Notes

Introduction

11. According to Graham Allen, David Duff argues that ‘attention to literary genre evaporates as we move from the work of Bakhtin to Kristeva’s and other poststructuralists’ work’. Cited in Allen, *Intertextuality*, p. 57.
1. **The eighteenth-century reception: Dante and visual culture**


5. Milbank finds evidence of this political interest in the *Florence Miscellany* (1785), an anthology meant to encourage the association between the two countries in the common cause for liberty earlier embraced by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Compare Alison Milbank, *Dante and the Victorians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 9.

6. According to James Sambrook, Colen Campbell’s Mereworth in Kent is the best example of the imitative Palladian villa. The model is Palladio’s Villa Rotonda, near Vicenza. Sambrook, *The Eighteenth-Century: the Intellectual...*
10. This was known through Thomas Hoby’s translation, The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio (London: imprinted by Henry Denham, 1561) or through Henry Peacham’s later adaptation entitled Compleat Gentleman (London: F. Constable, 1622).
11. Aglionby’s treatise has a similar inspiration to Richardson’s. As he states in the preface, his aim is to encourage history painting in England: ‘we never had, as yet, any [painter] of Note, that was an english Man, that pretended to History-Painting. I cannot attribute this to any thing but the little Incouragement it meets with this Nation’. See Choice Observations Upon the Art of Painting, Together with Vasari’s Lives of the Most Eminent Painters from Cimabue to the Time of Raphael and Michelangelo (London: King, 1719), ‘The Preface’ (unpaginated).
12. Richardson, Two Discourses, I, pp. 204, 208.
20. Tinkler-Villani, Visions of Dante, p. 64.
21. One of the most influential treatises was Roger De Piles's *L'Idée du peintre parfait pour servir de règle aux jugements que l'on doit porter sur les ouvrages des peintres*, first published in 1699. The English editions appeared in 1706 and 1744.


23. In 1735 Desmaizeaux published an edition of Bayle’s *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* in which he stated his intention of providing translations of ‘quotations from Eminent Writers in various languages’. See Toynbee, *Dante Studies*, I, p. 283. The section devoted to Dante includes about twelve passages from the *Divina Commedia* translated freely into heroic couplets. His example can confidently be described as Dryden’s ‘Paraphrase’.

24. A similar loss is recorded for Dr Charles Burney’s complete prose translation of the *Inferno* as acknowledged by his daughter. He also published a brief translation from *Purgatorio II* in his *History of Music*. See Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Dr Burney; Arranged from his own Manuscripts ... by his Daughter, Madame d’Arblay*, 3 vols (London: Moxon, 1832), I, pp. 150–1.

25. *A dissertation upon the Italian poetry, in which are interspersed some remarks on Mr. Voltaire’s Essay on the epic poets* (London: Printed for Dodshley, at Tully’s Head in Pall-Mall, 1753). For Baretti’s involvement in the debate, see Chapter 2.


33. See here below, pp. 21–3.

34. See Tinkler-Villani, *Visions of Dante*, p. 77.


41. Annual Register, 7 (1764), p. 272.
46. This is shown by one of his illustrations of Inferno XXXIII, in which Fuseli introduces the giants described in Canto XXXI with a design similar to Botticelli’s.
55. See Fortunato Bellonzi, ‘Füssli, la formazione, l’estetica del sublime, la lettura di Dante’, p. 32.
57. The three paintings that Fuseli exhibited are: Paolo Malatesta and Francesca da Polenta with Gianciotto, Ugolino and his sons in the Tower of Famine and As he descends into Hell, Dante discovers the shades of Paolo and Francesca in a whirlwind. The last two paintings are lost. Of the second one a preliminary drawing and an engraving survive. Gert Schiff, Johann Heinrich Füssli, 1741–1825 (Zürich: Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, 1973), Plates 720, 1200, 1799a, and I, 653. See also Corrado Gizzi, Füssli e Dante (Milano: Nuove edizioni Gabriele Mazzotta, 1985); Peter Tomory, The Life and Art of Henry Fuseli (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), and Henry Fuseli, 1741–1825 (London: Tate Gallery 1975).
58. Cited in Toynbee, Dante Studies, p. 298. Toynbee dismisses it as the worst eighteenth-century example.


61. According to Postle, George White soon became one of the most popular artists’ models in London, see *Sir Joshua Reynolds: the Subject Pictures*, p. 127.


63. 30 April 1773.

64. To Lady Ossory (6 September 1793) he wrote about a portrait of Dante she had mentioned ‘at the other painting it is impossible I should guess; and if it exhibits any of Dante’s extravagances, I wish not to see it’. *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, XXXIV (1965), p. 189.

65. ‘Advertisement’ (1780) to the *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, I, xvii.


68. According to Postle, the facial expression is modelled closely on the representation of ‘horreur’ in Le Brun’s *Expression des Passions*. Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: the Subject Pictures*, p. 143.


72. The reader adds a moralising approach to Dante: ‘Perhaps, too, the horrors of hell, depicted by him after Dante, would render a more important service to morality than all the thunders of the pulpit.’ Letter to the Editor, signed ‘W.’, *The Monthly Magazine* (August 1803), 16, p. 8.

75. See for example from the *Inferno*, plate 2 ‘Beatrice in Limbo’, plate 8 ‘Pluto’, plate 10 ‘Farinata’; from the *Purgatorio*, plate 5 ‘Casella’. But the use of hand gestures to signify speech occurs almost systematically throughout the illustrations.
78. See the analogies of these plates with *Purgatorio*, plate 11, 34 and *Paradiso*, plates 1, 6, 22.

2. The Romantic translation of the *Divine Comedy*: Henry Francis Cary’s *The Vision*

32. ‘Miss Seward. – The writings of this lady are so universally known and admired, that to make particular mention of them here, would be impertinent.’ Cary, An Irregular Ode to General Eliott, p. 6.

33. King, The Translator of Dante, p. 22; Cary, Sonnets and Odes by Henry Francis Cary (London: Robson and Clarke, 1788), p. 1. Cary’s poems were first published in the Gentleman’s Magazine between the years 1787 and 1789 under the nom de plume Marcellus.

34. Cary, Memoir, I, 28.


42. Cited in King, The Translator of Dante, p. 56.

43. Cary, Memoir, I, p. 43.

44. Cary, Memoir, I, p. 43.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Cary, Memoir, I, p. 103.


54. Cary’s literary journal contains entries on the Purgatorio from 16 January to 18 March: Memoir, I, pp. 103–8, 114–15, 128. In a note first included in The Vision 1819 Cary acknowledges that he used the 8.vo Venice edition of the Divine Comedy of 1793 (The Vision 1819, p. 12n.).

55. Cited in King, The Translator of Dante, p. 78 n.

56. King, The Translator of Dante, p. 78.


59. Henry Cary writes: ‘As his journal has informed us, he began translating that portion of the Divina Commedia on the 23rd of May, 1800, and in the autumn of 1804 his work was sufficiently advanced to warrant his offering it for publication.’ Cary, Memoir, I, pp. 217–18.

60. The entry is as follows: ‘May 8. Finished my translation of Dante’s Commedia – began the 16th of June, 1797.’ Cary, Memoir, I, p. 269.

64. Toynbee, Dante Studies, p. 300.
68. Crisafulli, The Vision of Dante, p. 237.
70. Cowper’s Odyssey was published on 1 July 1791. As a letter to Miss Seward documents, Cary knew of Cowper’s ongoing translation as early as 1789.
72. These are especially Inferno, XVIII–XXII.
73. As Zygmunt Baranski points out, Dante’s experimentation stems from his dissatisfaction with the contemporary approach to literary genres, or ‘genera dicendi’. Often associated with particular groups of texts, especially tragedy and comedy, these required a strict correspondence between subject matter and style. According to Baranski, ‘it was against [their] perceived constraints that Dante directed so much of his energy when he composed the Commedia’, ‘“Tres enim sunt manerie dicendi ...”’. Some observations on medieval literature, ‘genre’, and Dante’, The Italianist, 15 (1995), supplement, ed. Zygmunt G Baranski, pp. 9–60 (p. 23).
75. Crisafulli, The Vision of Dante, p. 230.
76. ‘For a playful sonnet which Dante addressed to him, and a spirited translation of it, see Hayley’s Essay on Epic Poetry, Notes to Epistle III’ (The Inferno, I, 166n).
82. The Gentleman’s Magazine complained that his ‘commendable desire of retaining the strength of his original has made him less attentive to that sweetness and melody which the Greek language possesses beyond all others, but of which our own is sufficiently capable’, the Critical Review was even more scathing. Gentleman’s Magazine, 61 (1791), pt. II, pp. 845–6 (p. 845); Critical Review, 2nd series, 4 (1792), pp. 560–9 (p. 569).
Cary was well acquainted with contemporary examples of the use of blank verse; as his literary journals show, Cary had read Southey’s *Joan of Arc* by February 1797 and Wordsworth’s *Lyrical Ballads* by August 1800. See Cary, *Memoir*, I, pp. 107, 203.

96. According to Ferrante the average number for the *Inferno* is 15. See Ferrante, ‘A Poetics of Chaos and Harmony’, p. 159.
100. ‘I know nothing in the whole circle of diablerie more terrible than the transformations in canto xxiv and xxv. The two nauseous passages you have remarked, with something more of the same sort, I should have been heartily glad not to have met with: but I did not think myself justified in doing more than endeavouring to make them somewhat less offensive than they are in the original.’ Cary, *Memoir*, I, p. 228.
101. Dante’s line is ‘ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse’ (*Inferno*, V, 132).
103. The process begins as early as *Purgatorio*, II, where the musician Casella sings Dante’s poem, ‘Amor che nella mente mi ragiona’. As Teodolinda Barolini points out, at this early stage in the poem love poetry is the occasion for Cato’s reproach; by the time one reaches *Purgatorio*, XXIV Dante’s perspective has changed: poetry is one of the instruments of salvations provided it admits its dependence on theology. Teodolinda Barolini, ‘Autocitation and Autobiography’, in *Dante*, ed. Harold Bloom, *Modern Critical Views* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1986), pp. 167–78.
104. Thus ‘soavemente’ [gently] (II: 85) is translated as ‘with voice of sweetness’ (Purgatorio, II, 80–1) and Casella sings ‘in such soft accents’ (II: 108), ‘si dolcemente’ [so sweetly] (II, 113); ‘gentle’ or ‘courteous’ most commonly corresponds to Dante’s ‘gentile’ or ‘benigno’, Dante’s most common reference to nobility of heart. See The Vision, VII, 105; VIII, 53; IX, 84; XXVI, 91; XXXIII, 128. In XXVI, 105 and XXVIII, 59, Cary uses ‘dulcet’ for ‘dolce’ [sweet].


106. Shelley was to make extensive use of both the adjective and noun ‘serene’. It is interesting that Byron used the form as early as 1812, before the publication of The Vision; I would ascribe, nevertheless, Shelley’s use to the influence of Cary’s Purgatory and Paradise, the two parts of the Divine Comedy the poet appreciated most. Here, in fact, he could find such an extensive use of the form as to justify a direct influence.


3. Dante and high culture: the Romantic search for the epic


2. Walpole objects to William Hayley’s advice in book V of his Epistle to abandon satire for the epic. Horace Walpole’s Correspondence with William Mason, II, 255.

3. Toynbee, Dante in English Literature, p. 401.

4. Voltaire’s essay was published in March 1728, at the time of his attempt to enlist subscriptions for his Henriade, his first attempt at a French epic. The ‘Advertisement’ to the reader that prefaces the essay presents it as ‘a kind of Preface or Introduction to the Henriade’. It was reprinted in January 1728, but in France it became a bibliographical rarity because it was not reissued in any of the collective editions of Voltaire’s works. An Essay on epic poetry / Essai sur la poésie épique, ed. David Williams, in The English Essays of 1727, The Complete Works of Voltaire 3B (Oxford: Printed by the Alden Press for the Voltaire Foundation, 1996), p. 156 and ff.. See also Florence Donnel White, Voltaire’s Essay on Epic Poetry (New York: Phaeton Press, 1970).


16. A second translation of the *Philosophical Dictionary* with the entry on Dante was published in Britain in 1786. Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, 423.


27. Joseph Berington’s *A Literary History of the Middle Ages* was a further source of acknowledgment of Dante’s importance in medieval Europe. Sharon Turner’s *History of England* (1815) acknowledged the influence of Dante on Chaucer. The most influential historical work on the topic was Henry Hallam’s *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818).

   Travel literature, in great demand now that the tour on the continent was again a possibility, soon followed the trend: the anonymous *Remarks on Antiquities, and Letters, During an Excursion in Italy* (1802–1803), devoted four pages to Dante, and the influential *A Tour Through Italy* (1813) by Eustace, three.


34. *The Vision of Dante*, p. 143.

35. See *The Vision of Dante*, pp. 145–52.


39. The *Annual Review and History of Literature* blames the ‘diffuseness’ of Boyd’s translation, but once again finds greater fault in ‘the nature of the poem itself, which at this time of day, must rather be reckoned among the curiosities of literature’. *Annual Review and History of Literature*, 1 (1802), 672–80 (p. 680). In the *Monthly Review*, Lockhart Muirhead belatedly reviewed the translation in 1805, only to praise the way in which ‘he has executed an entire English version of the *Commedia* with a degree of success which has surpassed our expectations.’ *Monthly Review*, 2nd series, 46, pp. 272–82 (p. 273).


53. ‘The Lovers of sentiment and Italian literature generally turn, most unjustly, their exclusive attention to Petrarch; and seem to regard Dante as a sublime but repulsive genius, untouched by those tender passions, of which his rival unceasingly complained ... How much deeper his passion was than that of Petrarch, may be judged not only from the poetry, but the character of both; from the bold, indignant spirit of Dante, that throws into shade the feeble plaintiveness of his successor.’ ‘On Dante and his Times’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 13 (1823), pp. 141–57 (p. 141). The identification of the contributor is in Alan Lang Strout, *A Bibliography of Articles in Blackwood’s Magazine; Volumes I through XVIII 1817–1825* (Lubbock, Texas: Library, Texas Technological College, 1959), p. 104.
57. ‘On Dante and his Times’, p. 154.
62. Friederich Schlegel’s *Geschichte der alten und neuen Litteratur* (1815) was translated into English in 1818 under the title *Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Baldwin, 1818).


65. ‘Milton, more perhaps than any other poet, elevated his subject, by combining image with image in lofty gradation. Dante’s great power is in combining internal feelings with familiar objects.’ Hazlitt, *Works*, XVI, p. 42.


69. Judy Little, *Keats as a Narrative Poet: a Test of Invention* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), p. 127. In *The Round Table* Hazlitt explicitly links Milton’s art to the nakedness and simplicity of Greek sculpture: ‘the persons of Adam and Eve, of Satan, etc. are always accompanied, in our imagination, with the grandeur of the naked figure; they convey to us the ideas of sculpture ... The figures introduced here have all the elegance and precision of a Greek statue.’ Hazlitt, ‘On Milton’s Versification’, *Works*, IV, pp. 38–9.

70. See Crisafulli, *The Vision of Dante*, p. 113.


74. See, for example, Coleridge’s letter to Lord Holland of 14 February 1818. Coleridge, *Letters*, IV, p. 838.


78. Allen writes of Rogers: ‘in your present distress of body and mind the certainty of having such a friend near you, even though you should see him but seldom, must be a great consolation’. Foscolo, *Epistolario*, VII, p. 229.


80. The confused and different descriptions on the origin of the article have been investigated by G. da Pozzo in his introduction to *Studi su Dante*, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Ugo Foscolo. See Corrigan, ‘Foscolo’s Articles on Dante in the *Edinburgh Review*: a Study in Collaboration’, in
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81. Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers, pp. 229–30.
88. ‘I would, that my literary Influence were enough to secure the knowledge of the work for the true Lovers of Poetry in general – But how came it that you had it published in so too unostentatious a form.’ Coleridge, Letters, IV, p. 779.
89. Coleridge writes: ‘By the bye, there is no Publisher’s name mentioned in the Title-page. Should I put any number of Copies for you at Gate and Curtis’s, or at Murray’s?’ Coleridge, Letters, IV, p. 781.
90. See Cary’s acknowledgement in the preface to The Vision 1819: ‘Amongst the few into whose hands [this translation] fell, about two years ago, Mr. Coleridge became one; and I have both a pride and 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.’ (The Vision 1819, pp. iii–iv).
94. See Coleridge, Lectures 1808–1819 on Literature, II, p. 184. Coleridge’s reference to Hallam is the annotation: ‘pay a proper compliment to Mr Hallam’.
100. Edoardo Zuccato, Coleridge in Italy (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996).


113. ‘If we are willing to study the poetry of the middle ages without being biased in favour of any particular theory ... we shall find that it naturally divides itself into three species, the chivalric, the amatory and the allegorical.’ Schlegel, *Lectures*, II, pp. 4–5. Coleridge, *Lectures 1808–1819 on Literature*, I, pp. lxii–lxiv; II, p. 397.


133. Coleridge praises in Wordsworth ‘the perfect truth of nature in his images and descriptions as taken immediately from nature, and proving a long and
genial intimacy with the very spirit which gives the physiognomic expression to all the works of nature.’ Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, II, p. 148.


136. ‘And I frankly confess that the vague sublimity of Milton affects me less than these reviled details of Dante. We read Milton, and we know that we are reading a great poet; when we read Dante, the poet vanishes.’ Macaulay, *Works*, I, p. 63.

137. Coleridge, *Lectures 1808–1819*, II, p. 402. The notes for the lecture show that Coleridge referred to Cary’s *The Vision* when making the quotations from Dante. For his criticism, he singles out the simile from *Inferno*, II, pp. 127–32, the description of Charon (Hell, III, 95–126), the two episodes of Francesca and Ugolino, and Dante’s description of his feelings at the sight Satan (Hell, XXIX, 1–3).


144. In May 1865 the actors Ernesto Rossi, Tommaso Salvini and Adelaide Ristori were invited to the Teatro Pagliano in order to conclude the three-day celebrations with readings from the *Divine Comedy*.


147. ‘Ho dato due articoli chiestimi pel Quarterly Review, e per la Review d’Edinburgo su la Letteratura Italiana: ma vanno tradotti in Inglese; Dio voglia che non diventino cadaveri! Lo stile non si traduce.’ [I have given in two articles requested by the Quarterly Review, and for the Review in Edinburgh on Italian Literature: but they have to be translated in English: let them not become corpses! Style cannot be translated.] Foscolo, *Epistolario*, VII, p. 167.
The articles will be occasioned by the new edition of some Italian Historian, Speaker or Poet from Dante to Alfieri. I will take the classical author with which the articles deal as the occasion for my considerations; and I will combine it with political, moral and literary anecdotes concerning their century. Cited in Brand, ‘Foscolo and the Edinburgh Review’, p. 307.

149. Foscolo, Epistolario, VII, p. 325.
152. Foscolo, Epistolario, VI, p. 184.

In August 1817, he sent Miss Pigout a short extract of the article in the course of composition, promising her some more to come. On 3 April 1818, Foscolo wrote to John Allen that he had sent to Mackintosh ‘le manuscrit refait, et il a eu la bonté de s’en charger et de promettre qu’il songera à la traduction’. Foscolo, Epistolario, VII, pp. 221–2, 310–311.


157. Holland House Papers, adds MSS 52181, fol. 106r.
160. Foscolo, Epistolario, VI, pp. 73–5.

162. ‘Crediamo che nel Biagioli ci sia una tacita polemica all’eruditismo piatto e massiccio del Settecento. I riferimenti storici e letterari non esorbitano la piana chiosa e comunque si inseriscono in una necessità interpretativa. Questi aspetti ed altri … lo portano invece al romanticismo’. Vallone, Storia della critica dantesca, II, p. 771.

163. Foscolo, Discorso sul testo e su le opinioni diverse prevalenti intorno alla storia e alla emendazione critica della Commedia di Dante, Edizione nazionale, IX, 149–573.
164. Foscolo, Primo articolo, pp. 16, 18. ‘Then remember me. / I once was Pia. Siena gave me life; / Maremma took it from me. That he knows / Who me with jewelled ring had first espoused’. (The Vision, Purgatory, V, 128–33).
165. Foscolo, Primo articolo, p. 40.
166. Ibid.
168. Foscolo, Primo articolo, p. 4.
169. In the same poem, Dante is similarly characterised according to his political beliefs as ‘il ghibellin fuggiasco’ [the fugitive Ghibelline] (Dei Sepolcri, 173–4). Ugo Foscolo, Poesie e Carmi, Edizione nazionale, I: ed. Francesco Pagliai et al. (1985), 125–34.


172. Foscolo, Primo articolo, p. 42.

173. Foscolo, Primo articolo, pp. 42, 44.

174. The first passage relates to the expulsion of the serpent from the terrestrial paradise, recorded in Canto VIII of the Purgatorio, imitated by Gray in his Elegy. Foscolo, Primo articolo, p. 44.

175. Foscolo, Primo articolo, p. 54.

176. Rogers’s acquaintance with The Vision resulted in his rediscovery of Dante’s homeland in the poem Italy. He did not publish other criticism on Dante. Samuel Rogers, The Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers (London: George Bell, 1875), pp. 188–361.


179. ‘The limits of a late Number precluded us from entering, as fully as we would have wished, into the subject of Dante. We resume it the more willingly, from our having just received a work, published two or three years ago in Italy, but almost unknown in England, having for its object to ascertain, whether this great poet was an inventor, or an imitator only,’ Foscolo, ‘Secondo articolo della Edinburgh Review’, Edizione nazionale, IX, p. 58.


181. Foscolo’s references to the English literary background have provoked scepticism: Corrigan suggests the intervention of the translator for some of them. In the second article, however, the references to Ginguené, Schlegel and Hallam are certainly a central part of the argument since they are included in one of the manuscripts of the article that have been preserved. Corrigan, ‘Foscolo’s Articles on Dante’, pp. 216–17. Foscolo, Secondo articolo, pp. 638–40.


185. Foscolo, Secondo articolo, p. 102.
186. Foscolo, Secondo articolo, p. 110.
187. Foscolo, Secondo articolo, p. 118.
188. For Foscolo’s statement on the possibility for the Italian language to acquire the cadence of the Greek, in Epiche della lingua italiana, see Saggi di Letteratura Italiana, ed. Cesare Foligno, Edizione nazionale (1958), XI, p. 214. For his translations see Foscolo, Esperimenti di traduzione dell’Iliade, Edizione nazionale, III, ed. Gennaro Barbarisi, 3 vols (1967).
199. Compared to similar other Italian ventures the journal stands out for its moderate character: it is not rare to find articles of literary opponents of Romanticism such as Mario Pieri and Urbano Lampredi.
200. Antologia 7, p. 103.
205. Like Ugo Foscolo, Gabriele Rossetti and Antonio Panizzi, many Italian refugees succeeded in earning their living as authors. Among the second wave of Italian exiles of particular interest are the brothers Agostino and Giovanni Ruffini, who had accompanied Giuseppe Mazzini into his exile in Switzerland and in England. They contributed to an increase in English interest in the Italian revolutions. See Harry W. Rudman, Italian Nationalism and English Letters (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940).
207. Taaffe, A Comment, p. xxi.
209. ‘I cannot but object to the very title, Vision, instead of that chosen by the author.’ A Comment, p. xxvi. Cary stubbornly defends his choice quoting the different titles given to Dante’s poem, such as ‘Capitola’, ‘Terze Rime’,...


211. A Comment, p. xxvii.


214. Taaffe’s chief merit is stated to consist ‘chiefly in this light, as a general comment on the more obscure portions of the Divina Commedia’. The reviewer welcomes two of Taaffe’s most original views: the identification of the three beasts of Inferno, I with Florence, the King of France and Boniface VIII, and his interpretation of Dante’s nonsensical line ‘Pape Satàn, pape Satàn aleppe!’ (Inferno, VII, 1) as a Hebrew quotation. Monthly Review, 102, pp. 227, 229.

215. See Cline, Byron, Shelley and their Pisan Circle.


217. He thus states his intention to understand Dante ‘as a man of science, a politician, and a theologian’, and explains Dante’s orthodoxy: ‘The dogmas of Dante’s Church did not prescribe any order for the placing of his personages either in Paradise, or in Hell; but equally prohibited his representing them in either.’ A Comment, xii, pp. 227–8.

4. ‘L’ amor che move il sole e l’altre stelle’: Shelley on Dante and love


4. References to the Defence of Poetry are to the second Norton edition: Shelley’s Poetry and Prose, second edition, selected and edited by Donald H.


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.


13. Ibid.


33. *Purgatorio*, xx, 43–5, 49–54, 94–6; Bodleian Shelley MS adds e. 9; Shelley’s ‘Devils’ Notebook, p. 259 [transcription of pp. 364 and 365]. For the dating of the manuscript see the introduction, especially p. xxi. According to the editors the lines may have been written while he was working on ‘On the Devil, and Devils’.

34. Pite, *Circle of our Vision*, p. 168n.


36. *Drafts for Laon and Cythna*, The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts, XIII, 38'.


40. *The Poems of Shelley*, II, p. 258. All further references to the poem are from this edition.

41. Here Cary is close to Dante’s text, but prefers to insert the noun ‘air’ and use serene as an adjective: ‘Vapori accesi non vid’io si tosto / di prima notte mai fender sereno, / né, sol calando, nuvole d’agosto / che color non tornasser suso in meno;’ (*Purgatorio*, V, 37–40)


46. *Laon and Cythna*, LIV and LV and *Paradiso*, XXX–XXXI. As in Dante’s *Paradiso*, the narrator calls the pilgrim’s attention to one of the thrones that is empty.

47. ‘The first, two glittering lights were seen to glide / In circles on the amethystine floor, / Small serpent eyes tralling from side to side, / Like meteors on a river’s grassy shore, / They round each other rolled, dilating more / and more’. *Laon and Cythna*, LVI. Examples of Dante’s use of the same device recur in most cantos of *Paradiso*.


56. Shelley writes: ‘The “Epipsychidion” I cannot look at; the person whom it celebrates was a cloud instead of a Juno; and poor Ixion starts from the centaur that was the offspring of his own embrace. If you are anxious, however, to hear what I am and have been, it will tell you something thereof.’ Shelley, *Letters*, II, p. 434.


58. Tokoo, ‘The Composition of *Epipsychidion*’, p. 103. Tokoo supports the findings of Carlene A. Adamson, who believes that the MS adds e. 8 was, in fact, the main one in use by Shelley in alternation with MS adds e.12. *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, VI, p. 16.

59. In Bodleian Shelley MS adds e. 8. Shelley most probably wrote the introduction when the work was almost complete. *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, VI, p. 16.

60. *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, VI, p. 16.


62. Bodleian Shelley MS adds e. 8. This happens, for instance, in *Inferno*, XX, 19; XXXIV, 21; *Purgatorio*, VIII, 19; IX, 70; XVII 1; *Paradiso*, XXI, 106.


64. *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, VI, 167th, 168th.

65. Shelley copied part of Dante’s song *Voi che ‘ntendendo il terzo ciel movete*, as well as part of the following commentary, adding brief notes of his own. He further copied a brief passage from *Convivio*, Book III in which Dante


68. Dante mentions the Seraphim in *Paradiso*, XXVIII and he similarly associates them with the ‘first circles’ [*cerchi primi*] (*Paradiso*, XXVIII, 98).

69. See also *Inferno*, V, 100, which Cary’s translates as: ‘Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learnt’ (*The Vision, Hell*, V: 99).

70. See *The Vision, Paradise*, IV, 40–3: ‘Thus needs, that ye may apprehend, we speak: / Since from things sensible alone ye learn / That, which, digested rightly, after turns / To intellectual.’


74. See *Paradiso*, XXVIII, 124–5.

75. See *Paradiso*, XXV, 106. Cary translates it as ‘effulgence’.


78. In Canto VII Virgil tells Dante that he lost the sight of ‘l’alto Sol che tu disiri’ (26) [the high sun which you aspire to], and in Canto XIII he addresses the sun to ask for guidance (*Purgatorio*, XII, 16–21).


81. Reiman, *Shelley’s ‘The Triumph of Life’: a Critical Study*. All references to the poem are to this edition.

82. The verb occurs in the same musical context at line 276. For Shelley’s increasing fondness for the verb, see Bradley, ‘Notes on Shelley’s “Triumph of Life”’, p. 451. Shelley undertook the translation in early 1822. The text, edited both by de Palacio in 1962 and by Webb in 1976, has recently been fully transcribed by Carlene E. Adamson. Jean de Palacio, ‘Shelley traducteur de Dante. Le Chant XXVIII du *Purgatoire*,’ *Revue de littérature comparée*, 36 (1962), pp. 571–8; Webb, *The Violet in the

All editors underscore the divergence of the version included in Shelley MS adds e. 6 from the version published by Medwin in The Angler in Wales in 1834 and in The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley and from the version published by Garnett in Relics of Shelley. See Thomas Medwin, The Angler in Wales; or Days and Nights of Sportsmen, 2 vols (London: Bentley, 1834), II, pp. 219–20; Garnett ed., Relics of Shelley, pp. 56–8.

86. Pite, Circle of our Vision, p. 182.
89. The Poems of Shelley, II, p. 172.
93. Pite, Circle of our Vision, p. 165n.
96. See n. 82.
98. According to Medwin, Shelley used to say ‘that reading Dante produced in him despair’. Medwin, Life, p. 249.
99. Thomas Jefferson Hogg writes extensively on his and Shelley’s progress in the study of Italian. After Tasso, they read Ariosto, whom Shelley found ‘a novelty, altogether new in matter and manner, in substance and in language’. Shelley then resumed his Italian studies at Bracknell, in the company of Mrs Cornelia Turner. Thomas Jefferson Hogg, The Life of Percy
5. John Keats and Dante: speaking the gods’ language


13. A sonnet dedicated to Cowden Clarke dated September 1816 in 1817, indicates that Keats had discussed, if not read, Tasso’s poetry with him. Keats pays homage to Charles Cowden Clarke’s knowledge of Tasso: ‘small good it were / To take him to a desert rude, and bare, / Who had on Baiae’ shore reclin’d at ease, / While Tasso’s page was floating in a breeze / That gave soft music from Armida’s bowers, / Mingled with fragrance from her rarest flowers’ (27–32). Keats, *Poems*, pp. 60–1. See also Keats’s letter to B.R. Haydon of 8 April 1818, to John Taylor of 5 September 1819 and Keats to George and Georgiana Keats of 21 September 1819. Keats, *Letters*, I, p. 265, II, pp. 157, 212.


18. Proof of Keats’s reading of Cary’s *The Inferno* is an article he wrote for *The Champion* on 21 December 1817; here he quotes from *The Inferno* and compares Edmund Kean to Dante’s Saladin: ‘And sole apart retir’d, the Soldan fierce’. Forman published Keats’s notes for the article. ‘On Edmund Kean as a Shakespearian Actor’, *Keats, Works*, ed. Forman, III, pp. 3–6 (p. 5). A copy of Cary’s 1805 *The Inferno* was found in Keats’s ‘Chest of Books’ after his death, as mentioned by Charles Armitage Brown. This copy, now lost, may have been the source of Keats’s quotation. John Saly quotes Lord Houghton’s statement in his *Life and Letters of Keats* that ‘the family of George Keats in America possess a Dante covered with his brother’s marginal notes and observations’. John Saly, ‘Keats’s Answer to Dante: *The Fall of Hyperion*, *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 14 (1965), pp. 65–78 (p. 65n). Hyder E. Rollins, ed., *The Keats Circle*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), I, pp. 253–60.


23. The sonnet was composed in April 1819.


26. Saly, ‘Keats’s Answer to Dante’, p. 66.


30. Gittings, Appendix A. Keats’s copy of *The Vision* is in a private collection.


32. See, *The Vision, Hell*, XIV, 89–8. “In midst of ocean,” forthwith he began, / “A desolate country lies, which Crete is named; / Under whose monarch, in old times, the world / Lived pure and chaste. A mountain rises there, / Call’d Ida joyous once with leaves and streams, / Deserted now like a forbidden thing. / It was the spot which Rhea, Saturn’s spouse, / Chose for the secret cradle of her son; / And better to conceal him, drown’d in shouts / His infant cries”.’


40. Cary uses ‘serene’ in *Hell*, IV, 156 and *Heaven*, XIX, 60–1. An equally influential precedent is offered by Coleridge’s *Hymn before Sun-Rise, in the Vale of Chamouni*, 72. John Livingston Lowes opted for the latter echo on the basis of Keats’s interest in Coleridge revealed by the 1817 letters. However, as discussed above, Keats knew Cary’s *The Inferno*, or even possessed a copy of it, by the end of 1817. Both Cary’s and Coleridge’s usage therefore are possible sources for Keats.

41. Lowes, ‘*Hyperion* and the *Purgatorio*’, p. 35.

44. Lowes, ‘’Hyperion and the Purgatorio’’.
46. Saly, ‘Keats’s Answer to Dante: The Fall of Hyperion’, p. 69.
47. Pite, *Circle of our Vision*, p. 129.
53. Dante offered two contradictory solutions to the question of pre-Babelic speech: in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* he states that Adam and his descendants spoke Hebrew, while in *Paradiso*, XXVI Adam himself reveals to Dante that the language he spoke had disappeared before the construction of the Tower of Babel.
54. Cary reproduces Dante’s nonsensical line.
72. Ibid.
75. ‘in sogno mi parea veder sospesa’ (*Purgatorio*, IX: 19) [in dream I thought I was seeing poised].
77. Lowes, “*Hyperion*” and “*The Purgatorio*”, p. 35.


1. Despite Blake’s religious eclecticism an interesting similarity can also be found between the later Trinitarianism of *Jerusalem* and the *Everlasting Gospel* and Dante’s Catholicism. According to Gilchrist, in his later years Blake expressed some form of admiration for the Catholic religion: ‘He had a sentimental liking for the Romish Church’. G.E. Bentley, *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 42.
5. Blake’s friendship with Flaxman dates from about 1778, while he befriended Fuseli recently returned from Italy, in 1780.
10. ‘Have now another plain fact: Any man of mechanical talents may from the writings of Paracelsus or Jacob Behmen, produce ten thousand volumes of equal value with Swedenborg’s. And from those of Dante or Shakespear, an infinite number. But when he has done this, let him not
say that he knows better than his master, for he only holds a candle in sunshine.’ (The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, plate 21)

11. Tinkler-Villani finds an analogy between Dante’s method and Blake’s: ‘The “infernal” method which Blake uses for his engravings he also uses to compose his poetry: his acid, apocalyptic words seem destructive, but finally bring revelation ... Dante’s technique is indeed similar to Blake’s. Dante’s reader is made to react to the protagonist, following the guiding voice of the poet.’ Visions of Dante, pp. 249–50. The statuary posture of the group makes Ugolino and his children a symbol of the oppression quite divorced from Dante’s text.


16. Ibid.

17. Blake’s Poetry and Prose, p. 634.

18. Ibid.


25. ‘But in Milton; the Father is Destiny, the Son, a Ratio of the five senses. & the Holy-ghost, Vacuum!’ Marriage of Heaven and Hell, Plate 5, in Blake’s Poetry and Prose, pp. 34–5. See also Damon, A Blake Dictionary, pp. 186–7.

26. In On Virgil (c. 1821) Blake had condemned Roman and Greek poetry for their appraisal of war; ‘Homer Virgil & Ovid confirm this opinion and make us reverence The Word of God, the only light of antiquity that remains unperverted by War. Virgil in the Eneid Book VI. line 848, says Let others study Art: Rome has somewhat better to do, namely War & Dominion.’ Blake’s Poetry and Prose, p. 270.


29. In A Vision of the Last Judgment, for instance, Blake includes ‘those who were not in the Line of the Church and yet were Saved from among the


37. ‘There, not inactive, though sixty-seven years old, but hard-working on a bed covered with books sat he up like one of the Antique patriarchs, or a dying Michael Angelo. Thus and there was he making in the leaves of a great book (folio) the sublimest designs from his (not superior) Dante!’ *The Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer Painter and Etcher*, ed. A.H. Palmer (London: Eric and Joan Stephens, 1892; facsimile reprint 1972), pp. 9–10. Klonsky correlates Linnell’s gift of a folio of Dutch watercolour paper with the ‘great book (folio)’ mentioned by Palmer. He further suggests that Blake might have begun the illustrations even before the agreement with Linnell. Klonsky, *Blake’s Dante*, 7n.
44. Ibid.
46. These were issued in 1551, 1554, 1564, 1571, 1578 and 1596. See Bentley, *Blake Records*, p. 349.
50. Bentley is of the same opinion. See Bentley, *Blake Records*, pp. 315n, 349n and *Blake Records Supplement*, p. 125.
51. Willian Jerdan, editor of the *Literary Gazette* till 1850, wrote that ‘William Carey was the chief contributor’ to the early numbers of the journal. The *Autobiography of William Jerdan* (London: Arthur Hall, 1852), II, p. 176. Bentley suggests that he was most probably in charge of the art sections of the journal. *Blake Records*, p. 350n.
55. The reviewer gives the previous Monday rather than Sunday as the day of Blake’s death; he further claims that Blake was 66 years old instead of 67. See *Literary Gazette*, 552, p. 541. The mistakes are pointed out by Bentley, *Blake Records*, p. 349n.
59. Roe, *Blake’s Illustrations*. Milton Klonsky’s edition with commentary uses the same approach and is heavily indebted to Roe’s study.
64. See Inferno, XVIII, 10–18; XXX, 25–7; XXVIII, 118–22.
65. Blake’s illustrations will be referred to according to Klonsky’s catalogue. Further reference to the plates that I have consulted will be found in the bibliography.
66. Klonsky, Blake’s Dante, plate 28; Blake’s Poetry and Prose, p. 68.
69. In Milton, Blake defines his concept of the ‘vortex’: ‘The nature of infinity is this: That every thing has its / Own Vortex; and when once a traveller thro Eternity / Has passd that Vortex, he perceives it roll backward behind / His path, into a globe itself infolding; like a sun: / Or like a moon, or like a universe of starry majesty … / Thus is the heaven a vortex passd already, and the earth / A vortex not yet pass’d by the traveller thro’ Eternity.’ Milton, Plate 15 [17], 21–25, 34–35, Blake’s Poetry and Prose, p. 40.
70. Roe, Blake’s Illustrations, p. 74.
71. Klonsky, Blake’s Dante, p. 141.
72. ‘E già venìa su per le torbide onde / un fracasso d’un suon, pien di spavento, / per cui tremavano ambedue le sponde, / non altrimenti fatto che d’un vento / impetuoso per li avversi ardori, / che fier la selva senz’alcun rattento / li rami schianta, abbatte e porta fori; / dinanzi polveroso va superbo, / e fa fuggir le fiere e li pastori.’ (Inferno, IX, 64–72).
73. My definition of Dante’s simile is based on Richard H. Lansing, From Image to Idea: a Study of the Simile in Dante’s Commedia (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1977).
74. In Cary’s translation: ‘More than a thousand spirits / Destroyed, so saw I fleeing before one / Who passed with unwet feet the Stygian sound’ (The Vision, Hell, IX, 79–80)
75. Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of Blake, plates 542 and 577.
76. Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of Blake, plates 868 and 870. In his long letter to Ozias Humphry on the composition of The Vision of the Last Judgment, Blake explains the symbolism of the eyes: ‘The Four Living Creatures filled with Eyes attended by the Seven Angels with the Seven Vials of the Wrath of God and above these there are Seven Angels with the Seven Trumpets.’ Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of Blake, pp. 467–8.
77. Dunbar, Blake’s Milton, plate 77.
78. Ezekiel, I, 16.
81. For Blake’s debt to the theatre, see especially Janet A. Warner, Blake and the Language of Art (Kingston and Montreal: McGill, Queen’s University Press, 1984).
82. For a fuller discussion of the identification, see A. Braida, ‘The Literalism of Blake’s Illustrations to the Divine Comedy’, pp. 96–7.
Troubled Dream’ similarly holds snakes hanging from his right arm, while lightning is unleashed from the left.

84. As for the four women enclosed in the cloud, which separates the upper and lower part of the picture, in order to identify them one needs to disentangle the narrative structure of canto II. Dante has Virgil himself relating his mission to Dante by reporting Beatrice’s words: ‘In high heaven a blessed dame / Resides, who mourns with such effectual grief / That hindrance, which I send thee to remove, / That God’s stern judgment to her will inclines. / To Lucia calling, her she thus bespoke: / ‘Now doth thy faithful servant need thy aid, / ‘And I commend him to thee’. At her word / Sped Lucia, of all cruelty the foe, / And coming to the place, where I abode / Seated with Rachel, her of ancient days’ (The Vision, Hell, II, 93–102). Blake’s flying females clearly illustrate the encounters related by Virgil. The narrative describes the exchange between the Virgin and St Lucy and St Lucy and Beatrice, while Rachel is described as sitting. I would be inclined to identify the two flying females with St Lucy at the right and the Virgin at the left, since the latter is shown descending from the higher realm of the false God thus illustrating the Virgin’s power to plead for mankind. Rachel is shown sitting at the loom under a vine and Beatrice is shown in the forefront in a posture that Blake consistently repeats in the illustrations to the Purgatorio and the Paradiso.

85. Roe, Blake’s Illustrations, p. 53.
86. Klonsky, Blake’s Dante, plate 3 and p. 137.
87. ‘The Immortal stood frozen amidst / The vast rock of eternity; times; / And times; a night of vast durance: / Impatient, stifled, stif fend, hard ned.’ The Book of Los, Chapter II, 1, Blake’s Poetry and Prose, p. 92.
88. See Four Zoas, Plate 56, 19–20. ‘And first he found the Limit of Opacity and namd it Satan / in Albions bosom for in every human bosom these limits stand’. Blake’s Poetry and Prose, p. 337.
89. Klonsky, Blake’s Dante, plate 22, p. 142.
90. Dante descends on Dis’s ‘vellute coste’ [felty ribs]; Inferno, XXXIV, 73.
91. The Vision, Purgatory, IX: 40–1.
92. Roe, Blake’s Illustrations, p. 140.
93. Roe, Blake’s Illustrations, p. 145n.
94. Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of Blake, plates 494, 894.
95. See Baine, Blake’s Dante, p. 120. Blake uses the same figure to represent the Christian Church in The Vision of the Last Judgment. Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of Blake, plate 642.
96. See Purgatorio, XXIX, 121–9.
97. Roe, Blake’s Illustrations, p. 168; Klonsky, Blake’s Dante, p. 159; Tinkler-Villani, Visions of Dante, p. 279.
99. See Purgatorio, XXXI, 106–45. Blake writes ‘Pg Canto 29 and 30’, but his illustration refers to the following two cantos as well.
101. See, for instance Paradiso, II: ‘Beatrice upward gazed, and I on her; / And in such space as on the notch a dart / Is placed, then loosened flies, I saw
myself / Arrived, where wondrous things engaged my sight’ (The Vision, Paradise, II, 23–6)

102. Botticelli did, in fact, draw his designs for the Paradiso in the same way, by focusing on the two lovers’ final reunion. See Venturi Adolfo, Il Botticelli interprete di Dante (Florence: Le Monnier, 1922); Donati Lamberti, Il Botticelli e le prime illustrazioni della Divina Commedia (Florence: Olschki, 1962); and Jeremy Harding, Sandro Botticelli: the Drawings for Dante (London: Royal Academy, 2001).

103. In canto XXV the spirits of St Peter and St James are compared to the wheels of the mechanism of a clock; see Paradiso, XXV, 103–8.


105. Dunbar, Blake’s Milton, plates 72 and 75.

106. Among other possible sources for Blake’s spheres are the woodcuts from the Sessa brothers’ edition of the Divine Comedy found in his possession at his death. The artist similarly enclosed the three saints in a halo of light. These, however, are grouped together, and the halo that surrounds them is not continuous. Dante con l’espositione di Cristoforo Landino, et di Alessandro Vellutello, ... (Venice: Giovambattista, Marchiò Sessa, and fratelli, 1564), pp. 361, 364, 389.

107. As Baine points out, the mystic Jacob Boehme wrote in his treatise on the Incarnation that Mary acts as ‘a Looking-Glass of the Holy Trinity’. Baine suggests as a source also Cary’s argument to Paradiso III: ‘Beatrice beholds, in the mirror of divine truth, some doubts which had entered the mind of Dante’ (III, 258). Baine, ‘Blake’s Dante’, p. 131.

108. See Paradiso, XXXI, 70–90.


110. See Dunbar, Blake’s Milton, plates 26, 33, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91; Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of Blake, pp. 316–72.

111. Jerusalem, IV, plate 96, 23–8; Blake’s Poetry and Prose, p. 256.
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