen” are present. Beatrice shows Dante the next scene.

139. Canto 21. The seventh heaven. Contemplation. Capricorn and Aquarius (green), the domiciles of Saturn (in purple). Thence ascends Jacob’s golden ladder round one step of which thunders a company of contemplatives in red, green and purple. Saturn’s rule was golden and Saturn was the highest known planet most remote from earthly noise. Saturn is now in the constellation Leo (line 14), i.e., the date is March-April 1300. At the foot
of the steps Peter Damiani tells Dante to tell the world to shun problems insoluble even in heaven.

140. Canto 21. At the foot of the ladder Peter Damiani (the scourge of monastic immorality) alludes to his red cardinal's hat and denounces fat modern pompous prelates. The accompanying text on the following page is torn out.

(Canto 21 line 107 to Canto 22 line 108 are missing with the appearance of St. Benedict after a loud cry for divine vengeance on the hierarchy has frightened Dante.)

141. Canto 22 cont. Dante and Beatrice in the sign of the Twins, Dante's natal sign. Here Beatrice has raised Dante by her glance and he sees the seven spheres curving round and below. Then he turns to her eyes.

142. Canto 23. Christ with his triumphant host beneath him on either side with golden haloes and the Virgin (in blue over purple) and Gabriel (red robe with mauve wings).

143. Canto 24. Beatrice prays to the saints for Dante and St. Peter (with key) approaches from a bright throng to question him on his faith. Behind stand St. James, St. John (beardless), St. Paul (with sword) and other apostles named in the picture though not in the text.

144. Canto 24. cont. Dante and Beatrice with St. Peter. SS. James and John behind. They examine Dante on faith, hope and charity.

(Canto 24 line 94 to Canto 32 line 69 are missing. Adam expounds chronology, the language of Eden, etc. St. Peter glows red denouncing Pope Boniface VIII and heaven glows too when he denounces Popes Clement V and John XXII, his successors. He says that Providence will bring aid and Dante is not to hide on earth what he hears. Dante sees intense light within nine concentric circles and angels. Beatrice is glorified in the Tenth heaven, The Empyrean. Among the saints Dante sees a
throne waiting for the Emperor Henry who could not save Italy because of Clement’s hypocrisy. Beatrice departs and St. Bernard, the contemplative, shows Dante the divine rose, with the blessed ranged like petals and the Virgin in the midst.)

145. Canto 32. The divine Rose. One side of the Virgin are Peter, John the Evangelist, the Baptist, Anne, Francis, Dominic, Augustine, and others who lived after the Incarnation. On the other are Adam, Moses (with horns) and those who looked forward to Christ.

146. Canto 33. Dante and St. Bernard kneel before the Virgin who sits on a red and green throne in red, white and blue in a mandorla the centre of four converging streams of praying angels in violet, red and green against a blue starry sky. She bears a palm of gold. In this and the opposite page the sky occupies the whole frame not just the top and the bottom.

147. Canto 33 cont. St. Bernard signs to Dante who already kneels looking at the Trinity (in blue and red amid shining blue and gold concentric circles). Around are angels in mauve, red, green and pink. The Trinity has three bearded faces merging into one. Dante is without his customary liripipe in this supreme scene.

148. An uncoloured drawing probably showing Dante presenting his book to Can Grande della Scala. Courtiers stand behind. After the poem was written Dante wrote about 1318-19 An epistle to Can Grande which explains the various methods of interpretation required.
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