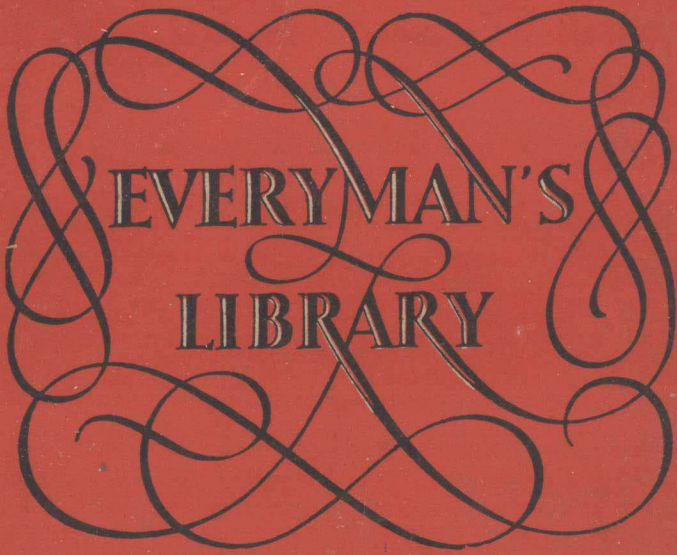
DANTE

THE DIVINE COMEDY

HENRY CARY'S TRANSLATION

INTRODUCTION BY EDMUND GARDNER



No. 308

DANT

THE DIVINE COMEDY

FOREWORD BY
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EDITED WITH AN
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FOREWORD

THE study of an author's reputation, especially outside his own country, inevitably points to one conclusion: that he is popular in so far as he can be interpreted in terms of a current vogue or prevailing tendency of the age. Chaucer, the scholarly bourgeois poet of fourteenth-century England, considered Dante as a learned man, a sage, the author of a line which kept humming in Chaucer's ear, but with a characteristic variation—'pity' instead of 'love': 'For pitee renneth sone in gentil herte.' For Chaucer, Dante was the poet who before all others had touched the supreme chords of human pity and sympathy in the Ugolino episode. While public taste favoured the terrible and picturesque, Englishmen saw Dante in a new light: the same Ugolino episode was viewed from another angle and delicious horror prevailed over melting pity. He is a bad reader who seeks in a new book what he already possesses in himself; but the public in general, and dictators of fashion in particular, are no better than bad readers. Why, otherwise, should each new generation almost invariably require new translations to supersede acknowledged masterpieces? Why was Cary so much praised in his day, and why does his translation of the *Commedia* remind us to-day rather of the cold neo-classicism of Flaxman than of the genuine Dante? Can we really blame the reviewer of the *Critical Review* (June 1814) who gave the three diminutive, ill-printed volumes of Cary's translation a first ungracious reception? 'The subject is sublime—not so the prevailing language of his translator,' wrote that critic. Then this English version had a piece of good luck which is not infrequent in the history of translations:[1] it fell into the hands of someone whose opinion was able to create a vogue. After Coleridge, lecturing on Dante to the London Philosophical Society on 27th February

[1] A famous instance is Rossetti's 'discovery' of Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát*.

translator, not unworthy to be ranked with Chapman, Florio, Urquhart, who belonged to a very different school. Of how many other translations of Dante published since will posterity be able to say the same after more than a century?

1954. MARIO PRAZ.

INTRODUCTION

MEDIÆVAL literature may be said to begin with the *Vulgate* of St. Jerome (405) and the *City of God* of St. Augustine (426). It ends with the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas (1265–1274) and the *Divina Commedia* of Dante Alighieri (1300–1321).

All the noblest thought and work of the ages that passed between the fall of the Roman Empire and the closing year of the thirteenth century, when Dante figures himself in allegorical fashion as having passed in ecstatic vision through the world beyond the grave, finds supreme artistic expression in his great poem. The intellectual subtleties of the schoolmen, the spiritual soarings of the mystics, the chivalrous worship of women that had been the gift of the troubadours of Provence to the sons of men, the philosophical devotion that the new poets of central Italy had reared upon it, the political dreams and theories of papal and imperial statesmen, builders of vast aerial fabrics of universal Roman Church and universal Roman Empire, have all shared in the making of it. Dante gives them fresh life; handling them with poetic passion, he endues them with unity of a new kind; these things, fused in his glowing imagination, become the harmonious accessories to his picture of man, his nature, his duties, his life, his destiny.

Dante was born at Florence in 1265, probably in the latter part of May, some eight months before the victory of Charles of Anjou over King Manfred at Benevento extinguished the power of the Empire in Italy and placed a French dynasty on the throne of Naples. His father, Alighiero di Bellincione Alighieri, came of an ancient but decadent and impoverished family, too unimportant to be officially ranked among the *grandi*, or magnates, who were excluded from the administration by the democratic rulers of the Republic. His mother, Monna Bella, died soon after his birth. In 1283, at the age of eighteen, he wrote the first of his poems that has been preserved to us: a sonnet in which he demands an explanation of a dream from "all the faithful of Love"; and, in consequence, found himself

recognised as a poet by the chief Italian poet then living, Guido di Cavalcante Cavalcanti, who became the first of all his friends. Study and manly exercise filled up the next few years of Dante's life. He served in the Florentine cavalry, "fighting valiantly on horseback in the front rank," at the battle of Campaldino on June 11, 1289, when the Aretines and other Tuscan Ghibellines were defeated by the forces of the Guelf league, of which Florence was the head. In June, 1290, Beatrice, the woman of the poet's romantic love and poetical homage, died; and, within the next few years, probably between 1292 and 1294, Dante gathered together the lyrics that he had written in her honour and connected them with a prose narrative, thus composing the *Vita Nuova*, the book of his "New Life," which he dedicated to Guido Cavalcanti, "my friend to whom I am writing this."

The *Vita Nuova*, in its exquisite mingling of poetry and prose, shows us how, at the very outset, Dante learned to make of the love of woman a pathway from earth to Heaven. It sets forth a creed of love, as ideal as human nature can well sustain. The lover finds all his beatitude in the words that praise his lady, the splendour of whose soul has reached even to the throne of God. All evil thoughts perish when she passes by; she ennobles all upon whom she looks; she is the mirror of the Divine Beauty, "a thing come from Heaven to earth to make manifest a miracle." "He seeth perfectly all salvation who seeth my lady." When she passes out of the world: "the delight of her beauty, departing itself from our view, became great spiritual loveliness, that spreads through Heaven a light of love that salutes the Angels, and makes even their high and noble intellects wonder." The pilgrim spirit, passing in ecstatic contemplation through the spheres, guided up by the new intelligence that love has infused, is overwhelmed by the sight of her glory in Paradise, where she "gloriously gazeth upon the countenance of Him who is blessed for ever and ever."

In the years that immediately followed the death of Beatrice, Dante fell into what he afterwards came to regard as a morally unworthy life. He became involved, too, in the politics of his native city, was called to play a prominent part therein, in the turbulent time that passed from 1295 to 1301; and bore himself manfully, but (as a fragment preserved from one of his lost letters admits) with some lack of prudence. In 1300, the year of the jubilee of Pope

Boniface VIII., the year when the predominant Guelf party in Florence split into the two factions of Bianchi and Neri, "Whites" and "Blacks," he sat for two months among the chief magistrates of the Republic, in which capacity he was compelled to send his dearest friend, Guido Cavalcanti, into the banishment which proved his death-warrant. When, in November, 1301, through the machinations of Pope Boniface and the treachery of Charles of Valois, the Neri triumphed, Dante was one of their first victims. After a preliminary condemnation, dated January 27, 1302, he was sentenced (together with fifteen other Florentine citizens) to be burned to death, if he should at any time come into the power of the Commune of Florence.

Already Dante seemed to himself to have found the key to the whole political riddle of the universe in the meaning of Roman history. He had become convinced that the Roman Empire of old was divinely ordained for the civilisation of the world and the promulgation of law, and that the Empire of his own day (for he does not distinguish between the two) was a divine institution no less than the Church, with authority proceeding directly from God for the establishment of universal peace and the renovation of mankind. In a famous passage at the beginning of the second book of the *De Monarchia*, he tells us how the realisation that the Roman People obtained the monarchy of the world by right came to him as a complete revelation, throwing light over the whole dark forest of mediæval politics, showing him the part he had to play, the doctrine he was to teach. And (he may well have asked himself, later on), although the imperial eagle was now held in the hand of a German prince, might not the Empire again become Italian, Roman once more in deed as it still was in name?

With the "vision splendid" of that old ideal love, albeit dimmed in one who had become a votary of the world and the flesh, and with this newly apprehended, world-embracing political faith, Dante went forth to exile, with the Republic's sentence of death upon his head. For a brief while, he made common cause with his fellow-exiles, even with the enemies of his native land, striving to win his way back to Florence by force of arms. Then, probably in 1303, disgusted with his associates, he turns from them with contempt, to make a party for himself. He begins, but leaves unfinished, two prose works: the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (*circa* 1304), "On Vernacular Eloquence," in which he

expounds the metrical form of the Italian lyric, and attempts to establish an ideal Italian language for the expression of the national idea; the *Convivio* (1306–1308), or "Banquet," in which he sets himself to bring the fruits of philosophical reasoning down to the reach of the unlearned, in the form of a commentary on his own wonderful *Canzoni*, a series of philosophical, didactic, and amatory odes.

Then he is dragged back into the turmoil of politics. For it seems that the Imperial Redeemer is at hand, now that the new Emperor, Henry of Luxemburg, has crossed the Alps (1310), and is coming to the Eternal City that sat widowed and alone, crying day and night for her spouse. We may read in the poet's letters how his spirit exulted in Henry, as in the heavenly directed regenerator of Christendom, the new Lamb of God who was to take away the sins of the world. And at the beginning of the *De Monarchia*, the treatise on the great question of Church and State, Papacy and Empire, which Dante probably wrote at this time in anticipation of Henry's coming, we find that all his previous work now appeared to him as nothing, that he seemed to himself still open to the charge of the buried talent —with the mission still unachieved of "keeping vigil for the good of the world." But, in less than three years from his coming to Italy, the Emperor had died in disgrace and failure (1313), and Dante was still a homeless wanderer, under proscription and ban, with a new condemnation pronounced against him by the magistrates of the Republic.

The alternations of impassioned hope, bitter disillusion, temporary despair, during the Emperor's unfortunate enterprise, had wrought a complete revulsion of the poet's being. Spiritual experiences, too, had been his—of the kind known only to man himself and to the higher powers to whom he holds himself responsible. It is as one who has lost the world, and gained his own soul, that Dante now turned to the completion of his *Divina Commedia*, to combine the charge he believed laid upon him, of "keeping vigil for the good of the world," with the promise he had made at the end of the *Vita Nuova*, to say of Beatrice "what had never been said of any woman."

Gradually, during those long, weary years of exile, wandering in poverty from city to city throughout Italy, and perchance beyond its confines, showing against his will the wounds that fortune had dealt him, the poet's own life-story had become merged into that of all humanity. As from a

celestial watch-tower of contemplation, he had seen the world a prey to anarchy and tyranny, abandoned to lust, pride, and avarice. He had watched the oppressors of the poor at their work; had seen the evil deeds of the kings, the priests abandoning the teaching of the Gospel to acquire wealth and temporal power, the moral corruption of high and low spreading like a black torrent over the land. And, in his cell of self-knowledge, he had traced a like process in his own heart; he had seen the fair promise of his "new life" fade away, and had found himself sunk in what he deemed a life of sin. His own conversion becomes but a symbol of that to which he would incite man in general. His return, in an agony of repentance, to the memory of Beatrice, the love of his youth, now become the type of Divine Philosophy, is symbolical of the renovation which he believes in store for the whole human race, if it will but hearken to his message.

The *Divina Commedia* was finished at Ravenna, shortly before Dante's death, which took place on September 14, 1321. The concluding cantos of the *Purgatorio* and the whole of the *Paradiso*, in particular, bear the imprint of those last years of Dante's life, when, secure in the friendship of Can Grande della Scala, the warrior lord of Verona, and under the protection of Guido Novello da Polenta, the pacific ruler of Ravenna, with friends and disciples gathering round him, the poet found a not uncongenial refuge in that ancient Romagnole city, amidst the monuments of Cæsars and the records in mosaic of primitive Christianity, where the church walls testified the glory of Justinian, and the music of the Pine Forest sounded in his ears.

The vision of the world beyond the grave was no new thing in mediæval literature; but it had never before been made the basis of a work of universal appeal and universal significance. Dante's true precursors are not the obscure dreamers of dreams: Tundal, Alberic of Monte Cassino, the Monk of Eynsham, and the like; who described imaginary journeys through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. His inspiration on this side was purely Virgilian, and derived from the sixth book of the *Æneid*. Rather is he the poetic heir of Augustine's confession and spiritual reading of history; of Boëthius' philosophical passion and attempted reconciliation of man's freedom with God's foreknowledge; of Bernard's reforming zeal and contemplative fervour; of Richard of St. Victor in his mystical mounting upward of

the human soul to union with the Divine; of Thomas Aquinas, in his adopting the wisdom of Aristotle to give organic form to the truths of revelation. Only, as a poet, Dante transcends all these things; while, at the same time, he brings them down from the possession of the few, to be the common heritage of all who listen to his song.

The *Divina Commedia* is thus far more than a mere vision of the spirit world, however perfectly realised. In it Dante has condensed all the wisdom and devotion of his age, and summed up all the finest spirit of the ages that have gone before his own. He is the soul of mediæval Catholicism, painting his picture of the material universe in the form of an allegorical vision of the supernatural world. He is a man with a mission; fiercely, terribly in earnest, to reform the corruption of the Church, to give new life to the State, to heal the wounds of his country. The object of his poem is professedly to remove men from their state of misery, and to lead them to the state of felicity. "Not by the grace of riches, but by the grace of God," he writes to the Italian Cardinals, "I am what I am, and the zeal of His House hath eaten me up." A famous passage, at the opening of the third book of his *De Monarchia*, strikes the key-note of all his work. Taking confidence from the words of Daniel: "He shut the mouths of the lions, and they have not hurt me; for justice was found in me in His sight"; he declares that, since Truth appeals to him from her immutable throne, and the Philosopher bids him sacrifice friendship for her sake: "Putting on the breast-plate of faith, according to the admonition of Paul, in the heat of that coal which one of the Seraphims took from the celestial altar and laid upon the lips of Isaiah, I will enter upon the present contest, and by the arm of Him who delivered us from the powers of darkness in His blood, I will cast the wicked and the liar out of the lists in the sight of all the world."

For his poetical purpose, Dante goes back to the year of the papal jubilee, 1300, the year in which he had sat for two months in the chief magistracy of the Florentine Republic. He is in the position of a man who is now, at the end of his life, relating to the world a vision which was vouchsafed to him, nearly twenty years before, for seven days, beginning at sunrise on Good Friday, which, in 1300, fell upon April 8. Hence, everything that happened to him, or to his fellow-men, after April, 1300, is spoken of as future, by way of prophecy, beginning with the account, in the sixth canto

of the *Inferno*, of the faction fight between the Bianchi and Neri in Florence on the May Day of that year.

Coming to himself in the dark forest of political anarchy and alienation from God, the forest into which he has, as it were in slumber, strayed, Dante, representative of the human race, is guided by Virgil (who stands for Human Philosophy and natural reason), through Hell and Purgatory, to the state of temporal felicity figured in the Earthly Paradise. There, in the state of innocence regained by the purgatorial pains, a further revelation is given him of the past, present, and future of the Church and the Empire; thence he is guided by Beatrice herself, the type of the Divine Philosophy that includes the sacred science of Theology (of which the ultimate end is the contemplation of primal truth in man's celestial native land), through the nine moving spheres, into the spaceless, timeless Empyrean Heaven of Heavens. There Beatrice resumes her throne in the white and gold Rose of Paradise, and Bernard, type of the loving contemplation in which the eternal life of the soul consists, commends the poet to the Blessed Virgin, through whose intercession he obtains a foretaste of the Beatific Vision of the Divine Essence.

But this is merely the framework, within which the society of thirteenth-century Italy is pictured. And, out of the Italy of his day, the poet grasps but the essentials of human nature—for man is avowedly the subject of the *Divina Commedia*. While, taken literally, the theme is the state of souls after death, the subject in the allegorical sense (Dante tells us in the letter dedicating the *Paradiso* to Can Grande) is "man as by good or ill deserts, in the exercise of the freedom of his will, he becomes liable to the justice that rewards or punishes."

Understood as Dante would have it, the *Inferno* is one of the most appalling things in literature. No doubt, the poet held some belief as to the torments of the damned in another life, more or less similar to what he has here depicted. But, at the same time, there is an allegorical significance throughout. Dante's Hell is the wickedness and corruption of the life that he saw around him, revealed in its proper aspect. "We still have judgment here!" That word of Shakespeare's is not without bearing upon Dante's conception of tragedy. In the *Inferno*, the poet may naturally seem more concerned with what he believes concerning the judgment hereafter; but, at the same time,

he undoubtedly means the torments of his Hell to be taken, in part, as symbolical of the effects of sin in this life, when there is no repentance. Witte has admirably expressed this: "Hell itself is neither more nor less than the protraction of unrepented sin; the symbolical interpretation of the sinful life." With one apparent exception, there is no personal vindictiveness in Dante's treatment of sinners. Nothing is further from the truth than the assertion that he condemned his own private enemies, or his political opponents, to eternal infamy. He is the man, to adopt his own phrase, to whom Truth appeals from her immutable throne. There are no friends or foes at the bar of that dread tribunal. The robes of earthly pomp and power, of hypocrisy and false semblance, are stripped off; the whited sepulchres are forced to yield up their secrets. The torments of Dante's Hell are but the sins themselves, revealed in their essence, recognised by their results; the poet shows how the souls of the condemned have made their choice in this life, and how they work out their own damnation. Dante, in his allegory, is investigating the full realities of vice; in the light of reason, and under the guidance of human philosophy, he is anatomising sinner after sinner, laying bare the secret motives of remembered and forgotten tragedies; he is striving to answer Lear's question: "Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts?"

Apart from its allegory, the machinery of Dante's Hell is more or less that of mediæval tradition. It is otherwise with his Purgatory. There are few things in literature so wonderful, and in the highest sense original, as his conception of the mountain of Purgation, where, beneath the sun and stars, in the glory of sunrise and of sunset, man purges away the dross of the world, until he recovers his primal blessedness, his moral and intellectual liberty, in the Earthly Paradise. Throughout, in its pure spirituality, its radiant charity, its ineffable tenderness, the *Purgatorio* makes a direct and universal appeal to the heart and conscience. And, from the outset, the note of love is struck; the poet sees "the fair planet, which gives us strength to love, making the whole east radiant." For love is the informing spirit, the compelling law of the rest of Dante's poem; Love, not merely in our modern sense, which is practically restricted to the idealisation of one special passion, but in the sense in which it means the force that impels every creature, inanimate or animate, sensitive or rational,

to obey the highest dictates of its true nature. *Ordina quest' amore, O tu che m'ami*, wrote the Franciscan, Jacopone da Todi, speaking in the person of Christ: "Set this love in order, O thou that lovest Me." The whole of the *Purgatorio* is based upon the necessity of thus setting love in order, of ordering love rightly.

Shelley has well told us that the *Paradiso* is the story of "how all things are transfigured except Love." Love is the guide, the rule, the interpretation of Dante's mysticism. He shows us in the *Purgatorio* how, in rational beings, love is the seed of every virtue and of every vice, because love's natural tendency to good is the material upon which free will works for bliss or for bane. In the *Paradiso*, he conceives of the whole motion of the universe as one cosmic dance of love, beginning in the Seraphim, that highest Angelic order which knows most and therefore loves most, and continued through all nature. And, at the consummation of his vision, the poet beholds, by penetrative intuition into the Divine Light, how it is that Love thus binds the universe into one, to make it resemble the Supreme Unity:—

> "Nel suo profondo vidi che s'interna,
> legato con amore in un volume,
> ciò che per l'universo si squaderna":

"Within its depths I saw gathered up the scattered leaves of all the universe, bound by love into one volume."

In the relations between Dante and Beatrice, we have the secret of the poet's mysticism; for, as Father Tyrrell has beautifully said, "If love be mysticism, then we have the key to all mysticism within ourselves." Love, set in order by the purifying ascent of Purgatory, grows more and more perfected in Paradise, from sphere to sphere, until the crowning vision in the Empyrean Heaven of Heavens; where, with all desires set at rest, all wills made one with the Divine Will, the soul is absorbed in the Beatific Vision; all its powers of spiritual vision actualised, all its capacity of knowing and of loving realised to the full, in the possession of absolute Truth and absolute Beauty in union with the Divine Essence.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

EDITOR'S NOTE

HENRY FRANCIS CARY was born in 1772 and died in 1844. His translation of the *Inferno* was first issued in 1805 and 1806, together with the Italian text. In 1814, he published the complete *Divina Commedia* in English alone, at his own expense. In the present edition, a very few slight corrections in the text of the translation are indicated in italics. Cary's scholarly and learned notes being partly out of date, partly not suited to the purposes of a purely popular issue, it has been thought advisable to substitute an almost entirely new commentary, for which (together with the Chronological Table) the Editor is responsible.[1] He wishes to acknowledge a very special debt to the editors of the complete works of Dante in the *Temple Classics*, to Dr Paget Toynbee's invaluable *Dante Dictionary*, and to the first volume of Dr Moore's *Studies in Dante*.

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See also P. H. Wicksteed: *Dante and Aquinas*, 1913; P. Toynbee: *Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, 1914; C. Williams: *The Figure of Beatrice*, 1943; E. Gilson: *Dante the Philosopher* (trans. D. Moore), 1948; V. Cosmo: *Handbook to Dante Studies* (trans. D. Moore), 1950.

[1] The references are to the *Temple Classics* and to the *Oxford Dante*. *Inf.* = *Inferno*, *Purg.* = *Purgatorio*, *Par.* = *Paradiso*, *V. N.* = *Vita Nuova*, *V. E.* = *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, *Mon.* = *De Monarchia*, *Conv.* = *Convivio*, *Epist.* = *Letters*. The *Temple Classics* translations of the Minor Works are usually quoted. In the case of the *Divina Commedia* itself, it has seemed better to avoid confusion by giving references to the cantos alone, as Cary's version does not always correspond, line for line, with the original text.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE CHIEF EVENTS IN DANTE'S LIFE

[1215. *In consequence of the murder of* Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti, the Florentines become involved in the factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines. *Inf.* xxviii.; *Par.* xvi.

1249. With the aid of Frederick II., the Ghibellines expel the Guelfs from Florence. *Inf.* x.

1250. Death of the Emperor Frederick II. *Inf.* x.; *Conv.* iv. 3.

1251. The Guelfs return to Florence, and, shortly after, drive out the Ghibellines, changing the white lily on the standard of the Republic to red. *Par.* xvi.

1258. Further expulsion of Ghibelline nobles.

1260, September 4. The Florentine Guelfs are utterly defeated at the battle of Montaperti, by the Sienese and exiled Florentine Ghibellines, aided by the German troops of King Manfred. *Inf.* x. and xxxii. The Guelfs leave Florence, and a Ghibelline despotism is established.

1265. At the invitation of Clement IV., Charles of Anjou comes to Italy as the champion of the Church against the Ghibellines. *Purg.* vii. and xx.]

1265. Dante is born at Florence, between May 18 and June 17. *Par.* xxii.

1266 (February 26). Manfred is defeated and slain by Charles of Anjou at the battle of Benevento. *Purg.* iii. The Ghibellines are expelled from Florence, and the democratic Guelf predominance finally assured. *Inf.* x.

1268 (August). Conradin is defeated by Charles of Anjou at the battle of Tagliacozzo. *Inf.* xxviii. He is beheaded at Naples (October). *Purg.* xx.

1269 (June). Defeat of the Sienese Ghibellines under Provenzano Salvani at the battle of Colle in Valdelsa. *Purg.* xi. and xiii. Siena, hitherto the chief Ghibelline power in Tuscany, ultimately becomes Guelf.

1274 (May). Dante first meets Beatrice. *V. N.* § 2.

1278. Attempted reconciliation of Guelfs and Ghibellines in Florence.

1282. The "Sicilian Vespers." *Par.* viii.

1283. Dante writes his first extant sonnet. *V. N.* § 3.

1288. Overthrow of Count Ugolino at Pisa. *Inf.* xxxiii.

1289 (June 11). The battle of Campaldino. *Purg.* v.

1290 (June). Death of Beatrice. *V. N.* § 29; *Purg.* xxx.–xxxii. Between 1292 and 1294, Dante writes the *Vita Nuova*. Probably about 1296, he marries Gemma Donati.

1293. The democratic character of the Florentine government is

secured by the Ordinances of Justice, whereby nobles and magnates are more strictly excluded from office, and subjected to severe penalties for offences against the people.

1294. Abdication of Pope Celestine V. and election of Boniface VIII. *Inf.* iii., xix., xxvii.

1295. Dante enters public life. On July 6, he speaks in the General Council of the Commune, in support of modifications in the Ordinances of Justice.

1300. The Jubilee proclaimed (*Purg.* ii.). A papal conspiracy against the liberties of Florence discovered in April. The Guelfs having split into Bianchi and Neri, "Whites" and "Blacks," led by Vieri de' Cerchi and Corso Donati respectively, the factions come to blood on May 1 (*Inf.* vi.). On May 7, Dante goes on an embassy to San Gimignano. From June 15 to August 15, he sits by election in the chief magistracy of the Republic, as one of the Priors. Together with his colleagues, he resists the interference of the papal legate, Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta (*Par.* xii.), and banishes the leaders of both factions, including Guido Cavalcanti. Guido contracts a fatal malady at Sarzana, and, returning to Florence after Dante's term of office is concluded, dies at the end of August (*Inf.* x.)

1301. The Bianchi hold the government of Florence, and, in May, expel the Neri from Pistoia (*Inf.* xxiv.). On June 19, Dante, speaking in the Council of the Hundred, opposes the grant of money to the King of Naples and of soldiers to the Pope. On November 1, Charles of Valois, as papal peacemaker, enters Florence, and causes a state of anarchy, in which the Bianchi are overthrown and the Neri return in triumph (*Purg.* xx., xxiv.; *Par.* xvii.). Dante is said to have been absent at Rome on an embassy to the Pope—but this is questioned.

1302. Dante, with four others, sentenced to fine and banishment (January 27). Together with fifteen others, he is sentenced to be burned to death (March 10). Cf. *V. E.* i. 6, *Inf.* xv., *Par.* xvii., and *Canzone* xx. The whole faction of the Bianchi is expelled from Florence (April 4). Dante at first shares their fortunes; but, between June 8, 1302, and June 18, 1303, he breaks away from them in disgust, and takes refuge with Bartolommeo della Scala at Verona. *Par.* xvii.

1303 (October). Death of Boniface VIII. *Purg.* xx.

1304. Dante probably goes to Bologna, where he writes, but leaves unfinished, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Cf. *V. E.* i. 9, 15; ii. 12.

1305. By the election of Clement V., the Papacy is translated from Rome to Avignon. *Inf.* xix.; *Purg.* xxxii.

1306. Expulsion of the Florentine exiles from Bologna (March). Dante at Padua (August), and with the Malaspina in the Lunigiana (October). Cf. *Purg.* viii. Between 1306 and 1308, he writes, but leaves unfinished, the *Convivio*. About 1307 or 1308, he is said to have gone to Paris.

1308 (November). Henry of Luxemburg elected Emperor, as Henry VII.

1309. Dante probably writes the *De Monarchia*.

1310. Dante's Letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v.). Henry arrives in Italy in September.