MEDIEVAL LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 23

The Latin Works of Dante

Dante Alighieri

De Vulgari Eloquentia
De Monarchia
Epistolae
Eclogae
Quaestio de Aqua et Terra

The Latin Works of Dante

On Vernacular Eloquence, On Monarchy, the Letters, the Eclogues, and the Question of Water and Earth

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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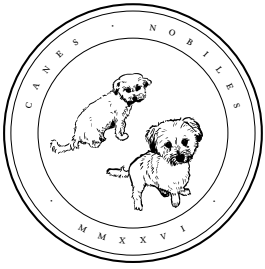

Volume 23 of the Canes Nobiles Medieval Latin interlinear texts

The Medieval Latin text follows Edward Moore's edition,
Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri, third edition (Oxford, 1904)

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

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DANTE ALIGHIERI

De Vulgari Eloquentia

On Vernacular Eloquence

BOOK I

I · THE VERNACULAR AND GRAMMAR

No one before him has treated the doctrine of vernacular eloquence, though everyone, women and children included, needs it; so Dante, with the Word's help, will try to serve the speech of ordinary people. The vernacular is the speech infants learn from those around them, imitating their nurse without rules; grammar is a second speech, learned by long study and held by few. The vernacular is the nobler: it came first, the whole world uses it, and it is natural, where grammar is artificial.

Cum neminem ante nos de vulgaris eloquentiae doctrina
since no-one before us about of-vernacular eloquence the-doctrine
quicquam inveniamus tractasse, atque talem scilicet
anything we-find to-have-treated and such namely
eloquentiam penitus omnibus necessariam videamus, cum ad
eloquence altogether to-all necessary we-see since to
eam non tantum viri, sed etiam mulieres et parvuli nitantur,
it not only men but also women and little-ones strive
in quantum Natura permittit: volentes discretionem aliqualiter
in as-much-as Nature permits wishing the-discernment somewhat
lucidare illorum qui tanquam caeci ambulant per plateas,
to-illuminate of-those who as-if blind walk through the-streets
plerumque anteriora posteriora putantes; Verbo aspirante de
often the-things-ahead behind thinking the-Word inspiring from
coelis, locutioni vulgarium gentium prodesse tentabimus: non
the-heavens to-the-speech of-vernacular peoples to-be-of-use we-shall-try not
solum aquam nostri ingenii ad tantum poculum haurientes,
only the-water of-our wit to such-a-great cup drawing
sed, accipiendo vel compilando ab aliis, potiora miscentes,
but by-taking or by-compiling from others the-better-things mixing
ut exinde potionare possimus dulcissimum hydromellum.
so-that thence to-give-to-drink we-may-be-able the-sweetest mead

Sed quia unamquamque doctrinam oportet non probare, sed
but because each doctrine it-behooves not to-prove but
suum aperire subiectum, ut sciatur quid sit super quod
its to-open subject so-that it-be-known what be upon which
illa versatur, dicimus celeriter attendentes, quod vulgarem
it is-concerned we-say quickly attending that vernacular
locutionem appellamus eam quam infantes adsuefiunt ab
speech we-call that which infants become-accustomed-to from
adsistentibus, cum primitus distinguere voces incipiunt: vel
those-standing-by when first to-distinguish sounds they-begin or
quod brevius dici potest, vulgarem locutionem asserimus,
what more-briefly to-be-said it-can vernacular speech we-assert
quam sine omni regula nutricem imitantes accipimus. Est
which without any rule the-nurse imitating we-receive there-is
et inde alia locutio secundaria nobis, quam Romani
also thence another speech secondary to-us which the-Romans
grammaticam vocaverunt. Hanc quidem secundariam Graeci
grammar called this indeed secondary the-Greeks
habent et alii, sed non omnes; ad habitum vero huius
have and others but not all to the-habit but of-this
pauci perveniunt, quia non nisi per spatium temporis et
few attain because not except through a-space of-time and
studii assiduitatem regulamur et doctrinamur in illa. Harum
of-study assiduity we-are-ruled and we-are-instructed in it of-these
quoque duarum nobilior est vulgaris, tum quia prima
also two nobler is the-vernacular both because first
fuit humano generi usitata, tum quia totus orbis ipsa
it-was by-the-human race used and because the-whole world it
perfruitur, licet in diversas prolationes et vocabula sit
enjoys although into different pronunciations and words it-be

divisa; tum quia naturalis est nobis, cum illa potius artificialis
divided and because natural it-is to-us while that rather artificial
existat: et de hac nobiliori nostra est intentio pertractare.
exists and about this nobler our is intention to-treat-thoroughly

II · SPEECH WAS GIVEN TO MAN ALONE

Of all things only man was given speech, since only he needed it. Angels show their thoughts to one another directly, or in the divine mirror; fallen spirits need only know one another's existence and rank, which they already know; animals of one species share the same acts and passions, and between species speech would only have done harm. The serpent and Balaam's ass were moved by the devil and an angel, Ovid's speaking magpies are figurative, and birds that mimic sounds imitate our voice, not our speech.

Haec est nostra vera prima locutio: non dico autem nostra, ut
this is our true first speech not I-say but our as-if
aliam sit esse locutionem quam hominis; nam eorum quae
another be to-be speech than of-man for of-those-things which
sunt omnium, soli homini datum est loqui, cum solum sibi
are of-all alone to-man given it-is to-speak since only for-him
necessarium fuit. Non angelis, non inferioribus animalibus
necessary it-was not to-angels not to-lower animals
necessarium fuit loqui: sed nequicquam datum fuisset
necessary it-was to-speak but in-vain given it-would-have-been
eis; quod nempe facere Natura abhorret. Si etenim
to-them which indeed to-do Nature abhors if for
perspicaciter consideramus quid cum loquimur intendamus,
discerningly we-consider what when we-speak we-intend
patet quod nihil aliud quam nostrae mentis enucleare
is-plain that nothing other than of-our mind to-unfold

aliis conceptum. Cum igitur angeli ad pandendas gloriosas
to-others the-concept since therefore the-angels for unfolding glorious
eorum conceptiones habeant promptissimam atque ineffabilem
their conceptions have most-ready and ineffable
sufficientiam intellectus, qua vel alter alteri totaliter
sufficiency of-intellect by-which either one to-another wholly
innotescit per se, vel saltem per illud fulgentissimum
becomes-known through itself or at-least through that most-shining
speculum, in quo cuncti repraesentantur pulcerrimi atque
mirror in which all are-represented most-beautiful and
avidissimi speculantur; nullo signo locutionis indiguisse
most-eager they-gaze no sign of-speech to-have-needed
videntur. Et si obiciatur de iis qui corruere spiritibus,
they-seem and if it-be-objected about those who fell spirits
dupliciter responderi potest. Primo, quod cum de his
doubly to-be-answered it-can first that since about those-things
quae necessaria sunt ad bene esse tractamus, eos praeterire
which necessary are to well to-be we-treat them to-pass-over
debemus, cum divinam curam perversi expectare noluerunt.
we-ought since divine care perverse to-await they-would-not
Secundo et melius, quod ipsi daemones ad manifestandam
secondly and better that the-very demons for manifesting
inter se perfidiam suam non indigent nisi ut sciant
among themselves perfidy their not need except that they-know
quilibet de quolibet, quia est et quantus est: quod quidem
each about each that he-is and how-great he-is which indeed
sciunt; cognoverunt enim se invicem ante ruinam suam.
they-know they-knew for themselves mutually before fall their
Inferioribus quoque animalibus, cum solo naturae instinctu
to-lower also animals since by-the-sole of-nature instinct
ducantur, de locutione non oportuit provideri; nam omnibus
they-are-led about speech not it-behooved to-be-provided for to-all

eiusdem speciei sunt iidem actus et passiones: et sic
of-the-same species are the-same acts and passions and thus
possunt per proprios alienos cognoscere. Inter ea vero
they-can through their-own others' to-know among those but
quae diversarum sunt specierum, non solum non necessaria
which of-different are species not only not necessary
fuit locutio, sed prorsus damnosa fuisset, cum nullum
was speech but utterly harmful it-would-have-been since no
amicabile commercium fuisset in illis. Et si obiciatur
friendly intercourse would-have-been among them and if it-be-objected
de serpente loquente ad primam mulierem, vel de asina
about the-serpent speaking to the-first woman or about the-ass
Balaam, quod locuti sint; ad hoc respondemus, quod angelus
of-Balaam that spoken they-have to this we-answer that the-angel
in illa, et diabolus in illo taliter operati sunt, quod ipsa
in that and the-devil in that so worked they-have that the-very
animalia moverunt organa sua, sic et vox inde resultavit
animals moved organs their thus and the-sound thence resulted
distincta, tanquam vera locutio; non quod aliud esset
distinct as-if true speech not that other-thing would-be
asinae illud quam rudere, nec quam sibillare serpenti. Si
for-the-ass that than to-bray nor than to-hiss for-the-serpent if
vero contra argumentetur quis de eo quod Ovidius dicit
but against argue someone about that which Ovid says
in quinto Metamorphoseos de picis loquentibus; dicimus
in the-fifth of-the-Metamorphoses about magpies speaking we-say
quod hoc figurate dicit, aliud intelligens. Et si dicatur
that this figuratively he-says another-thing understanding and if it-be-said
quod picae adhuc et aliae aves loquuntur, dicimus quod
that magpies still and other birds speak we-say that
falsum est; quia talis actus locutio non est, sed quaedam
false it-is because such an-act speech not is but a-certain

imitatio soni nostrae vocis; vel quod nituntur imitari nos
imitation of-the-sound of-our voice or that they-strive to-imitate us
in quantum sonamus, sed non in quantum loquimur. Unde
in as-much-as we-sound but not in as-much-as we-speak whence
si expresse dicenti pica resonaret etiam pica, non esset
if expressly to-one-saying a-magpie should-echo also magpie not would-be
hoc nisi repraesentatio vel imitatio soni illius qui prius
this except a-representation or imitation of-the-sound of-him who first
dixisset. Et sic patet soli homini datum fuisse loqui. Sed
had-said and thus is-plain alone to-man given to-have-been to-speak but
quare necessarium sibi foret, breviter pertractare conemur.
why necessary for-him it-would-be briefly to-treat let-us-try

III · WHY MAN NEEDS SPEECH

Man is moved by reason, not instinct, and reason so varies from one person to the next that each seems almost a species of his own; nor can one human spirit enter another, veiled as it is by the body. So mankind needed a sign both rational and sensible: rational, to take from one mind and carry to another, and sensible, since nothing passes between minds except through the senses. Speech is that sign, sensible as sound and rational as signifying by convention.

Cum igitur homo non naturae instinctu sed ratione moveatur;
since therefore man not of-nature by-instinct but by-reason be-moved
et ipsa ratio vel circa discretionem, vel circa iudicium,
and the-very reason either about discernment or about judgment
vel circa electionem diversificetur in singulis, adeo ut fere
or about choice is-diversified in individuals so-much that almost
quilibet sua propria specie videatur gaudere; per proprios
each-one in-his own species seems to-rejoice through their-own
actus vel passiones, ut brutum animal, neminem alium
acts or passions as a-brute animal no-one other

intelligere opinamur; nec per spiritualem speculationem, ut
to-understand we-think nor through spiritual contemplation as
angelum, alterum alterum introire contingit: cum grossitie
an-angel one another to-enter it-happens since by-the-grossness
atque opacitate mortalis corporis humanus spiritus sit obtentus.
and opacity of-the-mortal body the-human spirit is obscured
Oportuit ergo genus humanum ad communicandum inter
it-behooved therefore the-race human for communicating among
se conceptiones suas aliquod rationale signum et sensuale
themselves conceptions their some rational sign and sensible
habere; quia, cum de ratione accipere habeat et in rationem
to-have because since from reason to-receive it-has and into reason
portare, rationale esse oportuit; cumque de una ratione in
to-carry rational to-be it-behooved and-since from one reason into
aliam nihil deferri possit nisi per medium sensuale,
another nothing to-be-conveyed can except through a-medium sensible
sensuale esse oportuit: quare si tantum rationale esset,
sensible to-be it-behooved wherefore if only rational it-were
pertransire non posset; si tantum sensuale, nec a ratione
to-pass-across not it-could if only sensible neither from reason
accipere nec in rationem deponere potuisset. Hoc equidem
to-receive nor into reason to-deposit it-could-have this indeed
signum est ipsum subiectum nobile de quo loquimur: nam
sign is the-very subject noble about which we-speak for
sensuale quid est, in quantum sonus est; rationale vero,
sensible something it-is in as-much-as sound it-is rational indeed
in quantum aliquid significare videtur ad placitum.
in as-much-as something to-signify it-seems at pleasure

Genesis records Eve speaking first, to the serpent, but it is reasonable to believe that Adam spoke before her, since so noble an act should come from the man first. His first word was the name of God, El, as a question or an answer: after the fall every speech begins with alas*, so before it the first speech began with joy, which is God. If Adam answered God, God need not have spoken in our sense, for if the air moves to thunder at the command of nature, God's minister, it can sound words at God's.*

Soli homini datum fuit ut loqueretur, ut ex praemissis
alone to-man given it-was that he-should-speak as from the-premises
manifestum est. Nunc quoque investigandum esse existimo,
manifest it-is now also to-be-investigated to-be I-think
cui hominum primum locutio data sit, et quid primitus
to-whom of-men first speech given was and what at-first
locutus fuerit, et ad quem, et ubi, et quando, nec non et
spoken he-had and to whom and where and when and also and
sub quo idiomate primiloquium emanavit. Secundum quidem
under which idiom the-first-speech issued according indeed
quod in principio legitur Genesis, ubi de primordio mundi
to-what in the-beginning is-read of-Genesis where about the-beginning of-the-world
sacratissima Scriptura pertractat, mulierem invenitur ante
the-most-sacred Scripture treats the-woman is-found before
omnes fuisse locutam, scilicet praesumptuosissimam Evam,
all to-have-been spoken namely the-most-presumptuous Eve
cum diabolo sciscitanti respondit: 'De fructu lignorum quae
when to-the-devil questioning she-answered of the-fruit of-the-trees which
sunt in paradiso vescimur; de fructu vero ligni quod est
are in paradise we-eat of the-fruit but of-the-tree which is
in medio paradisi, praecepit nobis Deus ne comederemus
in the-middle of-paradise commanded us God that-not we-should-eat
nec tangeremus, ne forte moriamur.' Sed quamquam mulier
nor we-should-touch lest perhaps we-die but although the-woman

in scriptis prius inveniatur locuta, rationabile tamen est ut
in the-writings first be-found spoken reasonable yet it-is that
hominem prius locutum fuisse credamus: nec inconvenienter
the-man first spoken to-have-been we-believe nor unfittingly
putatur, tam egregium humani generis actum prius a viro
it-is-thought so excellent of-the-human race an-act first from the-man
quam a foemina profluisse. Rationabiliter ergo credimus
than from the-woman to-have-flowed reasonably therefore we-believe
ipsi Adae prius datum fuisse loqui ab Eo qui statim
to-the-very Adam first given to-have-been to-speak by Him who at-once
ipsum plasmaverat. Quod autem prius vox primi loquentis
him had-formed what moreover first the-voice of-the-first speaker
sonaverit, viro sanae mentis in promptu esse non titubo,
sounded to-a-man of-sound mind in readiness to-be not I-hesitate
ipsum fuisse quod Deus est, scilicet El, vel per modum
it to-have-been what God is namely El either by way
interrogationis, vel per modum responsionis. Absurdum atque
of-question or by way of-answer absurd and
rationi videtur horrificum ante Deum ab homine quicquam
to-reason it-seems horrifying before God by man anything
nominatum fuisse, cum ab ipso et in ipsum factus fuisset
named to-have-been since by him and into him made had-been
homo. Nam sicut, post praevaricationem humani generis,
man for as after the-transgression of-the-human race
quilibet exordium suae locutionis incipit ab heu; rationabile
each-one the-beginning of-his speech begins from alas reasonable
est quod ante qui fuit inciperet a gaudio: et quod nullum
it-is that before he-who was should-begin from joy and that no
gaudium sit extra Deum sed totum in Deo, et ipse Deus
joy be outside God but all in God and the-very God
totus sit gaudium, consequens est quod primus loquens primo
whole be joy consequent it-is that the-first speaker first

et ante omnia dixisset, Deus. Oritur et hic ista quaestio,
and before all-things had-said God arises and here this question
cum dicimus superius per viam responsionis hominem
since we-say above by way of-answer man
primum fuisse locutum: si responsio, fuit ad Deum?
first to-have-been spoken if the-answer was to God
nam si ad Deum fuit, iam videretur quod Deus locutus
for if to God it-was already it-would-seem that God spoken
exstitisset, quod contra superius praelibata videtur insurgere.
had-been which against above the-foregoing it-seems to-rise-up
Ad quod quidem dicimus quod bene potuit respondisse Deo
to which indeed we-say that well he-could to-have-answered God
interrogante, nec propter hoc Deus locutus est ipsam quam
questioning nor on-account-of this God spoken has that-very which
dicimus locutionem. Quis enim dubitat quicquid est ad Dei
we-call speech who for doubts whatever is at of-God
nutum esse flexibile? quo quidem facta, quo conservata,
the-nod to-be pliable by-whom indeed made by-whom preserved
quo etiam gubernata sunt omnia. Igitur cum ad tantas
by-whom also governed are all-things therefore since to such-great
alterationes moveatur aër imperio naturae inferioris, quae
alterations is-moved the-air by-the-command of-nature lower which
ministra et factura Dei est, ut tonitrua personet, ignem
handmaid and handiwork of-God is so-that thunders it-sound fire
fulgoret, aquam gemat, spargat nivem, grandines lancinet;
it-flash water it-groan it-scatter snow hail it-rend
nonne imperio Dei movebitur ad quaedam sonare verba,
surely by-the-command of-God it-will-be-moved to certain to-sound words
ipso distinguente qui maiora distinxit? Quidni? Quare ad
himself distinguishing who greater-things distinguished why-not wherefore to
hoc et ad quaedam alia haec sufficere credimus.
this and to certain other-things these to-suffice we-believe

Adam spoke to God, and spoke as soon as he was breathed into life, since being heard is more human than hearing. If it is objected that he was alone and God knows our thoughts without words, God willed that he speak so that the giver of so great a gift might be glorified in its use. Whether the first speech was uttered inside paradise or outside it depends on where man was first given breath.

Opinantes autem (non sine ratione tam ex superioribus
thinking moreover not without reason as-much from the-things-above
quam inferioribus sumpta), ad ipsum Deum primitus primum
as from-the-lower taken to the-very God at-first the-first
hominem direxisse locutionem, rationabiliter dicimus ipsum
man to-have-directed speech reasonably we-say him
loquentem primum, mox postquam afflatus est ab
speaking first soon after breathed-upon he-was by
animante virtute, incunctanter fuisse locutum: nam in
the-animating power without-hesitation to-have-been spoken for in
homine sentiri humanius credimus quam sentire, dummodo
man to-be-perceived more-human we-believe than to-perceive provided-that
sentiatur et sentiat tamquam homo. Si ergo faber ille
he-be-perceived and he-perceive as man if therefore maker that
atque perfectionis principium et amator afflando primum
and of-perfection the-principle and lover by-breathing first
nostrum omni perfectione complevit, rationabile nobis apparet
our with-all perfection filled reasonable to-us it-appears
nobilissimum animal non ante sentire quam sentiri coepisse.
the-most-noble animal not before to-perceive than to-be-perceived to-have-begun
Si quis vero fatetur contra obiciens, quod non oportebat illum
if anyone but declares against objecting that not it-was-fitting him
loqui cum solus adhuc homo existeret, et Deus omnia sine
to-speak since alone still man existed and God all-things without

verbis arcana nostra discernat, etiam ante quam nos; cum illa
words secrets our discerns even before than we with that
reverentia dicimus qua uti oportet cum de aeterna voluntate
reverence we-say which to-use it-behooves when about the-eternal will
aliquid iudicamus, quod licet Deus sciret, imo praesciret
something we-judge that although God knew nay foreknew
(quod idem est quantum ad Deum), absque locutione
which the-same is as-far to God without speech
conceptum primi loquentis, voluit tamen et ipsum loqui;
the-concept of-the-first speaker he-willed yet also him to-speak
ut in explicatione tantae dotis gloriaretur ipse qui gratis
that in the-unfolding of-so-great a-gift should-glory he-himself who freely
dotaverat. Et ideo divinitus in nobis esse credendum est, quod
had-endowed and therefore divinely in us to-be to-be-believed it-is that
actu nostrorum effectuum ordinato laetamur: et hinc penitus
in-the-act of-our effects ordered we-rejoice and hence thoroughly
eligere possumus locum illum ubi effutita est prima locutio:
to-choose we-can place that where uttered was the-first speech
quoniam si extra paradisum afflatus est homo, extra; si
since if outside paradise breathed-upon was man outside if
vero intra, intra fuisse locum primae locutionis convicimus.
but inside inside to-have-been the-place of-the-first speech we-have-proved

VI · THE LANGUAGE OF ADAM

Many think their own birthplace the finest under the sun and their mother tongue Adam's. Dante, whose homeland is the world, though he drank the Arno before he had teeth and suffers exile for loving Florence, judges by reason: there are nobler and pleasanter cities than Florence, and peoples whose speech is sweeter than Italian. God created a definite form of speech with the first soul, in words, construction, and pronunciation; all used it until Babel, and the sons of Heber kept it, so Hebrew was the language of Adam.

Quoniam permultis ac diversis idiomatibus negotium
since by-very-many and diverse idioms the-business
exercitatur humanum, ita quod multi multis non aliter
is-conducted human so that many by-many not otherwise
intelligantur per verba quam sine verbis; de idiomate illo
are-understood through words than without words about idiom that
venari nos decet quo vir sine matre, vir sine lacte,
to-hunt us it-befits which the-man without mother the-man without milk
qui neque pupillarem aetatem nec vidit adultam, creditur
who neither the-pupillary age nor saw grown is-believed
usus. In hoc, sicut etiam in multis aliis, Petramala
to-have-used in this as also in many other-things Petramala
civitas amplissima est, et patria maiori parti filiorum
a-city most-ample is and the-fatherland for-the-greater part of-the-sons
Adam. Nam quicunque tam obscenae rationis est, ut locum
of-Adam for whoever so obscene of-reason is that the-place
suae nationis delitiosissimum credat esse sub sole, hic
of-his nation most-delightful he-believe to-be under the-sun he
etiam prae cunctis proprium vulgare licetur, idest maternam
also before all-things his-own vernacular he-prizes that-is the-maternal
locutionem, et per consequens credit ipsum fuisse illud
speech and by consequence he-believes it to-have-been that

quod fuit Adae. Nos autem cui mundus est patria,
which was Adam's we but to-whom the-world is fatherland
velut piscibus aequor, quamquam Sarnum biberimus ante
as to-fishes the-sea although the-Arno we-drank before
dentes, et Florentiam adeo diligamus ut, quia dileximus,
teeth and Florence so-much we-love that because we-loved
exilium patiamur iniuste, rationi magis quam sensui spatulas
exile we-suffer unjustly on-reason rather than on-sense the-shoulders
nostri iudicii podiamus. Et quamvis ad voluptatem nostram
of-our judgment we-lean and although to pleasure our
sive nostrae sensualitatis quietem, in terris amoenior locus
or of-our sensuality the-rest on earth a-more-pleasant place
quam Florentia non existat, revolventes et poetarum et
than Florence not exist revolving both of-the-poets and
aliorum scriptorum volumina quibus mundus universaliter et
of-other writers the-volumes by-which the-world universally and
membratim describitur, ratiocinantesque in nobis situationes
in-its-members is-described and-reasoning in ourselves the-situations
varias mundi locorum, et eorum habitudinem ad utrumque
various of-the-world's places and their relation to each
polum et circulum aequatorem, multas esse perpendimus
pole and the-circle equatorial many to-be we-weigh
firmiterque censemus et magis nobiles et magis delitiosas
and-firmly we-judge both more noble and more delightful
et regiones et urbes quam Thusciam et Florentiam unde
both regions and cities than Tuscany and Florence whence
sumus oriundus et civis; et plerasque nationes et gentes
we-are sprung and citizen and very-many nations and peoples
delectabiliori atque utiliori sermone uti quam Latinos.
a-more-delightful and more-useful language to-use than the-Latins
Redeuntes igitur ad propositum, dicimus certam formam
returning therefore to the-purpose we-say a-certain form

locutionis a Deo cum anima prima concreatam fuisse; dico
of-speech by God with the-soul first created-together to-have-been I-say
autem formam, et quantum ad rerum vocabula, et quantum
moreover the-form both as-far to of-things the-words and as-far
ad vocabulorum constructionem, et quantum ad constructionis
to of-the-words the-construction and as-far to of-the-construction
prolationem; qua quidem forma omnis lingua loquentium
the-utterance which indeed form every tongue of-speakers
uteretur, ni culpa praesumptionis humanae dissipata
would-use unless by-the-fault of-presumption human dispersed
fuisset, ut inferius ostendetur. Hac forma locutionis locutus
it-had-been as below will-be-shown in-this form of-speech spoken
est Adam, hac forma locutionis locuti sunt omnes posteri
has Adam in-this form of-speech spoken have all descendants
eius usque ad aedificationem turris Babel, quae turris
his up to the-building of-the-tower of-Babel which tower
confusionis interpretatur: hanc formam locutionis hereditati
of-confusion is-interpreted this form of-speech inherited
sunt filii Heber, qui ab eo dicti sunt Hebraei. Iis
have the-sons of-Heber who from him called were Hebrews to-them
solis post confusionem remansit, ut Redemptor noster, qui
alone after the-confusion it-remained so-that Redeemer our who
ex illis oriturus erat secundum humanitatem, non lingua
from them to-arise was according-to humanity not the-tongue
confusionis sed gratiae frueretur. Fuit ergo hebraicum
of-confusion but of-grace might-enjoy it-was therefore Hebrew
idioma illud quod primi loquentis labia fabricaverunt.
the-idiom that which of-the-first speaker the-lips fashioned

Ashamed to recall it, Dante tells how man, not chastened by the fall or the flood, rose a third time, persuaded by the giant, to surpass nature and God himself by building the tower of Babel. God punished him with a father's rod: those who had served the work in one language were struck with many, each craft keeping one speech among its own, and the more skilled the craft, the rougher its new speech. Only the descendants of Shem, who scorned the work, kept the sacred tongue.

Dispudet heu nunc humani generis ignominiam renovare!
it-shames alas now of-the-human race the-ignominy to-renew
Sed quia praeterire non possumus quin transeamus, per
but because to-pass-over not we-can but-that we-go-across through
illam (quamquam rubor in ora consurgat, animusque
it although a-blush to the-face rise and-the-mind
refugiat) percurremus. Oh semper nostra natura prona
shrink we-shall-run-through oh ever our nature prone
peccatis, oh ab initio et nunquam desinens nequitatrix!
to-sins oh from the-beginning and never ceasing wickedness-worker
num fuerat satis ad tui correptionem, quod per
surely-not had-it-been enough for your correction that through
primam praevaricationem eluminata delitiarum exulabas
the-first transgression deprived-of-light of-delights you-were-exiled
a patria? num satis quod per universalem familiae
from the-fatherland surely-not enough that through the-universal of-household
tuae luxuriem et trucitatem, unica reservata domo, quicquid
your lust and savagery one preserved house whatever
tui iuris erat cataclysmo perierat? et quae commiseras
of-your right was by-the-flood had-perished and which you-had-committed
tu, animalia coelique terraeque iam luerant? Quippe satis
you the-animals both-of-heaven and-of-earth already had-paid-for surely enough
exstiterat; sed sicut proverbialiter dici solet, Non ante
it-had-been but as proverbially to-be-said it-is-wont not before

tertium equitabis, misera miserum venire maluisti ad
the-third you-will-ride wretched-one wretched to-come you-preferred to
equum. Ecce, lector, quod vel oblitus homo vel vilipendens
the-horse behold O-reader that either forgetful man or despising
disciplinas priores, et avertens oculos a vibicibus quae
the-disciplines former and turning-away the-eyes from the-weals which
remanserant, tertio insurrexit ad verbera per superbam
had-remained a-third-time he-rose to the-lashes through proud
stultitiam praesumendo. Praesumpsit ergo in corde suo
folly by-presuming presumed therefore in heart his
incurabilis homo, sub persuasione gigantis, arte sua non
incurable man under the-persuasion of-the-giant by-art his not
solum superare naturam, sed etiam ipsum naturantem, qui
only to-surpass nature but also the-very nature-maker who
Deus est; et coepit aedificare turrim in Sennaar, quae postea
God is and he-began to-build a-tower in Sennaar which afterward
dicta est Babel, hoc est confusio, per quam coelum sperabat
called was Babel that is confusion through which heaven he-hoped
ascendere: intendens inscius non aequare, sed suum superare
to-ascend intending unknowing not to-equal but his to-surpass
factorem. Oh sine mensura clementia coelestis imperii! quis
maker oh without measure clemency of-the-heavenly empire which
patrum tot sustineret insultus a filio? Sed exsurgens, non
of-fathers so-many would-bear insults from a-son but rising not
hostili scutica sed paterna et alias verberibus assueta,
with-hostile scourge but paternal and at-other-times to-blows accustomed
rebellantem filium pia correctione, necnon memorabili
the-rebelling son with-a-pious correction and-also memorable
castigavit. Siquidem pene totum humanum genus ad opus
he-chastised for almost the-whole human race to the-work
iniquitatis coierat; pars imperabant, pars architectabantur,
of-iniquity had-come-together part were-commanding part were-architects

pars muros moliebantur, pars amussibus regulabant, pars
part walls were-building part with-rules were-straightening part
trullis linebant, pars scindere rupes, pars mari, pars terra
with-trowels were-plastering part to-cut rocks part by-sea part by-land
vehere intendebant, partesque diversae diversis aliis operibus
to-carry were-intending and-parts diverse to-diverse other works
indulgebant, cum coelitus tanta confusione percussi
were-giving-themselves when from-heaven with-such-great confusion struck
sunt, ut qui omnes una eademque loquela deserviebant
they-were that who all with-one and-the-same speech were-serving
ad opus, ab opere multis diversificati loquelis desinerent, et
for the-work from the-work by-many diversified speeches ceased and
nunquam ad idem commercium convenirent. Solis etenim
never to the-same intercourse came-together to-those-alone for
in uno convenientibus actu eadem loquela remansit, puta
in one agreeing in-act the-same speech remained for-example
cunctis architectoribus una, cunctis saxa volventibus una,
to-all architects one to-all stones rolling one
cunctis ea parantibus una; et sic de singulis operantibus
to-all them preparing one and so about the-individual workers
accidit. Quotquot autem exercitii varietates tendebant ad
it-happened as-many moreover of-employment the-varieties tended to
opus, tottot idiomatibus tunc genus humanum disiungitur;
the-work by-so-many idioms then the-race human is-disjoined
et quanto excellentius exercebant, tanto rudius nunc
and the-more excellently they-were-exercising so-much-the more-rudely now
barbariusque loquuntur. Quibus autem sacratum idioma
and-more-barbarously they-speak to-whom but the-sacred idiom
remansit, nec aderant, nec exercitium commendabant; sed
remained neither were-present nor the-employment commended but
graviter detestantes, stoliditatem operantium deridebant. Sed
gravely detesting the-stupidity of-the-workers mocked but

haec minima pars quantum ad numerum fuit de semine
this least part as-far to number was of the-seed
Sem, sicut conicio, qui fuit tertius filius Noe; de qua
of-Shem as I-conjecture who was the-third son of-Noah from which
quidem ortus est populus Israel, qui antiquissima locutione
indeed arisen is the-people of-Israel who the-most-ancient speech
sunt usi usque ad suam dispersionem.
have used up to their dispersion

VIII · THE THREE TONGUES OF EUROPE

After the confusion, men spread through every region, and those who reached Europe brought a threefold idiom. One held the north, from the mouths of the Danube to England, and answers io*; a second held the east beyond the Hungarians, part of Europe and part of Asia, the Greeks; the third held the south, now divided into the speakers of* oc, oil, *and* sì*: the Spanish, the French, and the Italians. That these three came from one idiom is plain from the many words they share. Dante sets out where each is spoken.*

Ex praecendenter memorata confusione linguarum non leviter
from the-previously mentioned confusion of-tongues not lightly
opinamur per universa mundi climata climatumque plagas
we-think through all of-the-world the-climes and-of-the-climes the-regions
incolendas et angulos tunc primum homines fuisse
to-be-inhabited and corners then first men to-have-been
dispersos. Et cum radix humanae propaginis principalis
dispersed and since the-root of-the-human offspring principal
in oris orientalibus sit plantata; nec non ab inde ad
in the-shores eastern be planted and also from thence to
utrumque latus, per diffusos multipliciter palmites, nostra sit
each side through spread manifoldly shoots our be

extensa propago, demumque ad fines occidentales protracta,
extended offspring and-at-last to the-limits western drawn-out
est forte primitus tunc vel totius Europae flumina, vel
it-is perhaps at-first then either of-the-whole of-Europe the-rivers or
saltem quaedam, rationalia guttura potaverunt. Sed sive
at-least certain rational throats drank but whether
advenae tunc primitus advenissent, sive ad Europam indigenae
newcomers then at-first had-arrived or to Europe natives
repedissent, idioma secum trifarium homines attulerunt;
had-returned an-idiom with-them threefold men brought
et afferentium hoc alii meridionalem, alii septemtrionalem
and of-those-bringing this some southern others northern
regionem in Europa sibi sortiti sunt; et tertii, quos
region in Europe for-themselves allotted have and the-third whom
nunc Graecos vocamus, partem Europae, partem Asiae
now Greeks we-call part of-Europe part of-Asia
occuparunt. Ab uno postea eodemque idiomate in vindice
occupied from one afterward and-the-same idiom in the-avenging
confusione recepto diversa vulgaria traxerunt originem, sicut
confusion received diverse vernaculars drew origin as
inferius ostendemus. Nam totum quod ab ostiis Danubii
below we-shall-show for all which from the-mouths of-the-Danube
sive Meotidis paludibus usque ad fines occidentales Angliae,
or the-Maeotian marshes up to the-limits western of-England
Italorum Francorumque finibus et Oceano limitatur, solum
by-the-Italians' and-the-Franks' limits and the-Ocean is-bounded alone
unum obtinuit idioma; licet postea per Sclavones, Ungaros,
one held idiom although afterward through Slavs Hungarians
Teutonicos, Saxones, Anglicos, et alias nationes quamplures,
Teutons Saxons English and other nations very-many
fuerit per diversa vulgaria dirivatum; hoc solo fere omnibus
it-was through diverse vernaculars derived this alone almost to-all

in signum eiusdem principii remanente, quod quasi praedicti
in sign of-the-same beginning remaining that as-it-were the-aforesaid
omnes io affirmando respondent. Ab isto incipiens idiomate,
all io by-affirming answer from this beginning idiom
videlicet a finibus Ungarorum versus orientem, aliud
namely from the-limits of-the-Hungarians toward the-east another
occupavit totum quod ab inde vocatur Europa, nec non
occupied all which from there is-called Europe and also
ulterius est protractum. Totum autem quod in Europa restat
further is extended all moreover which in Europe remains
ab istis tertium tenuit idioma, licet nunc trifarium videatur.
from these a-third held idiom although now threefold it-seem
Nam alii oc, alii oil, alii sì, affirmando loquuntur; ut
for some oc others oil others sì by-affirming speak as
puta Hispani, Franci et Latini. Signum autem quod ab
for-example Spaniards French and Latins the-sign moreover that from
uno eodemque idiomate istarum trium gentium progrediantur
one and-the-same idiom of-these three peoples proceed
Vulgaria in promptu est, quia multa per eadem vocabula
the-vernaculars in readiness it-is because many-things by the-same words
nominare videntur, ut Deum, coelum, amorem, mare,
to-name they-seem as God heaven love sea
terram, est, vivit, moritur, amat, alia fere omnia. Istorum
earth is lives dies loves others almost all of-these
vero proferentes oc, meridionalis Europae tenent partem
but the-ones-uttering oc of-southern Europe hold the-part
occidentalem, a Ianuensium finibus incipientes. Qui autem sì
western from the-Genoese's limits beginning who moreover sì
dicunt, a praedictis finibus orientalem tenent, videlicet usque
say from the-aforesaid limits the-eastern hold namely up
ad promontorium illud Italiae qua sinus Adriatici maris incipit
to promontory that of-Italy where the-gulf of-the-Adriatic sea begins

et Siciliam. Sed loquentes oil, quodammodo septemtrionales
and Sicily but the-ones-speaking oil in-a-way northern
sunt respectu istorum; nam ab oriente Alamannos habent
are with-respect-to these for on-the east the-Germans they-have
et a septemtrione, ab occidente Anglico mari vallati
and on-the north on-the west by-the-English sea enclosed
sunt, et montibus Aragoniae terminati, a meridie
they-are and by-the-mountains of-Aragon bounded on-the south
quoque Provincialibus et Apennini devexione clauduntur.
also by-the-Provençals and of-the-Apennine by-the-slope they-are-closed

IX · WHY LANGUAGES CHANGE

Without any authority to lean on, Dante studies the change within his own threefold idiom, whose unity is shown by the poets' shared words, amor *above all, as three quotations show. Speech varies between regions, between neighboring cities, and even within one city, because after Babel every language was remade at man's pleasure, and man is the most changeable of animals; so speech changes with place and time like customs and dress. Grammar was invented as a speech that does not change, so that the ancients could still be understood.*

Nos autem nunc oportet quam habemus rationem periclitari,
we but now it-behooves which we-have reason to-risk
cum inquirere intendamus de iis in quibus nullius auctoritate
since to-inquire we-intend about those in which of-no-one by-authority
fulcimur, hoc est de unius eiusdemque a principio
we-are-propped that is about of-one and-the-same from the-beginning
idiomatis variatione secuta. Quia per notiora itinera
idiom the-variation having-followed because through better-known roads
salubrius breviusque transitur, per istud tantum quod nobis
more-safely and-more-briefly one-passes through that only which to-us

est idioma pergamus, alia desinentes. Nam quod in uno est
is idiom let-us-proceed the-others leaving for what in one is
rationale, videtur in aliis esse causa. Est igitur super quod
rational seems in the-others to-be the-cause is therefore upon which
gradimur idioma tractando, trifarium, ut superius dictum est,
we-step the-idiom by-treating threefold as above said it-is
nam alii oc, alii sì, alii vero dicunt oil. Et quod unum
for some oc others sì others but say oil and that one
fuerit a principio confusionis (quod prius probandum est)
it-was from the-beginning of-the-confusion which first to-be-proved is
apparet, quia convenimus in vocabulis multis, velut eloquentes
appears because we-agree in words many as the-eloquent
doctores ostendunt. Quae quidem convenientia ipsi
doctors show which indeed agreement to-the-very
confusioni repugnat, quae luit delictum in aedificatione
confusion is-repugnant which paid-for the-offense in the-building
Babel. Trilingues ergo doctores in multis conveniunt; et
of-Babel the-three-tongued therefore doctors in many-things agree and
maxime in hoc vocabulo quod est Amor: Gerardus de Borneil:
especially in this word which is Love Giraut de Bornelh

'Sim sentis fezelz amics,
if-myself I-felt faithful friend
Per ver encusara Amor.'
for true I-would-accuse Love

Rex Navarrae:
King of-Navarre

'De fin amor si vient sen et bonté.'
from fine love thus comes wisdom and goodness

Dom. Guido Guinizelli:
Lord Guido Guinizelli

'Nè fa amor, prima che gentil core,
nor makes love before than gentle heart
Nè cor gentil, prima ch' amor, natura.'
nor heart gentle before than love nature

Quare autem trifarie principalius variatum sit, investigemus,
why moreover threefold principally varied it-is let-us-investigate
et quare quaelibet istarum variationum in se ipsa varietur,
and why each of-these variations in it itself be-varied
puta dextrae Italiae locutio ab ea quae est sinistrae;
for-example of-right Italy the-speech from that which is of-left
nam aliter Paduani, et aliter Pisani loquuntur; et
for otherwise the-Paduans and otherwise the-Pisans speak and
quare vicinius habitantes adhuc discrepant in loquendo, ut
why more-nearly dwelling still they-differ in speaking as
Mediolanenses et Veronenses, Romani et Florentini; nec
the-Milanese and the-Veronese the-Romans and the-Florentines and
non convenientes in eodem nomine gentis, ut Neapolitani
also agreeing in the-same name of-people as the-Neapolitans
et Caetani, Ravennates et Faventini; et quod mirabilius
and the-Gaetans the-Ravennese and the-Faentines and what more-wonderful
est, sub eadem civitate morantes, ut Bononienses Burgi
is under the-same city dwelling as the-Bolognese of-the-Borgo
S. Felicis, et Bononienses Stratae Maioris. Eae omnes
San Felice and the-Bolognese of-the-Strada Maggiore these all
differentiae, atque sermonum varietates, quid accederent,
differences and of-languages varieties why they-happened
una eademque ratione patebit. Dicimus ergo quod nullus
by-one and-the-same reason will-be-plain we-say therefore that no

effectus superat suam caussam in quantum effectus est, quia
effect surpasses its cause in as-much-as effect it-is because
nihil potest efficere quod non est. Cum igitur omnis nostra
nothing can to-effect what not it-is since therefore all our
loquela (praeter illam homini primo concreatam a Deo)
speech except that with-man first created-together by God
sit a nostro beneplacito reparata post confusionem illam,
be by our good-pleasure repaired after confusion that
quae nil fuit aliud quam prioris oblivio, et homo sit
which nothing was other than of-the-former forgetting and man be
instabilissimum atque variabilissimum animal, nec durabilis
most-unstable and most-variable an-animal neither lasting
nec continua esse potest; sed sicut alia quae nostra sunt
nor continuous to-be it-can but as other-things which ours are
(puta mores et habitus), per locorum temporumque
for-example customs and habits through of-places and-of-times
distantias variari oportet. Nec dubitandum reor modo in eo
distances to-vary it-behooves nor to-be-doubted I-think merely in that
quod diximus temporum, sed potius opinamur tenendum;
which we-said of-times but rather we-think to-be-held
nam si alia nostra opera perscrutemur, multo magis
for if other our works we-scrutinize much more
discrepare videmur a vetustissimis concivibus nostris quam
to-differ we-seem from most-ancient fellow-citizens our than
a coetaneis perlonginquis. Quapropter audacter testamur,
from contemporaries very-far-off wherefore boldly we-testify
quod si vetustissimi Papienses nunc resurgerent, sermone
that if the-most-ancient Pavians now rose-again in-language
vario vel diverso cum modernis Papiensibus loquerentur;
varied or different with the-modern Pavians they-would-speak
nec aliter mirum videatur quod dicimus, quam percipere
nor otherwise wonderful seem what we-say than to-perceive

iuvenem exoletum, quem exolescere non videremus. Nam
a-youth grown-up whom to-grow-up not we-saw for
quae paulatim moventur, minime perpenduntur a nobis;
things-which gradually are-moved by-no-means are-weighed by us
et quam longiora tempora variatio rei ad perpendi
and the longer times the-variation of-a-thing for to-be-weighed
requirit, tanto rem illam stabiliorem putamus. Non etenim
requires so-much-the thing that more-stable we-think not for
admiremur, si extimationes hominum qui parum distant
let-us-wonder if the-estimations of-men who little differ
a brutis putant eandem civitatem sub invariabili semper
from brutes think the-same city under an-invariable always
civicasse sermone, cum sermonis variatio civitatis
to-have-lived-as-citizens language since of-language the-variation of-a-city
eiusdem non sine longissima temporum successione paulatim
the-same not without a-very-long of-times succession gradually
contingat, et hominum vita sit etiam ipsa sua natura
happen and of-men the-life be also by-the-very its nature
brevissima. Si ergo per eandem gentem sermo variatur (ut
very-short if therefore through the-same people language varies as
dictum est) successive per tempora, nec stare ullo modo
said it-is successively through times nor to-stand in-any way
potest, necesse est ut disiunctim abmotimque morantibus
it-can necessary it-is that disjoinedly and-removedly dwelling
varie varietur; ceu varie variantur mores et habitus, qui
variously it-be-varied as variously are-varied customs and habits which
nec natura nec consortio firmantur, sed humanis beneplacitis
neither by-nature nor by-fellowship are-made-firm but from-human good-pleasures
localique congruitate nascuntur. Hinc moti sunt inventores
and-local fitness are-born hence moved were the-inventors
grammaticae facultatis: quae quidem grammatica nil aliud
of-the-grammatical faculty which indeed grammar nothing other

est quam quaedam inalterabilis locutionis identitas diversis
is than a-certain unalterable of-speech identity in-diverse
temporibus atque locis. Haec cum de communi consensu
times and places this since from common consent
multarum gentium fuerit regulata, nulli singulari arbitrio
of-many peoples it-was regulated to-no individual will
videtur obnoxia, et per consequens, nec variabilis esse potest.
it-seems subject and by consequence not variable to-be it-can
Adinvenerunt ergo illam, ne propter variationem sermonis
they-invented therefore it lest on-account-of the-variation of-language
arbitrio singularium fluitantis, vel nullo modo, vel saltem
by-the-will of-individuals fluctuating either in-no way or at-least
imperfecte, antiquorum attingeremus auctoritates et gesta, sive
imperfectly of-the-ancients we-should-reach the-authorities and deeds or
illorum quos a nobis locorum diversitas facit esse diversos.
of-those whom from us of-places the-diversity makes to-be diverse

X · THE MANY DIALECTS OF ITALY

Dante does not dare to rank the three tongues, except that the founders of grammar took sic *as their adverb of affirmation, which seems to give the Italians a priority. The French claim all vernacular prose, the Bible, histories of Troy and Rome, and Arthur's tales; the Provençal claim the first vernacular poets; the Italians claim the sweetest and subtlest poets, Cino and his friend, and a closer kinship to grammar. Turning to Italy, he divides it by the Apennines into a right side and a left and names the regions on each; there are at least fourteen dialects, each varying within itself, and over a thousand variations counting the smaller ones.*

Trifario nunc exeunte nostro idiomate (ut superius dictum
threefold now going-forth our idiom as above said
est) in comparatione sui ipsius, secundum quod trisonum
it-is in comparison of-itself itself according as three-sounding

factum est, cum tanta timiditate cunctamur librantes,
made it-is with such-great timidity we-hesitate weighing
quod hanc, vel istam, vel illam partem in comparando
that this or that or that part in comparing
praeponere non audemus, nisi eo quo grammaticae
to-prefer not we-dare except in-that by-which of-grammar
positores inveniuntur accepisse sic, adverbium affirmandi:
the-founders are-found to-have-taken sic the-adverb of-affirming
quod quandam anterioritatem erogare videtur Italis, qui
which a-certain priority to-bestow seems on-the-Italians who
sì dicunt. Quaelibet enim partium largo testimonio se
sì say each for of-the-parts by-ample testimony itself
tuetur. Allegat ergo pro se lingua oil, quod propter sui
defends alleges therefore for itself the-tongue oil that on-account-of its
faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem, quicquid redactum
easier and more-delightful vernacular-quality whatever set-down
sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum, suum est: videlicet
or invented is in vernacular prose its is namely
biblia cum Troianorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata,
the-Bible with of-the-Trojans and-of-the-Romans the-deeds compiled
et Arturi regis ambages pulcerrimae, et quam plures aliae
and of-Arthur king the-adventures most-beautiful and very many other
historiae ac doctrinae. Pro se vero argumentatur alia,
histories and doctrines for itself but argues the-other
scilicet oc, quod vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati
namely oc that the-vernacular eloquent in it first versified
sunt, tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquela: ut puta
have as-if in a-more-perfect and-sweeter speech as for-example
Petrus de Alvernia, et alii antiquiores doctores. Tertia quae
Peter of Auvergne and other more-ancient doctors the-third which
Latinorum est, se duobus privilegiis attestatur praeesse: primo
of-the-Latins is itself by-two privileges attests to-excel first

quidem, quod qui dulcius subtiliusque poetati vulgariter
indeed that who more-sweetly and-more-subtly versified in-the-vernacular
sunt, ii familiares et domestici sui sunt; puta Cinus
have they intimates and household its are for-example Cino
Pistoriensis, et amicus eius: secundo, quia magis videntur
of-Pistoia and friend his second because more they-seem
inniti grammaticae, quae communis est: quod rationabiliter
to-lean on-grammar which common is which reasonably
inspicientibus videtur gravissimum argumentum. Nos vero
to-those-inspecting seems a-most-weighty argument we but
iudicium relinquentes in hoc, et tractatum nostrum ad
the-judgment leaving in this and treatise our to
vulgare Latinum retrahentes, et receptas in se variationes
the-vernacular Latin drawing-back and the-received in itself variations
dicere, nec non illas invicem comparare conemur. Dicimus
to-tell and also those mutually to-compare let-us-try we-say
ergo primo, Latium bipartitum esse in dextrum et
therefore first Latium bipartite to-be into right and
sinistrum. Si quis autem quaerat de linea dividente, breviter
left if anyone moreover ask about the-line dividing briefly
respondemus esse iugum Apennini, quod, ceu fistulae culmen,
we-answer to-be the-ridge of-the-Apennine which like of-a-pipe the-top
hinc inde ad diversa stillicidia grundat, aquas ad alterna
hence thence to diverse drips pours waters to alternate
hinc inde litora per imbricia longa distillat, ut Lucanus
hence thence shores through gutters long it-distills as Lucan
in secundo describit. Dextrum quidem latus Tyrrenum mare
in the-second describes the-right indeed side the-Tyrrhenian sea
grundatorium habet; laevum vero in Adriaticum cadit.
as-its-gutter has the-left but into the-Adriatic falls
Et dextri regiones sunt Apulia, sed non tota, Roma,
and of-the-right the-regions are Apulia but not whole Rome

Ducatus, Tuscia, et Ianuensis Marchia. Sinistri autem, pars
the-Duchy Tuscany and the-Genoese March of-the-left moreover part
Apuliae, Marca Anconitana, Romandiola, Lombardia, Marchia
of-Apulia the-March of-Ancona Romagna Lombardy the-March
Trivisiana, cum Venetiis. Forum Iulii vero et Istria non
of-Treviso with Venice Forum of-Julius but and Istria not
nisi laevae Italiae esse possunt: nec insulae Tyrreni
except of-left Italy to-be can nor the-islands of-the-Tyrrhenian
maris, videlicet Sicilia et Sardinia, non nisi dextrae Italiae
sea namely Sicily and Sardinia not except of-right Italy
sunt, vel ad dextram Italiam sociandae. In utroque quidem
are or to right Italy to-be-joined in each indeed
duorum laterum, et iis quae sequuntur ad ea, linguae
of-the-two sides and in-those which follow upon them the-tongues
hominum variantur, ut lingua Siculorum cum Apulis;
of-men are-varied as the-tongue of-the-Sicilians with the-Apulians
Apulorum cum Romanis; Romanorum cum Spoletanis; horum
of-the-Apulians with the-Romans of-the-Romans with the-Spoletans of-these
cum Tuscis; Tuscorum cum Ianuensibus; Ianuensium cum
with the-Tuscans of-the-Tuscans with the-Genoese of-the-Genoese with
Sardis; nec non Calabrorum cum Anconitanis; horum cum
the-Sardinians and also of-the-Calabrians with the-Anconitans of-these with
Romandiolis; Romandiolorum cum Lombardis; Lombardorum
the-Romagnols of-the-Romagnols with the-Lombards of-the-Lombards
cum Trivisianis et Venetis, et horum cum Aquileiensibus,
with the-Trevisans and Venetians and of-these with the-Aquileians
et istorum cum Istrianis; de quo Latinorum neminem
and of-those with the-Istrians about which of-the-Latins no-one
nobiscum dissentire putamus. Quare ad minus quatuordecim
with-us to-disagree we-think wherefore at least by-fourteen
vulgaribus sola videtur Italia variari: quae adhuc omnia
vernaculars alone seems Italy to-be-varied which still all

vulgaria in se se variantur, ut puta in Tuscia
vernaculars in themselves themselves are-varied as for-example in Tuscany
Senenses et Aretini; in Lombardia Ferrarienses et Placentini:
the-Sienese and the-Aretines in Lombardy the-Ferrarese and the-Piacentines
nec non in eadem civitate aliqualem variationem perpendimus,
and also in the-same city some variation we-weigh
ut superius in capitulo immediato posuimus. Quapropter
as above in the-chapter immediate we-set wherefore
si primas, et secundarias, et subsecundarias vulgaris
if the-first and the-second and the-sub-second of-the-vernacular
Italiae variationes calculare velimus, in hoc minimo mundi
of-Italy variations to-calculate we-wish in this least of-the-world
angulo non solum ad millenam loquelae variationem venire
corner not only to a-thousandfold of-speech variation to-come
contigerit, sed etiam ad magis ultra.
it-would-happen but even to more beyond

XI · THE UGLIEST DIALECTS REJECTED

To hunt for the most fitting Italian speech, Dante first clears the wood. The Romans' speech is the ugliest of all, as their manners are; then go the people of the March of Ancona and Spoleto, mocked in many songs, of which Dante quotes one by the Florentine Castra, the Milanese and Bergamasques, the people of Aquileia and Istria, with all mountain and country speech, such as that of the Casentino and Prato, and the Sardinians, who have no vernacular of their own and imitate grammar like apes.

Quam multis varietatibus latino dissonante vulgari, decentiorem
with-very many varieties the-Latin being-discordant vernacular the-more-seemly
atque illustrem Italiae venemur loquelam; et ut nostrae
and illustrious of-Italy let-us-hunt speech and so-that for-our

venationi pervium callem habere possimus, perplexos frutices
hunting a-passable path to-have we-may-be-able the-tangled shrubs
atque sentos prius eiciamus de silva. Sicut ergo Romani
and brambles first let-us-cast-out from the-wood as therefore the-Romans
se cunctis praeponendos extimant, in hac eradicatione sive
themselves to-all to-be-preferred esteem in this eradication or
discerptione non immerito eos aliis praeponamus, protestantes
plucking-apart not undeservedly them to-others let-us-prefer protesting
eosdem in nulla vulgaris eloquentiae ratione fore tangendos.
them in no of-vernacular eloquence account to-be to-be-touched
Dicimus igitur Romanorum non vulgare, sed potius
we-say therefore of-the-Romans not a-vernacular but rather
tristiloquium italorum vulgarium omnium esse turpissimum:
a-sad-speech of-Italian vernaculars all to-be the-foulest
nec mirum, cum etiam morum habituumque deformitate prae
nor wonderful since also of-customs and-habits by-deformity before
cunctis videantur foetere; dicunt enim: Mezzure, quinto dici.
all they-seem to-stink they-say for Sir what you-say
Post hos incolas Anconitanae Marchiae decerpamus, qui
after these the-inhabitants of-the-Anconitan March let-us-pluck-out who
Chignamente scate sciate loquuntur: cum quibus et Spoletanos
how you-stand you-are speak with whom also the-Spoletans
abicimus. Nec praetereundum est quod in improperium istarum
we-cast-off nor to-be-passed-over is that in reproach of-these
trium gentium cantiones quam plures inventae sunt, inter
three peoples songs very many invented are among

quas unam vidimus recte atque perfecte ligatam; quam quidam
which one we-saw rightly and perfectly bound which a-certain
Florentinus nomine Castra composuerat: incipiebat etenim:
Florentine by-name Castra had-composed it-began for

'Una fermana scopai da Cascioli
a woman-of-Fermo I-swept from Cascioli
Cita cita sen gia 'n grande aina.'
quick quick thence went in great haste

Post quos Mediolanenses atque Pergameos eorumque
after whom the-Milanese and the-Bergamasques and-their
finitimos eruncemus: in quorum etiam improperium quendam
neighbors let-us-weed-out in whose also reproach someone
cecinisse recolimus:
to-have-sung we-recall

'Enti l' ora del vesper,
in the hour of-the vespers
Ciò fu del mes d' ochiover.'
this was of-the month of October

Post hos Aquileienses et Istrianos cribremus, qui Ces
after these the-Aquileians and the-Istrians let-us-sift who what
fastu, crudeliter accentuando, eructuant. Cumque iis
do-you-do cruelly by-accenting belch and-with them
montaninas omnes et rusticanas loquelas eicimus, quae
the-mountain all and rustic speeches we-cast-out which
semper mediastinis civibus accentus enormitate dissonare
always to-mid-city citizens by-the-accent's enormity to-be-discordant
videntur, ut Cassentinenses et Pratenses. Sardos etiam
seem as the-Casentinese and the-Pratese the-Sardinians also

qui non Latini sunt, sed Latinis adsociandi videntur,
who not Latins are but to-the-Latins to-be-associated seem
eiciamus: quoniam soli sine proprio vulgari esse videntur,
let-us-cast-out since alone without their-own vernacular to-be they-seem
grammaticam tanquam simiae homines imitantes, nam:
grammar as-if apes men imitating for
Domus nova, et Dominus meus, loquuntur.
house new and lord my they-speak

XII · SICILIAN AND APULIAN

Sicilian claims fame because all Italian poetry is called Sicilian, a name that dates from the court of the Emperor Frederick and his son Manfred, where the best Italian talent gathered; today's princes, by contrast, follow pride and summon only butchers, double-dealers, and the greedy. The Sicilian of the common people, slow and drawling, deserves no preference, while that of its leading poets differs nothing from the best speech; so too with Apulian, whose people speak barbarously while its best poets wrote courtly words. The finest vernacular is neither Sicilian nor Apulian.

Exaceratis quodammodo vulgaribus Italis, inter ea quae
sifted in-a-way the-vernaculars Italian among those which
remanserunt in cribro comparationem facientes, honorabilius
remained in the-sieve a-comparison making the-more-honorable
atque honorificentius breviter seligamus; et primo de
and more-honoring briefly let-us-select and first about
Siciliano examinemus ingenium, nam videtur Sicilianum
the-Sicilian let-us-examine the-genius for it-seems the-Sicilian
vulgare sibi famam prae aliis asciscere: eo quod quicquid
vernacular for-itself fame before others to-adopt for-this that whatever
poetantur Itali Sicilianum vocatur, et eo quod perplures
versify the-Italians Sicilian is-called and for-this that very-many

doctores indigenas invenimus graviter cecinisse, puta in
doctors natives we-find gravely to-have-sung for-example in
cantionibus illis:
songs those

'Ancor che l' aigua per lo foco lassi.'
although that the water through the fire leave

Et
and

'Amor, che longamente m' hai menato.'
O-Love who long me you-have led

Sed haec fama Trinacriae terrae, si recte signum ad quod
but this fame of-the-Trinacrian land if rightly the-mark to which
tendit inspiciamus, videtur tantum in opprobrium Italorum
it-tends we-examine it-seems only in disgrace of-the-Italian
principum remansisse; qui non heroico more sed plebeo
princes to-have-remained who not in-heroic manner but in-plebeian
sequuntur superbiam. Si quidem illustres heroes Federicus
follow pride for indeed illustrious heroes Frederick
Caesar et bene genitus eius Manfredus nobilitatem ac
Caesar and the-well born his Manfred the-nobility and
rectitudinem suae formae pandentes, donec fortuna permansit,
uprightness of-their form displaying while fortune remained
humana secuti sunt, brutalia dedignantes: propter quod
the-human followed have the-brutish-things disdaining on-account-of which
corde nobiles atque gratiarum dotati, inhaerere tantorum
in-heart the-noble and with-graces endowed to-cling of-such-great
principum maiestati conati sunt: ita quod eorum tempore
princes to-the-majesty tried have so that in-their time

quicquid excellentes Latinorum nitebantur, primitus in tantorum
whatever the-excellent of-the-Latins strove-for first in of-such-great
coronatorum aula prodibat. Et quia regale solium erat
crowned-ones the-court came-forth and because the-royal throne was
Sicilia, factum est quicquid nostri praedecessores vulgariter
Sicily come-about it-is whatever our predecessors in-the-vernacular
protulerunt Sicilianum vocetur: quod quidem retinemus et nos,
brought-forth Sicilian be-called which indeed we-retain also we
nec posteri nostri permutare valebunt. Racha, Racha! Quid
nor descendants our to-change will-be-able raca raca what
nunc personat tuba novissimi Federici? quid tintinnabulum
now sounds the-trumpet of-the-latest Frederick what the-bell
secundi Caroli? quid cornua Iohannis et Azzonis marchionum
of-the-second Charles what the-horns of-John and Azzo marquises
potentum? quid aliorum magnatum tibiae? nisi, Venite,
powerful what of-other magnates the-pipes except come
carnifices; Venite, altriplices; Venite, avaritiae sectatores. Sed
O-butchers come O-double-dealers come of-avarice O-followers but
praestat ad propositum repedare quam frustra loqui: et dicimus
it-is-better to the-purpose to-return than in-vain to-speak and we-say
quod si vulgare Sicilianum accipere volumus, secundum
that if the-vernacular Sicilian to-take we-wish according
quod prodit a terrigenis mediocribus, ex ore quorum
as comes-forth from natives middling from the-mouth of-whom
iudicium eliciendum videtur, praelationis minime dignum est;
the-judgment to-be-drawn-out it-seems of-preference by-no-means worthy it-is
quia non sine quodam tempore profertur, ut puta ibi:
because not without a-certain time it-is-uttered as for-example there

'Tragemi d' este focora, se t' este a bolontate.'
draw-me from these fires if to-you it-is in will

Si autem ipsum accipere volumus, secundum quod ab ore
if but it to-take we-wish according as from the-mouth
primorum Siculorum emanat, ut in praeallegatis cantionibus
of-the-first Sicilians it-flows as in the-before-cited songs
perpendi potest, nihil differt ab illo quod laudabilissimum
to-be-weighed it-can nothing it-differs from that which most-praiseworthy
est, sicut inferius ostendimus. Apuli quoque, vel a sui
is as below we-show the-Apulians also either from their
acerbitate, vel finitimorum suorum contiguitate, qui Romani
harshness or of-neighbors their by-the-contiguity who Romans
et Marchiani sunt, turpiter barbarizant; dicunt enim:
and Marchigiani are foully barbarize they-say for

'Volzera che chiangesse lo quatraro.'
I-would-want that should-weep the boy

Sed quamvis terrigenae Apuli loquantur obscene communiter,
but although natives Apulians speak obscenely commonly
praefulgentes eorum quidam polite loquuti sunt, vocabula
the-outshining of-them some politely spoken have words
curialiora in suis cantionibus compilantes, ut manifeste
more-curial in their songs compiling as manifestly
apparet eorum dicta perspicientibus, ut puta:
appears their sayings to-those-examining as for-example

'Madonna, dir vi voglio.'
O-my-lady to-say to-you I-wish

Et
and

'Per fino amore vo sì lietamente.'
for fine love I-go so gladly

Quapropter superiora notantibus innotescere debet, neque
wherefore the-above to-those-noting to-become-known ought neither
Siculum neque Apulum esse illud quod in Italia pulcerrimum
Sicilian nor Apulian to-be that which in Italy most-beautiful
est vulgare; cum eloquentes indigenas ostenderimus a
is vernacular since eloquent natives we-have-shown from
proprio divertisse.
their-own to-have-departed

XIII · THE TUSCANS

The Tuscans, crazed with conceit, claim the illustrious vernacular, and famous poets have held it too, Guittone of Arezzo, Bonagiunta of Lucca, Brunetto of Florence, though their words are only municipal. Dante shows each Tuscan city's speech, Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Siena, and Arezzo, in quoted samples. Guido, Lapo, another Florentine, and Cino of Pistoia knew the excellence of the vernacular, and so the speech sought is not that of the Tuscan people. The Genoese, for their part, could not speak at all without their z.

Post hoc veniamus ad Tuscos; qui, propter amentiam
after this let-us-come to the-Tuscans who on-account-of madness
suam infruniti, titulum sibi vulgaris illustris arrogare
their unbridled the-title to-themselves of-the-vernacular illustrious to-arrogate
videntur; et in hoc non solum plebea dementat intentio,
seem and in this not only the-plebeian is-deranged intent

sed famosos quamplures viros hoc tenuisse comperimus:
but famous very-many men this to-have-held we-find
puta Guittonem Aretinum, qui nunquam se ad curiale
for-example Guittone of-Arezzo who never himself to the-curial
vulgare direxit; Bonagiuntam Lucensem, Gallum Pisanum,
vernacular directed Bonagiunta of-Lucca Gallo of-Pisa
Minum Mocatum Senensem, et Brunetum Florentinum;
Mino Mocato of-Siena and Brunetto of-Florence
quorum dicta si rimari vacaverit, non curialia sed municipalia
whose sayings if to-search there-be-leisure not curial but municipal
tantum invenientur. Et quoniam Tusci prae aliis in hac
only will-be-found and since the-Tuscans before others in this
ebrietate bacchantur, dignum utileque videtur municipalia
drunkenness revel worthy and-useful it-seems the-municipal
vulgaria Tuscanorum singulatim in aliquo depompare.
vernaculars of-the-Tuscans one-by-one in some-measure to-strip-of-pomp
Loquuntur Florentini, et dicunt:
speak the-Florentines and they-say

'Manichiamo introcque':
let-us-eat meanwhile
'Noi non facciamo altro.'
we not do other

Pisani
the-Pisans

'Bene andonno li fanti de Fiorensa per Pisa.'
well went the youths of Florence through Pisa

Lucenses:

the-Lucchese

'Fo voto a Dio, che in gassarra eie lo comuno de Lucca.'

I-make vow to God that in truth is the commune of Lucca

Senenses:

the-Sienese

'Onche renegata avesse io Siena.'

would-that renounced had I Siena

'Ch' ee chesto?'

what is this

Aretini:

the-Aretines

'Vo' tu venire ovelle.'

want you to-come somewhere

De Perusio, Urbe Veteri, Viterbio, nec non de Civitate

of Perugia the-City Old Viterbo and also of Città

Castellana, propter adfinitatem quam cum Romanis et

Castellana on-account-of the-affinity which with the-Romans and

Spoletanis habent, nihil tractare intendimus. Sed quamquam

the-Spoletans they-have nothing to-treat we-intend but although

fere omnes Tusci in suo turpiloquio sint obtusi, nonnullos

almost all the-Tuscans in their foul-speech be dull some

vulgaris excellentiam cognovisse sentimus, scilicet Guidonem,

of-the-vernacular the-excellence to-have-known we-perceive namely Guido

Lapum, et unum alium, Florentinos, et Cinum Pistoriensem,

Lapo and one other Florentines and Cino of-Pistoia

quem nunc indigne postponimus, non indigne coacti. Itaque
whom now unworthily we-place-after not unworthily compelled so
si Tuscanas examinemus loquelas, cum pensemus qualiter viri
if the-Tuscan we-examine speeches when we-weigh how men
praehonorati a propria diverterunt, non restat in dubio quin
highly-honored from their-own departed not remains in doubt but-that
aliud sit vulgare quod quaerimus, quam quod attingit populus
another be the-vernacular which we-seek than what reaches the-people
Tuscanorum. Si quis autem quod de Tuscis asserimus, de
of-the-Tuscans if anyone moreover what about the-Tuscans we-assert about
Ianuensibus asserendum non putet, hoc solum in mente premat,
the-Genoese to-be-asserted not think this only in mind let-him-press
quod si per oblivionem Ianuenses amitterent z litteram,
that if through forgetfulness the-Genoese lost the-z letter
vel mutire totaliter eos, vel novam reparare oporteret
either to-be-mute wholly them or a-new to-repair it-would-behoove
loquelam; est enim z maxima pars eorum locutionis: quae
speech is for the-z the-greatest part of-their speech which
quidem littera non sine multa rigiditate profertur.
indeed letter not without much rigidity is-uttered

Crossing the Apennines into Romagna, Dante finds in Italy two contrary vernaculars: one so soft that it makes a man sound like a woman, spoken by all the Romagnols and above all at Forlì, though two poets of Faenza, Thomas and Ugolino Bucciola, departed from it; the other so rough that it makes a woman sound like a man, spoken by those who say magara*, at Brescia, Verona, and Vicenza, with the Paduans, who clip their words, and the people of Treviso, who turn* v *into* f. *The Venetians too must give up the honor, though Ildebrandino of Padua strove for the courtly vernacular. None of these is the illustrious vernacular sought.*

Transeuntes nunc humeros Apennini frondiferos, laevam
crossing now the-shoulders of-the-Apennine leafy the-left
Italiam contanter venemur, ceu solemus, orientaliter ineuntes.
Italy slowly let-us-hunt as we-are-wont eastward entering
Romandiolam igitur ingredientes, dicimus nos duo in
Romagna therefore entering we-say we two in
Latio invenisse vulgaria, quibusdam convenientiis contrariis
Latium to-have-found vernaculars by-certain agreements contrary
alternata. Quorum unum in tantum muliebre videtur propter
alternated of-which one in so-much womanish seems on-account-of
vocabulorum et prolationis mollitiem, quod virum (etiam si
of-words and of-pronunciation the-softness that a-man even if
viriliter sonet) foeminam tamen facit esse credendum. Hoc
manfully he-sound a-woman yet it-makes to-be to-be-believed this
Romandiolos omnes habet, et praesertim Forlivenses; quorum
the-Romagnols all has and especially the-Forlivese whose
civitas, licet novissima sit, meditullium tamen esse videtur
city although newest it-be the-midpoint yet to-be seems
totius provinciae: hi Deusci affirmando loquuntur, et oclo
of-the-whole province these Deusci by-affirming speak and oclo
meo, et corada mea proferunt blandientes. Horum aliquos a
meo and corada mea utter coaxing of-these some from

proprio poetando divertisse audivimus, Thomam videlicet, et
their-own in-versifying to-have-departed we-have-heard Thomas namely and
Ugolinum Bucciolam Faventinos. Est et aliud, sicut dictum
Ugolino Bucciola Faentines there-is also another as said
est, adeo vocabulis accentibusque hirsutum et hispidum,
it-is so in-words and-accents shaggy and bristly
quod propter sui rudem asperitatem mulierem loquentem
that on-account-of its rude harshness a-woman speaking
non solum disterminat, sed esse virum dubitare facit. Hoc
not only it-disfigures but to-be a-man to-doubt it-makes this
omnes qui magara dicunt, Brixienses videlicet, Veronenses
all who magara say the-Brescians namely the-Veronese
et Vicentinos habet, nec non Paduanos turpiter syncopantes,
and the-Vicentines has and also the-Paduans foully syncopating
omnia in tus participia, et denominativa in tas, ut mercò et
all in tus participles and denominatives in tas as mercò and
bonté. Cum quibus et Trivisianos adducimus, qui more
bonté with whom also the-Trevisans we-bring who in-the-manner
Brixianorum et finitimorum suorum, u consonantem per
of-the-Brescians and neighbors their the-u consonant through
f apocopando proferunt, puta nof pro novem, vif pro vivo,
f by-apocopating utter for-example nof for novem vif for vivo
quod quidem barbarissimum reprobamus. Veneti quoque nec
which indeed most-barbarous we-reprove the-Venetians also not
sese investigati vulgaris honore dignantur; et si quis eorum
themselves of-the-sought vernacular with-honor deem-worthy and if any of-them
errore confusus vanitaret in hoc, recordetur si unquam dixit:
by-error confused should-vaunt in this let-him-remember if ever he-said

'Per le plage de Dio tu non veras.'
by the wounds of God you not will-come

Inter quos unum vidimus nitentem divertere a materno,
among whom one we-saw striving to-depart from the-maternal
et ad curiale vulgare intendere, videlicet Ildebrandinum
and to the-curial vernacular to-attend namely Ildebrandino
Paduanum. Quare omnibus praesentis capituli ad iudicium
of-Padua wherefore all of-the-present chapter to judgment
comparentibus arbitramur, nec Romandiolum, nec suum
appearing we-judge neither Romagnol nor its
oppositum, ut dictum est, nec Venetianum esse illud quod
opposite as said it-is nor Venetian to-be that which
quaerimus vulgare illustre.
we-seek the-vernacular illustrious

XV · BOLOGNA AND THE BORDERS

Perhaps the Bolognese speak most beautifully, since they take softness from Imola and a certain loquacity from Ferrara and Modena and temper the two. Among municipal dialects Dante agrees that Bologna's is best, but it is not the courtly and illustrious vernacular, or the great Guido Guinizelli and the other Bolognese poets would never have left it, as their quoted lines show. Trent, Turin, and Alessandria lie so near Italy's borders that their speech cannot be pure.

Illud autem quod de Italica silva residet, percontari conemur
that moreover which of the-Italian wood remains to-question let-us-try
expedientes. Dicimus ergo quod forte non male opinantur
making-haste we-say therefore that perhaps not badly think
qui Bononienses asserunt pulcriori locutione loquentes,
who the-Bolognese assert with-more-beautiful speech speaking
cum ab Imolensibus, Ferrariensibus, et Mutinensibus
since from the-Imolese the-Ferrarese and the-Modenese
circumstantibus aliquid proprio vulgari adsciscunt; sicut
surrounding something to-their-own vernacular they-adopt as

facere quoslibet a finitimis suis convicimus, ut Sordellus de
to-do anyone from neighbors his we-have-proved as Sordello of
Mantua sua ostendit, Cremonae, Brixiae, atque Veronae confini:
Mantua his showed of-Cremona of-Brescia and of-Verona bordering
qui tantus eloquentiae vir existens, non solum in poetando,
who so-great of-eloquence a-man being not only in versifying
sed quomodocunque loquendo patrium vulgare deseruit.
but in-whatever-way in-speaking his-father's vernacular deserted
Accipiunt etiam praefati cives ab Imolensibus lenitatem
take also the-aforesaid citizens from the-Imolese smoothness
atque mollitiem, a Ferrariensibus vero et Mutinensibus
and softness from the-Ferrarese but and the-Modenese
aliqualem garrulitatem, quae proprie Lombardorum est. Hanc
some garrulity which properly of-the-Lombards is this
ex commistione advenarum Longobardorum terrigenis
from the-mingling of-the-foreign Lombards with-the-natives
credimus remansisse; et haec est causa quare Ferrariensium,
we-believe to-have-remained and this is the-cause why of-the-Ferrarese
Mutinensium, vel Regianorum nullum invenimus poetasse.
the-Modenese or the-Reggians none we-find to-have-versified
Nam propriae garrulitati assuefacti, nullo modo possunt
for to-their-own garrulity accustomed in-no way they-can
ad vulgare aulicum sine quadam acerbitate venire; quod
to the-vernacular courtly without a-certain harshness to-come which
multo magis de Parmensibus est putandum, qui monto pro
much more of the-Parmesans is to-be-thought who monto for
molto dicunt. Si ergo Bononienses utrinque accipiunt, ut
molto say if therefore the-Bolognese from-both-sides take as
dictum est, rationabile videtur esse quod eorum locutio per
said it-is reasonable it-seems to-be that their speech through
commistionem oppositorum, ut dictum est, ad laudabilem
the-mingling of-opposites as said it-is to a-praiseworthy

suavitatem remaneat temperata; quod procul dubio nostro
sweetness remain tempered which beyond doubt by-our
iudicio sic esse censemus. Ita si praeponentes eos in vulgari
judgment so to-be we-judge thus if those-preferring them in vernacular
sermone, sola municipalia Latinorum vulgaria comparando
language only the-municipal of-the-Latins vernaculars by-comparing
considerant, allubescentes concordamus cum illis; si vero
consider being-pleased we-agree with them if but
simpliciter vulgare Bononiense praeferendum extimant,
simply the-vernacular Bolognese to-be-preferred they-esteem
dissentientes discordamus ab eis: non etenim est quod aulicum
dissenting we-disagree from them not for it-is what courtly
et illustre vocamus; quoniam si fuisset, maximus Guido
and illustrious we-call since if it-had-been the-greatest Guido
Guinicelli, Guido Ghisilerius, Fabrutius, et Honestus, et alii
Guinizelli Guido Ghislieri Fabruzzo and Onesto and others
poetantes Bononiae, nunquam a primo divertissent; qui
versifying at-Bologna never from their-first they-would-have-departed who
doctores fuerunt illustres et vulgarium discretione repleti.
doctors were illustrious and of-vernaculars with-discernment filled
Maximus Guido:
the-greatest Guido

'Madonna, il fermo core.'
O-my-lady the steadfast heart

Fabrutius:
Fabruzzo

'Lo mio lontano gire.'
the my far going

Honestus:

Onesto

‘Più non attendo il tuo soccorso, Amore.’

more not I-await the your help O-Love

Quae quidem verba prorsus a mediastinis Bononiae sunt
which indeed words utterly from the-mid-city-men of-Bologna are
diversa. Cumque de residuis in extremis Italiae civitatibus
different and-since about the-remaining in the-farthest of-Italy cities
neminem dubitare pendamus, et si quis dubitat, illum
no-one to-doubt we-think and if anyone doubts him
nulla nostra solutione dignamur; parum restat in nostra
of-no our solution we-deem-worthy little remains in our
discussione dicendum. Quare cribellum cupientes deponere
discussion to-be-said wherefore the-sieve desiring to-put-down
ut residentiam cito visamus; dicimus Tridentum atque
that the-residue quickly we-may-visit we-say Trent and
Taurinum, nec non Alexandriam civitates metis Italiae
Turin and also Alessandria cities to-the-limits of-Italy
in tantum sedere propinquas, quod puras nequeunt habere
in so-much to-sit near that pure they-cannot to-have
loquelas; ita quod si, sicut turpissimum habent vulgare,
speeches so that if as most-foul they-have a-vernacular
haberent pulcerrimum, propter aliorum commistionem esse
they-had a-most-beautiful on-account-of of-others the-mingling to-be
vere Latinum negaremus. Quare si Latinum illustre venamur,
truly Latin we-would-deny wherefore if the-Latin illustrious we-hunt
quod venamur in illis inveniri non potest.
which we-hunt in those to-be-found not it-can

XVI · THE PANTHER FOUND

Having hunted all Italy without catching the panther whose scent is everywhere, Dante reasons: in every genus there is one simplest thing by which all others are measured, as number by one and colors by white. So in our actions as Italians there are simplest signs, of customs, dress, and speech, belonging to no single city and common to all. Among them is the vernacular he sought, fragrant in every city and resting in none: the illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial vernacular of Italy.

Postquam venati saltus et pascua sumus Italiae,
after hunted the-woodlands and pastures we-have of-Italy
nec panteram quam sequimur adinvenimus; ut ipsam
nor the-panther which we-pursue have-we-found so-that it
reperire possimus, rationabilius investigemus de illa, ut
to-find we-may-be-able more-reasonably let-us-investigate about it so-that
solerti studio redolentem ubique et necubi apparentem
with-skillful study fragrant everywhere and nowhere appearing
nostris penitus irretiamus tendiculis. Resumentes igitur
with-our wholly we-may-snare toils resuming therefore
venabula nostra, dicimus quod in omni genere rerum
spears our we-say that in every kind of-things
unum oportet esse, quo generis illius omnia comparentur
one-thing it-behooves to-be by-which of-kind that all-things be-compared
et ponderentur: et illinc aliorum omnium mensuram
and be-weighed and thence of-others all the-measure
accipiamus. Sicut in numero cuncta mensurantur uno, et
we-may-take as in number all-things are-measured by-one and
plura vel pauciora dicuntur secundum quod distant
more or fewer are-called according as they-stand-apart
ab uno vel ei propinquant; et sic in coloribus omnes
from one or to-it draw-near and thus in colors all
albo mensurantur: nam visibiles magis dicuntur et minus,
by-white are-measured for visible more are-called and less

secundum quod accedunt vel recedunt. Et quemadmodum de
according as they-approach or recede and just-as about
iis dicimus quae quantitatem et qualitatem ostendunt, de
those we-say which quantity and quality show about
praedicamentorum quolibet, et de substantia posse dici
of-the-predicaments any and about substance to-be-able to-be-said
putamus; scilicet, unumquodque mensurabile fit, secundum
we-think namely each-thing measurable becomes according
quod in genere est, illo quod simplicissimum est in ipso
as in the-kind is by-that which simplest is in the-very
genere. Quapropter in actionibus nostris, quantumcumque
kind wherefore in actions our however-much
dividantur in species, hoc signum inveniri oportet quo et
they-be-divided into species this sign to-be-found it-behooves by-which also
ipsae mensurentur; nam in quantum simpliciter ut homines
themselves they-be-measured for in as-much-as simply as men
agimus, virtutem habemus, ut generaliter illam intelligamus;
we-act virtue we-have so-that generally it we-understand
nam secundum ipsam bonum et malum hominem iudicamus:
for according-to it good and bad man we-judge
in quantum ut homines cives agimus, habemus legem
in as-much-as as men citizens we-act we-have law
secundum quam dicitur civis bonus et malus: in quantum
according-to which is-called a-citizen good and bad in as-much-as
ut homines Latini agimus, quaedam habemus simplicissima
as men Latin we-act certain we-have simplest
signa, et morum et habituum et locutionis, quibus
signs both of-customs and of-habits and of-speech by-which
Latinae actiones ponderantur et mensurantur. Quae quidem
Latin actions are-weighed and are-measured which indeed
nobilissima sunt earum quae Latinorum sunt actiones,
most-noble are of-those which of-the-Latins are actions

haec nullius civitatis Italiae propria sunt, et in omnibus
these of-no city of-Italy proper are and in all
communia sunt: inter quae nunc potest discerni vulgare
common are among which now can to-be-discerned the-vernacular
quod superius venabamur, quod in qualibet redolet civitate,
which above we-were-hunting which in every is-fragrant city
nec cubat in ulla. Potest tamen magis in una quam in
nor lies in any it-can yet more in one than in
alia redolere, sicut simplicissima substantiarum, quae Deus
another to-be-fragrant as the-simplest of-substances which God
est, in homine magis redolet quam in bruto: in animali,
is in man more is-fragrant than in a-brute in an-animal
quam in planta: in hac, quam in minera: in hac, quam in
than in a-plant in this than in a-mineral in this than in
elemento: in igne, quam in terra. Et simplicissima quantitas,
an-element in fire than in earth and the-simplest quantity
quod est unum, in impari numero redolet magis quam
which is one in an-odd number is-fragrant more than
in pari; et simplicissimus color, qui albus est, magis
in an-even and the-simplest color which white is more
in citrino quam in viridi redolet. Itaque adepti quod
in yellow than in green is-fragrant so having-attained what
quaerebamus, dicimus illustre, cardinale, aulicum, et curiale
we-were-seeking we-say the-illustrious cardinal courtly and curial
vulgare in Latio, quod omnis Latiae civitatis est et nullius
vernacular in Latium which of-every Latin city is and of-none
esse videtur, et quo municipia vulgaria omnia latinorum
to-be seems and by-which the-municipal vernaculars all of-the-Latins
mensurantur, ponderantur et comparantur.
are-measured are-weighed and are-compared

XVII · WHY ILLUSTRIOUS

The vernacular is called illustrious because it shines and gives light. It has been raised by learning, chosen out of so many rough words and tangled constructions, as Cino and his friend show; it has power, for it can turn men's hearts; and it raises its own to honor, since those who serve it surpass kings and lords in fame. How much glory it gives, Dante himself knows, who sets his exile behind him for its sweetness.

Quare autem hoc quod repertum est, illustre, cardinale,
why moreover this which found is illustrious cardinal
aulicum, et curiale adicientes, vocemus, nunc disponendum
courtly and curial adding we-call now to-be-set-forth
est; per quod clarius ipsum quod ipsum est facimus
it-is through which more-clearly it-itself what itself is we-make
patere. Primum igitur quid intendimus cum illustre adicimus,
to-lie-open first therefore what we-intend when illustrious we-add
et quare illustre dicimus, denudemus. Per hoc quoque quod
and why illustrious we-say let-us-lay-bare by this also that
illustre dicimus, intelligimus quid illuminans et illuminatum
illustrious we-say we-understand something illuminating and illuminated
praefulgens. Et hoc modo viros appellamus illustres, vel quia
outshining and in-this way men we-call illustrious either because
potestate illuminati alios et iustitia et caritate illuminant,
by-power illuminated others both by-justice and by-charity they-illuminate
vel quia excellenter magistrati excellenter magistrent, ut
or because excellently taught excellently they-teach as
Seneca et Numa Pompilius. Et vulgare de quo loquimur,
Seneca and Numa Pompilius and the-vernacular about which we-speak
et sublimatum est magistratu et potestate, et suos honore
both exalted is by-teaching and by-power and its-own with-honor
sublimat et gloria. Magistratu quidem sublimatum videtur,
exalts and with-glory by-teaching indeed exalted it-seems

cum de tot rudibus Latinorum vocabulis, de tot
since from so-many rough of-the-Latins words from so-many
perplexis constructionibus, de tot defectivis prolationibus,
tangled constructions from so-many defective pronunciations
de tot rusticanis accentibus, tam egregium, tam extricatum,
from so-many rustic accents so excellent so disentangled
tam perfectum, et tam urbanum videamus electum, ut Cinus
so perfect and so urbane we-see chosen as Cino
Pistoriensis et amicus eius ostendunt in cantionibus suis.
of-Pistoia and friend his show in songs their
Quod autem sit exaltatum potestate, videtur: et quid maioris
that moreover it-be exalted by-power it-seems and what of-greater
potestatis est, quam quod humana corda versare potest; ita ut
power is than what human hearts to-turn can so that
nolentem, volentem; et volentem, nolentem faciat, velut ipsum
the-unwilling willing and the-willing unwilling it-make as it
et fecit et facit? Quod autem honore sublimet, in promptu
both has-made and makes that moreover with-honor it-exalt in readiness
est. Nonne domestici sui, reges, marchiones, et comites,
it-is surely the-household-men its kings marquises and counts
et magnates, quoslibet fama vincunt? minime hoc probatione
and magnates any in-fame they-surpass by-no-means this of-proof
indiget. Quantum vero suos familiares gloriosos efficiat, nos
has-need how-much indeed its intimates glorious it-make we
ipsi novimus, qui huius dulcedine gloriae nostrum exilium
ourselves know who of-this by-the-sweetness glory our exile
postergamus: quare ipsum illustre merito profiteri debemus.
put-behind wherefore it illustrious deservedly to-profess we-ought

It is cardinal because all the municipal dialects turn on it like a door on its hinge, as it roots out thorny bushes and plants new growth. It is courtly because, if Italy had a court, it would dwell there, as speech common to all and proper to none; without a court it wanders like a stranger and lodges in humble shelters. It is curial because it is weighed by the balance of the highest court; Italy has no single prince, but the members of its court are united by the light of reason.

Neque sine ratione ipsum vulgare illustre decusamus
nor without reason the-very vernacular illustrious we-adorn
adiectione secunda, videlicet ut id cardinale vocemus: nam
with-an-addition second namely that it cardinal we-call for
sicut totum ostium cardinem sequitur, ut quo cardo
as the-whole door the-hinge follows so-that whither the-hinge
vertitur versetur et ipsum, seu introrsum seu extrorsum
turns it-be-turned also itself whether inward or outward
flectatur; sic et universus municipalium vulgarium grex
it-be-bent so also the-whole of-municipal vernaculars flock
vertitur et revertitur, movetur et pausat secundum quod
is-turned and is-turned-back is-moved and rests according as
istud: quod quidem vere paterfamilias esse videtur. Nonne
this which indeed truly father-of-the-family to-be seems surely
quotidie extirpat sentosos frutices de Italica silva? nonne
daily it-uproots thorny shrubs from the-Italian wood surely
quotidie vel plantas inserit, vel plantaria plantat? quid aliud
daily either plants it-grafts or seedlings it-plants what else
agricolae sui satagunt, nisi ut amoveant et admoveant,
the-farmers its busy-themselves except that they-remove and they-bring-near
ut dictum est? Quare prorsus tanto decusari vocabulo
as said it-is wherefore wholly with-so-great to-be-adorned a-word
promeretur. Quia vero aulicum nominamus, illud causa est,
it-deserves because indeed courtly we-name it the-cause is

quod si aulam nos Itali haberemus, palatinum foret: nam
that if a-court we Italians had palatine it-would-be for
si aula totius regni communis est domus, et omnium
if the-court of-the-whole kingdom the-common is house and of-all
regni partium gubernatrix augusta, quicquid tale est ut
of-the-kingdom parts the-governess august whatever such is that
omnibus sit commune nec proprium ulli, conveniens est ut
to-all it-be common nor proper to-any fitting it-is that
in ea conversetur et habitet; nec aliquod aliud habitaculum
in it it-dwell and live nor any other dwelling
tanto dignum est habitante. Hoc nempe videtur esse id de
of-so-great worthy is inhabitant this indeed seems to-be that about
quo loquimur vulgare; et hinc est quod in regiis omnibus
which we-speak the-vernacular and hence it-is that in palaces all
conversantes semper illustri vulgari loquuntur. Hinc etiam
dwelling always in-the-illustrious vernacular they-speak hence also
est, quod nostrum illustre velut accola peregrinatur, et in
it-is that our illustrious as-if a-sojourner wanders and in
humilibus hospitatur asylis, cum aula vacemus. Est etiam
humble is-a-guest refuges since of-a-court we-are-without it-is also
merito curiale dicendum, quia curialitas nil aliud est quam
deservedly curial to-be-called because curiality nothing other is than
librata regula eorum quae peragenda sunt; et quia statera
a-balanced rule of-those-things which to-be-done are and because the-scale
huiusmodi librationis tantum in excellentissimis curiis esse
of-this-kind of-balancing only in the-most-excellent courts to-be
solet, hinc est quod quicquid in actibus nostris bene libratum
is-wont hence it-is that whatever in acts our well balanced
est, curiale dicatur. Unde cum istud in excellentissima Italorum
is curial be-called whence since this in the-most-excellent of-the-Italians
curia sit libratum, dici curiale meretur. Sed dicere quod in
court be balanced to-be-called curial it-deserves but to-say that in

excellentissima Italorum curia sit libratum, videtur nugatio cum
the-most-excellent of-the-Italians court it-be balanced seems trifling since
curia careamus: ad quod facile respondetur. Nam licet curia
a-court we-lack to which easily it-is-answered for although a-court
(secundum quod unica accipitur, ut curia regis Alamaniae)
according as single it-is-taken as the-court of-the-king of-Germany
in Italia non sit, membra tamen eius non desunt: et sicut
in Italy not be the-members yet its not are-lacking and as
membra illius uno principe uniuntur, sic membra huius
the-members of-that by-one prince are-united so the-members of-this
gratioso lumine rationis unita sunt: quare falsum esset
by-the-gracious light of-reason united are wherefore false it-would-be
dicere curia carere Italos, quamquam principe careamus;
to-say a-court to-lack the-Italians although a-prince we-lack
quoniam curiam habemus, licet corporaliter sit dispersa.
since a-court we-have although bodily it-be dispersed

XIX · THE PLAN OF THE WORK

This vernacular, illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial, is called the Italian vernacular, as there are vernaculars proper to Cremona, to Lombardy, and to left-hand Italy; the illustrious poets of Sicily, Apulia, Tuscany, Romagna, Lombardy, and both Marches have used it. Dante will treat it first, as the most excellent, in the following books: who should use it, why, how, where, when, and to whom; then he will go down by degrees to the lower vernaculars, as far as that of a single family.

Hoc autem vulgare, quod illustre, cardinale, aulicum
this moreover vernacular which illustrious cardinal courtly
esse, et curiale ostensum est, dicimus esse illud quod
to-be and curial shown it-is we-say to-be that which
vulgare Latinum appellatur. Nam sicut quoddam vulgare
the-vernacular Latin is-called for as a-certain vernacular

est invenire quod proprium est Cremonae, sic quoddam
it-is to-find which proper is to-Cremona so a-certain-one
est invenire quod proprium est Lombardiae; et sicut
it-is to-find which proper is to-Lombardy and as
est invenire aliquod quod sit proprium Lombardiae, sic
it-is to-find some which be proper to-Lombardy so
est invenire aliquod quod sit totius sinistrae Italiae
it-is to-find some which be of-the-whole left Italy
proprium; et sicut omnia haec est invenire, sic et illud
proper and as all these it-is to-find so also that
quod totius Italiae est. Et sicut illud Cremonense,
which of-the-whole Italy is and as that Cremonese
ac illud Lombardum, et tertium Semilatium dicitur,
and that Lombard and the-third Half-Latin is-called
sic istud quod totius Italiae est, Latinum vulgare
so this which of-the-whole Italy is the-Latin vernacular
vocatur. Hoc enim usi sunt doctores illustres qui lingua
is-called this for used have the-doctors illustrious who in-the-tongue
vulgari poetati sunt in Italia, ut Siculi, Apuli,
vernacular versified have in Italy as the-Sicilians the-Apulians
Tusci, Romandioli, Lombardi et utriusque Marchiae
the-Tuscans the-Romagnols the-Lombards and of-each March
viri. Et quia intentio nostra, ut polliciti sumus in
the-men and because the-intention our as promised we-have in
principio huius operis, est doctrinam de vulgari eloquentia
the-beginning of-this work is the-doctrine about vernacular eloquence
tradere; ab ipso, tanquam ab excellentissimo, incipientes,
to-hand-down from it as-if from the-most-excellent beginning
quos putamus ipso dignos uti, et propter quid, et
whom we-think it worthy to-use and on-account-of what and
quomodo, nec non ubi, quando, et ad quos ipsum
how and also where when and to whom it

dirigendum sit, in immediatis libris tractabimus. Quibus
to-be-directed be in the-immediate books we-shall-treat which
illuminatis, inferiora vulgaria illuminare curabimus,
having-been-illuminated the-lower vernaculars to-illuminate we-shall-take-care
gradatim descendentes ad illud quod unius solius familiae
by-degrees descending to that which of-one only household
proprium est.
proper is

BOOK II

I · WHO SHOULD USE THE ILLUSTRIOUS VERNACULAR

The illustrious vernacular suits both prose and verse, and verse comes first, since prose writers learn from the poets. It might seem that every versifier should use it, since every poet should adorn his verse and the best improves what it is mixed with; but this is false. What suits us suits us by genus, by species, or by individual merit: the best speech, the instrument of the best thoughts, suits only those with knowledge and talent, as the best horse suits the best knight, and an ox in a saddle is not adorned but ridiculous.

Sollicitantes iterum celeritatem ingenii nostri, ad calamum
soliciting again the-swiftness of-wit our to the-pen
frugi operis redeuntes, ante omnia confitemur Latinum
of-a-useful work returning before all-things we-confess the-Latin
vulgare illustre tam prosaice quam metrice decere proferri.
vernacular illustrious as-well in-prose as in-meter to-befit to-be-uttered
Sed quia ipsum prosaicantes ab inventoribus magis accipiunt;
but because it those-writing-prose from the-inventors rather take
et quia quod inventum est prosaicantibus permanere videtur
and because what invented is for-those-writing-prose to-remain seems
exemplar, et non e converso, quae quendam videntur
a-model and not from the-converse which a-certain seem
praebere primatum, primo secundum quod metricum est ipsum
to-give primacy first according as metrical it-is it
carminemus, ordine pertractantes illo quem in fine primi
let-us-put-in-verse in-order treating that which at the-end of-the-first
libri polluximus. Quaeramus igitur prius, utrum versificantes
book we-promised let-us-ask therefore first whether those-versifying
vulgariter debeant illud uti; et superficie tenus videtur,
in-the-vernacular ought it to-use and on-the-surface as-far it-seems

quod sic; quia omnis qui versificatur suos versus exornare
that so because everyone who versifies his verses to-adorn
debet in quantum potest. Quare cum nullum sit tam grandis
ought in as-much-as he-can wherefore since nothing be of-so great
exornationis quam vulgare illustre, videtur quod quisque
adornment as the-vernacular illustrious it-seems that every
versificator debeat ipsum uti. Praeterea quod optimum est in
versifier ought it to-use moreover what best is in
genere suo, si suis inferioribus misceatur, non solum nil
kind its if with-its inferiors it-be-mixed not only nothing
derogare videtur eis, sed ea meliorare videtur. Quare
to-detract seems from-them but them to-improve seems wherefore
si quis versificator, quamquam rude versificetur, ipsum suae
if any versifier although rudely be-versify it with-his
ruditati admisceat, non solum bene … sed ipsum sic facere
rudeness mix not only well … but it so to-do
oportere videtur. Multo magis opus est adiutorio illis qui
to-behoove seems much more need is of-help to-those who
pauca quam qui multa possunt; et sic apparet quod omnibus
little than who much can and thus it-appears that for-all
versificantibus liceat ipsum uti. Sed hoc falsissimum est;
versifiers it-be-allowed it to-use but this most-false is
quia nec semper excellentissime poetantes debent illud
because not-even always the-most-excellently versifying ought it
induere, sicut per inferius pertractata perpendi poterit.
to-put-on as through below the-things-treated to-be-weighed it-will-be-able
Exigit ergo istud sibi consimiles viros, quemadmodum alii
requires therefore this for-itself like men just-as other
nostri mores et habitus: exigit enim magnificentia magna
our customs and habits requires for magnificence great
potentes, purpura viros nobiles; sic et hoc excellentes ingenio
the-powerful the-purple men noble so also this the-excellent in-wit

et scientia quaerit, et alios aspernatur, ut per inferiora
and knowledge seeks and others it-spurns as through the-lower-things
patebit: nam quicquid nobis convenit, vel gratia generis,
it-will-be-plain for whatever to-us befits either by-grace of-the-genus
vel speciei, vel individui convenit, ut sentire, ridere,
or of-the-species or of-the-individual befits as to-perceive to-laugh
militare; sed nobis non convenit hoc gratia generis, quia
to-serve-as-soldier but to-us not befits this by-grace of-the-genus because
etiam brutis conveniret: nec gratia speciei, quia cunctis
also to-brutes it-would-befit nor by-grace of-the-species because to-all
hominibus esset conveniens; de quo nulla quaestio est;
men it-would-be befitting about which no question is
nemo enim montaninis hoc dicet esse conveniens †sed
no-one for to-the-mountaineers this will-say to-be befitting but
optimae conceptiones non possunt esse nisi ubi scientia
the-best conceptions not can to-be except where knowledge
et ingenium est; ergo optima loquela non convenit †
and wit is therefore the-best speech not befits (suspect)
rusticana tractantibus; convenit ergo individui gratia:
rustic-things to-those-treating it-befits therefore by-the-individual's grace
sed nihil individuo convenit nisi per proprias dignitates,
but nothing to-the-individual befits except through his-own dignities
puta mercari, et militare, ac regere. Quare si
for-example to-trade and to-serve-as-soldier and to-rule wherefore if
convenientia respiciunt dignitates, hoc est dignos (et quidam
befitting-things regard dignities that is the-worthy and some
digni, quidam digniores, quidam dignissimi esse possunt),
worthy some more-worthy some most-worthy to-be can
manifestum est quod bona dignis, meliora dignioribus,
manifest it-is that good-things to-the-worthy better to-the-more-worthy
et optima dignissimis convenient. Et cum loquela non
and best to-the-most-worthy will-befit and since speech not

aliter sit necessarium instrumentum nostrae conceptionis
otherwise be a-necessary instrument of-our conception
quam equus militis; et optimis militibus optimi conveniant
than a-horse of-a-soldier and to-the-best soldiers the-best befit
equi, ut dictum est, optimis conceptionibus optima loquela
horses as said it-is to-the-best conceptions the-best speech
conveniet. Sed optimae conceptiones non possunt esse, nisi
will-befit but the-best conceptions not can to-be except
ubi scientia et ingenium est; ergo optima loquela non
where knowledge and wit is therefore the-best speech not
convenit nisi in illis in quibus ingenium et scientia est;
befits except in those in whom wit and knowledge is
et sic non omnibus versificantibus optima loquela convenit,
and thus not to-all versifiers the-best speech befits
cum plerique sine scientia et ingenio versificentur; et
since very-many without knowledge and wit versify and
per consequens, nec optimum vulgare. Quapropter si non
by consequence not the-best vernacular wherefore if not
omnibus convenit, non omnes ipsum debent uti: quia
to-all it-befits not all it ought to-use because
inconvenienter agere nullus debet. Et ubi dicitur quod
unbefittingly to-act no-one ought and where it-is-said that
quilibet suos versus exornare debet in quantum potest,
each his verses to-adorn ought in as-much-as he-can
verum esse testamur; sed nec bovem ephippiatum, nec
true to-be we-testify but neither an-ox saddled nor
balteatum suem dicemus ornatum, immo potius deturpatum
belted a-sow we-shall-call adorned nay rather disfigured
ridemus illum; est enim exornatio alicuius convenientis
we-laugh-at it is for adornment of-something befitting
additio. Ad illud ubi dicitur quod superiora inferioribus
the-addition to that where it-is-said that higher-things with-lower

admixta profectum adducunt, dicimus verum esse, quando
mixed profit bring we-say true to-be when
cesset discretio, puta si aurum cum argento conflemus;
cease distinction for-example if gold with silver we-fuse
sed si discretio remanet, inferiora vilescunt, puta
but if distinction remains the-lower-things grow-cheap for-example
cum formosae mulieres deformibus admiscentur. Unde cum
when beautiful women with-ugly are-mixed whence since
sententia versificantium semper verbis discretive mixta
the-thought of-those-versifying always with-words distinctly mixed
remaneat, si non fuerit optima, optimo sociata vulgari non
remain if not it-be best with-the-best joined vernacular not
melior sed deterior apparebit, quemadmodum turpis mulier
better but worse it-will-appear just-as an-ugly woman
si auro vel serico vestiatur.
if in-gold or in-silk she-be-clothed

II · WHAT IS WORTHY OF IT

What is worthy is what has worth, and the best things are worthy of the best, so only the worthiest subjects may be treated in the illustrious vernacular. Man has a threefold soul, vegetable, animal, and rational, and seeks the useful, the pleasant, and the honorable; the greatest of each are safety, love, and virtue, that is prowess in arms, the kindling of love, and the direction of the will. These the illustrious poets sang: Bertran de Born arms, Arnaut Daniel love, Giraut de Bornelh rectitude, Cino love, and his friend rectitude; but no Italian, Dante finds, has yet sung arms.

Postquam non omnes versificantes, sed tantum excellentissimos
after not all versifying but only the-most-excellent
illustre uti vulgare debere astruximus; consequens est
the-illustrious to-use vernacular to-be-obliged we-have-established consequent it-is

astruere, utrum omnia ipso tractanda sint aut non; et si non
to-establish whether all-things in-it to-be-treated be or not and if not
omnia, quae ipso digna sunt segregatim ostendere. Circa quod
all-things which of-it worthy are separately to-show about which
primo reperiendum est id quod intelligimus per illud quod
first to-be-found it-is that which we-understand by that which
dicimus dignum. [Dicimus dignum] esse quod dignitatem
we-call worthy we-say worthy to-be what dignity
habet, sicut nobile quod nobilitatem; et si cognito habituante
has as noble what nobility and if known the-habituating
habituatum cognoscitur, in quantum huius, ubi cognita
the-habituated is-known in as-much-as of-this where known
dignitate, cognoscemus et dignum. Est etenim dignitas
the-dignity we-shall-know also the-worthy is for dignity
meritorum effectus sive terminus; ut cum quis benemeruit,
of-merits the-effect or term as when anyone has-deserved-well
ad boni dignitatem profectum esse dicimus: cum male vero,
to of-good the-dignity advanced to-be we-say when ill but
ad mali; puta bene militantem, ad victoriae dignitatem;
to of-bad for-example well the-one-soldiering to of-victory the-dignity
bene autem regentem, ad regni; nec non mendacem ad
well moreover ruling to of-a-kingdom and also the-liar to
ruboris dignitatem, et latronem ad eam quae est mortis.
of-blushing the-dignity and the-thief to that which is of-death
Sed cum in benemerentibus fiant comparationes, et in
but since in the-well-deserving are-made comparisons and in
aliis etiam; ut quidam bene, quidam melius, quidam optime,
others also as some well some better some best
quidam male, quidam peius, quidam pessime mereantur, et
some badly some worse some worst deserve and
huiusmodi comparationes non fiant, nisi per respectum ad
of-this-kind comparisons not are-made except through regard to

terminum meritorum, quem dignitatem dicimus, ut dictum
the-term of-merits which dignity we-call as said
est; manifestum est ut dignitates inter se comparentur
it-is manifest it-is that dignities among themselves be-compared
secundum magis et minus, ut quaedam magnae, quaedam
according-to more and less so-that some great some
maiores, quaedam maximae sint, et per consequens aliquid
greater some greatest be and by consequence something
dignum, aliquid dignius, aliquid dignissimum esse constat. Et
worthy something more-worthy something most-worthy to-be is-certain and
cum comparatio dignitatum non fiat circa idem obiectum,
since the-comparison of-dignities not be-made about the-same object
sed circa diversa, ut dignius dicamus quod maioribus,
but about diverse so-that more-worthy we-call what of-greater
dignissimum quod maximis dignum est, quia nihil eodem
most-worthy what of-the-greatest worthy is because nothing of-the-same
dignius esse potest; manifestum est quod optima optimis,
more-worthy to-be can manifest it-is that the-best-things of-the-best
secundum rerum exigentiam, digna sint. Unde cum hoc quod
according-to of-things the-exigency worthy are whence since this which
dicimus illustre sit optimum aliorum vulgarium, consequens
we-call illustrious be the-best of-the-other vernaculars consequent
est, ut sola optima digna sint ipso tractari: quae quidem
it-is that only the-best-things worthy be in-it to-be-treated which indeed
tractandorum dignissima nuncupamus: nunc autem quae
of-things-to-be-treated the-most-worthy we-name now but which
sint ipsa venemur. Ad quorum evidentiam sciendum est,
be they let-us-hunt for whose evidence to-be-known it-is
quod sicut homo tripliciter spirituatus est, videlicet vegetabili,
that as man triply ensouled is namely with-vegetable
animali, et rationali, triplex iter perambulat; nam secundum
animal and rational a-threefold road he-walks for according

quod vegetabile quid est, utile quaerit, in quo cum
as vegetable something he-is the-useful he-seeks in which with
plantis communicat; secundum quod animale, delectabile, in
plants he-shares according as animal the-delightful in
quo cum brutis; secundum quod rationale, honestum quaerit,
which with brutes according as rational the-honorable he-seeks
in quo solus est, vel angelicae naturae sociatur. Per haec
in which alone he-is or to-the-angelic nature is-joined through these
tria quicquid agimus, agere videmur; et quia in quolibet
three whatever we-do to-do we-seem and because in each
istorum quaedam sunt maiora, quaedam maxima; secundum
of-these some are greater some greatest according
quod talia quae maxima sunt maxime pertractanda videntur,
as such which greatest are most to-be-treated seem
et per consequens maximo vulgari. Sed disserendum est,
and by consequence in-the-greatest vernacular but to-be-discussed it-is
quae maxima sint; et primo in eo quod est utile; in
which greatest be and first in that which is useful in
quo si callide consideremus intentum omnium quaerentium
which if shrewdly we-consider the-aim of-all seeking
utilitatem, nil aliud quam salutem inveniemus. Secundo in
utility nothing other than safety we-shall-find secondly in
eo quod est delectabile; in quo dicimus illud esse maxime
that which is delightful in which we-say that to-be most
delectabile, quod per preciosissimum obiectum appetitus
delightful which by the-most-precious object of-appetite
delectat: hoc autem Venus est. Tertio in eo quod est
delights this moreover Venus is thirdly in that which is
honestum; in quo nemo dubitat esse virtutem. Quare haec
honorable in which no-one doubts to-be virtue wherefore these
tria, salus videlicet, Venus, virtus, apparent esse illa magnalia
three safety namely Venus virtue appear to-be those great-things

quae sint maxime pertractanda, hoc est ea quae maxima
which be most to-be-treated that is those which greatest
sunt ad ista, ut armorum probitas, amoris accensio, et
are to these as of-arms prowess of-love the-kindling and
directio voluntatis. Circa quae sola, si bene recolimus,
the-direction of-the-will about which alone if well we-recall
illustres viros invenimus vulgariter poetasse; scilicet
illustrious men we-find in-the-vernacular to-have-versified namely
Bertramum de Bornio, arma; Arnaldum Danielem, amorem;
Bertran de Born arms Arnaut Daniel love
Gerardum de Bornello, rectitudinem; Cinum Pistoriensem,
Giraut de Bornelh rectitude Cino of-Pistoia
amorem; amicum eius, rectitudinem.
love friend his rectitude
Bertramus etenim ait:
Bertran for says

'Non posc mudar c'un cantar non exparja.'
not I-can change but-that-a song not come-forth

Arnaldus:
Arnaut

'L' aura amara fal bruol brancuz clairir.'
the breeze bitter makes-the woods branchy to-clear

Gerardus:

Giraut

‘Per solaz reveillar

for solace to-awaken

Che s’ es trop endormitz.’

which itself is too-much asleep

Cinus:

Cino

‘Digno sono eo de morte.’

worthy am I of death

Amicus eius:

friend his

‘Doglia mi reca nello core ardire.’

grief to-me brings into-the heart boldness

Arma vero nullum Latinum adhuc invenio poetasse.

arms but no Latin still I-find to-have-versified

His proinde visis, quae canenda sint vulgari altissimo

these therefore seen what to-be-sung be in-the-vernacular highest

innotescunt.

become-known

Vernacular poets have used canzoni, ballate, sonnets, and irregular forms, and the canzone is the most excellent, so the worthiest subjects belong in canzoni. Dante gives the reasons: the canzone alone has taken the name of song; it achieves its whole effect by itself, while the ballata needs dancers; it brings its maker more honor; it is most carefully preserved in books; and it comprehends the whole art, as everything that has come from the illustrious poets' heads is found in canzoni.

Nunc autem quomodo ea coartare debemus, quae tanto
now but how those-things to-bind we-ought which of-so-great
sunt digna vulgari, sollicite vestigare conemur. Volentes igitur
are worthy a-vernacular carefully to-track let-us-try wishing therefore
modum tradere quo ligari haec digna existant,
the-manner to-hand-down by-which to-be-bound these worthy-things may-be
primum dicimus esse ad memoriam reducendum, quod
first we-say to-be to memory to-be-brought-back that
vulgariter poetantes sua poemata multimode protulerunt;
in-the-vernacular those-versifying their poems in-many-ways brought-forth
quidam per cantiones, quidam per ballatas, quidam
some through canzoni some through ballate some
per sonitus, quidam per alios illegitimos et irregulares
through sonnets some through other illegitimate and irregular
modos, ut inferius ostendetur. Horum autem modorum
manners as below will-be-shown of-these moreover manners
cantionum modum excellentissimum esse pensamus: quare
of-canzoni the-manner most-excellent to-be we-weigh wherefore
si excellentissima excellentissimis digna sunt, ut superius
if the-most-excellent-things of-the-most-excellent worthy are as above
est probatum, illa quae excellentissimo digna sunt vulgari,
it-is proved those which of-the-most-excellent worthy are vernacular
modo excellentissimo digna sunt, et per consequens
of-the-manner most-excellent worthy are and by consequence

in cantionibus pertractanda: quod autem modus cantionum
in canzoni to-be-treated that moreover the-manner of-canzoni
sit talis, ut dictum est, pluribus potest rationibus indagari.
be such as said it-is by-several can reasons to-be-tracked
Prima quidem quia, cum quicquid versificamur sit cantio,
the-first indeed because since whatever we-versify be song
solae cantiones hoc vocabulum sibi sortitae sunt; quod
alone canzoni this word for-themselves obtained have which
nunquam sine vetusta provisione processit. Adhuc, quicquid
never without ancient provision proceeded further whatever
per se ipsum efficit illud ad quod factum est, nobilius
through it itself effects that for which made it-is more-noble
esse videtur quam quod extrinseco indiget: sed cantiones
to-be seems than what of-the-external has-need but canzoni
per se totum quod debent efficiunt, quod ballatae non
through themselves all which they-ought effect which ballate not
faciunt (indigent enim plausoribus ad quos editae sunt):
do they-need for dancers for whom composed they-are
ergo cantiones nobiliores ballatis esse sequitur extimandas,
therefore canzoni more-noble than-ballate to-be it-follows to-be-esteemed
et per consequens nobilissimum aliorum esse modum illarum;
and by consequence most-noble of-others to-be the-manner of-them
cum nemo dubitet quin ballatae sonitus nobilitate modi
since no-one doubt but-that ballate sonnets in-nobility of-manner
excellant. Praeterea illa videntur nobiliora esse quae
excel moreover those-things seem more-noble to-be which
conditori suo magis honoris afferunt: sed cantiones magis
to-founder their more of-honor bring but canzoni more
afferunt suis conditoribus quam ballatae; ergo nobiliores
bring to-their founders than ballate therefore more-noble
sunt, et per consequens modus earum nobilissimus aliorum.
they-are and by consequence the-manner of-them most-noble of-others

Praeterea quae nobilissima sunt, carissime conservantur; sed
moreover what most-noble are most-dearly are-preserved but
inter ea quae cantata sunt, cantiones carissime conservantur,
among those which sung are canzoni most-dearly are-preserved
ut constat visitantibus libros: ergo cantiones nobilissimae
as is-evident to-those-visiting books therefore canzoni most-noble
sunt, et per consequens modus earum nobilissimus est. Ad
are and by consequence the-manner of-them most-noble is to
haec in artificiatis illud est nobilissimum, quod totam
these-things in artifacts that is most-noble which the-whole
comprehendit artem; cum igitur ea quae cantantur artificiata
comprehends art since therefore those which are-sung artifacts
existant, et in solis cantionibus ars tota comprehendatur,
exist and in only canzoni the-art whole be-comprehended
cantiones nobilissimae sunt, et sic modus earum nobilissimus
canzoni most-noble are and thus the-manner of-them most-noble
aliorum. Quod autem tota comprehendatur in cantionibus
of-others that moreover the-whole be-comprehended in canzoni
ars cantandi poetice, in hoc palatur, quod quicquid artis
the-art of-singing poetically in this is-made-plain that whatever of-art
[reperitur, in his] reperitur, sed non convertitur hoc. Signum
is-found in these is-found but not is-converted this the-sign
autem horum quae dicimus promptum in conspectu
moreover of-these-things which we-say ready in view
habetur: nam quicquid de cacuminibus illustrium capitum
is-had for whatever from the-summits of-the-illustrious heads
poetantium profluxit ad labia, in solis cantionibus invenitur.
of-those-versifying has-flowed to the-lips in only canzoni is-found
Quare ad propositum patet quod ea quae digna sunt
wherefore to the-purpose is-plain that those which worthy are
vulgari altissimo, in cantionibus tractanda sunt.
of-the-vernacular highest in canzoni to-be-treated are

Before going on, Dante sets out the art of the canzone. Vernacular poets are true poets, since poetry is rhetorical fiction set to music, but they write by chance, where the great poets wrote by rule; so the closer we imitate them, the better. Each must match his matter to his shoulders, as Horace says, and choose between tragic, comic, and elegiac style. The tragic style, the highest, requires the illustrious vernacular, and with it safety, love, and virtue are to be sung; only the beloved of God, with talent, art, and knowledge, should attempt it.

Quando quidem aporiavimus extricantes, qui sint
since indeed we-have-labored-to-resolve disentangling who be
aulico digni vulgari et quae, nec non modum quem
of-the-courtly worthy vernacular and what-things and also the-manner which
tanto dignamur honore ut solus altissimo vulgari
with-so-great we-deem-worthy honor that alone the-highest vernacular
conveniat; antequam migremus ad alia, modum cantionum,
it-befit before we-move to other-things the-manner of-canzoni
quem casu magis quam arte multi usurpare videntur,
which by-chance more than by-art many to-usurp seem
enucleemus; et qui hucusque casualiter est assumptus, illius
let-us-unfold and which hitherto by-chance is assumed of-that
artis ergasterium reseremus, modum ballatarum et sonituum
art the-workshop let-us-unlock the-manner of-ballate and of-sonnets
omittentes, quia illum elucidare intendimus in quarto huius
omitting because that to-elucidate we-intend in the-fourth of-this
operis, cum de mediocri vulgari tractabimus. Revisentes
work when about the-middling vernacular we-shall-treat revisiting
igitur ea quae dicta sunt, recolimus nos eos qui vulgariter
therefore those which said are we-recall we those who in-the-vernacular
versificantur plerumque vocasse poetas; quod procul dubio
versify generally to-have-called poets which beyond doubt

rationabiliter eructare praesumpsimus, quia prorsus poetae
reasonably to-belch-out we-presumed because utterly poets
sunt, si poesim recte consideremus: quae nihil aliud est
they-are if poetry rightly we-consider which nothing other is
quam fictio rethorica in musica composita. Differunt tamen
than a-fiction rhetorical in music composed they-differ yet
a magnis poetis, hoc est regularibus, quia magis sermone
from the-great poets that is the-regular because more by-language
et arte regulari poetati sunt; hi vero casu, ut dictum est.
and art regular versified have these but by-chance as said it-is
Idcirco accidit ut quantum illos proximius imitemur, tantum
therefore it-happens that as-much those more-nearly we-imitate so-much
rectius poetemur. Unde nos doctrinae operi impendentes,
more-rightly we-versify whence we of-doctrine to-the-work applying-ourselves
doctrinas eorum poetrias aemulari oportet. Ante omnia ergo
the-doctrines their poetics to-emulate it-behooves before all-things therefore
dicimus, unumquemque debere materiae pondus propriis
we-say each-one to-be-obliged of-the-matter the-weight with-his-own
humeris coaequare, ne forte humerorum nimio gravata
shoulders to-match lest perhaps of-the-shoulders by-excess burdened
virtute in coenum cespitare necesse sit. Hoc est quod
the-strength into the-mire to-stumble necessary be this is what
magister noster Horatius praecipit, cum in principio Poetriae
master our Horace prescribes when in the-beginning of-the-Poetics
'Sumite materiam' dicit. Deinde in iis quae dicenda
take matter he-says then in those-things which to-be-said
occurrunt, debemus discretione potiri, utrum tragice, sive
occur we-ought of-discretion to-avail-ourselves whether tragically or
comice, sive elegiace sint canenda. Per tragoediam superiorem
comically or elegiacally they-be to-be-sung by tragedy the-higher
stilum inducimus, per comoediam inferiorem, per elegiam
style we-introduce by comedy the-lower by elegy

stilum intelligimus miserorum. Si tragice canenda videntur,
the-style we-understand of-the-wretched if tragically to-be-sung they-seem
tunc adsumendum est vulgare illustre, et per consequens
then to-be-assumed is the-vernacular illustrious and by consequence
cantionem ligare. Si vero comice, tunc quandoque mediocre,
a-canzone to-bind if but comically then sometimes the-middling
quandoque humile vulgare sumatur; et huius discretionem in
sometimes the-humble vernacular be-taken and of-this the-discernment in
quarto huius reservamus ostendere. Si autem elegiace, solum
the-fourth of-this we-reserve to-show if but elegiacally only
humile nos oportet sumere. Sed omittamus alios, et nunc,
the-humble us it-behooves to-take but let-us-omit the-others and now
ut conveniens est, de stilo tragico pertractemus. Stilo
as fitting it-is about the-style tragic let-us-treat the-style
equidem tragico tunc uti videmur, quando cum gravitate
indeed tragic then to-use we-seem when with the-gravity
sententiae tam superbia carminum, quam constructionis
of-the-thought as-well the-pride of-the-lines as of-the-construction
elatio et excellentia vocabulorum concordat. Quando, si
the-elevation and the-excellence of-the-words agree since if
bene recolimus, summa summis esse digna iam fuit
well we-recall the-highest-things of-the-highest to-be worthy already it-was
probatum, et iste quem tragicum appellamus, summus videtur
proved and this which tragic we-call highest seems
esse stilorum, illa quae summe canenda distinximus isto solo
to-be of-the-styles those which supremely to-be-sung we-distinguished by-this alone
sunt stilo canenda; videlicet, salus, amor, et virtus, et quae
are in-style to-be-sung namely safety love and virtue and what
propter ea concipimus, dum nullo accidente vilescant.
on-account-of them we-conceive while by-no accident they-grow-cheap
Caveat ergo quilibet, et discernat ea quae dicimus; et
let-him-beware therefore each-one and discern those which we-say and

quando tria haec pure cantare intendit, vel quae ad ea
when three these purely to-sing he-intends or what upon them
directe ac pure sequuntur, prius Helicone potatus, tensis
directly and purely follow first of-Helicon having-drunk with-stretched
fidibus adsumptum secure plectrum tum movere incipiat. Sed
strings the-assumed securely plectrum then to-move let-him-begin but
cautionem atque discretionem habere, sicut decet, hoc opus
caution and discernment to-have as befits this the-work
et labor est; quoniam nunquam sine strenuitate ingenii et
and the-labor is since never without strenuousness of-wit and
artis assiduitate scientiarumque habitu fieri potest. Et ii
of-art assiduity and-of-the-sciences the-habit to-be-done it-can and these
sunt quos poeta Aeneidorum sexto dilectos Dei et ab
are whom the-poet of-the-Aeneid in-the-sixth beloved of-God and by
ardente virtute sublimatos ad aethera deorumque filios vocat,
burning virtue raised to the-ether and-of-the-gods sons calls
quamquam figurate loquatur. Et ideo confitetur eorum
although figuratively he-speak and therefore is-confessed their
stultitia, qui arte scientiaque immunes, de solo ingenio
folly who of-art and-of-knowledge free on sole wit
confidentes, ad summa summe canenda prorumpunt; et
relying to the-highest-things supremely to-be-sung burst-forth and
a tanta praesuntuositate desistant, et si anseres naturali
from such-great presumptuousness let-them-desist and if geese by-natural
desidia sunt, nolint astripetam aquilam imitari.
sloth they-are let-them-not-want the-star-seeking eagle to-imitate

Poets have used lines of three to eleven syllables, and the five-, seven-, and eleven-syllable lines most. The hendecasyllable is the proudest, in duration and in its capacity for thought, construction, and words, and the illustrious poets have begun their canzoni with it, as Dante shows by examples in Provençal, French, and Italian. The seven-syllable line comes next, then the five and the three; the nine-syllable line has fallen out of use, and even-syllabled lines are rarely used, for their roughness.

De gravitate sententiarum vel satis dixisse videmur,
about the-gravity of-thoughts either enough to-have-said we-seem
vel saltem totum quod operis est nostri. Quapropter ad
or at-least all which of-the-work is our wherefore to
superbiam carminum festinemus; circa quod sciendum est,
the-pride of-lines let-us-hasten about which to-be-known it-is
quod praedecessores nostri diversis carminibus usi sunt in
that predecessors our diverse lines used have in
cantionibus suis, quod et moderni faciunt: sed nullum adhuc
canzoni their which also the-moderns do but no-one still
invenimus in carmine syllabicando endecadem transcendisse,
we-find in a-line by-syllabizing the-eleven to-have-exceeded
nec a trisyllabo descendisse. Et licet trisyllabo carmine
nor from the-trisyllable to-have-descended and although the-trisyllabic line
atque endecasyllabo et omnibus intermediis cantores Latii
and the-hendecasyllable and all the-intermediate the-singers of-Latium
usi sint, pentasyllabum et eptasyllabum et endecasyllabum
used have the-pentasyllable and the-heptasyllable and the-hendecasyllable
in usu frequentiori habentur: et post haec trisyllabum
in use more-frequent are-had and after these the-trisyllable
ante alia; quorum omnium endecasyllabum videtur esse
before others of-which all the-hendecasyllable seems to-be

superbius, tam temporis occupatione, quam capacitate
prouder as-well of-time by-occupation as by-capacity
sententiae, constructionis, et vocabulorum; quorum omnium
of-thought of-construction and of-words of-which all
specimen magis multiplicatur in illo, ut manifeste apparet;
the-beauty more is-multiplied in that as manifestly appears
nam ubicumque ponderosa multiplicantur, et pondus. Et
for wherever weighty-things are-multiplied also weight and
omnes hoc doctores perpendisse videntur, cantiones illustres
all this doctors to-have-weighed seem canzoni illustrious
principiantes ab illo, ut Gerardus de Bornello:
beginning from that as Giraut de Bornelh

'Ara ausirez encabalitz cantars.'
now you-will-hear well-mounted songs

Quod carmen licet decasyllabum videatur, secundum rei
which line although decasyllabic it-seem according-to of-the-thing
veritatem, endecasyllabum est; nam duae consonantes extremae
the-truth hendecasyllabic it-is for the-two consonants last
non sunt de syllaba praecedente. Et licet propriam vocalem
not are of the-syllable preceding and although own vowel
non habeant, virtutem syllabae non tamen amittunt. Signum
not they-have the-power of-a-syllable not yet they-lose the-sign
autem est, quod rithimus ibi una vocali perficitur, quod
moreover is that the-rhyme there by-one vowel is-completed which
esse non posset nisi virtute alterius ibi subintellectae.
to-be not could except by-the-power of-another there understood

Rex Navarrae:
King of-Navarre

'De fin Amor si vient sen et bonté.'
of fine Love thus comes wisdom and goodness

Ubi si consideretur accentus et eius causa, endecasyllabum
where if be-considered the-accent and its cause hendecasyllabic
esse constabit.
to-be it-will-be-certain
Guido Guinizelli:
Guido Guinizelli

'Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore.'
to-the heart gentle repairs always Love

Iudex de Columnis de Messana:
the-Judge of Colonne of Messina

'Amor, che lungiamente m' hai menato.'
O-Love who long me you-have led

Renaldus de Aquino:
Rinaldo of Aquino

'Per fino Amore vo sì lietamente.'
for fine Love I-go so gladly

Cinus Pistoriensis:
Cino of-Pistoia

‘Non spero che giammai per mia salute.’
not I-hope that ever for my salvation

Amicus eius:
friend his

‘Amor, che muovi tua virtù dal cielo.’
O-Love who move your power from-the heaven

Et licet hoc quod dictum est celeberrimum carmen,
and although this which said it-is the-most-celebrated line
ut dignum est, videatur omnium aliorum, si eptasyllabi
as worthy it-is it-seem of-all others if of-the-heptasyllable
aliqualem societatem assumat, dummodo principatum obtineat,
some fellowship it-assume provided-that the-primacy it-hold
clarius magisque sursum superbire videtur; sed hoc ulterius
more-clearly and-more upward to-be-proud it-seems but this further
elucidandum remaneat. Et dicimus eptasyllabum sequi illud
to-be-elucidated let-remain and we-say the-heptasyllable to-follow that
quod maximum est in celebritate. Post hoc pentasyllabum
which greatest is in celebrity after this the-pentasyllable
et deinde trisyllabum ordinamus. Neasyllabum vero, quia
and then the-trisyllable we-rank the-nine-syllable but because
triplicatum trisyllabum videbatur, vel numquam in honore fuit,
a-tripled trisyllable it-seemed either never in honor was
vel propter fastidium obsoluit; parisyllaba vero propter
or on-account-of disgust became-obsolete the-even-syllabled but on-account-of
sui ruditatem non utimur, nisi raro; retinent enim naturam
their rudeness not we-use except rarely they-retain for the-nature

suorum numerorum, qui numeris imparibus, quemadmodum
of-their numbers which to-numbers odd just-as
materia formae, subsistunt. Et sic recolligentes praedicta,
matter to-form are-subject and thus recollecting the-aforesaid
endecasyllabum videtur esse superbissimum carmen; et hoc
the-hendecasyllable seems to-be the-proudest line and this
est quod quaerebamus. Nunc autem restat investigandum de
is what we-were-seeking now but remains to-be-investigated about
constructionibus elatis et fastigiosis vocabulis, et demum,
constructions elevated and lofty words and finally
fustibus torquibusque paratis, promissum fascem, hoc est
the-rods and-cords prepared the-promised bundle that is
cantionem, quomodo viere quis debeat, instruemus.
the-canzone how to-bind one ought we-shall-instruct

VI · CONSTRUCTION

Construction is the ordered joining of words. Only congruous construction belongs here, and among its grades Dante distinguishes the insipid, the merely flavored, the flavored and graceful, and the flavored, graceful, and lofty, giving a Latin example of each. The last is the construction of the illustrious canzoni, as lines of Giraut, the King of Navarre, Folquet, Arnaut, Aimeric de Belenoi, Aimeric de Peguilhan, Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Cino, and his friend show. Reading the regular poets, Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and Lucan, and the great prose writers would help; Guittone's admirers should stop praising him.

Quia circa vulgare illustre nostra versatur intentio, quod
because about the-vernacular illustrious our is-concerned intention which
nobilissimum est aliorum; et ea quae digna sunt illo
most-noble is of-others and those which worthy are in-it
cantari discrevimus, quae tria nobilissima sunt, ut superius
to-be-sung we-have-distinguished which three most-noble are as above

est adstructum; et modum cantionarium selegimus illis,
it-is established and the-manner of-the-canzone we-have-chosen for-them
tanquam aliorum modorum summum; et ut ipsum
as-if of-other manners the-highest and so-that it
perfectius edocere possimus, quaedam iam praeparavimus,
more-perfectly to-teach we-may-be-able certain-things already we-have-prepared
stilum videlicet, atque carmen; nunc de constructione
the-style namely and the-line now about construction
agamus. Est enim sciendum, quod constructionem vocamus
let-us-treat it-is for to-be-known that construction we-call
regulatam compaginem dictionum, ut: Aristoteles philosophatus
a-regulated joining of-words as Aristotle philosophized
est tempore Alexandri. Sunt enim hic quinque dictiones
has in-the-time of-Alexander there-are for here five words
compactae regulariter, et unam faciunt constructionem. Circa
joined regularly and one they-make construction about
quidem hanc prius considerandum est quod constructionum alia
indeed this first to-be-considered it-is that of-constructions one
congrua est, alia vero incongrua est; et quia (si primordium
congruous is another but incongruous is and because if the-beginning
bene discretionis nostrae recolimus) sola suprema venamur,
well of-distinction our we-recall only the-highest-things we-hunt
nullum in nostra venatione locum habet incongrua, quia
no in our hunting place has the-incongruous because
nec inferiorem gradum bonitatis promeruit. Pudeat
not-even the-lower degree of-goodness it-has-earned let-them-be-ashamed
ergo, pudeat idiotas tantum audere deinceps ut
therefore let-them-be-ashamed the-ignorant so-much to-dare henceforth that
ad cantiones prorumpant; quos non aliter deridemus quam
to canzoni they-burst-forth whom not otherwise we-mock than
caecum de coloribus distinguentem. Est ut videtur congrua
a-blind-man about colors distinguishing it-is as it-seems the-congruous

quam sectamur: sed non minoris difficultatis accidit discretio,
which we-pursue but not of-less difficulty happens the-discernment
priusquam quam quaerimus attingamus, videlicet urbanitate
before-that that-which we-seek we-reach namely with-urbanity
plenissimam. Sunt etenim gradus constructionum quamplures,
fullest there-are for degrees of-constructions very-many
videlicet insipidus, qui est rudium, ut: Petrus amat multum
namely the-insipid which is of-the-rude as Peter loves much
dominam Bertam. Est pure sapidus, qui est rigidorum
the-lady Bertha there-is the-purely tasteful which is of-rigid
scholarium vel magistrorum, ut: Piget me cunctis pietate
scholars or masters as it-grieves me for-all with-pity
maiore quicumque in exilio tabescentes patriam tantum
greater whoever in exile pining the-fatherland only
somniando revisunt. Est et sapidus et venustus, qui
by-dreaming revisit there-is also tasteful and graceful which
est quorundam superficie tenus rhetoricam haurientium, ut:
is of-certain-ones the-surface up-to rhetoric drinking as
Laudabilis discretio marchionis Estensis et sua magnificentia
the-praiseworthy discretion of-the-marquis of-Este and his magnificence
praeparata cunctis illum facit esse dilectum. Est et sapidus
prepared for-all him makes to-be beloved there-is also tasteful
et venustus, etiam et excelsus, qui est dictatorum illustrium,
and graceful also and lofty which is of-writers illustrious
ut: Eiecta maxima parte florum de sinu tuo, Florentia,
as thrown-out the-greatest part of-the-flowers from bosom your O-Florence
nequicquam Trinacriam Totila secundus adivit. Hunc gradum
in-vain to-Trinacria Totila the-second went this degree
constructionis excellentissimum nominamus; et hic est quem
of-construction the-most-excellent we-name and this is which

quaerimus cum suprema venemur, ut dictum est. Hoc
we-seek when the-highest-things we-hunt as said it-is in-this
solum illustres cantiones inveniuntur contextae. ut —
only illustrious canzoni are-found woven as
Gerardus:
Giraut

'Si per mon Sobre-Totz no fos.'
if for my Above-All not were

Rex Navarrae:
King of-Navarre

'Ire d' Amor qui en mon cor repaire.'
anger of Love which in my heart dwells

Folquetus de Marsilia:
Folquet of Marseille

'Tan m'abellis l'amoros pensamen.'
so me-pleases the-amorous thought

Arnaldus Danielis:
Arnaut Daniel

'Sols sui che sai lo sobraffan, chem sorz.'
alone I-am who know the over-grief which-me rises

Namericus de Belnui:

Lord-Aimeric of Belenoi

'Nuls hom non pot complir adrechamen.'

no man not can to-fulfill rightly

Namericus de Peculiano:

Lord-Aimeric of Peguilhan

'Si com l' arbres, che per sobre carcar.'

thus as the tree which through over loading

Guido Guinizelli:

Guido Guinizelli

'Tegno di folle impresa allo ver dire.'

I-hold of foolish enterprise to-the true to-say

Guido Cavalcantis:

Guido Cavalcanti

'Poi che di doglia cuor convien ch' io porti.'

since that of grief heart it-behooves that I carry

Cinus de Pistorio:

Cino of Pistoia

'Avvenga ch' io aggia più per tempo.'

although that I have more for time

Amicus eius:
friend his

'Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona.'
Love who in-the mind to-me reasons

Nec mireris, lector, de tot reductis auctoribus ad memoriam:
nor wonder O-reader at so-many brought-back authors to memory
non enim quam supremam vocamus constructionem, nisi
not for that-which highest we-call construction except
per huiusmodi exempla possumus indicare. Et fortassis
through of-this-kind examples we-can to-indicate and perhaps
utilissimum foret ad illam habituandam regulatos vidisse
most-useful it-would-be for it to-make-habitual the-regular to-have-seen
poetas, Virgilium videlicet, Ovidium Metamorphoseos, Statium
poets Virgil namely Ovid of-the-Metamorphoses Statius
atque Lucanum; nec non alios qui usi sunt altissimas prosas,
and Lucan and also others who used have the-highest prose
ut Titum Livium, Plinium, Frontinum, Paulum Orosium,
as Titus Livy Pliny Frontinus Paulus Orosius
et multos alios, quos amica solitudo nos visitare invitat.
and many others whom friendly solitude us to-visit invites
Subsistant igitur ignorantiae sectatores Guittonem Aretinum,
let-them-stop therefore of-ignorance the-followers Guittone of-Arezzo
et quosdam alios extollentes nunquam in vocabulis atque
and certain others extolling never in words and
constructione plebescere desuetos.
construction to-play-the-plebeian unaccustomed

Words are childish, womanly, or manly, and the manly are rustic or urban; the urban are combed and slippery, or shaggy and rumpled, and of these the combed and the shaggy are grand, while the slippery and the rumpled sound too much. Only combed and shaggy words belong in the illustrious vernacular: the combed are of about three syllables, without harsh sounds, like amore *and* donna*; the shaggy are the necessary monosyllables and the ornamental long words that, mixed with the combed, make harmony, up to an eleven-syllable word.*

Grandiosa modo vocabula sub praelato stilo digna consistere,
grand now the-words under the-preferred style worthy to-stand
successiva nostrae progressionis provincia lucidari expostulat.
the-successive of-our progress province to-be-made-clear demands
Testamur proinde incipientes, non minimum opus esse
we-testify therefore beginning not the-least work to-be
rationis discretionem vocabulorum habere, quoniam perplures
of-reason the-discernment of-words to-have since very-many
eorum maneries inveniri posse videmus. Nam vocabulorum
of-them kinds to-be-found to-be-able we-see for of-words
quaedam puerilia, quaedam muliebria, quaedam virilia; et
some childish some womanish some manly and
horum quaedam silvestria, quaedam urbana; et eorum quae
of-these some sylvan some urbane and of-those which
urbana vocamus, quaedam pexa et lubrica, quaedam irsuta et
urbane we-call some combed and slippery some shaggy and
reburra sentimus: inter quae quidem pexa atque irsuta sunt
rumpled we-feel among which indeed the-combed and shaggy are
illa quae vocamus grandiosa: lubrica vero et reburra vocamus
those which we-call grand the-slippery but and rumpled we-call
illa quae in superfluum sonant: quemadmodum in magnis
those which in excess sound just-as in great

operibus, quaedam magnanimitatis sunt opera, quaedam fumi;
works some of-magnanimity are works some of-smoke
ubi, licet in superficie quidam consideretur adscensus, ex
where although on the-surface a-certain be-considered ascent from
quo limitata virtutis linea praevaricatur, bonae rationi non
which bounded of-virtue the-line is-transgressed to-good reason not
adscensus, sed per altera declivia ruina constabit. Intuearis
an-ascent but by the-other slopes a-ruin will-stand you-may-see
ergo, lector; attende quantum ad exaceranda egregia verba
therefore O-reader attend how-much for to-be-sifted the-choice words
te cribrare oportet: nam si vulgare illustre consideres, quo
you to-sift it-behooves for if the-vernacular illustrious you-consider which
tragice debent uti poetae vulgares, ut superius dictum est,
tragically ought to-use the-poets vernacular as above said it-is
quos informare intendimus, sola vocabula nobilissima in cribro
whom to-inform we-intend only words most-noble in sieve
tuo residere curabis. In quorum numero, nec puerilia
your to-remain you-will-take-care in whose number neither the-childish
propter sui simplicitatem, ut mamma et babbo, mate et
on-account-of their simplicity as mama and daddy mommy and
pate; nec muliebria propter sui mollitiem, ut dolciada et
poppa nor the-womanish on-account-of their softness as sweetie and
placevole; nec silvestria, propter austeritatem, ut greggia, et
pleasing nor the-sylvan on-account-of harshness as flock and
caetera; nec urbana lubrica et reburra, ut femina et corpo,
the-rest nor the-urbane slippery and rumpled as woman and body
ullo modo poteris conlocare. Sola etenim pexa irsutaque
in-any way you-will-be-able to-place only for the-combed and-shaggy
urbana tibi restare videbis quae nobilissima sunt, et membra
urbane to-you to-remain you-will-see which most-noble are and members
vulgaris illustris. Et pexa vocamus illa, quae trisyllaba,
of-the-vernacular illustrious and combed we-call those which trisyllabic

vel vicinissima trisyllabitati, sine aspiratione, sine accentu
or nearest to-trisyllabicity without aspiration without accent
acuto vel circumflexo, sine z vel x duplicibus, sine duarum
acute or circumflex without z or x double without of-two
liquidarum geminatione, vel positione immediate post mutam
liquids doubling or position immediately after a-mute
dolata quasi, loquentem cum quadam suavitate relinquunt, ut
polished as-if the-speaker with a-certain sweetness leave as
Amore, donna, disio, virtute, donare, letizia, salute, securitate,
Love lady desire virtue to-give gladness health security
difesa. Irsuta quoque dicimus omnia praeter haec, quae
defense shaggy also we-call all-things besides these which
vel necessaria vel ornativa videntur vulgaris illustris. Et
either necessary or ornamental seem of-the-vernacular illustrious and
necessaria quidem appellamus, quae campsare non possumus;
necessary indeed we-call those-which to-avoid not we-can
ut quaedam monosyllaba, ut sì, no, me, te, se, a, e, i, o,
as certain monosyllables as yes no me you oneself to and the or
u; interiectiones, et alia multa. Ornativa vero dicimus omnia
where interjections and others many ornamental but we-call all
polysyllaba, quae mixta cum pexis pulcram faciunt armoniam
polysyllables which mixed with the-combed a-beautiful make harmony
compaginis, quamvis asperitatem habeant adspirationis, et
of-the-joining although harshness they-have of-aspiration and
accentus, et duplicium, et liquidarum, et prolixitatis; ut
of-accent and of-doubles and of-liquids and of-length as
terra, honore, speranza, gravitate, alleviato, impossibilità,
earth honor hope gravity relieved impossibility
impossibilitate, benavventuratissimo, inanimatissimamente,
impossibility most-fortunate most-inanimately
disavventuratissimamente, sovramagnificentissimamente, quod
most-unfortunately most-super-magnificently which

endecasyllabum est. Posset adhuc inveniri plurium syllabarum
hendecasyllabic is there-could still to-be-found of-more syllables
vocabulum sive verbum; sed quia capacitatem nostrorum
a-word or verb but because the-capacity of-our
omnium carminum superexcedit, rationi praesenti non videtur
all lines it-overexceeds to-reason present not it-seems
obnoxium, sicut est illud honorificabilitudinitate, quod
subject as is that honorableness which
duodena perficitur syllaba in vulgari, et in grammatica
by-a-twelfth is-completed syllable in the-vernacular and in grammar
tredena perficitur in duobus obliquis. Quomodo autem
by-a-thirteenth is-completed in two obliques how moreover
pexis irsuta huiusmodi sint armonizanda per metra,
with-the-combed the-shaggy of-this-kind be to-be-harmonized through meters
inferius instruendum relinquimus. Et quae dicta sunt de
below to-be-instructed we-leave and what said are about
fastigiositate vocabulorum, ingenuae discretioni sufficiant.
the-loftiness of-words to-a-noble discernment let-suffice

Having prepared the sticks and cords, Dante turns to the bundle itself, the canzone. A canzone is properly the act of composing, not the performance or the melody, since we call it the song of the one who made it; music is called sound or tone, not canzone. In general all words harmonized for music, in the vernacular or in Latin, are canzoni, ballate and sonnets included; but in its supreme sense a canzone is a tragic joining of equal stanzas without a refrain, on one theme, as in Dante's own Donne ch'avete. *Made comically, the joining is a* cantilena.

Praeparatis fustibus torquibusque ad fascem, nunc fasciandi
prepared the-rods and-cords for the-bundle now of-binding
tempus incumbit; sed quia cuiuslibet operis cognitio praecedere
the-time presses but because of-any work the-knowledge to-precede
debet operationem, velut signum ante admissionem sagittae vel
ought the-working as the-mark before the-letting-go of-the-arrow or
iaculi; primo et principaliter qui sit iste fascis quem fasciare
the-javelin first and principally what be that bundle which to-bind
intendimus, videamus. Fascis igitur iste, si bene comminiscimur
we-intend let-us-see the-bundle therefore that if well we-recollect
omnia praelibata, cantio est. Quapropter quid sit cantio
all the-foregoing the-canzone is wherefore what be the-canzone
videamus, et quid intelligimus cum dicimus cantionem. Est
let-us-see and what we-understand when we-say canzone is
enim cantio, secundum verum nominis significatum, ipse
for the-canzone according-to the-true of-the-name meaning the-very
canendi actus vel passio; sicut lectio, passio vel actus legendi.
of-singing act or passion as reading the-passion or act of-reading
Sed divaricemus quod dictum est, utrum videlicet haec sit
but let-us-separate what said it-is whether namely this be
cantio, prout est actus vel prout est passio. Circa hoc
the-canzone as it-is act or as it-is passion about this

considerandum est quod cantio dupliciter accipi potest; uno
to-be-considered it-is that canzone doubly to-be-taken can in-one
modo secundum quod fabricatur ab auctore suo, et sic est actio;
way according as it-is-fashioned by author its and thus it-is action
et secundum istum modum Virgilius primo Aeneidorum dicit:
and according-to this way Virgil in-the-first of-the-Aeneid says

'Arma virumque cano.'
arms and-the-man I-sing

Alio modo, secundum quod fabricata profertur vel ab
in-another way according as fashioned it-is-uttered either by
auctore, vel ab alio quicumque sit, sive cum soni
the-author or by another whoever he-be whether with of-sound
modulatione proferatur, sive non, et sic est passio. Nam tunc
modulation it-be-uttered or not and thus it-is passion for then
agitur, modo vero agere videtur in alium, et sic tunc
it-is-acted-upon now but to-act it-seems upon another and thus then
alicuius actio, modo quoque passio alicuius videtur. Et
of-someone the-action now also the-passion of-someone it-seems and
quia prius agitur ipsa quam agat, magis, immo prorsus,
because first it-is-acted-upon itself than it-act more nay utterly
denominari videtur ab eo quod agitur, et est actio
to-be-named it-seems from that which is-acted-upon and is the-action
alicuius, quam ab eo quod agit in alios. Signum autem
of-someone than from that which it-acts upon others the-sign moreover
huius est, quod nunquam dicimus, 'haec est cantio Petri,'
of-this is that never we-say this is the-canzone of-Peter
eo quod ipsam proferat, sed eo quod fabricaverit illam.
for-this that it he-utter but for-this that he-fashioned it
Praeterea disserendum est, utrum cantio dicatur fabricatio
moreover to-be-discussed it-is whether the-canzone be-called the-fashioning

verborum armonizatorum vel ipsa modulatio: ad quod
of-words harmonized or the-very modulation to which
dicimus, quod nunquam modulatio dicitur cantio, sed sonus,
we-say that never the-modulation is-called canzone but sound
vel tonus, vel nota, vel melos. Nullus enim tubicen, vel
or tone or note or melody no for trumpeter or
organista, vel citharaedus melodiam suam cantionem vocat, nisi
organist or lute-player melody his canzone calls except
in quantum nupta est alicui cantioni; sed armonizantes verba,
in as-much-as married it-is to-some canzone but those-harmonizing words
opera sua cantiones vocant. Et etiam talia verba in chartulis
works their canzoni call and also such words in little-papers
absque prolatore iacentia cantiones vocamus; et ideo cantio
without utterer lying canzoni we-call and therefore the-canzone
nil aliud esse videtur quam actio completa dictantis
nothing other to-be seems than the-action complete of-one-composing
verba modulationi armonizata. Qua propter tam cantiones
words for-modulation harmonized on-which account as-well the-canzoni
quas nunc tractamus, quam ballatas et sonitus, et omnia
which now we-treat as ballate and sonnets and all
cuiuscumque modi verba sunt armonizata vulgariter et
of-whatever kind words are harmonized in-the-vernacular and
regulariter, cantiones esse dicemus. Sed quia sola vulgaria
regularly canzoni to-be we-shall-say but because only vernacular-things
ventilamus, regulata linquentes, dicimus vulgarium poematum
we-winnow the-regulated leaving we-say of-vernacular poems
unum esse supremum, quod per superexcellentiam cantionem
one to-be supreme which through super-excellence canzone
vocamus; quod autem supremum quid sit cantio, in
we-call that moreover the-supreme something be the-canzone in
tertio huius libri capitulo est probatum. Et quoniam quod
the-third of-this book chapter it-is proved and since what

diffinitum est, pluribus generale videtur, resumentes diffinitum
defined is to-several general it-seems resuming the-defined
iam generale vocabulum, per quasdam differentias solum
already general word through certain differences only
quod petimus distinguamus. Dicimus ergo quod cantio, in
what we-seek let-us-distinguish we-say therefore that the-canzone in
quantum per superexcellentiam dicitur, ut et nos quaerimus,
as-much-as by super-excellence it-is-called as also we seek
est aequalium stantiarum sine responsorio ad unam sententiam
is of-equal stanzas without refrain to one thought
tragica coniugatio, ut nos ostendimus cum dicimus:
a-tragic joining as we showed when we-say

'Donne, ch' avete intelleto d' amore.'
O-ladies who have understanding of love

Et sic patet quid cantio sit, et prout accipitur generaliter,
and thus is-plain what the-canzone be and as it-is-taken generally
et prout per superexcellentiam vocamus eam. Satis etiam
and as by super-excellence we-call it enough also
patere videtur quid intelligimus cum cantionem vocamus,
to-be-plain it-seems what we-understand when canzone we-call
et per consequens quid sit ille fascis quem ligare molimur.
and by consequence what be that bundle which to-bind we-labor
Quod autem dicimus tragica coniugatio, est quia cum
that moreover we-say tragic joining is because when
comice fiat haec coniugatio, cantilenam vocamus per
comically be-made this joining a-cantilena we-call by
diminutionem, de qua in quarto huius tractare intendimus.
diminution about which in the-fourth of-this to-treat we-intend

Since a canzone is a joining of stanzas, one must know what a stanza is. The word was invented for the art, a room or receptacle holding the whole art of the canzone, as the canzone holds the whole thought. The art consists in three things: the division of the melody, the arrangement of the parts, and the number of lines and syllables; rhyme is not part of it, since rhymes may be renewed or repeated at will. A stanza is a structure of lines and syllables bounded by a set melody and arrangement.

Quia, ut dictum est, cantio est coniugatio stantiarum,
because as said it-is the-canzone is a-joining of-stanzas
ignorato quid sit stantia, necesse est cantionem ignorare:
not-known what be a-stanza necessary it-is the-canzone to-be-ignorant-of
nam ex diffinientium cognitione diffiniti resultat cognitio;
for from of-the-defining-things the-knowledge of-the-defined results the-knowledge
et ideo consequenter de stantia est agendum, ut scilicet
and therefore consequently about the-stanza it-is to-be-treated so-that namely
vestigemus quid ipsa sit, et quid per eam intelligere volumus.
we-may-track what it be and what by it to-understand we-wish
Et circa hoc sciendum est, quod hoc vocabulum per solius artis
and about this to-be-known it-is that this word by of-sole art
respectum inventum est; videlicet, ut in quo tota cantionis
regard invented it-is namely that in which the-whole of-the-canzone
ars esset contenta, illud diceretur stantia, hoc est mansio
art should-be contained that should-be-called stanza that is a-dwelling
capax sive receptaculum, totius artis. Nam quemadmodum
capable or receptacle of-the-whole art for just-as
cantio est gremium totius sententiae, sic stantia totam
the-canzone is the-bosom of-the-whole thought so the-stanza the-whole
artem ingremiat; nec licet aliquid artis sequentibus
art embosoms nor is-it-allowed anything of-art to-the-following
arrogare, sed solam artem antecedentis induere; per quod
to-arrogate but only the-art of-the-preceding to-put-on through which

patet, quod ipsa de qua loquimur erit conterminatio sive
is-plain that it about which we-speak will-be the-co-termination or
compages omnium eorum quae cantio sumit ab arte;
joining of-all those-things which the-canzone takes from art
quibus divaricatis, quam quaerimus descriptio innotescet.
which separated which we-seek the-description will-become-known
Tota igitur ars cantionis circa tria videtur consistere:
the-whole therefore art of-the-canzone about three-things seems to-consist
primo circa cantus divisionem, secundo circa partium
first about of-the-melody the-division second about of-the-parts
habitudinem, tertio circa numerum carminum et syllabarum:
the-relation third about the-number of-lines and syllables
de rithimo vero mentionem non facimus, quia de propria
of rhyme but mention not we-make because of proper
cantionis arte non est. Licet enim in qualibet stantia
of-the-canzone art not it-is it-is-allowed for in any stanza
rithimos innovare, et eosdem reiterare ad libitum, quod si de
rhymes to-renew and the-same to-repeat at pleasure but if of
propria cantionis arte rithimus esset, minime liceret
proper of-the-canzone art rhyme were by-no-means it-would-be-allowed
quod dictum est. Si quid autem rithimi servare interest huius
what said it-is if anything moreover of-rhyme to-observe concerns of-this
quod est ars, illud comprehenditur ibi cum dicimus partium
which is art that is-comprehended there when we-say of-the-parts
habitudinem. Quare sic colligere possumus ex praedictis
the-relation wherefore thus to-gather we-can from the-aforesaid
diffinientes et dicere: Stantiam esse sub certo cantu et
defining and to-say the-stanza to-be under a-certain melody and
habitudine limitatam carminum et syllabarum compagem.
relation bounded of-lines and syllables a-joining

Every stanza is set to a melody, but in different ways. Some run on in one continuous melody without repetition or diesis, the turn from one melody to another, as in Arnaut Daniel's stanzas and Dante's Al poco giorno. *Others admit a diesis: a repetition before it gives feet, two and rarely three; one after it gives verses; without repetition before, the stanza has a front, and without it after, a tail. Such license rests on the authority of usage.*

Scientes quia rationale animal homo est, et quia sensibilis
knowing that rational animal man is and that sensible
anima et corpus est animal, et ignorantes de hac
soul and body is animal and not-knowing about this
anima quid ea sit, vel de ipso corpore, perfectam
soul what it be or about the-very body perfect
hominis cognitionem habere non possumus; quia cognitionis
of-man knowledge to-have not we-can because of-knowledge
perfectio uniuscuiusque terminatur ad ultima elementa, sicut
the-perfection of-each-thing is-ended at the-last elements as
magister sapientum in principio Physicorum testatur. Igitur
the-master of-the-wise in the-beginning of-the-Physics testifies therefore
ad habendam cantionis cognitionem quam inhiamus, nunc
for having of-the-canzone the-knowledge which we-gape-for now
diffinientia suum diffiniens sub compendio ventilemus; et
the-defining-things its defining under summary let-us-winnow and
primo de cantu, deinde de habitudine, et postmodum
first about the-melody then about the-relation and afterward
de carminibus et syllabis percontemur. Dicimus ergo quod
about the-lines and syllables let-us-inquire we-say therefore that
omnis stantia ad quandam odam recipiendam armonizata
every stanza for a-certain melody to-be-received harmonized
est; sed in modis diversificari videntur; quia quaedam sunt
is but in manners to-be-diversified they-seem because some are

sub una oda continua usque ad ultimum progressive, hoc
under one melody continuous up to the-last progressively that
est sine iteratione modulationis cuiusquam et sine diesi;
is without repetition of-modulation any and without diesis
et diesim dicimus deductionem vergentem de una oda
and diesis we-call a-leading turning from one melody
in aliam: hanc voltam vocamus, cum vulgus alloquimur. Et
into another this the-volta we-call when the-vulgar we-address and
huiusmodi stantiae usus est fere in omnibus cantionibus suis
of-this-kind of-stanza used has almost in all canzoni his
Arnaldus Danielis: et nos eum secuti sumus cum diximus:
Arnaut Daniel and we him followed have when we-said

'Al poco giorno, ed al gran cerchio d' ombra.'
to-the little day and to-the great circle of shadow

Quaedam vero sunt diesim patientes, et diesis esse non potest
some but are the-diesis admitting and diesis to-be not can
secundum quod eam appellamus, nisi reiteratio unius odae
according as it we-call unless a-repetition of-one ode
fiat, vel ante diesim vel post vel undique. Si ante diesim
be-made either before the-diesis or after or on-both-sides if before the-diesis
repetitio fiat, stantias dicimus habere pedes; et duos habere
repetition be-made stanzas we-say to-have feet and two to-have
decet, licet quandoque tres fiant, rarissime tamen. Si repetitio
it-befits although sometimes three be-made most-rarely yet if repetition
fiat post diesim, tunc dicimus stantiam habere versus: si
be-made after the-diesis then we-say the-stanza to-have verses if
ante non fiat repetitio, stantiam dicimus habere frontem:
before not be-made repetition the-stanza we-say to-have a-front
si post non fiat, dicimus habere syrma sive caudam. Vide
if after not be-made we-say to-have a-sirma or tail see

igitur, lector, quanta licentia data sit cantiones poetantibus;
therefore O-reader how-great license given be canzoni to-those-versifying
et considera cuius rei causa tam largum arbitrium sibi
and consider of-what thing for-the-cause so broad judgment for-itself
usus asciverit; et si recto calle ratio te direxerit, videbis
use has-adopted and if by-straight path reason you will-have-directed you-will-see
auctoritatis dignitate sola quod dicimus esse concessum. Satis
of-authority by-the-dignity alone what we-say to-be granted enough
hinc innotescere potest, quomodo cantionis ars circa cantus
hence to-become-known can how of-the-canzone the-art about of-the-melody
divisionem consistat, et ideo ad habitudinem procedamus.
the-division consists and therefore to the-relation let-us-proceed

XI · THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PARTS

The arrangement is the greatest part of the art. The front may exceed the verses in lines and syllables, or exceed in lines and fall short in syllables, or the verses may exceed the front, as in Dante's Traggemi della mente*; the same holds between feet and tail, as his canzoni show. Feet may outnumber verses or be outnumbered. Unlike the regular poets, who make lines from feet, the vernacular poets make feet from lines, and feet must match one another in lines and syllables so that the melody can repeat.*

Videtur nobis haec quam habitudinem dicimus maxima pars
it-seems to-us this which relation we-call the-greatest part
eius quod artis est; haec etenim circa cantus divisionem,
of-that which of-art is this for about of-the-melody the-division
atque contextum carminum, et rithimorum relationem
and the-weaving of-lines and of-rhymes the-relation
consistit: quapropter diligentissime videtur esse tractanda.
consists wherefore most-diligently it-seems to-be to-be-treated

Incipientes igitur dicimus, quod frons cum versibus, pedes
beginning therefore we-say that the-front with the-verses the-feet
cum cauda vel syrmate necnon pedes cum versibus, in
with the-tail or sirma and-also the-feet with the-verses in
stantia se habere diversimode possunt: nam quandoque
a-stanza themselves to-hold in-diverse-ways can for sometimes
frons versus excedit in syllabis et carminibus, vel excedere
the-front the-verses exceeds in syllables and lines or to-exceed
potest; et dicimus potest, quoniam habitudinem hanc adhuc
can and we-say can since relation this still
non vidimus. Quandoque in carminibus excedere et in
not we-have-seen sometimes in lines to-exceed and in
syllabis superari potest, ut si frons esset pentametra, et
syllables to-be-surpassed it-can as if the-front were pentameter and
quilibet versus esset dimeter, et metra frontis eptasyllaba,
each verse were dimeter and the-meters of-the-front heptasyllabic
et versus endecasyllaba essent. Quandoque versus frontem
and the-verses hendecasyllabic were sometimes the-verses the-front
superant syllabis et carminibus, ut in illa quam diximus:
surpass in-syllables and lines as in that which we-said

'Traggemi della mente Amor là stiva.'
draws-me from-the mind Love there-where it-stays

Fuit haec tetrametra frons tribus endecasyllabis et uno
was this tetrameter front from-three hendecasyllables and one
eptasyllabo contexta: non etenim potuit in pedes dividi, cum
heptasyllable woven not for it-could into feet to-be-divided since
aequalitas carminum et syllabarum requiratur in pedibus inter
equality of-lines and syllables be-required in the-feet among
se et etiam in versibus inter se. Et quemadmodum
themselves and also in the-verses among themselves and just-as

dicimus de fronte, et de versibus. Possent etenim versus
we-say about the-front and about the-verses could for the-verses
frontem superare * * * * * * * * * * * * * trimeter, et eptasyllaba
*the-front to-surpass * * * * * * * * * * * * * trimeter and heptasyllabic*
metra, et frons esset pentametra duobus endecasyllabis et
the-meters and the-front were pentameter from-two hendecasyllables and
tribus eptasyllabis contexta. Quandoque vero pedes caudam
three heptasyllables woven sometimes but the-feet the-tail
superant carminibus et syllabis, ut in illa quam diximus:
surpass in-lines and syllables as in that which we-said

'Amor, che muovi tua virtù dal cielo.'
O-Love who move your power from-the heaven

Quandoque pedes a syrmate superantur in toto, ut in illa
sometimes the-feet by the-sirma are-surpassed in whole as in that
quam diximus:
which we-said

'Donna pietosa e di novella etate.'
lady pitying and of new age

Et quemadmodum diximus frontem posse superare carminibus
and just-as we-said the-front to-be-able to-surpass in-lines
syllabis superatam, et e converso, sic de syrmate dicimus.
in-syllables surpassed and from the-converse so about the-sirma we-say
Pedes quoque versus in numero superant, et superantur ab
the-feet also the-verses in number surpass and are-surpassed by
iis: possunt enim esse in stantia tres pedes et duos versus, et
them there-can for to-be in a-stanza three feet and two verses and
tres versus et duos pedes: nec hoc numero limitamur, quin
three verses and two feet nor by-this number are-we-limited but-that

liceat plures et pedes et versus similiter contexere. Et
it-be-allowed more both feet and verses likewise to-weave and
quemadmodum de victoria carminum et syllabarum diximus
just-as about the-victory of-lines and syllables we-said
inter alia, nunc etiam inter pedes et versus dicimus;
among other-things now also among feet and verses we-say
nam eodem modo vinci et vincere possunt. Nec
for in-the-same way to-be-conquered and to-conquer they-can nor
praetermittendum est quod nos e contrario regulatis poetis
to-be-passed-over it-is that we from the-contrary to-the-regular poets
pedes accipimus, quia illi carmen ex pedibus, nos vero ex
feet take because they the-line from feet we but from
carminibus pedem constare dicimus, ut satis evidenter apparet.
lines the-foot to-consist we-say as enough evidently appears
Nec etiam praetermittendum est quin iterum asseramus pedes
nor also to-be-passed-over it-is but-that again we-assert the-feet
ab invicem necessario carminum et syllabarum aequalitatem
from each-other necessarily of-lines and syllables equality
et habitudinem accipere, quia non aliter cantus repetitio
and relation to-take because not otherwise of-the-melody repetition
fieri posset. Hoc idem in versibus esse servandum astruimus.
to-be-made could this same in the-verses to-be to-be-observed we-establish

Of the three lines most used, the hendecasyllable wins in tragic poetry: some stanzas use it alone, as Guido of Florence's Donna mi prega*, Dante's* Donne ch'avete*, and Aimeric de Belenoi's Occitan* Nuls hom *do. One or more seven-syllable lines may be woven in, so long as the hendecasyllable leads and begins; those who began tragic stanzas with a seven-syllable line wrote with a shade of elegy. A five-syllable line is admitted sparingly, a three-syllable line only as an echo of a rhyme, and a seven-syllable line placed in one foot must hold the same place in the other.*

Est etiam, ut superius dictum est, habitudo quaedam
there-is also as above said it-is a-relation a-certain
quam carmina contexendo considerare debemus; et ideo
which lines by-weaving to-consider we-ought and therefore
rationem faciamus de illa, repetentes proinde quae superius
account let-us-make of it repeating therefore what above
de carminibus diximus. In usu nostro maxime tria carmina
about lines we-said in use our most three lines
frequentandi praerogativam habere videntur, endecasyllabum
of-frequenting the-prerogative to-have seem the-hendecasyllable
scilicet, et eptasyllabum, et pentasyllabum; quae trisyllabum
namely and the-heptasyllable and the-pentasyllable which the-trisyllable
ante alia sequi astruximus. Horum prorsus, cum
before others to-follow we-have-established of-these utterly when
tragice poetari conamur, endecasyllabum propter quandam
tragically to-versify we-try the-hendecasyllable on-account-of a-certain
excellentiam in contextu vincendi privilegium promeretur.
excellence in weaving of-conquering the-privilege deserves

Nam quaedam stantia est quae solis endecasyllabis gaudet
for a-certain stanza there-is which in-only hendecasyllables rejoices
esse contexta, ut illa Guidonis de Florentia:
to-be woven as that of-Guido of Florence

'Donna mi prega, perch' io voglio dire.'
lady me begs because I wish to-say

Et etiam nos dicimus:
and also we say

'Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' amore.'
O-ladies who have understanding of love

Hoc etiam Hispani usi sunt; et dico Hispanos qui poetati
this also the-Spaniards used have and I-say Spaniards who versified
sunt in vulgari oc. Namericus de Belnui:
have in the-vernacular oc Lord-Aimeric of Belenoi

'Nuls hom non pot complir adrechamen.'
no man not can to-fulfill rightly

Quaedam est in qua tantum eptasyllabum intexitur unum,
a-certain-one there-is in which only heptasyllable is-interwoven one
et hoc esse non potest nisi ubi frons est, vel cauda, quoniam
and this to-be not can except where a-front is or a-tail since
(ut dictum est) in pedibus atque versibus attenditur aequalitas
as said it-is in feet and verses is-attended-to equality
carminum et syllabarum. Propter quod etiam nec numerus
of-lines and of-syllables on-account-of which also not-even a-number
impar carminum potest esse ubi frons, vel cauda non est:
odd of-lines can to-be where front or tail not is

sed ubi hae sunt, vel altera sola, pari et impari numero
but where these are or the-other alone even and odd number
in carminibus licet uti ad libitum. Et sicut quaedam
in lines it-is-allowed to-use at pleasure and as a-certain
stantia est uno solo eptasyllabo conformata, sic duobus,
stanza there-is by-one only heptasyllable formed so by-two
tribus, quatuor, quinque videtur posse contexi, dummodo
three four five it-seems to-be-able to-be-woven provided-that
in tragico vincat endecasyllabum et principiet. Verumtamen
in the-tragic conquer the-hendecasyllable and begin nevertheless
quosdam ab eptasyllabo tragice principiasse invenimus,
certain from a-heptasyllable tragically to-have-begun we-find
videlicet Guidonem de Ghisileriis, et Fabrutium Bononienses:
namely Guido of Ghislieri and Fabruzzo Bolognese

'Di fermo sofferire.'
of firm suffering

Et,
and

'Donna, lo fermo core.'
O-lady the firm heart

Et,
and

'Lo mio lontano gire.'
the my far going

Et quosdam alios. Sed si ad eorum sensum subtiliter
and certain others but if to their sense subtly
intrare velimus, non sine quodam elegiae umbraculo haec
to-enter we-wish not without a-certain of-elegy shade this
tragoedia processisse videbitur. De pentasyllabo quoque
tragedy to-have-proceeded will-seem about the-pentasyllable also
non sic concedimus; in dictamine magno sufficit unicum
not so we-grant in composition great suffices a-single
pentasyllabum in tota stantia conseri, vel duo ad plus
pentasyllable in whole stanza to-be-inserted or two at most
in pedibus; et dico pedibus, propter necessitatem qua
in the-feet and I-say in-the-feet on-account-of the-necessity by-which
pedibus versibusque cantatur: minime autem trisyllabum
in-feet and-verses it-is-sung by-no-means but the-trisyllable
in tragico videtur esse sumendum, per se subsistens; et
in the-tragic seems to-be to-be-taken through itself subsisting and
dico per se subsistens quia per quamdam rithimorum
I-say through itself subsisting because through a-certain of-rhymes
repercussionem frequenter videtur assumptum; sicut inveniri
echoing frequently it-seems taken as to-be-found
potest in illa Guidonis Florentini
it-can in that of-Guido Florentine

'Donna mi prega, perch' io voglio dire.'
lady me begs because I wish to-say

Et in illa quam diximus:
and in that which we-said

'Poscia ch' Amor del tutto m' ha lasciato.'
since that Love of-the whole me has left

Nec per se ibi carmen est omnino, sed pars endecasyllabi
nor through itself there a-line is at-all but part of-a-hendecasyllable
tantum, ad rithimum praecedentis carminis velut echo
only to the-rhyme of-the-preceding line as-if echo
respondens. Satis hinc, lector, sufficienter eligere potes qualiter
answering enough hence O-reader sufficiently to-choose you-can how
tibi habituanda sit stantia, habitudine quae circa carmina
for-you to-be-habituated be the-stanza with-the-relation which about lines
consideranda videtur esse. Hoc etiam praecipue attendendum
to-be-considered seems to-be this also especially to-be-attended-to
est circa carminum habitudinem; quod si eptasyllabum
is about of-lines the-relation that if a-heptasyllable
interseratur in primo pede, quem situm accipit ibi, eundem
be-inserted in the-first foot what position it-takes there the-same
resumat in altero: puta, si pes trimeter primum et
it-resume in the-other for-example if a-foot trimeter the-first and
ultimum carmen endecasyllabum habet, et medium, hoc est
last line hendecasyllable has and the-middle that is
secundum, eptasyllabum, * * * * et extrema endecasyllaba,
*the-second heptasyllable * * * * and the-outer hendecasyllables*
non aliter ingeminatio cantus fieri posset ad quam
not otherwise the-redoubling of-the-melody to-be-made could for which
pedes fiunt, ut dictum est; et per consequens pedes esse
feet are-made as said it-is and by consequence feet to-be
non possent. Et quemadmodum de pedibus, dicimus et de
not could and just-as about feet we-say also about
versibus; in nullo enim pedes et versus differre videmus nisi
verses in nothing for feet and verses to-differ we-see except
in situ, quia hi ante, hi post dieresim stantiae nominantur.
in position because these before these after the-dieresis of-the-stanza are-named
Et etiam quemadmodum de trimetro pede, et de omnibus
and also just-as about the-trimeter foot and about all

aliis servandum esse asserimus. Et sicut de uno eptasyllabo,
others to-be-observed to-be we-assert and as about one heptasyllable
sic de pluribus et de pentasyllabo et omni alio dicimus.
so about several and about the-pentasyllable and every other we-say

XIII · RHYME

Rhyme in itself is left for the book on the middle style. A stanza without rhyme, used by Arnaut, and one with a single rhyme throughout need no arrangement; in mixed rhymes poets take great license, leaving one line unrhymed as a key, or rhyming every line, and often linking the first line after the diesis to the last before it. The feet must answer one another in their rhyme scheme. Three things the courtly poet should avoid: too much repetition of one rhyme, useless equivocal rhyme, and harsh rhymes unmixed with soft ones.

Rithimorum quoque relationi vacemus, nihil de rithimo
of-rhymes also to-the-relation let-us-attend nothing about rhyme
secundum se modo tractantes: proprium enim eorum
according-to itself now treating proper for their
tractatum in posterum prorogamus, cum de mediocri
treatment in the-future we-postpone when about the-middling
poemate intendemus. In principio huius capituli quaedam
poem we-shall-attend in the-beginning of-this chapter certain-things
resecanda videntur; unum est stantia sine rithimo, in qua
to-be-cut-off seem one is a-stanza without rhyme in which

nulla rithimorum habitudo attenditur, et huiusmodi stantiis
no of-rhymes relation is-attended-to and of-this-kind stanzas
usus est Arnaldus Danielis frequentissime, velut ibi:
used has Arnaut Daniel most-frequently as there

'Sem fos Amor, de joi donar.'
if-me were Love of joy to-give

Et nos dicimus:
and we say

'Al poco giorno.'
to-the little day

Aliud est stantia, cuius omnia carmina eundem rithimum
another is a-stanza whose all lines the-same rhyme
reddunt, in qua superfluum esse constat habitudinem quaerere.
render in which superfluous to-be is-certain the-relation to-seek
Sic proinde restat circa rithimos mixtos tantum debere
thus therefore it-remains about rhymes mixed only to-be-obliged
insisti; et primo sciendum est quod in hoc amplissimam
to-be-dwelt and first to-be-known it-is that in this the-amplest
sibi licentiam fere omnes assumunt; et ex hoc maxime
for-themselves license almost all assume and from this most
totius armoniae dulcedo intenditur. Sunt etenim quidam,
of-the-whole harmony the-sweetness is-aimed-at there-are for certain-ones
qui non omnes quandoque desinentias carminum rithimantur
who not all sometimes the-endings of-the-lines rhyme
in eadem stantia, sed easdem repetunt sive rithimantur in
in the-same stanza but the-same they-repeat or they-rhyme in
aliis; sicut fuit Gottus Mantuanus, qui suas multas et bonas
others as was Gotto of-Mantua who his many and good

cantiones nobis oretenus intimavit. Hic semper in stantia
canzoni to-us by-mouth communicated he always in a-stanza
unum carmen incomitatum texebat, quod clavem vocabat. Et
one line unaccompanied wove which key he-called and
sicut de uno licet, licet etiam de duobus et forte
as of one it-is-allowed it-is-allowed also of two and perhaps
de pluribus. Quidam alii sunt, et fere omnes cantionum
of more certain others there-are and almost all of-canzoni
inventores, qui nullum in stantia carmen incomitatum
the-inventors who no in a-stanza line unaccompanied
relinquunt quin sibi rithimi concrepantiam reddant, vel
leave but-that to-it of-rhyme the-sounding-together they-render either
unius vel plurium. Et quidam diversos faciunt esse rithimos
of-one or of-more and some different make to-be the-rhymes
eorum quae post dieresim carmina sunt, a rithimis eorum
of-those which after the-dieresis lines are from the-rhymes of-those
quae sunt ante; quidam vero non sic, sed desinentias anterioris
which are before some but not so but the-endings of-the-earlier
stantiae inter postera carmina referentes intexunt. Saepissime
stanza among the-later lines returning interweave most-often
tamen hoc fit in desinentia primi posteriorum, quam
yet this is-done in the-ending of-the-first of-the-later which
plerique rithimantur ei quae est priorum posterioris:
very-many rhyme with-that which is of-the-earlier of-the-later
quod non aliud esse videtur quam quaedam ipsius stantiae
which not other to-be seems than a-certain of-the-very stanza
concatenatio pulcra. De rithimorum quoque habitudine, prout
linking beautiful about of-rhymes also the-relation as
sunt in fronte vel in cauda, videtur omnis optata licentia
they-are in the-front or in the-tail seems every desired license
concedenda: pulcerrime tamen se habent ultimorum
to-be-granted most-beautifully yet themselves hold of-the-last

carminum desinentiae, si cum rithimo in silentium cadant
lines the-endings if with rhyme into silence they-fall
in pedibus vero cavendum est; et habitudinem quandam
in the-feet but to-be-guarded-against it-is and a-relation certain
servatam esse invenimus. Et discretionem facientes, dicimus
observed to-be we-find and a-distinction making we-say
quod pes vel pari vel impari metro completur; et
that the-foot either by-even or odd meter is-completed and
utrobique comitata et incomitata desinentia esse potest; nam
in-both accompanied and unaccompanied the-ending to-be can for
in pari metro nemo dubitat; in alio vero si quis dubius est,
in even meter no-one doubts in the-other but if anyone doubtful is
recordetur ea quae diximus in praeimmediato capitulo
let-him-remember those which we-said in the-immediately-preceding chapter
de trisyllabo, quando pars existens endecasyllabi velut echo
about the-trisyllable when part being of-the-hendecasyllable as-if echo
respondet. Et si in altero pedum exsortem rithimi desinentiam
it-answers and if in the-other of-the-feet devoid of-rhyme the-ending
esse contingat, omnimode in altero sibi instauratio fiat; si
to-be it-happen in-every-way in the-other for-it a-restoration be-made if
vero quaelibet desinentia in altero pede rithimi consortium
but each ending in the-other foot of-rhyme the-fellowship
habeat, in altero prout libet referre vel innovare desinentias
have in the-other as it-pleases to-return or to-renew the-endings
licet, vel totaliter vel in parte, dumtaxat praecedentium
it-is-allowed either wholly or in part provided-only of-the-preceding
ordo servetur in totum; puta si extremae desinentiae
the-order be-kept in whole for-example if the-outer endings
trimetri, hoc est prima et ultima, concrepabunt in primo
of-the-trimeter that is the-first and last will-sound-together in the-first
pede, sic secundi extremas desinentias convenit concrepare:
foot so of-the-second the-outer endings it-befits to-sound-together

et qualem se in primo media videt comitatam quidem
and of-what-kind itself in the-first the-middle sees accompanied indeed
vel incomitatam, talis in secundo resurgat; et sic de
or unaccompanied such in the-second let-it-rise-again and thus about
aliis pedibus est servandum. In versibus quoque fere
the-other feet it-is to-be-observed in the-verses also almost
semper hac lege perfruimur; et fere dicimus, quia propter
always this law we-enjoy and almost we-say because on-account-of
concatenationem praenotatam et combinationem desinentiarum
the-linking noted-before and the-combination of-the-endings
ultimarum, quandoque ordinem iam dictum perverti
last sometimes the-order already said to-be-perverted
contingit. Praeterea nobis bene convenire videtur [ut] quae
it-happens moreover to-us well to-befit it-seems that what
cavenda sunt circa rithimos huic appendamus capitulo, cum
to-be-avoided are about rhymes to-this we-append chapter since
in isto libro nil ulterius de rithimorum doctrina tangere
in this book nothing further about of-rhymes the-doctrine to-touch
intendamus. Tria ergo sunt quae contra rithimorum
we-intend three therefore there-are which against of-rhymes
positionem potiri dedecet aulice poetantem; nimia
the-placing to-avail-himself ill-befits courtly the-one-versifying excessive
scilicet eiusdem rithimi repercussio, nisi forte novum aliquid
namely of-the-same rhyme the-echoing unless perhaps new something
atque intentatum artis hoc sibi praeroget; ut nascentis
and untried of-art this for-itself claim as of-the-newborn

militiae dies, qui cum nulla praerogativa suam indignatur
knighthood the-day which with no prerogative its disdains
praeterire dietam: hoc etenim nos facere nisi sumus ibi:
to-pass the-day's-journey this for we to-do striven have there

'Amor, tu vedi ben, che questa donna.'
O-Love you see well that this lady

Secundum vero est ipsa inutilis aequivocatio quae semper
the-second but is the-very useless equivocation which always
sententiae quidquam derogare videtur; et tertium rithimorum
of-the-thought something to-detract seems and the-third of-rhymes
asperitas, nisi forte sit lenitati permixta: nam lenium
the-harshness unless perhaps it-be with-smoothness mixed for of-smooth
asperorumque rithimorum mixtura ipsa tragoedia nitescit.
and-harsh rhymes by-the-mixture the-very tragedy shines
Et haec de arte prout habitudinem respicit, tanta sufficiant.
and these-things about art as the-relation it-regards so-much let-suffice

XIV · THE NUMBER OF LINES AND SYLLABLES

The third part of the art remains, the number of lines and syllables, first in the stanza as a whole and then in its parts. The poet must first distinguish among his subjects, since some call for long stanzas and some do not: whatever we sing, on the right hand or the left, persuading, dissuading, rejoicing, mocking, praising, or scorning, the words of sinister matters should hurry to the end, and the others come to it with fitting length. Here the treatise breaks off.

Ex quo quae sunt artis in cantione satis sufficienter tractavimus,
from which which are of-art in the-canzone enough sufficiently we-have-treated
nunc de tertio videtur esse tractandum, videlicet de numero
now about the-third seems to-be to-be-treated namely about the-number

carminum et syllabarum. Et primo secundum totam stantiam
of-lines and of-syllables and first according-to the-whole stanza
videre oportet aliquid; deinde secundum partes eius videbimus.
to-see it-behooves something then according-to parts its we-shall-see
Nostra igitur primo refert discretionem facere inter ea
to-us therefore first it-concerns a-distinction to-make among those
quae canenda occurrunt, quia quaedam stantiae prolixitatem
which to-be-sung occur because some stanzas length
videntur appetere, quaedam non. Nam cum ea quae dicimus
seem to-desire some not for since those which we-say
cuncta, vel circa dextrum aliquid vel sinistrum canamus,
all-things either about right something or left we-sing
ut quandoque persuasorie, quandoque dissuasorie, quandoque
as sometimes persuasively sometimes dissuasively sometimes
gratulanter, quandoque ironice, quandoque laudabiliter,
congratulatingly sometimes ironically sometimes praisingly
quandoque contemptive canere contingit, quae circa sinistra
sometimes contemptuously to-sing it-happens which about left-things
sunt verba, semper ad extremum festinent, et alia
are the-words always to the-end let-them-hasten and the-others
decenti prolixitate passim veniant ad extremum ....
with-becoming length here-and-there let-them-come to the-end …

DANTE ALIGHIERI

De Monarchia

On Monarchy

BOOK I

I · WHY THIS WORK

Whoever has been enriched by the labor of earlier minds must work in turn for those who come after, or be a whirlpool that swallows and gives nothing back. Dante will not bury his talent or repeat what Euclid, Aristotle, and Cicero have shown; he will bring to light a truth no one has attempted, the knowledge of the temporal Monarchy, most useful and most hidden, and left untried by all because it brings no immediate gain. He undertakes it to serve the world and to win the first palm, trusting less in his own strength than in the light of the giver of all.

Omnium hominum in quos amorem veritatis natura superior
of-all men on whom the-love of-truth nature higher
impressit, hoc maxime interesse videtur, ut quemadmodum
has-impressed this most to-concern seems that just-as
de labore antiquorum ditati sunt, ita et ipsi posteris
from the-labor of-the-ancients enriched they-are so also they for-posterity
prolaborent, quatenus ab eis posteritas habeat quo ditetur.
should-labor so-that from them posterity may-have by-which it-be-enriched
Longe namque ab officio se esse non dubitet, qui publicis
far for from duty himself to-be not let-him-doubt who with-public
documentis imbutus, ad Rempublicam aliquid adferre non
teachings imbued to the-Commonwealth something to-bring not
curat; non enim est 'lignum, quod secus decursus aquarum
cares not for he-is a-tree which beside the-courses of-waters
fructificat in tempore suo,' sed potius perniciosa vorago
bears-fruit in time its but rather a-pernicious whirlpool
semper ingurgitans, et nunquam ingurgitata refundens. Hoc
always engulfing and never the-engulfed-things pouring-back this
igitur saepe mecum recogitans, ne de infossi talenti culpa
therefore often with-me reconsidering lest for of-the-buried talent the-fault

quandoque redarguar, publicae utilitati non modo turgescere,
sometime I-be-convicted for-public utility not only to-swell
quinimo fructificare desidero, et intentatas ab aliis ostendere
nay-rather to-bear-fruit I-desire and untried by others to-show
veritates. Nam quem fructum ferat ille, qui theorema
truths for what fruit would-bear he who a-theorem
quoddam Euclidis iterum demonstraret? qui ab Aristotele
certain of-Euclid again should-demonstrate who by Aristotle
felicitatem ostensam, reostendere conaretur? qui senectutem a
happiness shown to-show-again should-try who old-age by
Cicerone defensam, resumeret defensandam? Nullum quippe;
Cicero defended should-resume to-be-defended none surely
sed fastidium potius illa superfluitas taediosa praestaret.
but disgust rather that superfluity tedious would-furnish
Quumque inter alias veritates occultas et utiles, temporalis
and-since among other truths hidden and useful of-temporal
Monarchiae notitia utilissima sit, et maxime latens, et
Monarchy the-knowledge most-useful be and most lying-hid and
propter non se habere immediate ad lucrum ab omnibus
on-account-of not itself to-hold immediately to gain by all
intentata; in proposito est, hanc de suis enucleare latibulis,
untried in purpose it-is this from its to-unfold hiding-places
tum ut utiliter mundo pervigilem, tum etiam ut palmam
both that usefully for-the-world I-may-keep-vigil and also that the-palm
tanti bravii primus in meam gloriam adipiscar. Arduum
of-so-great a-prize first to my glory I-may-obtain an-arduous
quippe opus et ultra vires aggredior, non tam de propria
truly work and beyond strength I-undertake not so-much in my-own
virtute confidens, quam de lumine Largitoris illius, 'qui dat
virtue trusting as in the-light of-the-Giver that who gives
omnibus affluenter, et non improperat.'
to-all abundantly and not upbraids

Temporal Monarchy, called the Empire, is a single rule over all who live in time. Three questions arise about it: whether it is necessary for the world's well-being; whether the Roman people took its office by right; and whether its authority depends on God directly or on his vicar. Since this inquiry is political, it is ordered to action, not speculation, and in action the first principle is the end; so the principle here is the end of the whole human race's civil life, which there must be.

Primum igitur videndum, quid est quod temporalis
first therefore to-be-seen what is that-which temporal
Monarchia dicitur, typo ut dicam, et secundum intentionem.
Monarchy is-called in-outline as I-may-say and according-to intention
Est ergo temporalis Monarchia, quam dicunt Imperium,
is therefore temporal Monarchy which they-call the-Empire
unicus Principatus, et super omnes in tempore, vel in iis
a-single Principate and over all in time or in those
et super iis quae tempore mensurantur. Maxime autem de
and over those which by-time are-measured most moreover about
hac tria dubitata quaeruntur. Primo namque dubitatur et
this three doubted-things are-asked first for it-is-doubted and
quaeritur, an ad bene esse mundi necessaria sit. Secundo,
it-is-asked whether for well to-be of-the-world necessary it-be second
an Romanus populus de iure Monarchiae officium sibi
whether the-Roman people by right of-the-Monarchy the-office to-itself
adsciverit. Et tertio, an auctoritas Monarchiae dependeat
adopted and third whether the-authority of-the-Monarchy depend
a Deo immediate, vel ab alio Dei ministro seu vicario.
on God immediately or on another of-God minister or vicar
Verum quia omnis veritas, quae non est principium, ex
but because every truth which not is a-principle from
veritate alicuius principii fit manifesta; necesse est in
the-truth of-some principle becomes manifest necessary it-is in

qualibet inquisitione habere notitiam de principio, in quod
any inquiry to-have knowledge of the-principle to which
analytice recurratur, pro certitudine omnium propositionum
analytically one-may-run-back for the-certainty of-all the-propositions
quae inferius adsumuntur. Et quia praesens tractatus est
which below are-assumed and because the-present treatise is
inquisitio quaedam, ante omnia de principio scrutandum
an-inquiry certain before all-things about the-principle to-be-scrutinized
esse videtur, in cuius virtute inferiora consistant. Est
to-be it-seems in whose virtue the-lower-things stand it-is
ergo sciendum, quod quaedam sunt, quae nostrae potestati
therefore to-be-known that some-things there-are which to-our power
minime subiacentia, speculari tantummodo possumus,
by-no-means being-subject to-contemplate only we-can
operari autem non, velut mathematica, physica, et divina.
to-operate but not as mathematics physics and divine-things
Quaedam vero sunt, quae nostrae potestati subiacentia,
some but there-are which to-our power being-subject
non solum speculari, sed etiam operari possumus, et in
not only to-contemplate but also to-operate we-can and in
iis non operatio propter speculationem, sed propter
these not the-operation for-the-sake-of the-speculation but for-the-sake-of
operationem illa adsumitur, quoniam in talibus operatio est
the-operation that is-assumed since in such-things the-operation is
finis. Quum ergo materia praesens politica sit, imo fons
the-end since therefore the-matter present political be nay the-source
atque principium rectarum politiarum, et omne politicum
and principle of-right polities and everything political
nostrae potestati subiaceat; manifestum est, quod materia
to-our power be-subject manifest it-is that the-matter
praesens non ad speculationem per prius, sed ad operationem
present not to speculation by prior but to operation

ordinatur. Rursus, quum in operabilibus principium et causa
is-ordered again since in things-operable the-principle and cause
omnium sit ultimus finis (movet enim primo agentem),
of-all be the-last end it-moves for first the-agent
consequens est, ut omnis ratio eorum quae sunt ad finem,
consequent it-is that every reason of-those-things which are for the-end
ab ipso fine sumatur. Nam alia erit ratio incidendi
from the-very end be-taken for another will-be the-reason of-cutting
lignum propter domum construendam, et alia propter
wood for a-house to-be-built and another for
navim. Illud igitur, si quid est, quod est finis universalis
a-ship that therefore if anything is which is the-end of-the-universal
civilitatis humani generis, erit hic principium, per
civil-society of-the-human race will-be here the-principle through
quod omnia quae inferius probanda sunt, erunt manifesta
which all-things which below to-be-proved are will-be manifest
sufficienter. Esse autem finem huius civilitatis et illius, et
sufficiently to-be moreover an-end of-this civil-society and of-that and
non esse unum omnium finem, arbitrari stultum est.
not to-be one of-all end to-think foolish it-is

As nature has one end for the thumb, another for the hand, and another for the whole man, so God has one end for each man, the household, the city, the kingdom, and finally the whole human race. That last end is an activity no man or community can reach alone. What is proper to man, shared with no other being, is understanding through the possible intellect; and since no one man can actualize it whole, there must be a multitude in which it is always fully in act, as Averroes holds.

Nunc autem videndum est, quid sit finis totius humanae
now but to-be-seen it-is what be the-end of-the-whole human
civilitatis, quo viso, plus quam dimidium laboris erit
civil-society which seen more than half of-the-labor will-be
transactum, iuxta Philosophum ad Nicomachum. Et
accomplished according-to the-Philosopher to Nicomachus and
ad evidentiam eius quod quaeritur, advertendum, quod
for evidence of-that which is-sought to-be-noted that
quemadmodum est finis aliquis ad quem natura producit
just-as there-is an-end some for which nature produces
pollicem, et alius ab hoc ad quem manum totam, et rursus
the-thumb and another from this for which the-hand whole and again
alius ab utroque ad quem brachium, aliusque ab omnibus
another from both for which the-arm and-another from all
ad quem totum hominem; sic alius est finis ad quem
for which the-whole man so another is the-end for which
singularem hominem, alius ad quem ordinat domesticam
the-single man another for which he-orders the-domestic
communitatem, alius ad quem viciniam, et alius ad quem
community another for which the-neighborhood and another for which
civitatem, et alius ad quem regnum, et denique ultimus
the-city and another for which the-kingdom and finally the-last
ad quem universaliter genus humanum Deus aeternus arte
for which universally the-race human God eternal by-art

sua, quae natura est, in esse producit. Et hoc quaeritur
his which nature is into the-to-be produces and this is-sought
hic tanquam principium inquisitionis directivum.
here as the-principle of-the-inquiry directive
Propter quod sciendum est primo, quod Deus et natura
on-account-of which to-be-known it-is first that God and nature
nil otiosum facit; sed quidquid prodit in esse, est ad
nothing idle makes but whatever comes-forth into the-to-be is for
aliquam operationem. Non enim essentia ulla creata ultimus
some operation not for essence any created the-last
finis est in intentione creantis, in quantum creans, sed
end is in the-intention of-the-creator in as-much-as creating but
propria essentiae operatio. Unde est, quod non operatio
the-proper of-the-essence operation whence it-is that not the-operation
propria propter essentiam, sed haec propter illam habet ut sit.
proper for the-essence but this for that has that it-be
Est ergo aliqua propria operatio humanae universitatis,
there-is therefore some proper operation of-the-human universality
ad quam ipsa universitas hominum in tanta multitudine
to which the-very universality of-men in so-great a-multitude
ordinatur, ad quam quidem operationem nec homo unus, nec
is-ordered to which indeed operation neither man one nor
domus una, nec una vicinia, nec una civitas, nec regnum
house one nor one neighborhood nor one city nor kingdom
particulare pertingere potest. Quae autem sit illa, manifestum
particular to-reach can which moreover be that manifest
fiet, si ultimum de potentia totius humanitatis appareat.
will-become if the-last of potency of-the-whole of-humanity appear
Dico ergo, quod nulla vis, a pluribus specie diversis
I-say therefore that no power by several in-species different
participata, ultimum est de potentia alicuius illorum. Quia
participated the-last is of potency of-any of-them because

quum illud quod est ultimum tale, sit constitutivum speciei,
since that which is the-last such be constitutive of-the-species
sequeretur quod una essentia pluribus speciebus esset
it-would-follow that one essence in-several species would-be
specificata, quod est impossibile. Non est ergo vis ultima
specified which is impossible not is therefore the-power last
in homine, ipsum esse simpliciter sumptum, quia etiam sic
in man the-very to-be simply taken because also so
sumptum ab elementis participatur; nec esse complexionatum,
taken by the-elements it-is-participated nor to-be compounded
quia hoc etiam reperitur in mineralibus; nec esse animatum,
because this also is-found in minerals nor to-be animate
quia sic etiam in plantis; nec esse apprehensivum, quia
because so also in plants nor to-be apprehensive because
sic et participatur a brutis; sed esse apprehensivum per
so also it-is-participated by brutes but to-be apprehensive through
intellectum possibilem, quod quidem esse nulli ab homine
the-intellect possible which indeed to-be to-none than man
alii competit vel supra vel infra. Nam etsi aliae sunt
other belongs either above or below for even-if other there-are
essentiae intellectum participantes, non tamen intellectus earum
essences intellect participating not yet the-intellect of-them
est possibilis ut hominis, quia essentiae tales species quaedam
is possible as man's because essences such species certain
sunt intellectuales, et non aliud, et earum esse nil est
are intellectual and not other and their to-be nothing is
aliud quam intelligere, quod est sine interpolatione; aliter
other than to-understand which is without interruption otherwise
sempiternae non essent. Patet igitur, quod ultimum de
sempiternal not they-would-be is-plain therefore that the-last of
potentia ipsius humanitatis, est potentia sive virtus intellectiva.
potency of-the-very humanity is the-potency or power intellective

Et quia potentia ista per unum hominem, seu per aliquam
and because potency this through one man or through some
particularium communitatum superius distinctarum, tota simul
of-the-particular communities above distinguished whole at-once
in actum reduci non potest; necesse est multitudinem esse
into act to-be-reduced not can necessary it-is a-multitude to-be
in humano genere, per quam quidem tota potentia haec
in the-human race through which indeed whole potency this
actuetur. Sicut necesse est multitudinem rerum generabilium,
be-actuated as necessary it-is a-multitude of-things generable
ut potentia tota materiae primae semper sub actu sit; aliter
so-that the-potency whole of-matter prime always under act be otherwise
esset dare potentiam separatam, quod est impossibile.
it-would-be to-grant a-potency separate which is impossible
Et huic sententiae concordat Averrois, in Commento super
and with-this opinion agrees Averroes in the-Commentary on
iis quae de Anima. Potentia etiam intellectiva, de qua
those-things which on the-Soul the-potency also intellective about which
loquor, non solum est ad formas universales, sive species, sed
I-speak not only is to forms universal or species but
etiam per quandam extensionem ad particulares. Unde solet
also by a-certain extension to particulars whence it-is-wont
dici, quod intellectus speculativus extensione fit practicus,
to-be-said that the-intellect speculative by-extension becomes practical
cuius finis est agere atque facere. Quod dico propter agibilia,
whose end is to-act and to-make which I-say on-account-of things-doable
quae politica prudentia regulantur, et propter factibilia,
which by-political prudence are-regulated and on-account-of things-makeable
quae regulantur arte; quae omnia speculationi ancillantur
which are-regulated by-art which all-things to-speculation are-handmaids
tanquam optimo, ad quod humanum genus prima bonitas
as-to the-best for which the-human race the-first goodness

in esse produxit. Ex quo iam innotescit illud Politicae:
into the-to-be produced from which already becomes-known that of-the-Politics
intellectu scilicet vigentes aliis naturaliter principari.
in-intellect namely those-strong over-others naturally to-rule

IV · UNIVERSAL PEACE

The proper work of the human race taken whole is to actualize all the power of the possible intellect, chiefly in thinking and secondarily in acting. As a single man grows wise in quiet, so mankind does its almost divine work most freely in the calm of peace. Universal peace is therefore the best of the things ordered to our happiness: so the heavenly host sang peace to the shepherds, not riches or honors, and the Savior's greeting was "Peace be with you," a custom his disciples and Paul kept. Peace is the principle for all that follows.

Satis igitur declaratum est, quod proprium opus humani
enough therefore declared it-is that the-proper work of-the-human
generis totaliter accepti, est actuare semper totam potentiam
race wholly taken is to-actuate always the-whole potency
intellectus possibilis, per prius ad speculandum, et secundario
of-the-intellect possible by prior for contemplating and secondarily
propter hoc ad operandum per suam extensionem. Et quia
on-account-of this for operating through its extension and because
quemadmodum est in parte, sic est in toto, et in homine
just-as it-is in the-part so it-is in the-whole and in man
particulari contingit quod sedendo et quiescendo prudentia et
particular it-happens that by-sitting and by-resting in-prudence and
sapientia ipse perficitur; patet quod genus humanum in quiete
wisdom he is-perfected is-plain that the-race human in the-quiet
sive tranquillitate pacis ad proprium suum opus, quod fere
or tranquility of-peace for proper its work which almost

divinum est (iuxta illud: 'Minuisti eum paulo minus ab
divine is according-to that you-have-lessened him a-little less than
angelis'), liberrime atque facillime se habet. Unde manifestum
angels most-freely and most-easily itself holds whence manifest
est, quod pax universalis est optimum eorum, quae ad
it-is that peace universal is the-best of-those-things which to
nostram beatitudinem ordinantur. Hinc est, quod pastoribus
our blessedness are-ordered hence it-is that to-the-shepherds
de sursum sonuit, non divitiae, non voluptates, non honores,
from on-high it-sounded not riches not pleasures not honors
non longitudo vitae, non sanitas, non robur, non pulchritudo;
not length of-life not health not strength not beauty
sed pax. Inquit enim coelestis militia: 'Gloria in altissimis
but peace says for the-heavenly host glory in the-highest
Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.' Hinc
to-God and on earth peace to-men of-good will hence
etiam 'Pax vobis,' Salus hominum salutabat. Decebat enim
also peace to-you the-Savior of-men used-to-greet it-befitted for
summum Salvatorem, summam salutationem exprimere. Quem
the-highest Savior the-highest greeting to-express which
quidem morem servare voluerunt Discipuli eius, et Paulus
indeed custom to-keep wished disciples his and Paul
in salutationibus suis, ut omnibus manifestum esse potest.
in greetings his as to-all manifest to-be can
Ex iis ergo quae declarata sunt, patet per quod melius,
from those therefore which declared are is-plain through what better
imo per quod optime genus humanum pertingit ad opus
nay through what best the-race human reaches to work
proprium. Et per consequens visum est propinquissimum
proper and by consequence seen it-is the-nearest
medium, per quod itur in illud, ad quod velut in
means through which one-goes into that to which as-if into

ultimum finem omnia nostra opera ordinantur, quod est
the-last end all our works are-ordered which is
pax universalis, quae pro principio rationum subsequentium
peace universal which for the-principle of-the-reasons following
supponatur; quod erat necessarium, ut dictum fuit, velut
be-supposed which was necessary as said it-was as-if
signum praefixum, in quod quidquid probandum est,
a-sign fixed-before into which whatever to-be-proved is
resolvatur, tanquam in manifestissimam veritatem.
be-resolved as into the-most-manifest truth

V · ONE MUST RULE

The first question: is temporal Monarchy necessary for the world's well-being? Aristotle holds that where several things are ordered to one, one must rule and the others be ruled, and induction confirms it: in a man the intellect rules his powers; a household has its father; a village, a city, and a kingdom each need one ruler, or they fail and fall apart, for every kingdom divided against itself is laid waste. Since the whole human race is ordered to one end, it too must have one ruler, the Monarch or Emperor.

Resumentes igitur quod a principio dicebatur, tria maxime
resuming therefore what from the-beginning was-said three most
dubitantur, et dubitata quaeruntur circa Monarchiam
are-doubted and doubted-things are-asked about Monarchy
temporalem, quae communiori vocabulo nuncupatur Imperium,
temporal which by-a-more-common word is-named Empire
et de iis, ut praedictum est, propositum est sub adsignato
and about these as said-before it-is proposed it-is under the-assigned
principio inquisitionem facere secundum iam tactum
principle the-inquiry to-make according-to the-already touched

ordinem. Prima itaque quaestio sit: Utrum ad bene esse mundi
order the-first so question let-be whether for well to-be of-the-world
Monarchia temporalis necessaria sit. Hoc equidem, nulla vi
Monarchy temporal necessary be this indeed no force
rationis vel auctoritatis obstante, potissimis et patentissimis
of-reason or of-authority opposing by-most-powerful and most-evident
argumentis ostendi potest; quorum primum ab auctoritate
arguments to-be-shown can of-which the-first from the-authority
Philosophi adsumatur de suis Politicis. Adserit enim ibi
of-the-Philosopher let-be-taken from his Politics asserts for there
venerabilis eius auctoritas, quod quando aliqua plura ordinantur
venerable his authority that when some several are-ordered
ad unum, oportet unum eorum regulare seu regere, alia
to one it-behooves one of-them to-direct or to-rule the-others
vero regulari seu regi. Quod quidem non solum gloriosum
but to-be-directed or to-be-ruled which indeed not only the-glorious
nomen auctoris facit esse credendum, sed ratio inductiva.
name of-the-author makes to-be to-be-believed but reason inductive
Si enim consideremus unum hominem, hoc in eo contingere
if for we-consider one man this in him to-happen
videbimus; quia, quum omnes vires eius ordinentur ad
we-shall-see because since all powers his are-ordered to
felicitatem, vis ipsa intellectualis est regulatrix et rectrix
happiness the-power itself intellectual is the-directress and rectress
omnium aliarum, aliter ad felicitatem pervenire non potest.
of-all others otherwise to happiness to-arrive not he-can
Si consideremus unam domum, cuius finis est domesticos ad
if we-consider one house whose end is the-household to
bene vivere praeparare, unum oportet esse qui regulet et
well to-live to-prepare one it-behooves to-be who should-direct and
regat, quem dicunt patremfamilias, vel eius locum tenentem,
rule whom they-call the-father-of-the-family or his place holding

iuxta dicentem Philosophum: 'Omnis domus regitur a
according-to saying the-Philosopher every house is-ruled by
senissimo.' Et huius, ut ait Homerus, est regulare omnes,
the-eldest and of-this-one as says Homer it-is to-direct all
et leges imponere aliis. Propter quod proverbialiter dicitur
and laws to-impose on-others on-account-of which proverbially is-said
illa maledictio: 'Parem habeas in domo.' Si consideremus
that curse an-equal may-you-have in the-house if we-consider
vicum unum, cuius finis est commoda tam personarum quam
a-village one whose end is convenient as-well of-persons as
rerum auxiliatio, unum oportet esse aliorum regulatorem,
of-things the-helping one it-behooves to-be of-the-others the-director
vel datum ab alio, vel ex ipsis praeeminentem,
either given by another or from themselves preeminent
consentientibus aliis; aliter ad illam mutuam sufficientiam
consenting the-others otherwise to that mutual sufficiency
non solum non pertingitur, sed, aliquando pluribus praeeminere
not only not is-it-reached but sometimes several to-be-preeminent
volentibus, vicinia tota destruitur. Si vero unam civitatem
wishing the-neighborhood whole is-destroyed if but one city
consideremus, cuius finis est bene sufficienterque vivere, unum
we-consider whose end is well and-sufficiently to-live one
oportet esse regimen; et hoc non solum in recta politia, sed
it-behooves to-be the-rule and this not only in a-right polity but
etiam in obliqua. Quod si aliter fiat, non solum finis
also in a-crooked but if otherwise it-be-done not only the-end
vitae civilis amittitur, sed etiam civitas desinit esse quod
of-life civil is-lost but also the-city ceases to-be what
erat. Si denique unum regnum particulare, cuius finis est is
it-was if finally one kingdom particular whose end is that
qui civitatis, cum maiore fiducia suae tranquillitatis, oportet
which of-a-city with greater confidence of-its tranquility it-behooves

esse Regem unum, qui regat atque gubernet; aliter non
to-be a-King one who should-rule and govern otherwise not
modo existentes in regno finem non adsequuntur, sed
only those-existing in the-kingdom the-end not attain but
etiam regnum in interitum labitur, iuxta illud infallibilis
also the-kingdom into ruin slips according-to that of-infallible
veritatis: 'Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur.' Si ergo
truth every kingdom in itself divided will-be-desolated if therefore
sic se habet in his, et in singulis, quae ad unum
so itself it-holds in these and in the-individual-things which to one
aliquod ordinantur, verum est quod adsumitur supra.
something are-ordered true it-is what is-assumed above
Nunc constat quod totum humanum genus ordinatur ad
now it-is-certain that the-whole human race is-ordered to
unum, ut iam praeostensum fuit; ergo unum oportet
one as already shown-before it-was therefore one it-behooves
esse regulans, sive regens: et hoc Monarcha, sive Imperator
to-be directing or ruling and this Monarch or Emperor
dici debet. Et sic patet, quod ad bene esse mundi,
to-be-called ought and thus is-plain that for well to-be of-the-world
necesse est Monarchiam esse, sive Imperium.
necessary it-is Monarchy to-be or Empire

As the part is to the whole, so the order of a part is to the order of the whole, and the whole's order is the better. There are two orders, that of parts among themselves and that of parts to some one thing outside them, as the soldiers of an army to its general, and the second is better. Since that order is found in every part of human society, it must be found all the more in the whole; so all kingdoms must be ordered to one prince, the Monarch.

Et sicut se habet pars ad totum, sic ordo partialis
and as itself holds the-part to the-whole so the-order partial
ad totalem. Pars ad totum se habet, sicut ad finem et
to the-total the-part to the-whole itself holds as to the-end and
optimum. Ergo et ordo in parte ad ordinem in toto, sicut
best therefore also the-order in the-part to the-order in the-whole as
ad finem et optimum. Ex quo habetur, quod bonitas ordinis
to the-end and best from which it-is-held that the-goodness of-the-order
partialis non excedit bonitatem totalis ordinis; sed magis e
partial not exceeds the-goodness of-the-total order but rather from
converso. Quum ergo duplex ordo reperiatur in rebus, ordo
the-converse since therefore a-twofold order be-found in things the-order
scilicet partium inter se, et ordo partium ad aliquod
namely of-the-parts among themselves and the-order of-the-parts to some
unum quod non est pars (sicut ordo partium exercitus inter
one which not is a-part as the-order of-the-parts of-an-army among
se, et ordo earum ad ducem), ordo partium ad unum
themselves and the-order of-them to the-leader the-order of-the-parts to one
est melior, tamquam finis alterius; est enim alter propter
is better as end of-the-other it-is for the-other for-the-sake-of
hunc, non e converso. Unde si forma huius ordinis reperitur
this not from the-converse whence if the-form of-this order is-found
in partibus humanae multitudinis, multo magis debet reperiri
in the-parts of-the-human multitude much more ought to-be-found

in ipsa multitudine, sive totalitate, per vim syllogismi
in the-very multitude or totality by the-force of-the-syllogism
praemissi, quum sit ordo melior, sive forma ordinis. Sed
premised since it-be the-order better or the-form of-order but
reperitur in omnibus partibus humanae multitudinis, ut
it-is-found in all parts of-the-human multitude as
per ea quae dicta sunt in capitulo praecedenti, satis
by those-things which said are in the-chapter preceding enough
est manifestum; ergo et in ipsa totalitate reperitur, sive
is manifest therefore also in the-very totality it-is-found or
reperiri debet. Et sic omnes partes praenotatae infra regna
to-be-found ought and thus all parts noted-before within kingdoms
et ipsa regna ordinari debent ad unum Principem, sive
and the-very kingdoms to-be-ordered ought to one Prince or
Principatum, hoc est, ad Monarcham, sive Monarchiam.
Principate that is to a-Monarch or Monarchy

VII · MANKIND AS PART OF THE UNIVERSE

Humanity is a whole in relation to kingdoms and peoples, and a part in relation to the whole universe. Its parts answer well to it through one ruling principle; so it answers well to the universe and its prince, God, through one principle, a single prince. Monarchy is therefore necessary for the world's well-being.

Amplius, humana universitas est quoddam totum ad quasdam
further the-human universality is a-certain whole to certain
partes, et est quaedam pars ad quoddam totum. Est
parts and is a-certain part to a-certain whole it-is
enim quoddam totum ad regna particularia, et ad gentes,
for a-certain whole to kingdoms particular and to peoples
ut superiora ostendunt; et est quaedam pars ad totum
as the-above show and it-is a-certain part to the-whole

universum, et hoc est de se manifestum. Sicut ergo
universe and this is of itself manifest as therefore
inferiora humanae universitatis bene respondent ad ipsam,
the-lower-things of-the-human universality well correspond to it
sic ipsa bene dicitur respondere ad suum totum. Partes eius
so it well is-said to-correspond to its whole the-parts its
bene respondent ad ipsam per unum principium tantum,
well correspond to it through one principle only
ut ex superioribus colligi potest de facili; ergo et
as from the-above to-be-gathered can with ease therefore also
ipsa ad ipsum universum, sive ad eius Principem, qui Deus
it to the-very universe or to its Prince who God
est et Monarcha, simpliciter bene respondet per unum
is and Monarch simply well corresponds through one
principium tantum, scilicet unicum Principem. Ex quo
principle only namely a-single Prince from which
sequitur, Monarchiam necessariam mundo, ut bene sit.
it-follows Monarchy necessary for-the-world that well it-be

VIII · LIKENESS TO GOD

What accords with the intention of the first agent, God, is best, and he intends each thing to show his likeness as far as its nature allows; man was made in his image and likeness. Mankind is most like God when it is most one, since the true nature of oneness is in him alone: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one." It is most one when the whole is united in one, which can only be under one prince; so under a Monarch it is most like God and most as he intends.

Et omne illud bene se habet, et optime, quod se habet
and every that well itself holds and best which itself holds
secundum intentionem primi agentis, qui Deus est. Et
according-to the-intention of-the-first agent who God is and

hoc est per se notum, nisi apud negantes divinam
this is through itself known except among those-denying the-divine
bonitatem attingere summum perfectionis. De intentione
goodness to-attain the-summit of-perfection of the-intention
Dei est, ut omne in tantum divinam similitudinem
of-God it-is that everything in so-far the-divine likeness
repraesentet, in quantum propria natura recipere potest.
represent in as-much-as its-own nature to-receive can
Propter quod dictum est: 'Faciamus hominem ad imaginem
on-account-of which said it-is let-us-make man to image
et similitudinem nostram.' Quod licet, 'ad imaginem,'
and likeness our which although to image
de rebus inferioribus ab homine dici non possit, 'ad
of things lower than man to-be-said not it-can to
similitudinem' tamen de qualibet dici potest; quum totum
likeness yet of anything to-be-said it-can since the-whole
universum nihil aliud sit quam vestigium quoddam divinae
universe nothing other be than a-trace certain of-divine
bonitatis. Ergo humanum genus bene se habet et optime,
goodness therefore the-human race well itself holds and best
quando secundum quod potest Deo adsimilatur. Sed genus
when according as it-can to-God it-is-likened but the-race
humanum maxime Deo adsimilatur quando maxime est
human most to-God is-likened when most it-is
unum; vera enim ratio unius in solo illo est. Propter quod
one the-true for notion of-one in alone him is on-account-of which
scriptum est: 'Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus unus est.'
written it-is hear O-Israel the-Lord God your one is
Sed tunc genus humanum maxime est unum, quando totum
but then the-race human most is one when whole
unitur in uno, quod esse non potest, nisi quando uni Principi
it-is-united in one which to-be not can except when to-one Prince

totaliter subiacet, ut de se patet. Ergo humanum genus uni
wholly it-is-subject as of itself is-plain therefore the-human race to-one
Principi subiacens maxime Deo adsimilatur, et per consequens,
Prince subject most to-God is-likened and by consequence
maxime est secundum divinam intentionem, quod est bene et
most is according-to the-divine intention which is well and
optime se habere, ut in principio huius capituli est probatum
best itself to-hold as in the-beginning of-this chapter it-is proved

IX · THE CHILD OF HEAVEN

Every son is at his best when he follows the footsteps of a perfect father, and mankind is the child of heaven, which is perfect in all its works. Heaven is ruled in all its parts by one motion, that of the first moving sphere, and one mover, God; so mankind is at its best when it is ruled by one prince, as by one mover, and by one law, as by one motion. Boethius longed for this: "O happy race of men, if the love that rules the heavens ruled your hearts."

Item bene et optime se habet omnis filius, quum vestigia
likewise well and best itself holds every son when the-traces
perfecti patris, in quantum propria natura permittit, imitatur.
of-the-perfect father in as-much-as its-own nature permits he-imitates
Humanum genus filius est coeli, quod est perfectissimum
the-human race son is of-heaven which is most-perfect
in omni opere suo; generat enim homo hominem et sol,
in all work its begets for man man and the-sun
iuxta secundum de Naturali auditu. Ergo optime se habet
according-to the-second on Natural hearing therefore best itself holds
humanum genus, quum vestigia coeli, in quantum propria
the-human race when the-traces of-heaven in as-much-as its-own
natura permittit, imitatur. Et quum coelum totum unico
nature permits it-imitates and since heaven whole by-a-single

motu, scilicet primi mobilis, et unico motore, qui Deus
motion namely of-the-first movable and by-a-single mover who God
est, reguletur in omnibus suis partibus, motibus et motoribus,
is be-ruled in all its parts motions and movers
ut philosophando evidentissime humana ratio deprehendit; si
as by-philosophizing most-evidently human reason detects if
vere syllogizatum est, humanum genus tunc optime se habet,
truly syllogized it-is the-human race then best itself holds
quando ab unico Principe tanquam ab unico motore, et
when by a-single Prince as by a-single mover and
unica lege, tanquam ab unico motu, in suis motoribus et
by-a-single law as by a-single motion in its movers and
motibus reguletur. Propter quod necessarium apparet, ad bene
motions it-be-ruled on-account-of which necessary appears for well
esse mundi, Monarchiam esse, sive unicum Principatum, qui
to-be of-the-world Monarchy to-be or a-single Principate which
Imperium appellatur. Hanc rationem suspirabat Boetius, dicens:
Empire is-called this reason was-sighing-for Boethius saying

'O felix hominum genus,
O happy of-men race
Si vestros animos amor,
if your minds the-love
Quo coelum regitur, regat!'
by-which heaven is-ruled should-rule

Wherever there can be dispute there must be judgment. Two princes neither of whom is subject to the other can come into dispute, through their own fault or their subjects', and an equal has no power over an equal; so there must be a third with wider jurisdiction over both. Either he is the Monarch or the same need arises again, and since the series cannot go on to infinity, there must be a first and highest judge who settles every dispute, the Monarch or Emperor.

Ubicumque potest esse litigium, ibi debet esse iudicium; aliter
wherever can to-be a-dispute there ought to-be judgment otherwise
esset imperfectum sine proprio perfectivo, quod est
there-would-be an-imperfect-thing without its-own perfecting-thing which is
impossibile, quum Deus et Natura in necessariis non deficiat.
impossible since God and Nature in necessary-things not fail
Inter omnes duos principes, quorum alter alteri minime
between any two princes of-whom the-one to-the-other by-no-means
subiectus est, potest esse litigium, vel culpa ipsorum, vel
subject is can to-be a-dispute either by-the-fault of-them or
etiam subditorum, quod de se patet. Ergo inter tales oportet
also of-subjects which of itself is-plain therefore between such it-behooves
esse iudicium. Et quum alter de altero cognoscere non
to-be judgment and since the-one about the-other to-take-cognizance not
possit, ex quo alter alteri non subditur (nam par in
can from which the-one to-the-other not is-subject for an-equal over
parem non habet imperium); oportet esse tertium iurisdictionis
an-equal not has command it-behooves to-be a-third of-jurisdiction
amplioris, qui ambitu sui iuris ambobus principetur. Et
more-ample who by-the-compass of-his right over-both should-rule and
hic aut erit Monarcha, aut non. Si sic, habetur propositum;
this-one either will-be the-Monarch or not if so is-had the-proposition
si non, iterum habebit sibi coaequalem extra ambitum suae
if not again he-will-have to-himself an-equal outside the-compass of-his

iurisdictionis; tunc iterum necessarius erit tertius alius. Et sic
jurisdiction then again necessary will-be a-third other and thus
aut erit processus in infinitum, quod esse non potest;
either there-will-be a-process into infinity which to-be not can
aut oportebit devenire ad iudicem primum et summum,
or it-will-behoove to-come to a-judge first and highest
de cuius iudicio cuncta litigia dirimantur, sive mediate sive
by whose judgment all disputes be-settled whether mediately or
immediate; et hic erit Monarcha, sive Imperator. Est
immediately and this-one will-be the-Monarch or Emperor is
igitur Monarchia necessaria mundo. Et hanc rationem videbat
therefore Monarchy necessary to-the-world and this reason saw
Philosophus, quum dicebat: Entia nolunt male disponi;
the-Philosopher when he-said beings do-not-wish ill to-be-disposed
malum autem pluralitas principatuum, unus ergo Princeps.
an-evil moreover a-plurality of-principates one therefore Prince

The world is best ordered when justice is strongest in it, as Virgil hailed the return of the Virgin, Justice. Justice is weakened in the will by greed and in act by lack of power. The Monarch has nothing left to desire, since his rule ends only at the Ocean, so he can be the purest subject of justice; he has the most love for men, since all are nearest to him; and he is the most universal cause of their living well. Nor can he lack power, having no enemies. So the world needs a Monarch.

Praeterea, mundus optime dispositus est, quum iustitia in eo
moreover the-world best disposed is when justice in it
potissima est; unde Virgilius commendare volens illud saeculum,
most-powerful is whence Virgil to-commend wishing that age
quod suo tempore surgere videbatur, in suis Bucolicis cantabat:
which in-his time to-rise seemed in his Bucolics sang

'Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.'
now returns also the-Virgin return the-Saturnian reigns

Virgo namque vocabatur Iustitia, quam etiam Astraeam
Virgin for was-called Justice whom also Astraea
vocabant. Saturnia regna dicebant optima tempora, quae
they-called Saturnian reigns they-called the-best times which
etiam aurea nuncupabant. Iustitia potissima est solum
also golden they-named Justice most-powerful is only
sub Monarcha; ergo ad optimam mundi dispositionem
under a-Monarch therefore for the-best of-the-world disposition
requiritur esse Monarchiam sive Imperium.
it-is-required to-be Monarchy or Empire
Ad evidentiam subadsumptae sciendum quod iustitia de se et
for evidence of-the-minor to-be-known that justice of itself and
in propria natura considerata, est quaedam rectitudo sive regula,
in its-own nature considered is a-certain rectitude or rule

obliquum hinc inde abiciens; et sic non recipit magis
the-crooked on-this-side and-that casting-away and thus not it-receives more
et minus, quemadmodum albedo in suo abstracto considerata.
and less just-as whiteness in its abstract considered
Sunt enim huiusmodi formae quaedam compositioni
there-are for of-this-kind forms certain to-composition
contingentes, et consistentes simplici et invariabili essentia,
touching and consisting in-a-simple and invariable essence
ut Magister sex principiorum recte ait; recipiunt tamen magis
as the-Master of-the-six principles rightly says they-receive yet more
et minus huiusmodi qualitates ex parte subiectorum, quibus
and less such qualities on the-part of-the-subjects with-which
concernuntur, secundum quod magis et minus in subiectis
they-are-concerned according as more and less in the-subjects
de contrariis admiscetur. Ubi ergo minimum de contrario
of contraries is-mixed where therefore least of the-contrary
iustitiae admiscetur, et quantum ad habitum et quantum ad
to-justice is-mixed both as-far to habit and as-far to
operationem, ibi iustitia potissima est. Et vere tunc potest
operation there justice most-powerful is and truly then can
dici de illa, ut Philosophus inquit, 'neque Hesperus, neque
to-be-said of it as the-Philosopher says neither Hesperus nor
Lucifer sic admirabilis est.' Est enim tunc Phoebae similis,
Lucifer so wonderful is it-is for then to-Phoebe like
fratrem diametraliter intuenti de purpureo matutinae serenitatis.
the-brother diametrically gazing from the-purple of-the-morning serenity
Quantum ergo ad habitum, iustitia contrarietatem habet
as-far therefore to habit justice contrariety has
quandoque in velle; nam ubi voluntas ab omni cupiditate
sometimes in to-will for where the-will from all cupidity
sincera non est, etsi adsit iustitia, non tamen omnino
pure not is even-if be-present justice not yet wholly

inest in fulgore suae puritatis, habet enim subiectum, licet
is-in-it in the-brightness of-its purity it-has for a-subject although
minime, aliqualiter tamen sibi resistens; propter quod bene
least in-some-way yet to-it resisting on-account-of which well
repelluntur, qui iudicem passionare conantur. Quantum
are-repelled who the-judge to-sway-with-passion try as-far
vero ad operationem, iustitia contrarietatem habet in posse;
but to operation justice contrariety has in to-be-able
nam quum iustitia sit virtus ad alterum, sine potentia
for since justice be a-virtue toward another without the-power
tribuendi cuique quod suum est, quomodo quis operabitur
of-giving to-each what his is how one will-operate
secundum illam? Ex quo patet quod quanto iustus
according-to it from which is-plain that by-how-much the-just-man
potentior, tanto in operatione sua iustitia erit amplior.
more-powerful by-so-much in operation his justice will-be ampler
Ex hac itaque declaratione sic arguatur: Iustitia potissima
from this therefore declaration thus let-it-be-argued justice most-powerful
est in mundo, quando volentissimo et potentissimo subiecto
is in the-world when in-a-most-willing and most-powerful subject
inest: huiusmodi solus Monarcha est; ergo soli Monarchae
it-is-in such alone the-Monarch is therefore in-the-sole Monarch
insistens iustitia in mundo potissima est. Iste prosyllogismus
residing justice in the-world most-powerful is this prosyllogism
currit per secundam figuram, cum negatione intrinseca,
runs through the-second figure with negation intrinsic
et est similis huic: Omne B est A, solum C est A; ergo
and is like to-this every B is A only C is A therefore
solum C est B. Quod est: Omne B est A, nullum praeter
only C is B which is every B is A none besides
C est A; ergo nullum praeter C est B.
C is A therefore none besides C is B

Et prima propositio declaratione praecedente apparet; alia
and the-first proposition by-the-declaration preceding appears the-other
sic ostenditur, et primum quantum ad velle, deinde quantum
thus is-shown and first as-far to to-will then as-far
ad posse. Ad evidentiam primi notandum est quod iustitiae
to to-be-able for evidence of-the-first to-be-noted it-is that to-justice
maxime contrariatur cupiditas, ut innuit Aristoteles in quinto
most is-contrary cupidity as indicates Aristotle in the-fifth
ad Nicomachum. Remota cupiditate omnino, nihil iustitiae
to Nicomachus removed cupidity wholly nothing to-justice
restat adversum; unde sententia Philosophi est, ut quae
remains adverse whence the-opinion of-the-Philosopher is that what-things
lege determinari possunt, nullo modo iudici relinquantur,
by-law to-be-determined can in-no way to-the-judge be-left
et hoc metu cupiditatis fieri oportet, de facili mentes
and this from-fear of-cupidity to-be-done it-behooves with ease the-minds
hominum detorquentis. Ubi ergo non est quod possit
of-men twisting where therefore not there-is what could
optari, impossibile est ibi cupiditatem esse; destructis enim
to-be-wished impossible it-is there cupidity to-be destroyed for
obiectis, passiones esse non possunt. Sed Monarcha non habet
the-objects passions to-be not can but the-Monarch not has
quod possit optare; sua namque iurisdictio terminatur Oceano
what he-could to-wish his for jurisdiction is-bounded by-the-Ocean
solum, quod non contingit principibus aliis, quorum principatus
only which not happens to-princes other whose principates
ad alios terminantur; ut puta Regis Castellae ad illum
to others are-bounded as for-example of-the-King of-Castile to that
qui Regis Aragonum. Ex quo sequitur, quod Monarcha
which of-the-King of-Aragon from which it-follows that the-Monarch
sincerissimum inter mortales iustitiae possit esse subiectum.
the-purest among mortals of-justice can to-be the-subject

Praeterea, quemadmodum cupiditas habitualem iustitiam
moreover just-as cupidity habitual justice
quodammodo, quantumcumque pauca, obnubilat, sic caritas,
in-a-way however-much little clouds so charity
seu recta dilectio, illam acuit atque dilucidat. Cui ergo
or right love it sharpens and brightens in-whom therefore
maxime recta dilectio inesse potest, potissimum locum in illo
most right love to-be-in can most-powerful place in him
potest habere iustitia. Huiusmodi est Monarcha; ergo eo
can to-have justice of-this-kind is the-Monarch therefore he
existente, iustitia potissima est vel esse potest. Quod autem
existing justice most-powerful is or to-be can that moreover
recta dilectio faciat quod dictum est, hinc haberi potest.
right love make what said it-is hence to-be-had it-can
Cupiditas namque, perseitate hominum spreta, quaerit
cupidity for the-for-themselves of-men spurned seeks
alia, caritas vero, spretis aliis omnibus, quaerit Deum et
other-things charity but spurned other all-things seeks God and
hominem, et per consequens bonum hominis. Quumque inter
man and by consequence the-good of-man and-since among
alia bona hominis potissimum sit in pace vivere (ut supra
other goods of-man the-foremost be in peace to-live as above
dicebatur), et hoc operetur maxime atque potissime iustitia,
was-said and this effect most and most-powerfully justice
caritas maxime iustitiam vigorabit, et potior potius.
charity most justice will-invigorate and the-more-powerful more-powerfully
Et quod Monarchae maxime hominum recta dilectio inesse
and that in-the-Monarch most of-men right love to-be-in
debeat, patet sic. Omne diligibile tanto magis diligitur,
ought is-plain thus every lovable-thing so-much more is-loved
quanto propinquius est diligenti; sed homines propinquius
by-how-much nearer it-is to-the-lover but men nearer

Monarchae sunt, quam aliis principibus: ergo ab eo
to-the-Monarch are than to-other princes therefore by him
maxime diliguntur, vel diligi debent. Prima manifesta est,
most they-are-loved or to-be-loved ought the-first manifest is
si natura passivorum et activorum consideretur; secunda per
if the-nature of-passive-things and of-active-things be-considered the-second by
hoc apparet, quia principibus aliis homines non appropinquant
this appears because to-princes other men not draw-near
nisi in parte, Monarchae vero secundum totum. Et rursus:
except in part to-the-Monarch but according-to the-whole and again
Principibus aliis appropinquant per Monarcham, et non e
to-princes other they-draw-near through the-Monarch and not from
converso; et sic per prius et immediate Monarchae inest
the-converse and thus by prior and immediately in-the-Monarch is
cura de omnibus, aliis autem principibus per Monarcham,
care of all to-other moreover princes through the-Monarch
eo quod cura ipsorum a cura illa suprema descendit.
for-this that care their from care that supreme descends
Praeterea, quanto causa est universalior, tanto magis
moreover by-how-much a-cause is more-universal by-so-much more
habet rationem causae, quia inferior non est causa, nisi per
it-has the-notion of-cause because the-inferior not is a-cause except through
superiorem, ut patet ex iis quae de Causis; et quanto
the-superior as is-plain from those which on Causes and by-how-much
magis causa est causa, tanto magis effectum diligit, quum
more a-cause is a-cause by-so-much more the-effect it-loves since
dilectio talis adsequatur causam per se. Quum ergo
love such follows the-cause through itself since therefore
Monarcha sit universalissima causa inter mortales, ut homines
the-Monarch be the-most-universal cause among mortals that men

bene vivant, quia principes alii per illum, ut dictum est;
well may-live because princes other through him as said it-is
consequens est, quod bonum hominum ab eo maxime diligatur.
consequent it-is that the-good of-men by him most be-loved
Quod autem Monarcha potissime se habeat ad operationem
that moreover the-Monarch most-powerfully himself hold to the-operation
iustitiae, quis dubitat? nisi qui vocem hanc non intelligit,
of-justice who doubts except who word this not understands
quum si Monarcha est, hostes habere non possit.
since if a-Monarch he-is enemies to-have not he-can
Satis igitur declarata subadsumpta principali, patet quia
enough therefore declared the-minor principal is-plain that
conclusio certa est: scilicet quod ad optimam dispositionem
the-conclusion certain is namely that for the-best disposition
mundi necesse est Monarchiam esse.
of-the-world necessary it-is Monarchy to-be

XII · FREEDOM

Mankind is at its best when it is most free. The first principle of freedom is free choice, a judgment that moves the appetite and is not moved by it; this is God's greatest gift to human nature, by which we are happy here as men and elsewhere as gods. Only under the Monarch is mankind free, existing for its own sake: the perverted polities, democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies, enslave it, while right rulers serve the ruled. The Monarch is the servant of all, bound by the end set for him in making laws.

Et humanum genus, potissime liberum, optime se habet.
and the-human race most-fully free best itself holds
Hoc erit manifestum, si principium pateat libertatis. Propter
this will-be manifest if the-principle be-plain of-freedom on-account-of

quod sciendum est, quod primum principium nostrae libertatis
which to-be-known it-is that the-first principle of-our freedom
est libertas arbitrii, quam multi habent in ore, in intellectu
is the-freedom of-choice which many have in the-mouth in the-intellect
vero pauci. Veniunt namque usque ad hoc, ut dicant liberum
but few they-come for up to this that they-say free
arbitrium esse, liberum de voluntate iudicium. Et verum
choice to-be a-free about will judgment and true
dicunt; sed importatum per verba longe est ab eis,
they-say but the-meaning-carried by the-words far is from them
quemadmodum tota die Logici nostri faciunt de quibusdam
just-as the-whole day logicians our do about certain
propositionibus, quae ad exemplum logicalibus interseruntur,
propositions which for example in-logical-books are-inserted
puta de hac: Triangulus habet tres duobus rectis aequales.
for-example about this a-triangle has three to-two right equal
Et ideo dico, quod iudicium medium est apprehensionis et
and therefore I-say that judgment the-middle is of-apprehension and
appetitus; nam primo res apprehenditur, deinde apprehensa
of-appetite for first a-thing is-apprehended then apprehended
bona vel mala iudicatur, et ultimo iudicans prosequitur sive
good or bad is-judged and lastly the-one-judging pursues or
fugit. Si ergo iudicium moveat omnino appetitum, et nullo
flees if therefore the-judgment move wholly the-appetite and in-no
modo praeveniatur ab eo, liberum est; si vero ab appetitu,
way be-anticipated by it free it-is if but by appetite
quocunque modo praeveniente, iudicium moveatur, liberum esse
in-whatever way anticipating the-judgment be-moved free to-be
non potest, quia non a se, sed ab alio captivum trahitur. Et
not it-can because not by itself but by another captive it-is-drawn and
hinc est, quod bruta iudicium liberum habere non possunt, quia
hence it-is that brutes judgment free to-have not can because

eorum iudicia semper appetitu praeveniuntur. Et hinc etiam
their judgments always by-appetite are-anticipated and hence also
patere potest, quod substantiae intellectuales, quarum sunt
to-be-plain it-can that substances intellectual whose are
immutabiles voluntates, nec non animae separatae bene hinc
immutable wills and also souls separated well hence
abeuntes, libertatem arbitrii ob immutabilitatem voluntatis
departing freedom of-choice on-account-of the-immutability of-will
non amittunt, sed perfectissime atque potissime hoc retinent.
not lose but most-perfectly and most-fully it retain
Hoc viso, iterum manifestum esse potest, quod haec
this seen again manifest to-be it-can that this
libertas, sive principium hoc totius libertatis nostrae, est
freedom or principle this of-the-whole freedom our is
maximum donum humanae naturae a Deo collatum, sicut
the-greatest gift to-human nature by God conferred as
dixi; quia per ipsum hic felicitamur ut homines, per
I-said because through it here we-are-made-happy as men through
ipsum alibi felicitamur ut Dii. Quod si ita est, quis
it elsewhere we-are-made-happy as Gods but if so it-is who
erit qui humanum genus optime se habere non dicat,
will-be who the-human race best itself to-hold not would-say
quum potissime hoc principio possit uti? Sed existens sub
since most-fully this principle it-can use but existing under
Monarcha, est potissime liberum, Propter quod sciendum,
a-Monarch it-is most-fully free on-account-of which to-be-known
quod illud est liberum quod suimet et non alterius
that that is free which for-its-own and not for-another's
gratia est, ut Philosopho placet in iis quae de simpliciter
sake is as to-the-Philosopher it-pleases in those which on simply
Ente. Nam id quod est alterius gratia, necessitatur ab
Being for that which is for-another's sake is-necessitated by

illo, cuius gratia est; sicut via necessitatur a termino.
that whose for-sake it-is as the-road is-necessitated by the-terminus
Genus humanum, solum imperante Monarcha, sui et
the-race human only ruling the-Monarch for-its-own and
non alterius gratia est; tunc enim solum politiae diriguntur
not for-another's sake is then for only the-polities are-straightened
obliquae, democratiae scilicet, oligarchiae atque tyrannides,
crooked democracies namely oligarchies and tyrannies
quae in servitutem cogunt genus humanum, ut patet
which into servitude force the-race human as is-plain
discurrenti per omnes, et politizant reges, aristocratici,
to-one-running through all and practice-politics kings aristocrats
quos optimates vocant, et populi libertatis zelatores. Quia,
whom the-best-men they-call and of-the-people's liberty zealots because
quum Monarcha maxime diligat homines, ut iam tactum est,
since the-Monarch most love men as already touched it-is
vult omnes homines bonos fieri, quod esse non potest
he-wishes all men good to-become which to-be not can
apud oblique politizantes. Unde Philosophus in suis Politicis
among the-crookedly politicking whence the-Philosopher in his Politics
ait: Quod in politia obliqua bonus homo est malus civis;
says that in a-polity crooked a-good man is a-bad citizen
in recta vero, bonus homo et civis bonus convertuntur.
in a-right-one but a-good man and citizen good are-convertible
Et huiusmodi politiae rectae libertatem intendunt, scilicet ut
and such polities right freedom intend namely that
homines propter se sint. Non enim cives propter
men for themselves be not for the-citizens for-the-sake-of
Consules, nec gens propter Regem; sed e converso
the-Consuls nor the-people for-the-sake-of the-King but from the-converse
Consules propter cives, et Rex propter gentem.
the-Consuls for-the-sake-of the-citizens and the-King for-the-sake-of the-people

Quia quemadmodum non politia ad leges, quinimo leges
because just-as not the-polity for the-laws nay-rather the-laws
ad politiam ponuntur, sic secundum legem viventes, non
for the-polity are-set so according-to the-law those-living not
ad legislatorem ordinantur, sed magis ille ad hos, ut etiam
to the-legislator are-ordered but rather he to them as also
Philosopho placet in iis quae de praesenti materia nobis
to-the-Philosopher it-pleases in those which about present matter to-us
ab eo relicta sunt. Hinc etiam patet, quod quamvis Consul
by him left are hence also is-plain that although the-Consul
sive Rex respectu viae sint domini aliorum; respectu
or King with-respect-to the-way be lords of-others with-respect-to
autem termini aliorum ministri sunt, et maxime Monarcha,
but the-terminus of-others ministers they-are and most the-Monarch
qui minister omnium procul dubio habendus est. Hinc etiam
who the-minister of-all beyond doubt to-be-held is hence also
iam innotescere potest, quod Monarcha necessitatur a fine
already to-become-known it-can that the-Monarch is-necessitated by the-end
sibi praefixo in legibus ponendis. Ergo genus humanum
to-him fixed-beforehand in laws to-be-set therefore the-race human
sub Monarcha existens, optime se habet: ex quo sequitur
under a-Monarch existing best itself holds from which it-follows
quod ad bene esse mundi Monarchiam necesse est esse.
that for well to-be of-the-world Monarchy necessary it-is to-be

Every agent seeks to unfold its own likeness, so only one already well disposed can dispose others well: hands persuade more than words, as Jacob's did. Those who speak good and do evil cannot shape others. Since the Monarch alone can have no occasion for greed, which alone corrupts judgment and hinders justice, he alone can be best disposed to rule, with judgment and justice, as the Psalm prays. So he alone can best dispose others, and the world needs him.

Adhuc, ille qui potest esse optime dispositus ad regendum,
further he who can to-be best disposed for ruling
optime alios disponere potest. Nam in omni actione
best others to-dispose can for in every action
principaliter intenditur ab agente, sive necessitate naturae,
principally is-intended by the-agent whether by-necessity of-nature
sive voluntarie agat, propriam similitudinem explicare, unde
or voluntarily he-act his-own likeness to-unfold whence
fit, quod omne agens, in quantum huiusmodi, delectatur;
it-happens that every agent in as-much-as such delights
quia, quum omne quod est appetat suum esse, ac in agendo
because since everything which is desire its to-be and in acting
agentis esse quodammodo amplietur, sequitur de necessitate
of-the-agent the-to-be in-a-way be-enlarged follows of necessity
delectatio; quia delectatio rei desideratae semper adnexa
delight because delight of-a-thing desired always joined
est. Nihil igitur agit, nisi tale existens, quale patiens fieri
is nothing therefore acts except such existing as the-patient to-become
debet; propter quod Philosophus, in iis quae de simpliciter
ought on-account-of which the-Philosopher in those which on simply
Ente: 'Omne,' inquit, 'quod reducitur de potentia in actum,
Being everything he-says which is-reduced from potency into act
reducitur per tale existens in actu;' quod si aliter aliquid
is-reduced by such existing in act but if otherwise something

agere conetur, frustra conatur. Et hinc destrui potest error
to-act try in-vain it-tries and hence to-be-destroyed can the-error
illorum qui bona loquendo et mala operando credunt
of-those who good-things by-speaking and evil-things by-doing believe
alios vita et moribus informare; non advertentes quod plus
others in-life and morals to-inform not noticing that more
persuaserunt manus Iacob, quam verba, licet illae falsum,
persuaded the-hands of-Jacob than the-words although those false
illa verum persuaderent. Unde Philosophus ad Nicomachum:
these true were-persuading whence the-Philosopher to Nicomachus
'De iis enim,' inquit, 'quae in passionibus et actionibus,
about those for he-says which in passions and actions
sermones minus sunt credibiles operibus.' Hinc etiam dicebatur
speeches less are credible than-works hence also it-was-said
de coelo peccatori David: 'Quare tu enarras iustitias
from heaven to-the-sinner David why do-you recount justices
meas?' quasi diceret: Frustra loqueris, quum tu sis alius
my as-if he-said in-vain you-speak since you be other
ab eo quod loqueris. Ex quibus colligitur quod optime
from that which you-speak from which-things is-gathered that best
dispositum esse oportet optime alios disponere volentem.
disposed to-be it-behooves best others to-dispose wishing
Sed Monarcha solus est ille, qui potest optime esse dispositus
but the-Monarch alone is he who can best to-be disposed
ad regendum. Quod sic declaratur: Unaquaeque res eo
for ruling which thus is-declared each thing by-that
facilius et perfectius ad habitum et ad operationem
more-easily and more-perfectly to habit and to operation
disponitur, quo minus in ea est de contrarietate ad talem
is-disposed by-which less in it there-is of contrariety to such
dispositionem: unde facilius et perfectius veniunt ad habitum
disposition whence more-easily and more-perfectly come to the-habit

philosophicae veritatis, qui nihil unquam audiverunt, quam
of-philosophical truth those-who nothing ever have-heard than
qui audiverunt per tempora, et falsis opinionibus
those-who have-heard through times and with-false opinions
imbuti sunt. Propter quod bene Galenus inquit: 'Tales
imbued are on-account-of which well Galen says such
duplici tempore indigere ad scientiam acquirendam.' Quum
double time to-need for knowledge to-be-acquired since
ergo Monarcha nullam cupiditatis occasionem habere possit,
therefore the-Monarch no of-cupidity occasion to-have can
vel saltem minimam inter mortales, ut superius est ostensum,
or at-least the-least among mortals as above it-is shown
quod caeteris principibus non contingit, et cupiditas ipsa sola
which to-other princes not happens and cupidity itself alone
sit corruptiva iudicii, et iustitiae praepeditiva; consequens
be corruptive of-judgment and of-justice obstructive consequent
est, quod ipse vel omnino, vel maxime bene dispositus
it-is that he either wholly or most well disposed
ad regendum esse potest, quia inter caeteros iudicium et
for ruling to-be can because among the-others judgment and
iustitiam potissime habere potest. Quae duo principalissime
justice most-powerfully to-have be-can which two most-principally
legislatori et legis executori conveniunt, testante Rege
to-the-legislator and of-the-law to-the-executor befit witnessing King
illo sanctissimo, quum convenientia regi et filio
that most-holy when the-things-befitting to-the-king and to-the-son
regis postulabat a Deo: 'Deus,' inquiebat 'iudicium tuum
of-the-king he-asked from God O-God he-said judgment your
regi da, et iustitiam tuam filio regis.'
to-the-king give and justice your to-the-son of-the-king

Bene igitur dictum est, quum dicitur in subadsumpta,
well therefore said it-is when it-is-said in the-minor
quod Monarcha solus est ille, qui potest esse optime
that the-Monarch alone is he who can to-be best
dispositus ad regendum. Ergo Monarcha solus optime
disposed for ruling therefore the-Monarch alone best
alios disponere potest. Ex quo sequitur, quod ad optimam
others to-dispose can from which it-follows that for the-best
mundi dispositionem Monarchia sit necessaria.
of-the-world disposition Monarchy be necessary

XIV · BETTER DONE BY ONE

What can be done by one is better done by one than by many, since anything added is superfluous, and what is superfluous displeases God and nature; the way through one is also nearer the end. Mankind can be ruled by one supreme prince, not in every small local judgment, since peoples as different as Scythians and Garamantes need different laws, but in what all share, a common rule for peace that particular princes receive from him, as Moses kept the weightier cases for himself and left the lesser to the heads of the tribes.

Et quod potest fieri per unum, melius est per unum
and what can to-be-done by one better it-is by one
fieri quam per plura. Quod sic declaratur: Sit unum,
to-be-done than by several which thus is-declared let-there-be one
per quod aliquid fieri potest, A, et sint plura, per
through which something to-be-done can A and let-there-be several through
quae similiter illud fieri potest, A et B. Si ergo illud
which likewise that to-be-done can A and B if therefore that
idem quod fit per A et B, potest fieri per A tantum,
same which is-done by A and B can to-be-done by A only

frustra ibi adsumitur B; quia ex ipsius adsumptione nihil
in-vain there is-assumed B because from its assumption nothing
sequitur, quum prius illud idem fiebat per A solum. Et
follows since before that same was-done by A alone and
quum omnis talis adsumptio sit otiosa sive superflua, et
since every such assumption be idle or superfluous and
omne superfluum Deo et Naturae displiceat, et omne
everything superfluous to-God and to-Nature be-displeasing and everything
quod Deo et Naturae displicet sit malum, ut manifestum est
which to-God and to-Nature is-displeasing be evil as manifest it-is
de se; sequitur, non solum melius esse fieri per unum, si
of itself it-follows not only better to-be to-be-done by one if
fieri potest, quam fieri per plura, sed quod fieri per
to-be-done it-can than to-be-done by several but that to-be-done by
unum est bonum, per plura simpliciter malum. Praeterea res
one is good by several simply evil moreover a-thing
dicitur esse melior, per esse propinquior optimo, et finis
is-said to-be better by to-be nearer to-the-best and the-end
habet rationem optimi; sed fieri per unum est propinquius
has the-notion of-the-best but to-be-done by one is nearer
fini, ergo est melius. Et quod sit propinquius, patet
to-the-end therefore it-is better and that it-be nearer is-plain
sic: Sit finis C, fieri per unum A, per plura A et
thus let-there-be the-end C to-be-done by one A by several A and
B. Manifestum est quod longior est via ab A per B in
B manifest it-is that longer is the-way from A through B to
C, quam ab A tantum in C. Sed humanum genus potest
C than from A only to C but the-human race can
regi per unum supremum principem, qui est Monarcha.
be-ruled by one supreme prince who is the-Monarch

Propter quod advertendum sane quod quum dicitur, humanum
on-account-of which to-be-noted truly that when it-is-said the-human
genus potest regi per unum supremum Principem, non sic
race can be-ruled by one supreme Prince not so
intelligendum est, ut minima iudicia cuiuscumque municipii
to-be-understood it-is that the-least judgments of-any town
ab illo uno immediate prodire possint; quum etiam leges
from that one immediately to-proceed can since even laws
municipales quandoque deficiant, et opus habeant directivo, ut
municipal sometimes fail and need have of-a-directive as
patet per Philosophum in quinto ad Nicomachum, ἐπιείκειαν
is-plain through the-Philosopher in the-fifth to Nicomachus equity
commendantem. Habent namque nationes, regna et civitates
commending have for nations kingdoms and cities
inter se proprietates, quas legibus differentibus regulari
among themselves properties which by-laws differing to-be-ruled
oportet. Est enim lex regula directiva vitae. Aliter quippe
it-behooves is for law a-rule directive of-life otherwise surely
regulari oportet Scythas, qui extra septimum clima viventes,
to-be-ruled it-behooves the-Scythians who outside the-seventh clime living
et magnam dierum et noctium inaequalitatem patientes,
and great of-days and of-nights inequality suffering
intolerabili quasi algore frigoris premuntur, et aliter
by-intolerable as-it-were chill of-cold are-pressed and otherwise
Garamantes, qui sub aequinoctiali habitantes, et coaequatam
the-Garamantes who under the-equinoctial dwelling and equalized
semper lucem diurnam noctis tenebris habentes, ob
always the-light of-day of-night to-the-darkness having on-account-of
aestus aëris nimietatem vestimentis operiri non possunt.
of-the-heat of-the-air excess with-garments to-be-covered not can
Sed sic intelligendum est, ut humanum genus secundum
but so to-be-understood it-is that the-human race according-to

sua communia, quae omnibus competunt, ab eo regatur, et
its common-things which to-all belong by him be-ruled and
communi regula gubernetur ad pacem. Quam quidem regulam,
by-a-common rule be-governed to peace which indeed rule
sive legem, particulares principes ab eo recipere debent,
or law particular princes from him to-receive ought
tamquam intellectus practicus ad conclusionem operativam
as the-intellect practical for the-conclusion operative
recipit maiorem propositionem ab intellectu speculativo, et
receives the-major proposition from the-intellect speculative and
sub illa particularem, quae proprie sua est, adsumit, et
under it the-particular which properly its is assumes and
particulariter ad operationem concludit. Et hoc non solum
particularly to operation concludes and this not only
possibile est uni, sed necesse est ab uno procedere, ut omnis
possible is to-one but necessary it-is from one to-proceed so-that all
confusio de principiis universalibus auferatur. Hoc etiam
confusion about principles universal be-taken-away this also
factum fuisse per ipsum, ipse Moyses in lege conscribit:
done to-have-been by him himself Moses in the-law writes
qui adsumptis primatibus de tribubus filiorum Israel, eis
who having-been-taken the-chiefs from the-tribes of-the-sons of-Israel to-them
inferiora iudicia relinquebat, superiora et communiora sibi
the-lower judgments left the-higher and more-common for-himself
soli reservans, quibus communioribus utebantur primates per
alone reserving which more-common used the-chiefs through
tribus suas, secundum quod unicuique tribui competebat.
tribes their according as to-each tribe it-belonged
Ergo melius est humanum genus per unum regi, quam
therefore better it-is the-human race by one to-be-ruled than
per plura, et sic per Monarcham, qui unicus est princeps;
by several and thus by a-Monarch who single is prince

et si melius, Deo acceptabilius, quum Deus semper velit
and if better to-God more-acceptable since God always wills
quod melius est. Et quum duorum tantum inter se
what better is and since of-two only among themselves
idem sit melius et optimum, consequens est non solum
the-same be the-better and the-best consequent it-is not only
Deo esse acceptabilius hoc, inter hoc unum et haec
to-God to-be more-acceptable this between this one and these
plura, sed acceptabilissimum. Unde sequitur, humanum genus
several but most-acceptable whence it-follows the-human race
optime se habere, quum ab uno regitur. Et sic ad bene
best itself to-hold when by one it-is-ruled and thus for well
esse mundi necesse est Monarchiam esse.
to-be of-the-world necessary it-is Monarchy to-be

XV · CONCORD AND ONE WILL

Being, oneness, and goodness follow one another, so the root of good is in being one and the root of evil in being many, as Pythagoras held; to sin is to scorn the one and go to the many. Concord is the uniform motion of many wills, as clods all fall toward the center and flames rise. Mankind at its best is a concord, which depends on one will that rules and directs all others, and that can only be the will of one prince over all.

Item dico, quod ens et unum et bonum gradatim se
likewise I-say that being and one and good by-degrees themselves
habent secundum quintum modum dicendi 'prius.' Ens enim
hold according-to the-fifth mode of-saying prior being for
natura praecedit unum, unum vero bonum; maxime enim ens
by-nature precedes one one but good most for being
maxime est unum, et maxime unum est maxime bonum.
most is one and most one is most good

Et quanto aliquid a maximo ente elongatur, tanto
and the-more something from the-greatest being is-removed by-so-much
et ab esse unum, et per consequens ab esse bonum.
also from to-be one and by consequence from to-be good
Propter quod in omni genere rerum illud est optimum,
on-account-of which in every kind of-things that is best
quod est maxime unum, ut Philosopho placet in iis quae
which is most one as to-the-Philosopher it-pleases in those which
de simpliciter Ente. Unde fit quod unum esse videtur
on simply Being whence it-happens that one to-be seems
esse radix eius quod est esse bonum; et multa esse, eius
to-be the-root of-that which is to-be good and many to-be of-that
quod est esse malum. Quare Pythagoras in correlationibus
which is to-be evil wherefore Pythagoras in correlations
suis, ex parte boni ponebat unum, ex parte vero mali plura,
his on the-side of-good placed one on the-side but of-evil many
ut patet in primo eorum quae de simpliciter Ente. Hinc
as is-plain in the-first of-those which on simply Being hence
videri potest quod peccare nihil est aliud quam progredi
to-be-seen it-can that to-sin nothing is other than to-proceed
ab uno spreto ad multa; quod quidem Psalmista videbat,
from one spurned to many which indeed the-Psalmist saw
dicens: 'A fructu frumenti, vini et olei multiplicati sunt.'
saying by the-fruit of-corn of-wine and of-oil multiplied they-are
Constat igitur, quod omne quod est bonum, per hoc est
it-is-certain therefore that everything which is good by this is
bonum, quod in uno consistit. Et quum concordia, in quantum
good that in one it-consists and since concord in as-much-as
huiusmodi, est quoddam bonum, manifestum est ipsam
such is a-certain good manifest it-is it
consistere in aliquo uno, tamquam in propria radice. Quae
to-consist in some one as in its-own root which

quidem radix apparebit, si natura vel ratio concordiae sumatur.
indeed root will-appear if the-nature or notion of-concord be-taken
Est enim concordia uniformis motus plurium voluntatum;
is for concord a-uniform motion of-several wills
in qua quidem ratione apparet, unitatem voluntatum,
in which indeed notion appears the-unity of-wills
quae per uniformem motum datur intelligi, concordiae
which by uniform motion is-given to-be-understood of-concord
radicem esse, vel ipsam concordiam. Nam sicut plures glebas
the-root to-be or the-very concord for as several clods
diceremus concordes, propter condescendere omnes ad
we-would-call concordant on-account-of to-descend-together all to
medium, et plures flammas propter coascendere omnes ad
the-center and several flames on-account-of to-ascend-together all to
circumferentiam, si voluntarie hoc facerent; ita homines plures
the-circumference if voluntarily this they-did so men several
concordes dicimus, propter simul moveri secundum velle ad
concordant we-call on-account-of together to-be-moved according-to to-will to
unum, quod est formaliter in suis voluntatibus, sicut qualitas
one which is formally in their wills as a-quality
una formaliter in glebis, scilicet gravitas, et una in flammis,
one formally in the-clods namely heaviness and one in the-flames
scilicet levitas. Nam virtus volitiva potentia quaedam est;
namely lightness for the-power volitive a-potency certain is
sed species boni apprehensi, forma est eius, quae quidem
but the-species of-the-good apprehended the-form is of-it which indeed
forma, quemadmodum et aliae, una in se multiplicatur,
form just-as also others one in itself is-multiplied
secundum multiplicationem materiae recipientis, ut anima
according-to the-multiplication of-the-matter receiving as soul
et numerus, et aliae formae compositioni contingentes.
and number and other forms to-composition touching

His praemissis, propter declarationem adsumendae
these premised for-the-sake-of the-declaration to-be-assumed
propositionis ad propositum, sic arguatur. Omnis concordia
of-the-proposition for the-purpose thus let-it-be-argued every concord
dependet ab unitate quae est in voluntatibus; genus humanum
depends on unity which is in the-wills the-race human
optime se habens est quaedam concordia. Nam sicut unus
best itself holding is a-certain concord for as one
homo optime se habens, et quantum ad animam, et
man best himself holding both as-far to the-soul and
quantum ad corpus, est concordia quaedam, et similiter
as-far to the-body is a-concord certain and likewise
domus, civitas, et regnum; sic totum genus humanum. Ergo
a-house a-city and a-kingdom so the-whole race human therefore
genus humanum optime se habens, ab unitate quae est in
the-race human best itself holding on the-unity which is in
voluntatibus dependet. Sed hoc esse non potest, nisi sit
the-wills depends but this to-be not can unless there-be
voluntas una, domina et regulatrix omnium aliarum in unum;
a-will one mistress and directress of-all others into one
quum mortalium voluntates propter blandas adolescentiae
since of-mortals the-wills on-account-of the-flattering of-youth
delectationes indigeant directivo, ut in ultimis ad Nicomachum
delights need direction as in the-last to Nicomachus
docet Philosophus. Nec ista una potest esse, nisi sit
teaches the-Philosopher nor this one can to-be unless there-be
Princeps unus omnium, cuius voluntas domina et regulatrix
a-Prince one of-all whose will mistress and directress
aliarum omnium esse possit. Quod si omnes consequentiae
of-the-others all to-be can but if all the-consequences
superiores verae sunt, quod sunt; necesse est, ad optime
above true are which they-are necessary it-is for best

se habere humanum genus, esse in mundo Monarcham,
itself to-hold the-human race to-be in the-world a-Monarch
et per consequens, Monarchiam ad bene esse mundi.
and by consequence Monarchy for well to-be of-the-world

XVI · THE FULLNESS OF TIME

Experience bears out the argument. Since the fall, the world was never at peace everywhere except under the divine Augustus, when the Monarchy was perfect and the Son of God chose to become man; historians, poets, the scribe of Christ's gentleness, and Paul, who called it the fullness of time, all testify to it. Since the seamless robe was first torn by greed, the world has been tossed by storms. Dante laments mankind, a many-headed beast, sick in both intellect and will, deaf to reason and experience, and to the Spirit's "how good and pleasant it is for brothers to dwell in unity."

Rationibus omnibus supra positis, experientia memorabilis
to-the-reasons all above set experience memorable
attestatur; status videlicet illius mortalium, quem Dei Filius,
bears-witness the-state namely of-that of-mortals which of-God Son
in salutem hominis hominem adsumpturus, vel expectavit,
for the-salvation of-man man about-to-assume either awaited
vel quum voluit ipse disposuit. Nam si a lapsu primorum
or when he-willed himself arranged for if from the-fall of-the-first
parentum, qui diverticulum fuit totius nostrae deviationis,
parents which the-turning-aside was of-the-whole our straying
dispositiones hominum et tempora recolamus; non inveniemus,
the-dispositions of-men and the-times we-recollect not we-shall-find
nisi sub divo Augusto Monarcha, existente Monarchia
except under the-divine Augustus Monarch existing Monarchy
perfecta, mundum undique fuisse quietum. Et quod tunc
perfect the-world on-all-sides to-have-been quiet and that then

humanum genus fuerit felix in pacis universalis tranquillitate,
the-human race was happy in of-peace universal the-tranquility
hoc historiographi omnes, hoc poetae illustres, hoc etiam
this the-historians all this the-poets illustrious this also
Scriba mansuetudinis Christi testari dignatus est, et denique
the-Scribe of-the-gentleness of-Christ to-attest deigned has and finally
Paulus, 'plenitudinem temporis' statum illum felicissimum
Paul the-fullness of-time the-state that most-happy
appellavit. Vere tempus et temporalia quaeque plena fuerunt,
called truly the-time and temporal-things each full were
quia nullum nostrae felicitatis ministerium ministro vacavit.
because no of-our happiness ministry of-a-minister was-empty
Qualiter autem se habuerit orbis, ex quo tunica ista
how but itself had the-world from which tunic that
inconsutilis, cupiditatis ungue scissuram primitus passa
seamless of-cupidity by-the-claw a-tearing first suffered
est, et legere possumus, et utinam non videre. O genus
has both to-read we-can and would-that not to-see O race
humanum! quantis procellis atque iacturis, quantisque
human by-how-many storms and losses and-by-how-many
naufragiis agitari te necesse est, dum bellua multorum
shipwrecks to-be-tossed you necessary it-is while a-beast of-many
capitum factum, in diversa conaris. Intellectu aegrotas
heads made in diverse-directions you-strive in-intellect you-are-sick
utroque, similiter et affectu: Rationibus irrefragabilibus
in-both likewise and in-affection by-reasons irrefutable
intellectum superiorem non curas; nec experientiae vultu
the-intellect higher not you-heed nor of-experience by-the-face
inferiorem, sed nec affectum dulcedine divinae suasionis,
the-lower but not-even the-affection by-the-sweetness of-divine persuasion

quum	per	tubam	Sancti	Spiritus	tibi	affletur:	‘Ecce
when	*through*	*the-trumpet*	*of-the-Holy*	*Spirit*	*to-you*	*it-is-breathed*	*behold*
quam	bonum	et	quam	iucundum,	habitare	fratres	in unum.’
how	*good*	*and*	*how*	*pleasant*	*to-dwell*	*brothers*	*in one*

BOOK II

I · WHY DO THE NATIONS RAGE?

Dante once wondered how the Roman people came to rule the world without resistance, thinking it took power by force alone; looking deeper, he saw divine providence at work, and his wonder turned to scorn for those who still rail against Rome, as he once did. With the Psalm he asks why the nations rage and kings conspire against the Lord and his anointed, the Roman prince; and he will break their bonds by showing, by reason and by divine authority, that the Roman Empire was by right.

‘Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania?
why raged the-nations and the-peoples devised have vain-things
Adstiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt in unum
stood-by the-kings of-the-earth and the-princes came-together into one
adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius. Dirumpamus
against the-Lord and against Christ his let-us-burst
vincula eorum, et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum!’
the-bonds their and let-us-cast from us the-yoke of-them
Sicut ad faciem causae non pertingentes, novum effectum
as at the-face of-the-cause not reaching a-new effect
communiter admiramur, sic, quum causam cognoscimus,
commonly we-wonder so when the-cause we-know
eos qui sunt in admiratione restantes, quadam derisione
those who are in wonder remaining with-a-certain mockery
despicimus. Admirabar equidem aliquando, Romanum populum
we-look-down-on I-wondered indeed once the-Roman people
in Orbe terrarum sine ulla resistentia fuisse praefectum;
in the-orb of-the-lands without any resistance to-have-been set-over
quum tantum superficialiter intuens, illum nullo iure,
when only superficially gazing it by-no right

sed armorum tantummodo violentia, obtinuisse arbitrabar.
but of-arms only by-violence to-have-obtained I-thought
Sed postquam medullitus oculos mentis infixi, et per
but after to-the-marrow the-eyes of-the-mind I-fixed and through
efficacissima signa divinam providentiam hoc effecisse
most-efficacious signs divine providence this to-have-effected
cognovi, admiratione cedente, derisiva quaedam supervenit
I-knew wonder yielding a-mocking certain came-upon-me
despectio, quum gentes noverim contra Romani populi
contempt since the-nations I-know against of-the-Roman people
praeeminentiam fremuisse, quum videam populos vana
the-preeminence to-have-raged since I-see the-peoples vain-things
meditantes, ut ipse solebam, quum insuper doleam, Reges
devising as I-myself was-wont since moreover I-grieve Kings
et Principes in hoc unico concordantes, ut adversentur
and Princes in this single agreeing that they-oppose
Domino suo, et uncto suo Romano Principi. Propter quod
Lord their and anointed his the-Roman Prince on-account-of which
derisive, non sine dolore quodam, cum illo clamare possum
mockingly not without grief certain with him to-cry-out I-can
pro populo glorioso et pro Caesare, qui pro Principe Coeli
for the-people glorious and for Caesar who for the-Prince of-Heaven
clamabat: 'Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt
cried why raged the-nations and the-peoples devised have
inania? Adstiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt
vain-things stood-by the-kings of-the-earth and the-princes came-together
in unum, adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius.'
into one against the-Lord and against Christ his
Verum (quia naturalis amor diuturnam esse derisionem
but because natural love long-lasting to-be mockery
non patitur, sed ut sol aestivus qui disiectis nebulis
not suffers but as the-sun summer which scattered the-clouds

matutinis oriens luculentus irradiat, derisione omissa, lucem
of-morning rising bright shines-forth mockery omitted the-light
correctionis effundere mavult) ad dirumpendum vincula
of-correction to-pour-out prefers for bursting the-bonds
ignorantiae Regum atque Principum talium, ad ostendendum
of-ignorance of-Kings and of-Princes such for showing
genus humanum liberum a iugo ipsorum, cum Propheta
the-race human free from the-yoke of-them with the-Prophet
sanctissimo meme subsequentem hortabor, subsequentia
most-holy myself following-up I-shall-exhort the-following-words
subadsumens: 'Dirumpamus,' videlicet, 'vincula eorum, et
adding let-us-burst namely the-bonds their and
proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum.'
let-us-cast from us the-yoke of-them
Haec equidem duo fient sufficienter, si secundam partem
these indeed two will-happen sufficiently if the-second part
praesentis propositi prosequutus fuero, et instantis
of-the-present purpose followed-up I-shall-have and of-the-pressing
quaestionis veritatem ostendero. Nam per hoc, quod
question the-truth shall-have-shown for by this that
Romanum imperium de iure fuisse monstrabitur, non
the-Roman empire by right to-have-been will-be-shown not
solum ab oculis Regum et Principum, qui gubernacula publica
only from the-eyes of-Kings and of-Princes who the-helms public
sibi usurpant, hoc ipsum de Romano populo mendaciter
to-themselves usurp this very about the-Roman people falsely
existimantes, ignorantiae nebula eluetur; sed mortales omnes
thinking of-ignorance the-cloud will-be-washed but mortals all
esse se liberos a iugo sic usurpantium recognoscent.
to-be themselves free from the-yoke thus of-those-usurping will-recognize
Veritas autem quaestionis patere potest non solum lumine
the-truth moreover of-the-question to-be-plain can not only by-the-light

rationis humanae, sed etiam radio divinae auctoritatis. Quae
of-reason human but also by-the-ray of-divine authority which
duo quum simul ad unum concurrunt, coelum et terram
two when together to one concur heaven and earth
simul assentire necesse est. Igitur fiduciae praenotatae
together to-assent necessary it-is therefore on-the-confidence noted-before
innixus, et testimonio rationis et auctoritatis praefretus,
leaning and on-the-testimony of-reason and of-authority relying-beforehand
ad secundam quaestionem dirimendam ingredior.
to the-second question to-be-settled I-enter

II · RIGHT IS THE WILL OF GOD

The second question asks whether the Roman people took the dignity of Empire by right. As art exists in the artisan's mind, his tool, and his material, so nature exists in God's mind, in heaven as his instrument, and in matter; whatever good is in things comes from God, and any flaw from matter. Right is a good, so it is first in God's mind, and is nothing other than the likeness of the divine will. To ask what was done by right is to ask what God wills, which, invisible in itself, must be sought through signs.

Postquam sufficienter, secundum quod materia patitur, de
after sufficiently according as the-matter allows about
veritate primae dubitationis inquisitum est, instat nunc de
the-truth of-the-first doubt inquired it-is it-presses now about
veritate secundae inquirere: hoc est, utrum Romanus populus
the-truth of-the-second to-inquire that is whether the-Roman people
de iure sibi adsciverit Imperii dignitatem. Cuius quidem
by right to-itself adopted of-the-Empire the-dignity of-which indeed
inquisitionis principium est, videre quae sit illa veritas in
inquiry the-principle is to-see what be that truth into

quam rationes inquisitionis praesentis, velut in principium
which the-reasons of-the-inquiry present as into principle
proprium, reducantur.
their-own be-reduced
Sciendum est igitur, quod quemadmodum ars in triplici gradu
to-be-known it-is therefore that just-as art in a-threefold degree
invenitur, in mente scilicet artificis, in organo, et in
is-found in the-mind namely of-the-craftsman in the-instrument and in
materia formata per artem, sic et naturam in triplici gradu
the-matter formed by the-art so also nature in a-threefold degree
possumus intueri. Est enim natura in mente primi motoris,
we-can to-behold is for nature in the-mind of-the-first mover
qui Deus est, deinde in coelo tanquam in organo, quo
who God is then in heaven as in the-instrument which
mediante similitudo bonitatis aeternae in fluitantem materiam
mediating the-likeness of-goodness eternal into fluctuating matter
explicatur. Et quemadmodum perfecto existente artifice,
is-unfolded and just-as perfect existing the-craftsman
atque optime organo se habente, si contingat peccatum
and best the-instrument itself holding if happen a-fault
in forma artis, materiae tantum imputandum est, sic,
in the-form of-art to-the-matter only to-be-imputed it-is so
quum Deus ultimum perfectionis attingat, et instrumentum
since God the-utmost of-perfection attain and the-instrument
eius (quod coelum est) nullum debitae perfectionis patiatur
his which heaven is no of-due perfection suffer
defectum, ut ex iis patet quae de coelo philosophamur,
defect as from those is-plain which about heaven we-philosophize
restat quod quidquid in rebus inferioribus est peccatum,
it-remains that whatever in things lower is a-fault
ex parte materiae subiacentis peccatum sit, et praeter
on the-part of-the-matter underlying a-fault be and beyond

intentionem Dei naturantis et coeli; et quod quidquid
the-intention of-God the-nature-maker and of-heaven and that whatever
est in rebus inferioribus bonum, quum ab ipsa materia
is in things lower good since from the-very matter
esse non possit, sola potentia existente, per prius ab
to-be not it-can only potency existing by prior from
artifice Deo sit, et secundario a coelo, quod organum
the-craftsman God be and secondarily from heaven which the-instrument
est artis divinae, quam Naturam communiter appellant.
is of-art divine which Nature commonly they-call
Ex his iam liquet quod ius quum sit bonum, per prius
from these already it-is-clear that right since it-be good by prior
in mente Dei est: et quum omne quod in mente Dei
in the-mind of-God is and since everything which in the-mind of-God
est, sit Deus (iuxta illud: 'Quod factum est, in ipso vita
is be God according-to that which made is in him life
erat'); et Deus maxime seipsum velit, sequitur quod ius
was and God most himself wills it-follows that right
a Deo, prout in eo est, sit volitum. Et quum voluntas
by God as in him it-is be willed and since the-will
et volitum in Deo sit idem, sequitur ulterius quod divina
and the-willed in God be the-same it-follows further that the-divine
voluntas sit ipsum ius. Et iterum ex hoc sequitur quod ius
will be the-very right and again from this it-follows that right
in rebus nihil est aliud quam similitudo divinae voluntatis.
in things nothing is other than the-likeness of-the-divine will
Unde fit quod quidquid divinae voluntati non consonat,
whence it-happens that whatever to-the-divine will not accords
ipsum ius esse non possit; et quidquid divinae voluntati est
the-very right to-be not can and whatever to-the-divine will is
consonum, ius ipsum sit. Quapropter quaerere utrum de iure
accordant right itself be wherefore to-ask whether by right

factum sit aliquid, licet alia verba sint, nihil tamen aliud
done it-be something although other words they-be nothing yet other
quaeritur quam utrum factum sit secundum quod Deus vult.
is-asked than whether done it-be according as God wills
Hoc ergo supponatur quod illud quod Deus in hominum
this therefore be-supposed that that which God in of-men
societate vult, illud pro vero atque sincero iure habendum sit.
the-society wills that for true and sincere right to-be-held be
Praeterea meminisse oportet quod, ut Philosophus docet
moreover to-remember it-behooves that as the-Philosopher teaches
in primis ad Nicomachum: 'Non similiter in omni materia
in the-first to Nicomachus not alike in every matter
certitudo quaerenda est, sed secundum quod natura rei
certainty to-be-sought is but according as the-nature of-the-thing
subiectae recipit.' Propter quod sufficienter argumenta sub
subject receives on-account-of which sufficiently the-arguments under
invento principio procedent, si ex manifestis signis atque
the-found principle will-proceed if from manifest signs and
sapientum auctoritatibus ius illius populi gloriosi quaeratur.
of-the-wise the-authorities the-right of-that people glorious be-sought
Voluntas quidem Dei per se invisibilis est, sed invisibilia
the-will indeed of-God through itself invisible is but the-invisible-things
Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur. Nam
of-God through those which made are understood are-seen for
occulto existente sigillo, cera impressa de illo quamvis
hidden existing the-seal the-wax impressed of it although
occulto tradit notitiam manifestam: nec mirum, si divina
hidden gives knowledge manifest nor wonder if the-divine
voluntas per signa quaerenda est; quum etiam humana
will through signs to-be-sought is since even the-human
extra volentem non aliter quam per signa cernatur.
outside the-one-willing not otherwise than through signs be-discerned

The noblest people ought to rule over all others, since honor is the reward of virtue and nobility is virtue and ancient wealth. The Roman people was the noblest, as its father Aeneas shows: Virgil calls him the father of the Roman people, as Livy confirms, and praises his justice and prowess. Every part of the world ennobled him: Asia through his nearer forebears and his first wife Creusa, Europe through his ancestor Dardanus and his last wife Lavinia, and Africa through his ancestress Electra, daughter of Atlas, and through Dido. Such a meeting of bloods in one man shows divine predestination.

Dico igitur ad quaestionem quod Romanus populus de iure,
I-say therefore to the-question that the-Roman people by right
non usurpando, Monarchae officium, quod Imperium dicitur,
not by-usurping of-the-Monarch the-office which Empire is-called
sibi super mortales omnes adscivit. Quod quidem primo sic
to-itself over mortals all adopted which indeed first thus
probatur. Nobilissimo populo convenit omnibus aliis praeferri:
is-proved to-the-noblest people it-befits to-all others to-be-preferred
Romanus populus fuit nobilissimus; ergo convenit ei aliis
the-Roman people was the-noblest therefore it-befits it to-others
omnibus praeferri. Adsumpta ratione probatur: nam quum
all to-be-preferred the-major by-reason is-proved for since
honor sit praemium virtutis, et omnis praelatio sit honor,
honor be the-reward of-virtue and every preferment be honor
omnis praelatio virtutis est praemium. Sed constat quod
every preferment of-virtue is the-reward but it-is-certain that
merito virtutis nobilitantur homines: virtutis videlicet propriae,
by-merit of-virtue are-ennobled men of-virtue namely their-own

vel maiorum. Est enim nobilitas virtus et divitiae antiquae,
or of-the-ancestors is for nobility virtue and riches ancient
iuxta Philosophum in Politicis, et iuxta Iuvenalem:
according-to the-Philosopher in the-Politics and according-to Juvenal

'Nobilitas animi sola est atque unica virtus.'
nobility of-mind alone is and only virtue

Quae duae sententiae ad duas nobilitates dantur: propriam
which two sentences to two nobilities are-given one's-own
scilicet, et maiorum.
namely and of-the-ancestors
Ergo nobilibus, ratione causae, praemium praelationis
therefore to-the-noble by-reason of-the-cause the-reward of-preferment
conveniens est. Et quum praemia sint meritis mensuranda,
befitting is and since rewards be by-merits to-be-measured
iuxta illud Evangelicum, 'Eadem mensura qua mensi
according-to that Gospel with-the-same measure with-which measured
fueritis, remetietur vobis': maxime nobili, maxime
you-will-have it-will-be-measured-back to-you to-the-most noble most
praeesse convenit. Subadsumptam vero testimonia veterum
to-preside it-befits the-minor but the-testimonies of-the-ancients
persuadent; nam divinus poeta noster Virgilius, per totam
urge for the-divine poet our Virgil through the-whole
Aeneidem, gloriosum regem Aeneam, patrem Romani populi
Aeneid the-glorious king Aeneas the-father of-the-Roman people
fuisse testatur in memoriam sempiternam. Quod Titus
to-have-been testifies to memory everlasting which Titus
Livius, gestorum Romanorum scriba egregius, in prima
Livy of-deeds Roman the-scribe excellent in the-first
parte sui voluminis, quae a capta Troia sumit exordium,
part of-his volume which from captured Troy takes beginning

contestatur. Qui quidem invictissimus atque piissimus pater,
confirms who indeed most-invincible and most-pious father
quantae nobilitatis vir fuerit, non solum sua considerata
of-how-great nobility a-man was not only his considered
virtute, sed progenitorum suorum atque uxorum, quorum
virtue but of-progenitors his and of-wives of-whom
utrorumque nobilitas hereditario iure in ipsum confluxit,
of-each the-nobility by-hereditary right into him flowed-together
explicare nequirem, sed summa sequar vestigia rerum.
to-unfold I-could-not but the-highest I-shall-follow traces of-the-things
Quantum ergo ad propriam eius nobilitatem, audiendus est
as-far therefore to own his nobility to-be-heard is
Poeta noster, introducens in primo Ilioneum orantem sic:
the-Poet our introducing in the-first Ilioneus pleading thus

'Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
king was Aeneas to-us than-whom more-just another
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.'
neither in-piety was nor in-war greater and in-arms

Audiendus est idem in sexto, qui quum de Miseno
to-be-heard is the-same in the-sixth who when about Misenus
mortuo loqueretur, qui fuerat Hectoris minister in bello, et
dead he-spoke who had-been of-Hector the-minister in war and
post mortem Hectoris, Aeneae ministrum se dederat, dicit
after the-death of-Hector to-Aeneas a-minister himself had-given says
ipsum Misenum 'non inferiora sequutum,' comparationem
himself Misenus not lower-things having-followed a-comparison
faciens de Aenea ad Hectorem, quem prae omnibus Homerus
making of Aeneas to Hector whom before all Homer

glorificat, ut refert Philosophus in iis quae de moribus
glorifies as relates the-Philosopher in those which about manners
fugiendis ad Nicomachum.
to-be-fled to Nicomachus
Quantum vero ad hereditariam, quaelibet pars tripartiti
as-far but to the-hereditary each part of-the-tripartite
orbis tam avis quam coniugibus illum nobilitasse
world both by-grandfathers and by-spouses him to-have-ennobled
invenitur.
is-found
Nam Asia propinquioribus avis, ut Assaraco et aliis qui
for Asia by-nearer grandfathers as Assaracus and others who
Phrygiam regnaverunt, Asiae regionem, unde poeta noster in
Phrygia ruled of-Asia a-region whence poet our in
tertio:
the-third

'Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem
after the-power of-Asia and-of-Priam to-overturn the-race
Immeritam visum Superis.'
undeserving it-seemed-good to-those-above

Europa vero avo antiquissimo, scilicet Dardano. Africa
Europe but by-a-grandfather most-ancient namely Dardanus Africa
quoque avia vetustissima, Electra scilicet, nata magni
also by-a-grandmother most-ancient Electra namely born of-great

nominis regis Atlantis; ut de ambobus testimonium reddit
name of-the-king Atlas as of both testimony renders
Poeta noster in octavo, ubi Aeneas ad Evandrum sic ait:
the-Poet our in the-eighth where Aeneas to Evander thus says

'Dardanus Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
Dardanus of-the-Ilian first father of-the-city and founder
Electra, ut Graii perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
from-Electra as the-Greeks relate the-Atlantid sprung
Advehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
is-carried to-the-Teucrians Electra greatest Atlas
Edidit, aethereos humero qui sustinet orbes.'
begot the-ethereal on-his-shoulder who sustains orbs

Quod autem Dardanus ab Europa originem duxerit, noster
that moreover Dardanus from Europe origin drew our
Vates in tertio cantat, dicens:
Bard in the-third sings saying

'Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
there-is a-place Hesperia the-Greeks by-surname they-call
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae.
a-land ancient powerful in-arms and by-the-richness of-the-soil
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Oenotrian tilled men now the-rumor the-descendants
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
Italy to-have-called of-the-leader from the-name the-race
Hae nobis propriae sedes; hinc Dardanus ortus.'
these to-us proper seats hence Dardanus sprang

Quod vero Atlas de Africa fuerit, mons in illa, suo
that but Atlas from Africa was the-mountain in it by-his
nomine dictus, est testis, quem esse in Africa dicit Orosius,
name called is witness which to-be in Africa says Orosius
in sua mundi descriptione, sic: 'Ultimus autem finis eius
in his of-the-world description thus the-last moreover limit its
est mons Atlas, et Insulae quas Fortunatas vocant.' 'Eius,'
is mount Atlas and the-Islands which Fortunate they-call its
id est Africae, quia de ipsa loquebatur.
that is of-Africa because about it he-was-speaking
Similiter etiam coniugio nobilitatum fuisse reperio. Prima
likewise also by-marriage ennobled to-have-been I-find the-first
namque coniux Creusa, Priami regis filia, de Asia fuit,
for spouse Creusa of-Priam king the-daughter from Asia was
ut superius haberi potest per ea quae dicta sunt. Et quod
as above to-be-had it-can through those which said are and that
fuerit coniux, testimonium perhibet noster Poeta in tertio, ubi
she-was spouse testimony bears our the-Poet in the-third where
Andromache de Ascanio filio Aeneam genitorem interrogat sic:
Andromache about Ascanius the-son Aeneas the-father questions thus

'Quid puer Ascanius? superatne, et vescitur aura,
what the-boy Ascanius does-he-survive and feeds on-the-air
Quem tibi iam Troia peperit fumante Creusa?'
whom to-you already Troy bore smoking Creusa

Secunda, Dido fuit, regina et mater Carthaginensium in
the-second Dido was queen and mother of-the-Carthaginians in
Africa; et quod fuerit coniux, idem noster Poeta vaticinatur
Africa and that she-was spouse the-same our the-Poet prophesies
in quarto; inquit enim de Didone:
in the-fourth he-says for of Dido

'Nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem,
nor now a-stolen Dido meditates love
Coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.'
marriage she-calls-it with-this she-veils name the-fault

Tertia, Lavinia fuit, Albanorum Romanorumque mater, regis
the-third Lavinia was of-the-Albans and-of-the-Romans the-mother of-king
Latini filia pariter et heres; si verum est testimonium
Latinus the-daughter equally and heir if true is the-testimony
nostri Poetae in ultimo, ubi Turnum victum introducit,
of-our Poet in the-last where Turnus conquered he-introduces
orantem suppliciter ad Aeneam sic:
pleading suppliantly to Aeneas thus

'Vicisti; et victum tendere palmas
you-have-conquered and the-conquered to-stretch-out palms
Ausonii videre. Tua est Lavinia coniux.'
the-Ausonians have-seen yours is Lavinia as-wife

Quae ultima uxor de Italia fuit, Europae regione nobilissima.
which last wife from Italy was of-Europe the-region most-noble
His itaque ad evidentiam subadsumptae praenotatis, cui
these therefore for evidence of-the-minor noted-before to-whom
non satis persuasum est, Romani populi patrem, et per
not enough persuaded is of-the-Roman people the-father and by

consequens ipsum populum, nobilissimum fuisse sub coelo?
consequence the-very people the-noblest to-have-been under heaven
Aut quem in illo duplici concursu sanguinis a qualibet
or whom in that double concourse of-blood from every
mundi parte in unum virum, praedestinatio divina latebit?
of-the-world part into one man predestination divine will-escape

IV · HELPED BY MIRACLES

What is helped to its perfection by miracles is willed by God, since, as Thomas shows, God alone works miracles; the Roman Empire was so helped, so it was by right. Dante cites them: the shield that fell from heaven in Numa's time, recorded by Livy and Lucan; the goose that warned of the Gauls on the Capitol, sung by Virgil; the hailstorm that held back Hannibal from the city; and Cloelia's escape across the Tiber. It befitted the invisible God to show visible signs.

Illud quoque, quod ad sui perfectionem miraculorum
that also which for its perfection of-miracles
suffragio iuvatur, est a Deo volitum, et per consequens de
by-the-support is-helped is by God willed and by consequence by
iure fit. Et quod ista sint vera, patet, quia, sicut dicit
right comes-to-be and that these be true is-plain because as says
Thomas in tertio suo contra Gentiles: 'Miraculum est, quod
Thomas in the-third his against the-Gentiles a-miracle is that-which
praeter ordinem in rebus communiter institutum, divinitus
beside the-order in things commonly instituted divinely
fit.' Unde ipse probat, soli Deo competere, miracula operari:
is-done whence he proves alone to-God to-belong miracles to-work
quod auctoritate Moysis roboratur, ubi quum ventum est
which by-the-authority of-Moses is-strengthened where when come it-was
ad sciniphes, Magi Pharaonis, naturalibus principiis artificiose
to the-gnats the-Magi of-Pharaoh natural principles artfully

utentes, et ibi deficientes, dixerunt: 'Digitus Dei est hic.'
using and there failing said the-finger of-God is here
Si ergo miraculum est immediata operatio primi, absque
if therefore a-miracle is the-immediate operation of-the-first without
cooperatione secundorum agentium, ut ipse Thomas in
the-cooperation of-second agents as himself Thomas in
praeallegato libro probat sufficienter, quum in favorem alicuius
the-aforecited book proves sufficiently when in favor of-something
portenditur, nefas est dicere illud cui sic favetur non esse
it-is-displayed wicked it-is to-say that to-which thus favor-is-shown not to-be
a Deo, tamquam beneplacitum sibi provisum. Quare suum
by God as pleasing to-him provided wherefore its
contradictorium concedere sanctum est: Romanum Imperium
contradictory to-concede holy it-is the-Roman Empire
ad sui perfectionem miraculorum suffragio est adiutum;
for its perfection of-miracles by-the-support is helped
ergo a Deo volitum, et per consequens de iure fuit et est.
therefore by God willed and by consequence by right it-was and is
Quod autem, pro Romano Imperio perficiendo, miracula Deus
that moreover for the-Roman Empire to-be-perfected miracles God
portenderit, illustrium auctorum testimoniis comprobatur.
displayed of-illustrious authors by-the-testimonies is-proved
Nam sub Numa Pompilio, secundo Romanorum rege, ritu
for under Numa Pompilius second of-the-Romans king in-the-rite
Gentilium sacrificante, ancile de coelo in urbem Deo electam
of-the-Gentiles sacrificing a-shield from heaven into the-city by-God chosen
delapsum fuisse, Livius in prima parte testatur. Cuius
fallen to-have-been Livy in the-first part testifies of-which

miraculi Lucanus in nono Pharsaliae meminit, incredibilem
miracle Lucan in the-ninth of-the-Pharsalia makes-mention the-incredible
vim austri quam Libya patitur ibi describens; ait enim:
force of-the-south-wind which Libya suffers there describing he-says for

'Sic illa profecto
thus those surely
Sacrifico cecidere Numae, quae lecta iuventus
to-sacrificing fell Numa which chosen youth
Patricia cervice movet; spoliaverat Auster,
patrician on-the-neck moves had-stripped the-South-wind
Aut Boreas populos ancilia nostra ferentes.'
or the-North-wind the-peoples shields our bearing

Quumque Galli, reliqua urbe iam capta, noctis tenebris
and-when the-Gauls the-rest of-the-city already captured of-the-night the-darkness
confisi, Capitolium furtim subirent, quod solum restabat ad
trusting the-Capitol stealthily were-climbing which alone remained before
ultimum interitum Romani nominis, anserem, ibi non ante
the-last ruin of-the-Roman name a-goose there not before
visum, cecinisse Gallos adesse, atque custodes ad defensandum
seen to-have-cried the-Gauls to-be-present and the-guards for defending
Capitolium excitasse, Livius et multi scriptores illustres
the-Capitol to-have-roused Livy and many writers illustrious

concorditer contestantur. Cuius rei memor fuit Poeta noster,
harmoniously attest of-which thing mindful was the-Poet our
quum clypeum Aeneae describeret in octavo; canit enim sic:
when the-shield of-Aeneas he-described in the-eighth he-sings for thus

'In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
on the-top the-guardian of-the-Tarpeian Manlius citadel
Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat,
stood before the-temple and the-Capitol high held
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
and-with-Romulean fresh bristled the-palace thatch
Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser
and here in-gilded flying the-silver goose
Porticibus, Gallos in limine adesse canebat.'
in-the-porticoes the-Gauls on the-threshold to-be-present sang

At quum Romana nobilitas premente Hannibale sic caderet,
but when the-Roman nobility pressing Hannibal so fell
ut ad finalem Romanae rei deletionem non restaret nisi
that to the-final of-the-Roman state destruction not remained except
Poenorum insultus ad urbem, subita et intolerabili
of-the-Carthaginians an-onslaught upon the-city sudden and intolerable
grandine proturbante, victores victoriam sequi non potuisse,
hail driving-back the-victors the-victory to-follow not to-have-been-able
Livius in bello Punico inter alia gesta conscribit.
Livy in the-war Punic among other deeds writes
Nonne transitus Cloeliae mirabilis fuit, quum mulier, quumque
surely the-crossing of-Cloelia wonderful was when a-woman and-when
captiva in obsidione Porsenae, abruptis vinculis, miro
captive in the-siege of-Porsena broken the-bonds by-wonderful

Dei auxilio adiuta, transnatavit Tiberim, sicut omnes fere
of-God help aided swam-across the-Tiber as all almost
scribae Romanae rei ad gloriam ipsius commemorant?
the-scribes of-the-Roman state to the-glory of-it record
Sic Illum prorsus operari decebat, qui cuncta sub ordinis
thus Him wholly to-work it-befitted who all-things under of-order
pulchritudine ab aeterno providit; ut qui visibilis erat
the-beauty from eternity foresaw that who visible was
miracula pro invisibilibus ostensurus, Idem invisibilis pro
miracles for the-invisible about-to-show the-Same invisible for
visibilibus illa ostenderet.
the-visible them should-show

V · SEEKING THE COMMON GOOD

Whoever seeks the good of the commonwealth seeks the end of right, since right is a proportion between man and man that preserves society, and laws that do not serve the common good are laws in name only. The Roman people, subjecting the world, sought that good, setting aside its own advantage for the peace and freedom of mankind. Cicero witnesses for the Senate, and its men confirm it: Cincinnatus, called from the plow; Fabricius, refusing gold; Camillus; Brutus, who condemned his own sons; Mucius; the Decii; and Cato, who chose death over lost liberty.

Quicunque praeterea bonum Reipublicae intendit, finem
whoever moreover the-good of-the-Commonwealth intends the-end
iuris intendit. Quodque ita sequatur, sic ostenditur: Ius est
of-right intends and-that so it-follow thus is-shown right is
realis et personalis hominis ad hominem proportio, quae
a-real and personal of-man to man proportion which
servata hominum servat societatem, et corrupta corrumpit.
preserved of-men preserves the-society and corrupted corrupts

Nam illa Digestorum descriptio, non dicit quod quid est iuris,
for that of-the-Digest description not says the what it-is of-right
sed describit illud per notitiam utendi illo. Si ergo definitio
but describes it through the-knowledge of-using it if therefore definition
ista bene quid est et quare comprehendit, et cuiuslibet
this well what it-is and why comprehends and of-every
societatis finis est commune sociorum bonum; necesse est
society the-end is the-common of-the-members good necessary it-is
finem cuiusque iuris bonum commune esse, et impossibile est
the-end of-every right the-good common to-be and impossible it-is
ius esse, bonum commune non intendens. Propter quod bene
right to-be the-good common not intending on-account-of which well
Tullius in prima Rhetorica: 'Semper,' inquit, 'ad utilitatem
Tully in the-first Rhetoric always he-says to the-utility
Reipublicae leges interpretandae sunt.' Quod si ad utilitatem
of-the-Commonwealth the-laws to-be-interpreted are but if to the-utility
eorum qui sunt sub lege leges directae non sunt, leges nomine
of-those who are under the-law laws directed not are laws in-name
solo sunt, re autem leges esse non possunt. Leges enim
only they-are in-reality but laws to-be not they-can laws for
oportet homines devincire ad invicem, propter communem
it-behooves men to-bind to each-other for-the-sake-of common
utilitatem. Propter quod bene Seneca de lege in libro de
utility on-account-of which well Seneca about law in the-book on
quatuor virtutibus, 'Legem vinculum,' dicit, 'humanae societatis.'
the-four virtues law the-bond calls of-human society
Patet igitur quod quicumque bonum Reipublicae intendit,
is-plain therefore that whoever the-good of-the-Commonwealth intends
finem iuris intendit. Si ergo Romani bonum Reipublicae
the-end of-right intends if therefore the-Romans the-good of-the-Commonwealth
intenderunt, verum erit dicere, finem iuris intendisse.
intended true it-will-be to-say the-end of-right to-have-intended

Quod autem Romanus populus bonum praefatum intenderit,
that moreover the-Roman people the-good aforesaid intended
subiciendo sibi Orbem terrarum, gesta sua declarant. In
by-subjecting to-itself the-orb of-the-lands deeds its declare in
quibus, omni cupiditate submota, quae rei publicae
which all cupidity removed which to-the-weal public
semper adversa est, et universali pace cum libertate dilecta,
always adverse is and universal peace with liberty loved
populus ille sanctus, pius et gloriosus, propria commoda
the-people that holy pious and glorious its-own advantages
neglexisse videtur, ut publica pro salute humani
to-have-neglected seems that public-interests for the-safety of-the-human
generis procuraret. Unde recte illud scriptum est: Romanum
race it-might-provide whence rightly that written it-is the-Roman
Imperium de fonte nascitur pietatis.
Empire from the-fountain is-born of-piety
Sed quia de intentione omnium ex electione agentium
but because about the-intention of-all by choice acting
nihil manifestum est extra intendentem nisi per signa
nothing manifest is outside the-one-intending except through signs
exteriora, et sermones inquirendi sunt secundum subiectam
external and speeches to-be-inquired are according-to the-subject
materiam, ut iam dictum est; satis in hoc loco habebimus,
matter as already said it-is enough in this place we-shall-have
si de intentione populi Romani signa indubitabilia tam
if of the-intention of-the-people Roman signs indubitable as-well
in Collegiis, quam in singularibus personis ostendantur.
in the-Colleges as in individual persons be-shown
De Collegiis quidem, quibus homines ad Rempublicam
of the-Colleges indeed by-which men to the-Commonwealth
quodammodo religati esse videntur, sufficit illa sola Ciceronis
in-a-way bound to-be seem suffices that alone of-Cicero

auctoritas in secundis Officiis: 'Quamdiu,' inquit, 'Imperium
authority in the-second Offices as-long-as he-says the-Empire
Reipublicae beneficiis tenebatur, non iniuriis, bella aut
of-the-Commonwealth by-benefits was-held not by-injuries wars either
pro sociis aut de Imperio gerebantur, exitus erant
for allies or about the-Empire were-waged the-outcomes were
bellorum aut mites, aut necessarii; Regum, populorum, et
of-wars either mild or necessary of-Kings of-peoples and
nationum portus erat et refugium Senatus. Nostri autem
of-nations the-harbor was and refuge the-Senate our moreover
Magistratus Imperatoresque in ea re maxime laudem capere
Magistrates and-Generals in that thing most praise to-take
studuerunt, si provincias, si socios aequitate et fide
strove if the-provinces if the-allies with-equity and good-faith
defendissent; itaque illud patrocinium orbis terrarum potius
they-had-defended so that the-patronage of-the-orb of-the-lands rather
quam Imperium poterat nominari.' Haec Cicero.
than Empire could to-be-named these-things Cicero
De personis autem singularibus compendiose progrediar.
of persons moreover individual concisely I-shall-proceed
Numquid non bonum commune intendisse dicendi sunt,
surely not the-good common to-have-intended to-be-called are
qui sudore, qui paupertate, qui exilio, qui filiorum orbatione,
who by-sweat who by-poverty who by-exile who of-sons by-the-loss
qui amissione membrorum, qui denique animarum oblatione
who by-the-loss of-limbs who finally of-their-lives by-the-offering
bonum publicum exaugere conati sunt?
the-good public to-increase tried have
Nonne Cincinnatus ille sanctum nobis reliquit exemplum,
surely Cincinnatus that holy to-us left an-example
libere deponendi dignitatem in termino, quum assumptus
freely of-laying-down dignity at the-end when taken

ab aratro Dictator factus est, ut Livius refert? Et post
from the-plow Dictator made he-was as Livy relates and after
victoriam, post triumphum, sceptro imperatorio restituto
the-victory after the-triumph the-scepter imperial having-been-restored
Consulibus, sudaturus post boves ad stivam libere
to-the-Consuls about-to-sweat after the-oxen to the-plow-handle freely
reversus est. Quippe in eius laudem Cicero contra Epicurum,
returned he-has indeed in his praise Cicero against Epicurus
in iis quae de Fine Bonorum disceptans, huius beneficii
in those which on the-End of-Goods disputing of-this benefit
memor fuit: 'Itaque,' inquit, 'et maiores nostri ab aratro
mindful was therefore he-says also ancestors our from the-plow
duxerunt Cincinnatum illum, ut Dictator esset.'
led Cincinnatus that that Dictator he-might-be
Nonne Fabricius altum nobis dedit exemplum avaritiae
surely Fabricius a-lofty to-us gave example avarice
resistendi, quum pauper exsistens, pro fide qua
of-resisting when poor being for the-faith by-which
Reipublicae tenebatur, auri grande pondus oblatum
to-the-Commonwealth he-was-held of-gold a-great weight offered
derisit, ac derisum, verba sibi convenientia fundens,
he-mocked and mocked words to-himself befitting pouring-forth
despexit et refutavit? Huius etiam memoriam confirmavit
despised and refuted of-this-man also the-memory confirmed
Poeta noster in sexto, cum caneret:
the-Poet our in the-sixth when he-sang

'parvoque potentem
and-with-little powerful
Fabricium.'
Fabricius

Numquid non praeferendi leges propriis commodis, memorabile
surely not of-preferring the-laws to-his-own advantages a-memorable
nobis exemplar Camillus fuit? qui, secundum Livium, damnatus
to-us exemplar Camillus was who according-to Livy condemned
exilio, postquam patriam liberavit obsessam, et spolia
to-exile after the-fatherland he-freed besieged and the-spoils
etiam Romana Romae restituit, universo populo reclamante,
also Roman to-Rome restored the-whole people protesting
ab urbe sancta discessit, nec ante reversus est quam sibi
from the-city holy departed nor before returned he-has than for-him
repatriandi licentia de auctoritate Senatus allata est. Et
of-returning-home the-license by the-authority of-the-Senate brought was and
hunc magnanimum Poeta commendat in sexto, quum dicit:
this great-souled-one the-Poet commends in the-sixth when he-says

'referentem signa Camillum.'
bringing-back the-standards Camillus

Nonne filios, an non omnes alios, postponendos patriae
surely sons or not all others to-be-placed-after of-the-fatherland
libertati, Brutus ille primus edocuit? quem Livius dicit,
to-liberty Brutus that first taught whom Livy says
Consulem existentem, proprios filios cum hostibus conspirantes
Consul being his-own sons with the-enemies conspiring

morti dedisse. Cuius gloria renovatur in sexto Poetae
to-death to-have-given whose glory is-renewed in the-sixth of-the-Poet
nostri de ipso canentis:
our about him singing

'Natosque pater nova bella moventes
and-the-sons the-father new wars stirring
Ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit.'
to punishment beautiful for liberty will-summon

Quid non audendum pro patria, nobis Mucius persuasit,
what not to-be-dared for the-fatherland to-us Mucius persuaded
quum incautum Porsenam invasit, quum deinde manum
when the-unwary Porsena he-attacked when then the-hand
errantem, non alio vultu quam si hostem cruciari
erring not with-another face than if an-enemy to-be-tortured
videret, suam adhuc, cremari adspiciebat? Quod etiam
he-saw his still to-be-burned he-beheld which also
Livius admiratur testificando.
Livy admires by-testifying
Accedunt nunc illae sacratissimae victimae Deciorum, qui
there-come now those most-sacred victims of-the-Decii who
pro salute publica devotas animas posuerunt: ut Livius,
for the-safety public devoted lives laid-down as Livy
non quantum est dignum, sed quantum potuit, glorificando
not as-much-as it-is worthy but as-much-as he-could by-glorifying
renarrat. Accedit et illud inenarrabile sacrificium severissimi
retells there-comes also that inexpressible sacrifice of-the-most-severe
verae libertatis auctoris Marci Catonis: quorum alteri pro
of-true liberty champion Marcus Cato of-whom the-ones for
salute patriae mortis tenebras non horruerunt; alter,
the-safety of-the-fatherland of-death the-darkness not dreaded the-other

ut mundo libertatis amores accenderet, quanti libertas esset
that in-the-world of-liberty the-loves he-might-kindle how-dear liberty was
ostendit, dum e vita liber decedere maluit quam sine
showed while from life free to-depart he-preferred than without
libertate manere in illa. Horum omnium nomen egregium
liberty to-remain in it of-these all the-name excellent
voce Tullii recalescit, in iis quae de Fine Bonorum.
in-the-voice of-Tully grows-warm-again in those which on the-End of-Goods
Inquit enim Tullius hoc de Deciis: 'Publius Decius, princeps
says for Tully this about the-Decii Publius Decius the-first
in ea familia, Consul, quum se devoveret et equo admisso
in that family Consul when himself he-devoted and horse spurred
in mediam aciem Latinorum irruebat, aliquid de voluptatibus
into the-middle line of-the-Latins was-rushing something about pleasures
suis cogitabat, ubi eas caperet, aut quando? quum sciret
his was-he-thinking where them he-might-take or when since he-knew
confestim esse moriendum, eamque mortem ardentiore studio
at-once to-be to-be-died and-that death with-more-ardent zeal
peteret quam Epicurus voluptatem petendam putavit? Quod
he-sought than Epicurus pleasure to-be-sought thought which
quidem eius factum, nisi esset iure laudatum, non esset
indeed his deed unless it-had-been rightly praised not would-have
imitatus quarto Consulatu suo filius: neque porro ex eo
imitated in-the-fourth Consulship his the-son nor further from him
natus, cum Pyrrho bellum gerens, Consul eo cecidisset
born with Pyrrhus war waging Consul thus would-have-fallen
in praelio, seque e continenti genere tertiam victimam
in battle and-himself from unbroken line the-third victim
Reipublicae tribuisset.' In iis vero quae de Officiis, de
to-the-Commonwealth would-have-given in those but which on Offices about
Catone dicebat: 'Non enim alia in causa Marcus Cato fuit, alia
Cato he-was-saying not for other in case Marcus Cato was other

caeteri qui se in Africa Caesari tradiderunt; atque caeteris
the-rest who themselves in Africa to-Caesar surrendered and to-the-rest
forsan vitio datum esset, si se interemissent,
perhaps as-a-fault given it-would-have-been if themselves they-had-killed
propterea quod levior eorum vita, et mores fuerunt
on-account-of-this that lighter their life and manners were
faciliores. Catoni vero quum incredibilem natura tribuisset
easier to-Cato but since incredible nature had-given
gravitatem, eamque perpetua constantia roborasset, semperque
gravity and-it with-perpetual constancy had-strengthened and-always
in proposito susceptoque consilio permansisset, moriendum
in purpose and-undertaken counsel had-remained to-be-died
ei potius quam tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit.'
for-him rather than of-the-tyrant the-face to-be-beheld it-was

VI · WHO SEEKS THE END OF RIGHT ACTS BY RIGHT

Whoever seeks the end of right proceeds by right, and the Roman people sought it, so it acted by right. The premise holds because every end has its own thing, and right's end cannot be reached without right, as health without soundness. Aristotle's remark that a true conclusion can follow from a false middle term does not tell against it: a true conclusion follows from false premises only by accident, and a thief who gives stolen goods to the poor is not giving alms.

Declarata igitur duo sunt; quorum unum est, quod
declared therefore two-things are of-which one is that
quicumque bonum Reipublicae intendit, finem iuris intendit:
whoever the-good of-the-Commonwealth intends the-end of-right intends
aliud est, quod Romanus populus subiciendo sibi orbem,
the-other is that the-Roman people by-subjecting to-itself the-world
bonum publicum intendit. Nunc arguatur ad propositum sic:
the-good public intends now let-it-be-argued to the-purpose thus

Quicunque finem iuris intendit, cum iure graditur: Romanus
whoever the-end of-right intends with right walks the-Roman
populus subiciendo sibi orbem, finem iuris intendit, ut
people by-subjecting to-itself the-world the-end of-right intended as
manifeste per superiora in isto capitulo est probatum; ergo
manifestly through the-above in this chapter it-is proved therefore
Romanus populus subiciendo sibi orbem, cum iure hoc fecit;
the-Roman people by-subjecting to-itself the-world with right this did
et per consequens de iure sibi adscivit Imperii dignitatem.
and by consequence by right to-itself adopted of-the-Empire the-dignity
Quae conclusio, ut ex omnibus manifestis illata sit,
which conclusion that from all manifest-things inferred it-be
manifestandum est hoc quod dicitur: quod quicumque finem
to-be-made-manifest is this which is-said that whoever the-end
iuris intendit, cum iure graditur. Ad cuius evidentiam
of-right intends with right walks for whose evidence
advertendum quod quaelibet res est propter aliquem finem,
to-be-noted that each thing is for-the-sake-of some end
aliter esset otiosa; quod esse non potest, ut superius
otherwise it-would-be idle which to-be not can as above
dicebatur. Et quemadmodum omnis res est ad proprium
was-said and just-as every thing is for its-own
finem, sic omnis finis propriam habet rem cuius est finis.
end so every end its-own has thing of-which it-is the-end
Unde impossibile est aliqua duo per se loquendo, in
whence impossible it-is any two through itself speaking in
quantum duo, finem eundem intendere; sequeretur enim idem
as-much-as two the-end same to-intend it-would-follow for the-same
inconveniens, quod alterum scilicet esset frustra. Quum
unfitting-thing that the-other namely would-be in-vain since
ergo iuris finis quidam sit, ut iam declaratum est; necesse
therefore of-right an-end certain be as already declared it-is necessary

est, fine illo posito, ius poni, cum sit proprius et per
it-is end that posited right to-be-posited since it-be proper and through
se iuris effectus. Et quum in omni consequentia impossibile
itself of-right the-effect and since in every consequence impossible
sit habere antecedens absque consequente, ut hominem sine
it-be to-have the-antecedent without the-consequent as man without
animali, sicut patet construendo et destruendo; impossibile
animal as is-plain by-constructing and by-destroying impossible
est iuris finem quaerere sine iure, quum quaelibet res ad
it-is of-right the-end to-seek without right since each thing to
proprium finem se habeat velut consequens ad antecedens:
its-own end itself hold as consequent to antecedent
nam impossibile est bonam valetudinem membrorum attingere
for impossible it-is good health of-the-limbs to-attain
sine sanitate. Propter quod evidentissime patet quod finem
without soundness on-account-of which most-evidently is-plain that the-end
iuris intendentem oportet cum iure intendere; nec valet
of-right the-one-intending it-behooves with right to-intend nor avails
instantia quae de verbis Philosophi eubuliam pertractantis
the-objection which from the-words of-the-Philosopher eubulia treating
elici solet. Dicit enim Philosophus: 'Sed est et hoc
to-be-drawn is-wont says for the-Philosopher but it-is also this
falso syllogismo, sortiri quod quidem oportet sortiri, per
by-false syllogism to-obtain which indeed it-behooves to-obtain through
quod autem non, sed falsum medium terminum esse.' Nam
which but not but false the-middle term to-be for
si ex falsis verum quodammodo concluditur, hoc est per
if from false-things a-true in-a-way is-concluded this is through
accidens, in quantum illud verum importatur per voces
accident in as-much-as that true is-carried-in through the-words
illationis; per se enim verum nunquam sequitur ex falsis,
of-the-inference through itself for the-true never follows from false-things

signa tamen veri bene sequuntur ex signis quae sunt signa
signs yet of-the-true well follow from signs which are signs
falsi. Sic et in operabilibus. Nam licet fur de furto
of-the-false so also in things-operable for although a-thief from theft
subveniat pauperi, non tamen eleemosyna dicenda est, sed
help a-poor-man not yet alms to-be-called it-is but
est actio quaedam, quae si de propria substantia fieret,
it-is an-action certain which if from his-own substance it-were-done
eleemosynae formam haberet. Similiter est de fine iuris:
of-alms the-form it-would-have likewise it-is about the-end of-right
quia si aliquid, ut finis ipsius iuris, absque iure obtineretur,
because if something as the-end of-the-very right without right were-obtained
ita esset finis iuris, hoc est commune bonum, sicut
so it-would-be the-end of-right that is the-common good as
exhibitio facta de male acquisito est eleemosyna: et sic, quum
a-gift made from badly acquired-goods is alms and thus since
in propositione dicatur de fine iuris existente, non tantum
in the-proposition it-be-said about the-end of-right existing not merely
apparente, instantia nulla est. Patet igitur quod quaerebatur.
apparent the-objection none is is-plain therefore what was-sought

What nature has ordained is kept by right, since nature, the work of divine intelligence, provides as well as man and fits things to their powers. To reach its end in mankind, nature must produce many men suited to different tasks, some peoples born to rule and others to obey. So nature must have prepared a place and a people for universal rule, and that was Rome, as Anchises tells Aeneas in Virgil: "Remember, Roman, to rule the peoples with your power," and as Jupiter foretells of Aeneas ruling Italy.

Et illud quod natura ordinavit, de iure servatur: natura
and that which nature has-ordained by right is-preserved nature
enim in providendo non deficit ab hominis providentia, quia
for in providing not falls-short of man's providence because
si deficeret, effectus superaret causam in bonitate, quod est
if it-fell-short the-effect would-surpass the-cause in goodness which is
impossibile. Sed nos videmus quod in collegiis instituendis,
impossible but we see that in colleges to-be-instituted
non solum ordo collegarum ad invicem consideratur ab
not only the-order of-the-colleagues to each-other is-considered by
instituente, sed etiam facultas ad officia exercenda, quod est
the-one-instituting but also the-faculty for offices to-be-exercised which is
considerare terminum iuris in collegio, vel in ordine; non enim
to-consider the-boundary of-right in a-college or in an-order not for
ius extenditur ultra posse. Ergo ab hac providentia natura
right is-extended beyond to-be-able therefore from this providence nature
non deficit in suis ordinatis. Propter quod patet, quod natura
not falls-short in its ordered-things on-account-of which is-plain that nature
ordinat res cum respectu suarum facultatum; qui respectus
orders things with regard of-their faculties which regard
est fundamentum iuris in rebus a natura positum. Ex quo
is the-foundation of-right in things by nature laid from which

sequitur quod ordo naturalis in rebus absque iure servari
it-follows that the-order natural in things without right to-be-preserved
non possit, quum inseparabiliter iuris fundamentum ordini
not can since inseparably of-right the-foundation to-order
sit annexum. Necesse est igitur ordinem de iure servari.
be annexed necessary it-is therefore the-order by right to-be-preserved
Romanus populus ad imperandum ordinatus fuit a natura, et
the-Roman people for ruling ordained was by nature and
hoc sic declaratur: Sicut ille deficeret ab artis perfectione, qui
this thus is-declared as he would-fall-short of art's perfection who
finalem formam tantum intenderet, media vero per quae ad
the-final form only would-intend the-means but through which to
formam pertingeret, non curaret; sic natura, si solam formam
the-form he-would-reach not would-care so nature if the-sole form
universalem divinae similitudinis in universo intenderet, media
universal of-divine likeness in the-universe it-intended the-means
autem negligeret. Sed natura in nulla perfectione deficit,
but neglected but nature in no perfection falls-short
quum sit opus divinae intelligentiae; ergo media omnia
since it-be the-work of-divine intelligence therefore the-means all
intendit, per quae ad ultimum suae intentionis devenitur.
it-intends through which to the-last of-its intention one-arrives
Quum ergo finis humani generis sit, et sit aliquod
since therefore an-end of-the-human race be and be some
medium necessarium ad finem naturae universalem; necesse est
means necessary to the-end of-nature universal necessary it-is
naturam ipsum intendere. Propter quod bene Philosophus,
nature it to-intend on-account-of which well the-Philosopher
naturam semper agere propter finem, in secundo de
nature always to-act for-the-sake-of an-end in the-second on
Naturali auditu probat. Et quia ad hunc finem natura
Natural hearing proves and because to this end nature

pertingere non potest per unum hominem, quum multae
to-reach not can through one man since many
sint operationes necessariae ad ipsum, quae multitudinem
be operations necessary to it which a-multitude
requirunt in operantibus; necesse est naturam producere
require in the-operators necessary it-is nature to-produce
hominum multitudinem ad diversas operationes ordinatorum,
of-men a-multitude for diverse operations ordered
ad quod multum conferunt, praeter superiorem influentiam,
to which much contribute besides the-higher influence
locorum inferiorum virtutes et proprietates. Propter quod
of-places lower the-powers and properties on-account-of which
videmus, quod quidam non solum singulares homines, quin
we-see that some not only individual men but
etiam populi, apti nati sunt ad principari, quidam alii ad
also peoples apt born are for ruling some others for
subici atque ministrare: ut Philosophus adstruit in iis
being-subject and serving as the-Philosopher establishes in those
quae de Politicis; et talibus, ut ipse dicit, non solum regi
which on Politics and to-such as he says not only to-be-ruled
est expediens, sed etiam iustum, etiamsi ad hoc cogantur.
is expedient but also just even-if to this they-be-forced
Quae si ita se habent, non dubium est quin natura
which if so themselves they-hold not doubtful it-is but-that nature
locum et gentem disposuerit in mundo ad universaliter
a-place and a-people disposed in the-world for universally
principandum; aliter sibi defecisset, quod est impossibile.
ruling otherwise to-itself it-would-have-failed which is impossible
Quis autem fuerit locus, et quae gens, per dicta
which moreover was the-place and which people through the-things-said
superius et per dicenda inferius satis est manifestum
above and through the-things-to-be-said below enough it-is manifest

quod fuerit Roma, et cives eius, sive populus. Quod etiam
that it-was Rome and citizens its or people which also
Poeta noster valde subtiliter in sexto tetigit, introducens
the-Poet our very subtly in the-sixth touched introducing
Anchisen praemonentem Aeneam, Romanorum patrem, sic:
Anchises forewarning Aeneas of-the-Romans father thus

'Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
will-hammer others breathing more-softly bronzes
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
I-believe indeed living they-will-draw from marble faces
Orabunt causas melius, coelique meatus
will-plead causes better and-of-heaven the-courses
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
they-will-describe with-the-rod and rising stars will-tell
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
you to-rule by-command the-peoples O-Roman remember
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacique imponere morem,
these to-you will-be arts and-on-peace to-impose custom
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'
to-spare the-subjected and to-war-down the-proud

Dispositionem vero loci subtiliter tangit in quarto, quum
the-disposition but of-the-place subtly he-touches in the-fourth when
introducit Iovem ad Mercurium de Aenea loquentem isto
he-introduces Jove to Mercury about Aeneas speaking in-this
modo:
way

'Non illum nobis genitrix pulcherrima talem
not him to-us mother most-beautiful such
Promisit, Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis:
promised and-of-the-Greeks therefore twice rescues from-arms
Sed fore qui gravidam imperiis, belloque frementem
but to-be one-who pregnant with-empires and-with-war roaring
Italiam regeret.'
Italy should-rule

Propterea satis persuasum est quod Romanus populus
on-account-of-this enough persuaded it-is that the-Roman people
a natura ordinatus fuit ad imperandum. Ergo Romanus
by nature ordained was for ruling therefore the-Roman
populus subiciendo sibi orbem, de iure ad imperium venit.
people by-subjecting to-itself the-world by right to empire came

God's judgment is sometimes plain to men, through reason, as that a man should give himself for his country, or through faith, as that no one is saved without it; sometimes hidden, known only by special grace, through revelation, either unprompted or won by prayer, or through a disputation, by lot, as when Matthias was chosen, or by contest: either the clash of two fighters in a duel, as Hercules and Antaeus, or the race of many toward a goal, as Atalanta and Hippomenes; in a race, unlike a duel, no one may trip his rival.

Ad bene quoque venandum veritatem quaesiti, scire
for well also hunting the-truth of-the-thing-sought to-know
oportet quod divinum iudicium in rebus quandoque hominibus
it-behooves that divine judgment in things sometimes to-men
est manifestum, quandoque occultum.
is manifest sometimes hidden
Et manifestum potest esse dupliciter, ratione scilicet et
and manifest it-can to-be in-two-ways by-reason namely and
fide.
by-faith
Nam quaedam iudicia Dei sunt ad quae humana ratio propriis
for certain judgments of-God are to which human reason on-its-own
pedibus pertingere potest, sicut ad hoc: Quod homo pro salute
feet to-reach can as to this that man for the-safety
patriae seipsum exponat. Nam si pars debet se exponere
of-the-fatherland himself expose for if the-part ought itself to-expose
pro salute totius, quum homo sit pars quaedam civitatis, ut
for the-safety of-the-whole since man be a-part certain of-the-city as
per Philosophum patet in suis Politicis; homo pro patria
through the-Philosopher is-plain in his Politics man for the-fatherland
debet exponere seipsum, tamquam minus bonum pro meliori.
ought to-expose himself as a-lesser good for the-better

Unde Philosophus ad Nicomachum: 'Amabile quidem enim
whence the-Philosopher to Nicomachus lovable indeed for
et uni soli; melius et divinius vero genti et civitati.' Et
and to-one alone better and more-divine but to-a-people and to-a-city and
hoc iudicium Dei est; aliter humana ratio in sua rectitudine
this judgment of-God is otherwise human reason in its rectitude
non sequeretur naturae intentionem, quod est impossibile.
not would-follow nature's intention which is impossible
Quaedam etiam iudicia Dei sunt, ad quae, etsi humana
certain also judgments of-God are to which even-if human
ratio ex propriis pertingere nequit, elevatur tamen ad illa
reason from its-own to-reach cannot it-is-raised yet to them
cum adiutorio fidei eorum quae in sacris literis nobis dicta
with the-help of-faith of-those-things which in sacred letters to-us said
sunt; sicut ad hoc: Quod nemo, quantumcumque moralibus et
are as to this that no-one however-much in-moral and
intellectualibus virtutibus, et secundum habitum et secundum
intellectual virtues and according-to habit and according-to
operationem perfectus, absque fide salvari potest, dato quod
operation perfect without faith to-be-saved can granted that
nunquam aliquid de Christo audiverit; nam hoc ratio humana
never anything about Christ he-heard for this reason human
per se iustum intueri non potest, fide tamen adiuta potest.
through itself just to-behold not can by-faith yet helped it-can
Scriptum est enim ad Hebraeos: 'Impossibile est sine fide
written it-is for to the-Hebrews impossible it-is without faith
placere Deo.' Et in Levitico: 'Homo quilibet de domo Israel,
to-please God and in Leviticus man any of the-house of-Israel
qui occiderit bovem, aut ovem, aut capram in castris vel extra
who will-have-killed an-ox or a-sheep or a-goat in the-camp or outside
castra, et non obtulerit ad ostium tabernaculi oblationem
the-camp and not will-have-offered at the-door of-the-tabernacle an-offering

Domino, sanguinis reus erit.' Ostium tabernaculi Christum
to-the-Lord of-blood guilty will-be the-door of-the-tabernacle Christ
figurat, qui est ostium conclavis aeterni, ut ex Evangelio
figures who is the-door of-the-chamber eternal as from the-Gospel
elici potest: occisio animalium operationes humanas.
to-be-drawn can the-killing of-animals operations human
Occultum vero est iudicium Dei, ad quod humana ratio, nec
hidden but is the-judgment of-God to which human reason neither
lege naturae, nec lege scripturae, sed de gratia speciali
by-the-law of-nature nor by-the-law of-scripture but by grace special
quandoque pertingit, quod fit pluribus modis: quandoque
sometimes reaches which happens in-several ways sometimes
simplici revelatione, quandoque revelatione disceptatione quadam
by-simple revelation sometimes by-revelation a-disputation certain
mediante. Simplici revelatione dupliciter: aut sponte Dei, aut
mediating by-simple revelation in-two-ways either by-the-will of-God or
oratione impetrante. Sponte Dei dupliciter: aut expresse, aut
by-prayer obtaining by-the-will of-God in-two-ways either expressly or
per signum. Expresse, sicut revelatum fuit iudicium Samueli
through a-sign expressly as revealed was the-judgment to-Samuel
contra Saulem; per signum, sicut Pharaoni revelatum fuit
against Saul through a-sign as to-Pharaoh revealed it-was
per signa, quod Deus iudicaverat de liberatione filiorum
through signs what God had-judged about the-liberation of-the-sons
Israel. Oratione impetrante, quod sciebat qui dicebat secundo
of-Israel by-prayer obtaining which he-knew who said in-the-second
Paralipomenon: 'Quum ignoremus quid agere debeamus hoc
of-Chronicles since we-know-not what to-do we-ought this
solum habemus residui, quod oculos nostros ad Te dirigamus.'
only we-have remaining that eyes our to You we-direct

Disceptatione vero mediante dupliciter: aut sorte, aut certamine.
by-disputation but mediating in-two-ways either by-lot or by-contest
Certare etenim, ab eo quod est certum facere, dictum est.
to-contest for from that which is certain to-make named it-is
Sorte quidem Dei iudicium quandoque revelatur hominibus,
by-lot indeed of-God the-judgment sometimes is-revealed to-men
ut patet in substitutione Matthiae in Actibus Apostolorum.
as is-plain in the-substitution of-Matthias in the-Acts of-the-Apostles
Certamine vero dupliciter Dei iudicium aperitur: vel ex
by-contest but in-two-ways of-God the-judgment is-opened either from
collisione virium, sicut fit per duellum pugilum, qui
the-clash of-strengths as is-done through the-duel of-boxers who
duelliones etiam vocantur; vel ex contentione plurium
duelists also are-called or from the-striving of-several
ad aliquod signum praevalere conantium, sicut fit per
to some mark to-prevail trying as is-done through
pugnam athletarum currentium ad bravium. Primus horum
the-contest of-athletes running to the-prize the-first of-these
modorum apud Gentiles figuratus fuit in illo duello Herculis
ways among the-Gentiles figured was in that duel of-Hercules
et Antaei, cuius Lucanus meminit in quarto Pharsaliae,
and Antaeus of-which Lucan makes-mention in the-fourth of-the-Pharsalia
et Ovidius in nono de rerum transmutatione. Secundus
and Ovid in the-ninth on of-things the-transformation the-second
figuratur apud eosdem in Atalanta et Hippomene, in
is-figured among the-same in Atalanta and Hippomenes in
decimo de rerum transmutatione.
the-tenth on of-things the-transformation
Similiter et latere non debet quoniam in his duobus
likewise also to-be-hidden not it-ought that in these two
decertandi generibus ita se habet res, ut in altero
of-contending kinds so itself holds the-matter that in the-one

sine iniuria decertantes impedire se possint, puta
without injury those-contending to-hinder each-other can for-example
duelliones, in altero vero non; non enim athletae impedimento
duelists in the-other but not not for athletes hindrance
in alterutrum uti debent. Quamvis Poeta noster aliter
against each-other to-use ought although the-Poet our otherwise
sensisse videatur in quinto, quum fecit remunerari
to-have-thought seem in the-fifth when he-made to-be-rewarded
Euryalum. Propter quod melius Tullius in tertiis Officiis
Euryalus on-account-of which better Tully in the-third Offices
hoc prohibuit, sententiam Chrysippi sequens; ait enim sic:
this forbade the-opinion of-Chrysippus following he-says for thus
'Scite Chrysippus, ut multa: Qui stadium (inquit) currit,
cleverly Chrysippus as many-things who the-stadium he-says runs
eniti et contendere debet quam maxime possit, ut vincat;
to-strive and to-contend ought as most he-can that he-win
supplantare eum quicum certet, nullo modo debet.'
to-trip him with-whom he-contend in-no way ought
His itaque in Capitulo distinctis, duas rationes efficaces
these therefore in the-Chapter distinguished two reasons effective
ad propositum accipere possumus; scilicet a disceptatione
for the-purpose to-take we-can namely from the-disputation
athletarum unam, et a disceptatione pugilum alteram: quas
of-athletes one and from the-disputation of-boxers the-other which
quidem prosequar in sequentibus et immediatis Capitulis.
indeed I-shall-pursue in the-following and immediate Chapters

The people who won the race for world empire won it by God's judgment. Many ran: Ninus of Assyria and Semiramis conquered Asia but never the West; Vesoges of Egypt was turned back by the Scythians; Cyrus died at the hands of Queen Tomyris; Xerxes bridged the sea and was driven back; Alexander, sending envoys to demand Rome's surrender, died in Egypt before its answer came, snatched from the course by God. Rome alone reached the goal, as Virgil, Lucan, Boethius, and Luke's census of the whole world attest.

Ille igitur populus qui cunctis athletizantibus pro imperio
that therefore people which over-all those-competing for the-empire
mundi praevaluit, de divino iudicio praevaluit. Nam quum
of-the-world prevailed by divine judgment prevailed for since
diremtio universalis litigii magis Deo sit curae quam
the-settling of-a-universal dispute more to-God be of-care than
diremtio particularis, et in particularibus litigiis quibusdam
the-settling of-a-particular-one and in particular disputes certain
per athletas divinum iudicium postulatur, iuxta tritum
through athletes divine judgment is-requested according-to the-worn
proverbium: Cui Deus concedit, benedicat et Petrus; nullum
proverb to-whom God grants let-bless also Peter no
dubium est, quin praevalentia in athletis pro Imperio
doubt there-is but-that the-prevailing among athletes for the-Empire
mundi certantibus Dei iudicium sit sequuta. Romanus
of-the-world contending of-God judgment has followed the-Roman
populus, cunctis athletizantibus pro Imperio mundi praevaluit:
people over-all those-competing for the-Empire of-the-world prevailed
quod erit manifestum, si considerentur athletae, si consideretur
which will-be manifest if be-considered the-athletes if be-considered
et bravium sive meta. Bravium sive meta fuit, omnibus
also the-prize or goal the-prize or goal was over-all

praeesse mortalibus; hoc enim Imperium dicimus. Sed hoc
to-preside mortals this for Empire we-call but this
nulli contigit nisi Romano populo: hic non modo primus,
to-none happened except to-the-Roman people this-one not only first
quin etiam solus attigit metam certaminis, ut statim patebit.
but also alone reached the-goal of-the-contest as at-once will-be-plain
Primus namque in mortalibus qui ad hoc bravium anhelavit,
the-first for among mortals who for this prize panted
Ninus fuit, Assyriorum rex; qui quamvis cum consorte
Ninus was of-the-Assyrians king who although with the-partner
thori Semiramide per nonaginta et plures annos (ut
of-his-bed Semiramis through ninety and more years as
Orosius refert) Imperium mundi armis tentaverit, et Asiam
Orosius relates the-Empire of-the-world by-arms tried and Asia
totam sibi subegerit, non tamen occidentales mundi
whole to-himself subdued not yet the-western of-the-world
partes eis unquam subiectae fuerunt. Horum amborum
parts to-them ever subject were of-these both
Ovidius memoriam facit in quarto, ubi dicit in Pyramo:
Ovid memory makes in the-fourth where he-says in Pyramus

'Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem;'
with-baked walls to-have-girded Semiramis the-city

et infra:
and below

'Conveniant ad busta Nini, lateantque sub umbra.'
let-them-meet at the-tomb of-Ninus and-let-them-hide under the-shade

Secundus, Vesoges rex Aegypti ad hoc bravium spiravit: et
the-second Vesoges king of-Egypt to this prize aspired and
quamvis Meridiem atque Septentrionem in Asia exagitaverit, ut
although the-South and the-North in Asia he-harried as
Orosius memorat, nunquam tamen dimidiam partem orbis
Orosius records never yet the-half part of-the-world
obtinuit; quinimo a Scythis, inter quasi athlothetas et
he-obtained nay-rather by the-Scythians between as-it-were the-umpires and
terminum, ab incoepto suo temerario est aversus.
the-goal from undertaking his rash he-was turned-back
Deinde Cyrus rex Persarum tentavit hoc, qui, Babylone
then Cyrus king of-the-Persians tried this who Babylon
destructa, imperioque Babylonis ad Persas translato, nec
destroyed and-the-empire of-Babylon to the-Persians transferred nor
adhuc partes occidentales expertus, sub Tamiride regina
yet the-parts western having-tried under Tomyris queen
Scytharum vitam simul et intentionem deposuit.
of-the-Scythians life together and intention laid-down
Post hos vero Xerxes Darii filius et rex in Persis cum
after these but Xerxes of-Darius son and king among the-Persians with
tanta gentium multitudine mundum invasit, cum tanta potentia,
so-great of-peoples a-multitude the-world invaded with so-great power
ut transitum maris Asiam ab Europa dirimentis, inter Seston
that the-crossing of-the-sea Asia from Europe dividing between Sestos

et Abydon, ponte superaverit. Cuius operis admirabilis
and Abydos by-a-bridge he-overcame of-which work wonderful
Lucanus in secundo Pharsaliae memor fuit. Canit enim ibi sic:
Lucan in the-second of-the-Pharsalia mindful was he-sings for there thus

'Talis fama canit tumidum super aequora Xerxem
such fame sings proud over the-waters Xerxes
Construxisse vias;'
to-have-built roads

et tandem miserabiliter ab incoepto repulsus, ad bravium
and at-last wretchedly from the-undertaking repulsed to the-prize
pervenire non potuit.
to-arrive not he-could
Praeter istos et post, Alexander rex Macedo maxime omnium
besides these and after Alexander king Macedonian most of-all
ad palmam Monarchiae propinquans, dum per legatos
to the-palm of-the-Monarchy drawing-near while through ambassadors
ad deditionem Romanos praemoneret, apud Aegyptum, ante
to surrender the-Romans he-was-forewarning in Egypt before
Romanorum responsionem, ut Livius narrat, in medio quasi
of-the-Romans the-answer as Livy narrates in the-middle as-it-were
cursu collapsus est. De cuius etiam sepultura ibidem
of-the-course collapsed he-has about whose also tomb there

existente Lucanus, in octavo, invehens in Ptolemaeum
being Lucan in the-eighth inveighing against Ptolemy
regem Aegypti, testimonium reddit dicens:
king of-Egypt testimony renders saying

'Ultima Lageae stirpis perituraque proles
O-last of-the-Lagean stock and-about-to-perish offspring
Degener, incestae sceptris cessure sorori,
degenerate to-the-incestuous with-scepters about-to-yield sister
Quum tibi sacrato Macedo servetur in antro.'
when for-you consecrated the-Macedonian is-kept in a-cave

'O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei,' quis hic
O depth of-riches of-the-wisdom and of-the-knowledge of-God who here
te non obstupescere poterit? Nam conantem Alexandrum
at-you not to-be-astonished will-be-able for trying Alexander
praepedire in cursu coathletam Romanum, tu, ne sua
to-hinder in the-course the-fellow-athlete Roman you lest his
temeritas prodiret ulterius, de certamine rapuisti.
rashness should-go-forth further from the-contest snatched
Sed quod Roma palmam tanti bravii sit adepta, multis
but that Rome the-palm of-so-great prize has obtained by-many
comprobatur testimoniis; ait enim Poeta noster in primo:
is-proved testimonies says for the-Poet our in the-first

'Certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,
surely hence the-Romans once rolling years
Hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,
hence to-be leaders recalled from blood of-Teucer
Qui mare, qui terras omni ditione tenerent.'
who the-sea who the-lands with-all dominion should-hold

Et Lucanus in primo:
and Lucan in the-first

'Dividitur ferro regnum, populique potentis
is-divided by-the-sword the-kingdom and-of-the-people powerful
Quae mare, quae terras, quae totum possidet orbem,
which the-sea which the-lands which the-whole possesses world
Non cepit fortuna duos.'
not held fortune two

Et Boethius in secundo, quum de Romanorum principe
and Boethius in the-second when about of-the-Romans the-prince
loqueretur, sic inquit:
he-was-speaking thus says

'Hic tamen sceptro populos regebat
this-one yet with-the-scepter the-peoples ruled
Quos videt condens radios sub undas
whom sees hiding the-rays beneath the-waves
Phoebus extremo veniens ab ortu,
Phoebus farthest coming from the-east
Quos premunt septem gelidi triones,
whom press-upon the-seven icy plow-oxen
Quos notus sicco violentus aestu
whom the-south-wind with-dry violent heat
Torret, ardentes recoquens arenas.'
scorches burning recooking sands

Hoc etiam testimonium perhibet scriba Christi Lucas, qui
this also testimony bears the-scribe of-Christ Luke who
omnia vera dicit, in illa parte sui eloquii: 'Exivit
all true-things says in that part of-his speech there-went-out

edictum a Caesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus
a-decree from Caesar Augustus that should-be-enrolled the-whole
orbis.' In quibus verbis universalem mundi iurisdictionem
world in which words the-universal of-the-world jurisdiction
tunc Romanorum fuisse, aperte intelligere possumus.
then of-the-Romans to-have-been plainly to-understand we-can
Ex quibus omnibus manifestum est quod Romanus populus
from which all manifest it-is that the-Roman people
cunctis athletizantibus pro Imperio mundi praevaluit: ergo
over-all those-competing for the-Empire of-the-world prevailed therefore
de divino iudicio praevaluit, et per consequens de divino
by divine judgment it-prevailed and by consequence by divine
iudicio obtinuit quod est de iure obtinuisse.
judgment obtained which is by right to-have-obtained

X · RIGHT WON BY DUEL

What is won by duel is won by right. Where human judgment fails, one turns to God, who loves justice, by a combat freely agreed and fought from zeal for justice alone, after every other way has been tried, as a doctor uses iron and fire last. Fighters who meet so meet in God's name and he is among them, so justice cannot lose. The pagans knew this, as Pyrrhus did, refusing ransom: "let us decide with iron, not gold." Inequality of strength is no objection, as David and Goliath show.

Et quod per duellum adquiritur, de iure adquiritur. Nam
and what by duel is-acquired by right is-acquired for
ubicumque humanum iudicium deficit, vel ignorantiae
wherever human judgment fails either of-ignorance
tenebris involutum, vel propter praesidium iudicis non
by-the-darkness wrapped or because-of the-protection of-a-judge not
habere; ne iustitia derelicta remaneat, recurrendum est ad
to-have lest justice forsaken remain to-be-recurred it-is to

Illum qui tantum eam dilexit ut quod ipsa exigebat de
Him who so-much it loved that what it required from
proprio sanguine ipse moriendo supplevit. Unde Psalmus:
his-own blood he by-dying supplied whence the-Psalm
'Iustus Dominus et iustitias dilexit.' Hoc autem fit, quum
just the-Lord and justices loved this moreover is-done when
de libero adsensu partium, non odio, sed amore iustitiae,
by free assent of-the-parties not from-hatred but from-love of-justice
per virium tam animi quam corporis mutuam collisionem,
by of-strengths as-well of-mind as of-body mutual clash
divinum iudicium postulatur. Quam quidem collisionem, quia
divine judgment is-requested which indeed clash because
primitus unius ad unum fuit ipsa inventa, duellum appellamus.
originally of-one to one it-was itself found a-duel we-call
Sed semper cavendum est, ut quemadmodum in rebus
but always to-be-guarded it-is that just-as in affairs
bellicis prius omnia tentanda sunt per disceptationem
of-war first all-things to-be-tried are through a-disputation
quamdam, et ultimum per proelium dimicandum est, ut
certain and last by battle to-be-fought it-is as
Tullius et Vegetius concorditer praecipiunt, hic in Re
Tully and Vegetius harmoniously prescribe this-one in Matters
militari, ille vero in Officiis; et quemadmodum in cura
military that-one but in the-Offices and just-as in the-care
medicinali ante ferrum et ignem omnia experienda sunt,
medical before the-knife and fire all-things to-be-tried are
et ad hoc ultimo recurrendum; sic omnibus viis investigatis
and to this last recourse-be-had so all ways investigated
pro iudicio de lite habendo, ad hoc remedium ultimo
for judgment about a-suit to-be-had to this remedy last
quadam iustitiae necessitate coacti recurramus.
by-a-certain of-justice necessity compelled let-us-have-recourse

Duo igitur formalia duelli apparent: unum hoc quod
two therefore formal-elements of-the-duel appear one this which
nunc dictum est; aliud, quod superius tangebatur: scilicet,
now said it-is the-other which above was-touched namely
ut non odio, non amore, sed solo zelo iustitiae,
that not from-hatred not from-love but from-the-sole zeal of-justice
de communi adsensu agonistae seu duelliones palaestram
by common assent the-combatants or duelists the-arena
ingrediantur. Et propter hoc bene Tullius, quum de hac
enter and on-account-of this well Tully when about this
materia tangeret; inquiebat enim: 'Sed bella quibus Imperii
matter he-touched said for but wars in-which of-Empire
corona proposita est, minus acerbe gerenda sunt.'
the-crown set is less bitterly to-be-waged are
Quod si formalia duelli servata sunt (aliter enim
but if the-formal-elements of-the-duel kept are otherwise for
duellum non esset), iustitiae necessitate de communi adsensu
a-duel not it-would-be by-justice's necessity by common assent
congregati propter zelum iustitiae, nonne in nomine Dei
gathered on-account-of zeal of-justice surely in the-name of-God
congregati sunt? Et si sic, nonne Deus in medio illorum
gathered are and if so surely God in the-midst of-them
est, quum ipse in Evangelio nobis hoc promittat? Et si
is since he in the-Gospel to-us this promises and if
Deus adest, nonne nefas est arbitrari iustitiam succumbere
God is-present surely wicked it-is to-think justice to-succumb
posse? quam ipse in tantum diligit, quantum superius
to-be-able which he in so-much loves as-much-as above
praenotatur. Et si iustitia in duello succumbere nequit,
is-noted and if justice in a-duel to-succumb cannot
nonne de iure adquiritur quod per duellum adquiritur?
surely by right is-acquired what by duel is-acquired

Hanc veritatem etiam gentiles ante tubam Evangelicam
this truth also the-gentiles before the-trumpet Gospel
cognoscebant, quum iudicium a fortuna duelli quaerebant.
knew when judgment from the-fortune of-the-duel they-sought
Unde bene Pyrrhus ille, tam moribus Aeacidarum quam
whence well Pyrrhus that as-much in-manners of-the-Aeacids as
sanguine generosus, quum Legati Romanorum pro redimendis
in-blood noble when the-Envoys of-the-Romans for redeeming
captivis ad illum missi fuerunt, respondit:
captives to him sent were answered

'Nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis;
neither for-me gold I-demand nor to-me a-price you-should-give
Non cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes:
not huckstering war but waging-war
Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique.
by-iron not by-gold life let-us-decide both
Vosne velit, an me regnare Hera, quidve ferat sors,
whether-you wishes or me to-reign Hera or-what may-bring lot
Virtute experiamur. Et hoc simul accipe dictum:
by-valor let-us-try and this together receive saying
Quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit,
whose valor of-war the-fortune spared
Eorundem me libertati parcere certum est.
of-the-same me the-liberty to-spare resolved it-is
Dono ducite.'
as-a-gift lead-them

Haec Pyrrhus. Heram vocabat fortunam, quam causam
these-things Pyrrhus Hera called fortune which cause
melius et rectius nos divinam providentiam appellamus.
better and more-rightly we divine providence call

Unde caveant pugiles, ne pretio constituant sibi causam:
whence let-beware the-boxers lest for-a-price they-set for-themselves the-cause
quia non tunc duellum, sed forum sanguinis et iniustitiae
because not then a-duel but a-market of-blood and of-injustice
dicendum esset, nec tunc arbiter Deus adesse credatur, sed
to-be-called it-would-be nor then as-arbiter God to-be-present be-believed but
ille antiquus hostis, qui litigii fuerat persuasor. Habeant
that ancient enemy who of-the-dispute had-been the-persuader let-them-have
semper, si duelliones esse volunt, non sanguinis et iniustitiae
always if duelists to-be they-wish not of-blood and of-injustice
mercatores, in ostio palaestrae ante oculos Pyrrhum, qui
merchants at the-door of-the-arena before the-eyes Pyrrhus who
pro imperio decertando sic aurum despiciebat, ut dictum est.
for empire to-be-contested so gold despised as said it-is
Quod si contra veritatem ostensam de imparitate virium
but if against the-truth shown about the-inequality of-strengths
instetur, ut adsolet, per victoriam David de Golia obtentam
it-be-urged as is-wont by the-victory of-David over Goliath obtained
instantia refellatur. Et si gentiles aliud peterent, refellant
the-objection be-refuted and if the-gentiles other-thing sought let-them-refute
ipsam per victoriam Herculis in Antaeum. Stultum enim est
it by the-victory of-Hercules over Antaeus foolish for it-is
valde vires quas Deus confortat inferiores pugile suspicari.
very the-strengths which God strengthens inferior than-the-boxer to-suspect
Iam satis manifestum est quod per duellum adquiritur de
already enough manifest it-is what by duel is-acquired by
iure adquiri.
right to-be-acquired

The Roman people won the empire by duel. Aeneas, the people's first father, fought Turnus alone for his seat and would have spared him but for Pallas' belt; the Horatii and Curiatii fought for the rule between Rome and Alba; the Sabines and Samnites were fought in the form of a duel; Fabricius met Pyrrhus and Scipio met Hannibal. So the glorious people won the crown of the world under the law of the duel, a crown of justice laid up in God's providence, and the presumptuous jurists should be silent.

Sed Romanus populus per duellum adquisivit imperium;
but the-Roman people by duel acquired empire
quod fide dignis testimoniis comprobatur: in quibus
which of-faith by-worthy testimonies is-proved in which
manifestandis non solum hoc apparebit, sed etiam quidquid
to-be-made-manifest not only this will-appear but also whatever
a primordialibus imperii Romani diiudicandum erat, per
from the-beginnings of-the-empire Roman to-be-decided was by
duellum esse discussum.
duel to-have-been discussed
Nam de primo, quum de sede patris Aeneae, qui primus
for about the-first when about the-seat of-father Aeneas who first
pater huius populi fuit, verteretur litigium, Turno Rutulorum
father of-this people was turned a-dispute Turnus of-the-Rutulians
rege contra stante, de communi amborum regum adsensu, ad
king against standing by common of-both kings assent at
ultimum, propter divinum beneplacitum inquirendum, inter
the-last on-account-of the-divine good-pleasure to-be-sought between
se solum dimicatum est, ut in ultimis Aeneidos canitur.
themselves alone fought it-was as in the-last-parts of-the-Aeneid is-sung
In quo quidem agone tanta victoris Aeneae clementia fuit,
in which indeed contest so-great of-the-victor Aeneas the-clemency was

ut nisi balteus quem Turnus Pallanti a se occiso detraxerat
that unless the-belt which Turnus from-Pallas by himself slain had-stripped
patuisset, victo victor simul vitam condonasset et
had-shown to-the-conquered the-victor together life would-have-granted and
pacem, ut ultima carmina nostri Poetae testantur.
peace as the-last lines of-our Poet testify
Quumque duo populi ex ipsa Troiana radice in Italia
and-when two peoples from the-very Trojan root in Italy
germinassent, Romanus videlicet populus et Albanus, atque de
had-sprouted the-Roman namely people and the-Alban and about
signo aquilae deque penatibus diis Troianorum atque dignitate
the-sign of-the-eagle and-about the-household gods of-the-Trojans and the-dignity
principandi longo tempore inter se disceptatum esset; ad
of-ruling a-long time between themselves disputed it-had-been at
ultimum, de communi adsensu partium, propter instantiam
the-last by common assent of-the-parties on-account-of the-claim
cognoscendam, per tres Horatios fratres hinc, et per
to-be-known through three Horatii brothers on-this-side and through
totidem Curiatios fratres inde, in conspectu regum et
as-many Curiatii brothers on-that-side in the-sight of-the-kings and
populorum altrinsecus expectantium decertatum est; ubi tribus
of-the-peoples on-both-sides waiting fought it-was where three
pugilibus Albanorum peremtis, Romanorum duobus, palma
boxers of-the-Albans slain of-the-Romans two the-palm
victoriae sub Hostilio rege cessit Romanis. Et hoc diligenter
of-victory under Hostilius king passed to-the-Romans and this diligently
Livius in prima parte contexit, cui Orosius etiam contestatur.
Livy in the-first part weaves to-whom Orosius also bears-witness
Deinde cum finitimis, omni iure belli servato, cum Sabinis,
then with the-neighbors every right of-war preserved with the-Sabines
cum Samnitibus, licet in multitudine disceptantium, sub
with the-Samnites although in a-multitude of-those-disputing under

forma tamen duelli, de Imperio decertatum fuisse, Livius
the-form yet of-a-duel about the-Empire fought to-have-been Livy
narrat: in quo quidem modo decertandi cum Samnitibus,
narrates in which indeed manner of-fighting with the-Samnites
fere Fortunam (ut dicam) incoepti poenituit. Et hoc
almost Fortune as I-may-say of-the-undertaking repented and this
Lucanus in secundo ad exemplum reducit sic:
Lucan in the-second to example brings-back thus

'Aut Collina tulit stratas quot porta catervas,
or the-Colline bore laid-low how-many gate troops
Tunc quum paene caput mundi rerumque potestas
then when almost the-head of-the-world and-of-things the-power
Mutavit translata locum, Romanaque Samnis
changed transferred its-place and-the-Roman-ones the-Samnite
Ultra Caudinas superavit vulnera furcas.'
beyond the-Caudine surpassed wounds forks

Postquam vero Italorum litigia sedata fuerunt, et cum
after but of-the-Italians the-disputes settled were and with
Graecis, cumque Poenis nondum pro divino iudicio
the-Greeks and-with the-Carthaginians not-yet for divine judgment
certatum esset, ad imperium intendentibus illis et istis,
fought it-had-been to empire aiming those and these
Fabricio pro Romanis, Pyrrho pro Graecis, de imperii gloria
Fabricius for the-Romans Pyrrhus for the-Greeks about of-empire the-glory
in militiae multitudine decertantibus, Roma obtinuit. Scipione
in of-soldiery a-multitude contending Rome obtained Scipio
vero pro Italis, Hannibale pro Africanis in forma duelli
but for the-Italians Hannibal for the-Africans in the-form of-a-duel

bellum gerentibus, Italis Afri succubuerunt; sicut
war waging to-the-Italians the-Africans succumbed as
Livius et alii rei Romanae scriptores testificari conantur.
Livy and other of-the-state Roman writers to-testify try
Quis igitur adeo mentis obtusae nunc est, qui non videat
who therefore so of-mind dull now is who not sees
sub iure duelli gloriosum populum coronam Orbis
under the-right of-the-duel the-glorious people the-crown of-the-world
totius esse lucratum? Vere dicere potuit homo Romanus
whole to-have gained truly to-say could a-man Roman
quod quidem Apostolus ad Timotheum: 'Reposita est
what indeed the-Apostle to Timothy laid-up is
mihi corona iustitiae:' reposita, scilicet, in Dei providentia
for-me the-crown of-justice laid-up namely in of-God providence
aeterna. Videant nunc Iuristae praesumptuosi, quantum infra
eternal let-see now the-Jurists presumptuous how-much below
sint ab illa specula rationis, unde humana mens haec
they-be from that watchtower of-reason whence the-human mind these
principia speculatur, et sileant, secundum sensum legis
principles contemplates and let-them-be-silent according-to the-sense of-the-law
consilium et iudicium exhibere contenti.
counsel and judgment to-show content
Et iam manifestum est quod Romanus populus per duellum
and already manifest it-is that the-Roman people by duel
adquisivit imperium: ergo de iure adquisivit; quod est
acquired empire therefore by right it-acquired which is
principale propositum in libro praesenti.
the-principal proposition in the-book present

Usque adhuc patet propositum per rationes quae plurimum
up-to now is-plain the-proposition through reasons which mostly
rationalibus principiis innituntur; sed ex nunc ex principiis
on-rational principles lean but from now from the-principles
fidei Christianae iterum patefaciendum est.
of-faith Christian again to-be-made-plain it-is

XII · CHRIST'S BIRTH UNDER ROME

Those who rage most against the Roman rule call themselves zealots for the faith, while they let the Church's patrimony be plundered and its poor defrauded. Dante now proves his case from the faith: if the Roman Empire was not by right, Christ in being born consented to an injustice, which no believer will allow. For Christ chose to be born under Augustus' edict so as to be enrolled in that census of mankind, and so by his act declared the edict just, and with it the jurisdiction behind it.

Maxime enim fremuerunt, et inania meditati sunt in
most for raged and vain-things devised have against
Romanum principatum, qui zelatores fidei Christianae
the-Roman principate those-who zealots of-the-faith Christian
se dicunt; nec miseret eos pauperum Christi, quibus non
themselves call nor it-pities them of-the-poor of-Christ to-whom not
solum defraudatio fit in ecclesiarum proventibus; quinimo
only a-defrauding is-made in of-the-churches the-revenues nay-rather
patrimonia ipsa quotidie rapiuntur, et depauperatur Ecclesia,
the-patrimonies themselves daily are-seized and is-impoverished the-Church
dum simulando iustitiam, exequutorem iustitiae non admittunt.
while by-feigning justice the-executor of-justice not they-admit
Nec iam depauperatio talis absque Dei iudicio fit, quum
nor now impoverishment such without of-God judgment is-made since
nec pauperibus quorum patrimonia sunt Ecclesiae facultates
neither to-the-poor whose patrimonies are of-the-Church the-resources

inde subveniatur, neque ab offerente Imperio cum gratitudine
thence it-be-given-help nor by the-offering Empire with gratitude
teneantur. Redeant unde venerunt: venerunt bene, redeunt
they-be-held let-them-return whence they-came they-came well they-return
male, quia bene data et male possessa sunt. Quid ad
badly because well given and badly possessed they-are what to
pastores tales? Quid si Ecclesiae substantia diffluit, dum
shepherds such what if of-the-Church the-substance flows-away while
proprietates propinquorum suorum exaugeantur? Sed forsan
the-properties of-relatives their be-increased but perhaps
melius est propositum prosequi, et sub pio silentio
better it-is the-purpose to-pursue and under the-pious silence
Salvatoris nostri exspectare succursum.
of-the-Savior our to-await help
Dico ergo, quod si Romanum imperium de iure non fuit,
I-say therefore that if the-Roman empire by right not was
Christus nascendo praesumpsit iniustum. Consequens est
Christ by-being-born presumed an-unjust-thing the-consequent is
falsum, ergo contradictorium antecedentis est verum. Inferunt
false therefore the-contradictory of-the-antecedent is true infer
enim se contradictoria invicem a contrario sensu.
for themselves contradictories mutually from the-contrary sense
Falsitatem consequentis ad fideles ostendere non oportet:
the-falsity of-the-consequent to the-faithful to-show not it-behooves
nam si fidelis quis est, falsum hoc esse concedit; et si
for if faithful anyone is false this to-be he-concedes and if
non concedit, fidelis non est, et si fidelis non est, ad eum
not he-concedes faithful not he-is and if faithful not he-is for him
ratio ista non quaeritur.
reason this not is-sought

Consequentiam sic ostendo: Quicunque aliquod edictum ex
the-consequence thus I-show whoever some edict by
electione prosequitur, illud esse iustum opere persuadet: et
choice follows that to-be just by-deed persuades and
quum opera persuadentiora sint quam sermones (ut Philosopho
since deeds more-persuasive be than words as to-the-Philosopher
placet in ultimis ad Nicomachum), magis persuadet quam si
it-pleases in the-last to Nicomachus more he-persuades than if
sermone approbaret. Sed Christus, ut scriba eius Lucas testatur,
by-word he-approved but Christ as scribe his Luke testifies
sub edicto Romanae auctoritatis nasci voluit de Virgine Matre,
under an-edict of-Roman authority to-be-born willed of the-Virgin Mother
ut in illa singulari generis humani descriptione Filius Dei,
that in that singular of-the-human race enrollment the-Son of-God
homo factus, homo conscriberetur; quod fuit illud prosequi.
man made as-man should-be-enrolled which was it to-follow
Et forte sanctius est arbitrari, divinitus illud exivisse
and perhaps holier it-is to-think divinely that to-have-gone-forth
per Caesarem; ut qui tanta tempora fuerit exspectatus
through Caesar that he-who so-many times had-been awaited
in societate mortalium, cum mortalibus ipse se consignaret.
in the-society of-mortals with mortals he himself should-register
Ergo Christus Augusti Romanorum auctoritate fungentis
therefore Christ of-Augustus of-the-Romans the-authority exercising
edictum fore iustum, opere persuasit. Et quum a iuste
the-edict to-be just by-deed persuaded and since from justly
edicere iurisdictio sequatur; necesse est ut qui iustum
to-decree jurisdiction follow necessary it-is that he-who a-just
edictum persuasit, iurisdictionem etiam persuaserit, quae si
edict persuaded jurisdiction also has-persuaded which if
de iure non erat, iniusta erat.
by right not was unjust was

Et notandum, quod argumentum sumptum ad destructionem
and to-be-noted that the-argument taken for the-destruction
consequentis, licet de sua forma per aliquem locum
of-the-consequent although from its form through some topic
teneat, tamen vim suam per secundam figuram ostendit, si
it-hold yet force its through the-second figure it-shows if
reducatur sicut argumentum a positione antecedentis per
it-be-reduced as the-argument from the-positing of-the-antecedent through
primam. Reducitur enim sic: Omne iniustum persuadetur
the-first it-is-reduced for thus everything unjust is-persuaded
iniuste: Christus non persuasit iniuste: ergo non persuasit
unjustly Christ not persuaded unjustly therefore not he-persuaded
iniustum. A positione antecedentis sic: Omne iniustum
an-unjust-thing from the-positing of-the-antecedent thus everything unjust
persuadetur iniuste: Christus persuasit quoddam iniustum:
is-persuaded unjustly Christ persuaded a-certain unjust-thing
ergo persuasit iniuste.
therefore he-persuaded unjustly

If the Roman Empire was not by right, Adam's sin was not punished in Christ: false, for Paul says we have redemption through his blood, and Christ said "It is finished." Punishment is a penalty inflicted by one with jurisdiction to punish; since all mankind was punished in Christ's flesh, his judge needed jurisdiction over all mankind, which Tiberius, through Pilate, had only if the Empire was by right; so Herod, a king, not Tiberius's vicar, sent Christ back to Pilate. Self-styled sons of the Church should stop reviling the Empire. He ends: happy people and glorious Italy, had the one who weakened its empire never been born, or never been deceived by his pious intention.

Et si Romanum imperium de iure non fuit, peccatum Adae
and if the-Roman empire by right not was the-sin of-Adam
in Christo non fuit punitum: hoc autem est falsum; ergo
in Christ not was punished this but is false therefore
contradictorium eius ex quo sequitur est verum. Falsitas
the-contradictory its from which it-follows is true the-falsity
consequentis apparet sic. Quum enim per peccatum Adae
of-the-consequent appears thus since for through the-sin of-Adam
omnes peccatores essemus, dicente Apostolo: 'Sicut per
all sinners we-were saying the-Apostle as through
unum hominem in hunc mundum peccatum intravit: et
one man into this world sin entered and
per peccatum mors; ita in omnes homines mors, in quo
through sin death so into all men death in whom
omnes peccaverunt;' si de illo peccato non fuisset satisfactum
all sinned if for that sin not had-been satisfied
per mortem Christi, adhuc essemus filii irae natura,
through the-death of-Christ still we-would-be children of-wrath by-nature
natura scilicet depravata. Sed hoc non est, quum dicat
by-nature namely depraved but this not is since says

Apostolus ad Ephesios, loquens de Patre: 'Qui praedestinavit
the-Apostle to the-Ephesians speaking about the-Father who predestined
nos in adoptionem filiorum per Iesum Christum, in
us into adoption of-children through Jesus Christ into
ipsum, secundum propositum voluntatis suae, in laudem et
him according-to the-purpose of-will his to the-praise and
gloriam gratiae suae, in qua gratificavit nos in dilecto Filio
glory of-grace his in which he-graced us in the-beloved Son
suo, in quo habemus redemtionem per sanguinem eius,
his in whom we-have redemption through the-blood his
remissionem peccatorum, secundum divitias gloriae suae quae
the-remission of-sins according-to the-riches of-glory his which
superabundavit in nobis.' Quum etiam Christus ipse, in
superabounded in us since also Christ himself in
se punitionem patiens, dicat in Iohanne, 'Consummatum
himself the-punishment suffering says in John finished
est'; nam ubi consummatum est, nihil restat agendum.
it-is for where finished it-is nothing remains to-be-done
Propter convenientiam sciendum quod punitio non est
for-the-sake-of fitness to-be-known that punishment not is
simpliciter poena iniuriam inferentis, sed poena inflicta
simply penalty injury of-the-one-inflicting but a-penalty inflicted
iniuriam inferenti ab habente iurisdictionem puniendi.
injury on-the-one-inflicting by the-one-having jurisdiction of-punishing
Unde, nisi ab ordinario iudice poena inflicta sit, punitio
whence unless by an-ordinary judge the-penalty inflicted be punishment
non est, sed potius iniuria est dicenda. Unde dicebat ille
not it-is but rather injury it-is to-be-called whence said that-man
Moysi: 'Quis te constituit iudicem super nos?'
to-Moses who you appointed judge over us

Si ergo sub ordinario iudice Christus passus non fuisset,
if therefore under an-ordinary judge Christ suffered not had
illa poena punitio non fuisset: et iudex ordinarius esse
that penalty punishment not would-have-been and the-judge ordinary to-be
non poterat, nisi supra totum humanum genus iurisdictionem
not could unless over the-whole human race jurisdiction
habens, quum totum humanum genus in carne illa Christi
having since the-whole human race in flesh that of-Christ
portantis dolores nostros (ut ait Propheta), vel sustinentis,
bearing sorrows our as says the-Prophet or sustaining
puniretur. Et supra totum humanum genus Tiberius Caesar,
was-punished and over the-whole human race Tiberius Caesar
cuius vicarius erat Pilatus, iurisdictionem non habuisset, nisi
whose vicar was Pilate jurisdiction not would-have-had unless
Romanum Imperium de iure fuisset. Hinc est quod Herodes,
the-Roman Empire by right had-been hence it-is that Herod
quamvis ignorans quid faceret, sicut et Caiphas, quum
although not-knowing what he-did as also Caiaphas when
verum dixit de coelesti decreto, Christum Pilato remisit
the-truth he-spoke about the-heavenly decree Christ to-Pilate sent-back
ad iudicandum, ut Lucas in Evangelio suo tradit. Erat enim
for judging as Luke in Gospel his hands-on was for
Herodes non vicem Tiberii gerens sub signo aquilae, vel
Herod not the-place of-Tiberius bearing under the-sign of-the-eagle or
sub signo Senatus; sed rex, regno singulari ordinatus
under the-sign of-the-Senate but a-king to-a-kingdom single ordained
ab eo, et sub signo regni sibi commissi gubernans.
by him and under the-sign of-the-kingdom to-him entrusted governing
Desinant igitur imperium exprobrare Romanum qui se
let-them-cease therefore the-empire to-reproach Roman who themselves
filios Ecclesiae fingunt; quum videant sponsum Christum
sons of-the-Church feign since they-see the-spouse Christ

illud sic in utroque termino suae militiae comprobasse.
it so in each limit of-his warfare to-have-approved
Et iam sufficienter manifestum esse arbitror, Romanum
and already sufficiently manifest to-be I-think the-Roman
populum sibi de iure orbis Imperium adscivisse.
people for-itself by right of-the-world the-Empire to-have-adopted
O felicem populum, o Ausoniam te gloriosam, si vel
O happy people O Ausonia you glorious if either
numquam infirmator ille imperii tui natus fuisset, vel
never weakener that of-empire your born had-been or
numquam sua pia intentio ipsum fefellisset!
never his pious intention him had-deceived

BOOK III

I · THE THIRD QUESTION

"He shut the lions' mouths and they did not harm me." The third question will make some blush and may turn their anger on Dante, but truth bids him speak; armed with Daniel's confidence, the breastplate of faith, and the coal that touched Isaiah's lips, he enters the arena. The question concerns the two great lights, the Roman Pontiff and the Roman Prince: whether the authority of the Roman Monarch depends directly on God or on God's vicar, the successor of Peter.

'Conclusit ora leonum, et non nocuerunt mihi; quia
he-shut the-mouths of-the-lions and not they-harmed me because
coram eo iustitia inventa est in me.' In principio huius
before him justice found was in me in the-beginning of-this
operis propositum fuit de tribus quaestionibus, prout
work purposed it-was about three questions as
materia pateretur, inquirere; de quarum duabus primis, in
the-matter allowed to-inquire about of-which the-two first in
superioribus libris, ut credo, sufficienter peractum est. Nunc
the-above books as I-believe sufficiently accomplished it-is now
autem de tertia restat agendum. Cuius quidem veritas,
but about the-third it-remains to-be-treated of-which indeed the-truth
quia sine rubore aliquorum emergere nequit, forsitan alicuius
because without the-blush of-some to-emerge cannot perhaps of-some
indignationis in me causa erit. Sed quia de throno
indignation against me the-cause it-will-be but because from throne
immutabili suo Veritas deprecatur, Salomon etiam, sylvam
immutable his Truth entreats Solomon also the-forest
Proverbiorum ingrediens, meditandam veritatem, impium
of-the-Proverbs entering to-be-meditated truth the-impious
detestandum, in se facturo, nos docet, ac praeceptor
to-be-detested in himself about-to-do us teaches and the-teacher

morum Philosophus, familiaria destruenda pro veritate suadet;
of-morals the-Philosopher familiar-things to-be-destroyed for truth urges
adsumpta fiducia de verbis Danielis praemissis, in quibus
taken confidence from the-words of-Daniel set-down-before in which
divina potentia clypeus defensorum veritatis adstruitur, iuxta
divine power the-shield of-the-defenders of-truth is-affirmed according-to
monitionem Pauli, fidei loricam induens, in calore carbonis
the-admonition of-Paul of-faith the-breastplate putting-on in the-heat of-the-coal
illius quem unus de Seraphim accepit de altari coelesti et
that which one of the-Seraphim took from the-altar heavenly and
tetigit labia Isaiae, gymnasium praesens ingrediar, et in
touched the-lips of-Isaiah the-wrestling-ground present I-shall-enter and in
brachio Illius, qui nos de potestate tenebrarum liberavit in
the-arm of-Him who us from the-power of-darkness freed in
sanguine suo, impium atque mendacem de palaestra, spectante
blood his the-impious and liar from the-arena watching
mundo, eiciam. Quid timeam? quum Spiritus Patri
the-world I-shall-cast-out what should-I-fear since the-Spirit with-the-Father
et Filio coaeternus ait per os David: 'In memoria
and the-Son coeternal says through the-mouth of-David in memory
aeterna erit iustus, ab auditione mala non timebit.'
eternal will-be the-just-man from hearing evil not he-will-fear
Quaestio igitur praesens, de qua inquisitio futura est, inter
the-question therefore present about which the-inquiry future is between
duo luminaria magna versatur: Romanum scilicet Pontificem
two luminaries great turns the-Roman namely Pontiff
et Romanum Principem; et quaeritur, utrum auctoritas
and the-Roman Prince and it-is-asked whether the-authority
Monarchae Romani, qui de iure Monarcha mundi est, ut in
of-the-Monarch Roman who by right Monarch of-the-world is as in
secundo libro probatum est, immediate a Deo dependeat, an
the-second book proved it-is immediately on God depend or

ab aliquo Dei vicario vel ministro, quem Petri successorem
on some of-God vicar or minister whom Peter's successor
intelligo, qui vere claviger est regni coelorum.
I-understand who truly the-key-bearer is of-the-kingdom of-the-heavens

II · THE PRINCIPLE

As before, a principle must be set down from which the arguments proceed: God does not will what goes against the intention of nature. If this were false, it would follow that God wills what he does not will. For God wills nature's end, or heaven would move in vain; if he willed or did not care about what hinders that end, he would not will the end itself, so he would will and not will the same thing, which is absurd.

Ad praesentem quaestionem discutiendam, sicut in superioribus
for the-present question to-be-discussed as in the-above
est peractum, aliquod principium est adsumendum, in virtute
it-is accomplished some principle is to-be-assumed in virtue
cuius aperiendae veritatis argumenta formentur. Nam sine
of-which to-be-opened of-the-truth the-arguments be-formed for without
praefixo principio, etiam vera dicendo, laborare quid prodest?
a-fixed principle even true-things by-saying to-labor what profits
quum principium solum adsumendorum mediorum sit radix.
since the-principle alone of-to-be-assumed means be the-root
Haec igitur irrefragabilis veritas praefigatur, scilicet quod
this therefore irrefutable truth be-set-before namely that
illud quod naturae intentioni repugnat, Deus nolit. Nam
that which to-nature's intention is-repugnant God wills-not for
si hoc verum non esset, contradictorium eius non esset
if this true not were the-contradictory its not would-be
falsum, quod est: Deum non nolle quod naturae intentioni
false which is God not to-will-not what to-nature's intention

repugnat. Et si hoc non falsum, nec ea quae sequuntur
is-repugnant and if this not false neither those which follow
ad ipsum. Impossibile enim est in necessariis consequentiis
upon it impossible for it-is in necessary consequences
falsum esse consequens, antecedente non falso existente.
false to-be the-consequent the-antecedent not false being
Sed ad non nolle alterum duorum sequitur de necessitate,
but upon not to-will-not one of-two follows of necessity
aut velle, aut non velle: sicut ad non odire necessario
either to-will or not to-will as upon not to-hate necessarily
sequitur, aut amare, aut non amare: non enim non amare
follows either to-love or not to-love not for not to-love
est odire; nec non velle est nolle, ut de se patet. Quae
is to-hate nor not to-will is to-will-not as of itself is-plain which
si falsa non sunt, ista non erit falsa: Deus vult quod
if false not they-are this not will-be false God wills what
non vult; cuius falsitas non habet superiorem.
not he-wills whose falsity not has a-superior
Quod autem verum sit quod dicitur, sic declaro: Manifestum
that moreover true be what is-said thus I-declare manifest
est quod Deus finem naturae vult: aliter coelum otiose
it-is that God the-end of-nature wills otherwise heaven idly
moveretur; quod dicendum non est. Si Deus vellet
would-be-moved which to-be-said not is if God willed
impedimentum finis, vellet etiam finem impedimenti;
the-impediment of-the-end he-would-will also the-end of-the-impediment
aliter etiam otiose vellet. Et quum finis impedimenti
otherwise also idly he-would-will and since the-end of-the-impediment
sit, non esse rei impeditae; sequeretur Deum velle non
be not to-be of-the-thing impeded it-would-follow God to-will not
esse finem naturae quem dicitur velle esse.
to-be the-end of-nature which he-is-said to-will to-be

Si enim Deus non vellet impedimentum finis, prout non
if for God not willed the-impediment of-the-end as not
vellet, sequeretur ad non velle, nihil de impedimento
he-willed it-would-follow upon not to-will nothing about the-impediment
curaret, sive esset sive non esset. Sed qui impedimentum
he-would-care whether it-were or not it-were but he-who the-impediment
non curat, rem quae potest impediri non curat, et per
not cares-for the-thing which can to-be-impeded not cares-for and by
consequens non habet in voluntate, et quod quis non habet
consequence not has in will and what one not has
in voluntate, non vult. Propter quod, si finis naturae
in will not he-wills on-account-of which if the-end of-nature
impediri potest, quod potest, de necessitate sequitur, quod
to-be-impeded can which it-can of necessity it-follows that
Deus finem naturae non vult; et sic sequitur prius, videlicet
God the-end of-nature not wills and thus follows the-former namely
Deum velle quod non vult. Verissimum est igitur illud
God to-will what not he-wills most-true it-is therefore that
principium, ex cuius contradictorio tam absurda sequuntur.
principle from whose contradictory so absurd-things follow

The first question needed showing to remove ignorance, the second ignorance and dispute alike; the third is so disputed that dispute itself breeds ignorance. Three kinds of men oppose the truth: the Supreme Pontiff and other pastors, moved perhaps by zeal for the keys and not by pride; others, blinded by greed, sons of the devil who call themselves sons of the Church; and the decretalists, who ignore theology and philosophy and rest everything on the Decretals. Since Scripture comes before the Church and the councils with it, but the traditions after it, the decretalists are excluded; the greedy, who will not see principles, are excluded too, and Dante argues only with the first.

In introitu ad quaestionem hanc notare oportet, quod primae
in the-entrance to question this to-note it-behooves that of-the-first
quaestionis veritas magis manifestanda fuit ad ignorantiam
question the-truth more to-be-made-manifest was for ignorance
tollendam, quam ad tollendum litigium. Sed quae fuit secundae
to-be-removed than for removing dispute but which was of-the-second
quaestionis quaestio, aequaliter ad ignorantiam et litigium se
question the-question equally to ignorance and dispute itself
habet. Multa etenim ignoramus, de quibus non litigamus;
holds many-things for we-are-ignorant-of about which not we-dispute
nam geometra circuli quadraturam ignorat, non tamen de
for the-geometer of-the-circle the-squaring is-ignorant-of not yet about
ipsa litigat; theologus vero numerum Angelorum ignorat,
it disputes the-theologian but the-number of-the-Angels is-ignorant-of
non tamen de illo litigium facit; Aegyptius vero Scytharum
not yet about it dispute makes the-Egyptian but of-the-Scythians
civilitatem, non propter hoc de ipsorum civilitate contendit.
the-civil-society not on-account-of this about their civil-society contends

Huius quidem tertiae quaestionis veritas tantum habet
of-this indeed third question the-truth so-much has
litigium, ut quemadmodum in aliis ignorantia solet esse
dispute that just-as in others ignorance is-wont to-be
causa litigii, sic hic litigium causa ignorantiae sit magis.
the-cause of-dispute so here dispute the-cause of-ignorance be rather
Hominibus namque, rationis intuitum voluntate praevolantibus,
to-men for of-reason the-insight with-will flying-before
hoc semper contingit: ut male affecti, lumine rationis
this always happens that ill disposed the-light of-reason
postposito, affectu quasi caeci trahantur, et pertinaciter
set-aside by-affection as-if blind they-be-drawn and stubbornly
suam denegent caecitatem. Unde fit persaepe quod non
their deny blindness whence it-happens very-often that not
solum falsitas patrimonium habeat, sed ut plerique, de suis
only falsity a-patrimony has but that very-many from their
terminis egredientes, per aliena castra discurrant, ubi nihil
bounds going-out through others' camps run-about where nothing
intelligentes ipsi, nihil intelliguntur; et sic provocant quosdam
understanding they nothing are-understood and thus they-provoke some
ad iram, quosdam ad dedignationem, nonnullos ad risum.
to anger some to disdain not-a-few to laughter
Igitur contra veritatem quae quaeritur tria hominum genera
therefore against the-truth which is-sought three of-men kinds
maxime colluctantur.
most struggle
Summus namque Pontifex, Domini nostri Iesu Christi Vicarius
the-Supreme for Pontiff of-the-Lord our Jesus Christ the-Vicar
et Petri successor, cui non quidquid Christo sed quidquid
and Peter's successor to-whom not whatever to-Christ but whatever
Petro debemus, zelo fortasse clavium, nec non alii gregum
to-Peter we-owe from-zeal perhaps of-the-keys and also other of-the-flocks

Christianorum pastores, et alii quos credo zelo solo
Christian shepherds and others whom I-believe from-zeal alone
matris Ecclesiae promoveri, veritati, quam ostensurus sum,
for-mother Church to-be-moved to-the-truth which about-to-show I-am
de zelo forsan (ut dixi), non de superbia, contradicunt.
from zeal perhaps as I-said not from pride contradict
Quidam vero alii, quorum obstinata cupiditas lumen rationis
certain but others whose obstinate cupidity the-light of-reason
extinxit, et dum ex patre diabolo sunt, Ecclesiae se
has-extinguished and while of father the-devil they-are of-the-Church themselves
filios esse dicunt, non solum in hac quaestione litigium movent,
sons to-be they-say not only in this question dispute stir
sed sacratissimi Principatus vocabulum abhorrentes, superiorum
but of-the-most-sacred Principate the-word abhorring of-the-above
quaestionum et huius principia impudenter negarent.
questions and of-this the-principles shamelessly would-deny
Sunt etiam tertii quos Decretalistas vocant, qui Theologiae ac
there-are also third whom Decretalists they-call who of-Theology and
Philosophiae cuiuslibet inscii et expertes, suis Decretalibus
of-Philosophy any ignorant and inexperienced on-their Decretals
(quas profecto venerandas existimo) tota intentione innixi,
which surely to-be-venerated I-think with-whole intention leaning
de illarum praevalentia credo sperantes, Imperio derogant. Nec
about their prevalence I-believe hoping the-Empire disparage nor
mirum, quum iam audiverim quemdam de illis dicentem, et
wonder since already I-have-heard a-certain-one of them saying and
procaciter asserentem, traditiones Ecclesiae fidei fundamentum.
insolently asserting the-traditions of-the-Church of-faith the-foundation
Quod quidem nefas de opinione mortalium illi submoveant
which indeed wickedness from the-opinion of-mortals those let-remove
qui, ante traditiones Ecclesiae, in Filium Dei Christum, sive
who before the-traditions of-the-Church in the-Son of-God Christ whether

venturum sive praesentem sive iam passum crediderunt,
to-come or present or already having-suffered believed
et credendo speraverunt, et sperantes caritate arserunt, et
and by-believing hoped and hoping with-charity burned and
ardentes ei coheredes factos esse mundus non dubitat.
burning with-him coheirs made to-be the-world not doubts
Et ut tales de praesenti gymnasio totaliter excludantur,
and that such from the-present wrestling-ground wholly be-excluded
est advertendum quod quaedam scriptura est ante Ecclesiam,
it-is to-be-noted that certain scripture is before the-Church
quaedam cum Ecclesia, quaedam post Ecclesiam.
certain with the-Church certain after the-Church
Ante quidem Ecclesiam sunt vetus et novum Testamentum,
before indeed the-Church are the-old and new Testament
quod 'in aeternum mandatum est' ut ait Propheta; hoc enim est
which for ever commanded it-is as says the-Prophet this for is
quod dicit Ecclesia, loquens ad Sponsum: 'Trahe me post te.'
what says the-Church speaking to the-Spouse draw me after you
Cum Ecclesia vero sunt veneranda illa Concilia principalia,
with the-Church but are venerable those Councils principal
quibus Christum interfuisse nemo fidelis dubitat,
at-which Christ to-have-been-present no faithful-man doubts
quum habeamus Ipsum dixisse discipulis, ascensurus in
since we-have Him to-have-said to-the-disciples about-to-ascend into
coelum: 'Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad
heaven behold I with-you am all days even to
consummationem saeculi,' ut Matthaeus testatur. Sunt etiam
the-consummation of-the-age as Matthew testifies there-are also
scripturae Doctorum, Augustini et aliorum, quos a Spiritu
the-writings of-the-Doctors Augustine and others whom by the-Spirit

Sancto adiutos qui dubitat, fructus eorum vel omnino non
Holy helped who doubts the-fruits their either at-all not
vidit, vel si vidit minime degustavit.
saw or if he-saw by-no-means tasted
Post Ecclesiam vero sunt traditiones, quas Decretales dicunt:
after the-Church but are the-traditions which Decretals they-call
quae quidem etsi auctoritate Apostolica sunt venerandae,
which indeed even-if by-authority Apostolic they-are to-be-venerated
fundamentali tamen Scripturae postponendas esse dubitandum
to-fundamental yet Scripture to-be-placed-after to-be to-be-doubted
non est; quum Christus Sacerdotes obiurgaverit de contrario.
not it-is since Christ the-Priests rebuked about the-contrary
Quum enim interrogassent, 'Quare discipuli tui traditionem
when for they-had-asked why disciples your the-tradition
seniorum transgrediuntur?' (negligebant enim manuum
of-the-elders transgress they-neglected for of-hands
lotionem), Christus eis Matthaeo testante, respondit: 'Quare
the-washing Christ to-them Matthew testifying answered why
et vos transgredimini mandatum Dei, propter traditionem
also you transgress the-commandment of-God on-account-of tradition
vestram?' In quo satis innuit, traditionem postponendam.
your in which enough he-indicates tradition to-be-placed-after
Quod si traditiones Ecclesiae post Ecclesiam sunt, ut
but if the-traditions of-the-Church after the-Church are as
declaratum est; necesse est, ut non Ecclesiae a traditionibus,
declared it-is necessary it-is that not to-the-Church from the-traditions
sed ab Ecclesia traditionibus accedat auctoritas, hique,
but from the-Church to-the-traditions come authority and-these
solas traditiones habentes, ab hoc, ut dicebatur, gymnasio
only traditions having from this as was-said wrestling-ground

excludendi sunt. Oportet enim hanc veritatem venantes, ex iis,
to-be-excluded are it-behooves for this truth those-hunting from those
ex quibus Ecclesiae manat auctoritas, investigando procedere.
from which of-the-Church flows the-authority by-investigating to-proceed
His itaque sic exclusis, excludendi sunt alii, qui, corvorum
these therefore thus excluded to-be-excluded are others who of-crows
plumis operti, oves albas in grege Domini se iactant.
with-feathers covered sheep white in the-flock of-the-Lord themselves boast
Hi sunt impietatis filii, qui, ut flagitia sua exsequi
these are of-impiety sons who that crimes their to-carry-out
possint, matrem prostituunt, fratres expellunt, et denique
they-may-be-able the-mother prostitute the-brothers expel and finally
iudicem habere nolunt. Nam cur ad eos ratio quaereretur,
a-judge to-have do-not-wish for why for them reason would-be-sought
quum sua cupiditate detenti principia non viderent?
since by-their cupidity held the-principles not they-would-see
Quapropter cum solis concertatio restat, qui, aliquali zelo
wherefore with those-alone the-contest remains who by-some zeal
erga matrem Ecclesiam ducti, ipsam, quae quaeritur, veritatem
toward mother Church led the-very which is-sought truth
ignorant. Cum quibus illa reverentia fretus, quam pius
are-ignorant-of with whom on-that reverence relying which a-pious
filius debet patri, quam pius filius matri, pius in
son owes to-a-father which a-pious son to-a-mother pious toward
Christum, pius in Ecclesiam, pius in Pastorem, pius
Christ pious toward the-Church pious toward the-Pastor pious
in omnes Christianam religionem profitentes, pro salute
toward all the-Christian religion professing for the-safety
veritatis in hoc libro certamen incipio.
of-truth in this book the-contest I-begin

They argue first from Genesis: God made two great lights, which signify the spiritual and temporal powers, and as the moon has light only from the sun, so the temporal power has authority only from the spiritual. Dante shows how arguments are refuted and warns against misreading Scripture's mystical sense. The two powers cannot be meant, since they are remedies for sin and the lights were made on the fourth day, before man existed. Even granting it, the moon has its own being and motion and only a fuller light from the sun; so the Empire takes from the Church only the light of grace, through the Pope's blessing; light is not authority.

Isti vero ad quos erit tota disputatio sequens, asserentes
these but to whom will-be the-whole disputation following asserting
auctoritatem Imperii ab auctoritate Ecclesiae dependere, velut
the-authority of-the-Empire on the-authority of-the-Church to-depend as
artifex inferior dependet ab architecto, pluribus adversis
the-craftsman lower depends on the-architect by-several adverse
argumentis moventur, quae quidem de sacra Scriptura eliciunt,
arguments are-moved which indeed from sacred Scripture they-draw
et de quibusdam gestis tam summi Pontificis, quam ipsius
and from certain deeds as-well of-the-supreme Pontiff as of-the-very
Imperatoris, nonnullum vero rationis indicium habere nituntur.
Emperor some but of-reason indication to-have they-strive
Dicunt enim primo, secundum scripturam Geneseos, quod
they-say for first according-to the-scripture of-Genesis that
Deus fecit duo magna luminaria, luminare maius, et luminare
God made two great lights a-light greater and a-light
minus, ut alterum praeesset diei, et alterum nocti. Quae
lesser that the-one should-rule the-day and the-other the-night which
allegorice dicta esse intelligebant ista duo regimina, scilicet
allegorically said to-be they-understood those two governments namely
spirituale et temporale. Deinde arguunt, quod quemadmodum
spiritual and temporal then they-argue that just-as

Luna, quae est luminare minus, non habet lucem, nisi prout
the-Moon which is the-light lesser not has light except as
recipit a Sole, sic nec regimen temporale auctoritatem
it-receives from the-Sun so neither the-government temporal authority
habet, nisi prout recipit a spirituali regimine.
has except as it-receives from the-spiritual government
Propter hanc et propter alias eorum rationes dissolvendas,
on-account-of this and on-account-of other their reasons to-be-dissolved
praenotandum quod, sicut Philosopho placet in iis quae
to-be-noted-first that as to-the-Philosopher it-pleases in those which
de sophisticis Elenchis, 'solutio argumenti est erroris
on Sophistical Refutations the-solution of-an-argument is of-the-error
manifestatio.' Et quia error potest esse in materia et in forma
the-manifestation and because error can to-be in the-matter and in the-form
argumenti, dupliciter peccare contingit: aut scilicet adsumendo
of-the-argument in-two-ways to-sin it-happens either namely by-assuming
falsum, aut non syllogizando. Quae duo Philosophus obiciebat
a-false-thing or not by-syllogizing which two the-Philosopher objected
contra Parmenidem et Melissum, dicens: 'Qui falsa recipiunt,
against Parmenides and Melissus saying who false-things accept
et non syllogizantes sunt.' Et accipio hic largo modo falsum,
and not syllogizing are and I-take here in-broad way false
etiam pro inopinabili, quod in materia probabili habet naturam
also for improbable which in matter probable has the-nature
falsi. Si vero in forma sit peccatum, conclusio interimenda
of-the-false if but in the-form be the-fault the-conclusion to-be-destroyed
est ab illo qui solvere vult, ostendendo formam syllogisticam
is by him who to-solve wishes by-showing the-form syllogistic
non esse servatam. Si vero peccatum sit in materia, aut est
not to-be kept if but the-fault be in the-matter either it-is
quia simpliciter falsum adsumptum est, aut quia falsum
because simply a-false-thing assumed is or because false

secundum quid. Si simpliciter, per interemptionem adsumpti
in-some respect if simply by destruction of-the-assumption
solvendum est; si secundum quid, per distinctionem.
to-be-solved it-is if in-some respect by distinction
Hoc viso, ad meliorem huius et aliarum inferius factarum
this seen for the-better of-this and of-the-others below made
solutionum evidentiam, advertendum quod circa sensum
solutions evidence to-be-noted that about the-sense
mysticum dupliciter errare contingit: aut quaerendo ipsum
mystical in-two-ways to-err it-happens either by-seeking it
ubi non est, aut accipiendo aliter quam accipi debeat.
where not it-is or by-taking otherwise than to-be-taken it-ought
Propter primum dicit Augustinus in Civitate Dei: 'Non
on-account-of the-first says Augustine in the-City of-God not
omnia quae gesta narrantur etiam significare aliquid putanda
all-things which done are-narrated also to-signify something to-be-thought
sunt; sed propter illa quae aliquid significant, etiam ea
are but on-account-of those which something signify also those
quae nihil significant, attexuntur. Solo vomere terra
which nothing signify are-woven-in by-the-sole plowshare the-earth
proscinditur; sed ut hoc fieri possit, etiam caetera
is-cleft but that this to-be-done may-be-able also the-other
aratri membra sunt necessaria.'
of-the-plow parts are necessary
Propter secundum, idem ait in Doctrina Christiana, loquens
on-account-of the-second the-same says in Doctrine Christian speaking
de illo, qui vult aliud in scripturis sentire, quam ille qui
about him who wishes other-thing in the-scriptures to-understand than he who
scripsit eas dicit, quod 'ita fallitur, ac si quisquam deserens
wrote them he-says that so he-is-deceived as if anyone leaving
viam, eo tamen per gyrum pergeret quo via illa perducit.' Et
the-road thither yet by a-circuit should-proceed where road that leads and

subdit: 'Demonstrandum est, ut consuetudine deviandi etiam
he-adds to-be-shown it-is that by-the-habit of-straying also
in transversum aut perversum ire cogatur.' Deinde innuit
into crossways or wrong-way to-go he-be-forced then he-indicates
causam, quare cavendum sit hoc in scripturis, dicens:
the-cause why to-be-guarded-against be this in the-scriptures saying
'Titubabit fides, si divinarum scripturarum vacillat auctoritas.'
will-totter faith if of-the-divine scriptures wavers the-authority
Ego autem dico, quod si talia fuerint de ignorantia,
I but say that if such-things will-have-been from ignorance
correptione diligenter adhibita, ignoscendum est, sicut
correction diligently applied to-be-pardoned it-is as
ignoscendum esset illi, qui leonem in nubibus formidaret.
to-be-pardoned would-be to-him who a-lion in the-clouds should-dread
Si vero industria, non aliter cum sic errantibus est agendum,
if but from-design not otherwise with so the-erring it-is to-be-dealt
quam cum tyrannis, qui publica iura non ad communem
than with tyrants who public rights not to common
utilitatem sequuntur, sed ad propriam retorquere conantur.
utility follow but to their-own to-twist strive
Oh summum facinus, etiamsi contingat in somniis, aeterni
oh highest crime even-if it-happen in dreams of-the-eternal
Spiritus intentione abuti! Non enim peccatur in Moysen,
Spirit the-intention to-abuse not for it-is-sinned against Moses
non in David, non in Iob, non in Matthaeum,
not against David not against Job not against Matthew
nec in Paulum, sed in Spiritum Sanctum, qui loquitur
nor against Paul but against the-Spirit Holy who speaks
in illis. Nam quamquam scribae divini eloquii multi sint,
in them for although the-scribes of-divine speech many be

unicus tamen dictator est Deus, qui beneplacitum suum
single yet the-dictator is God who good-pleasure his
nobis per multorum calamos explicare dignatus est.
to-us through of-many the-pens to-unfold deigned has
His itaque praenotatis, ad id quod superius dicebatur dico per
these therefore noted-before to that which above was-said I-reply by
interemptionem illius dicti, quod dicunt: illa duo luminaria
destruction of-that saying which they-say those two lights
typice importare duo haec regimina, in quo quidem dicto
typically to-carry two these governments in which indeed saying
tota vis argumenti consistit. Quod autem ille sensus omnino
the-whole force of-the-argument consists that moreover that sense at-all
sustineri non possit, duplici via potest ostendi. Primo, quia
to-be-sustained not can in-a-double way it-can to-be-shown first because
quum huiusmodi regimina sint accidentia quaedam ipsius
since of-this-kind governments be accidents certain of-the-very
hominis, videretur Deus usus fuisse ordine perverso, accidentia
man it-would-seem God used to-have order perverted the-accidents
prius producendo quam proprium subiectum; quod absurdum
before by-producing than the-proper subject which absurd
est dicere de Deo. Nam illa duo luminaria producta sunt
it-is to-say about God for those two lights produced are
die quarto, et homo die sexto; ut patet in litera.
on-the-day fourth and man on-the-day sixth as is-plain in the-letter
Praeterea, quum ista regimina sint hominum directiva in
moreover since these governments be of-men directive to
quosdam fines, ut infra patebit, si homo stetisset in statu
certain ends as below will-be-plain if man had-stood in the-state
innocentiae, in quo a Deo factus est, talibus directivis non
of-innocence in which by God made he-is of-such directives not
indiguisset. Sunt ergo huiusmodi regimina remedia contra
he-would-have-needed are therefore of-this-kind governments remedies against

infirmitatem peccati. Quum ergo non solum in die quarto
the-infirmity of-sin since therefore not only in the-day fourth
peccator homo non erat, sed etiam simpliciter homo non
a-sinner man not was but also simply man not
erat, producere remedia fuisset otiosum, quod est contra
was to-produce remedies would-have-been idle which is against
divinam bonitatem. Stultus enim esset medicus, qui ante
divine goodness foolish for would-be the-physician who before
nativitatem hominis, pro apostemate futuro, illi emplastrum
the-birth of-a-man for an-abscess future for-him a-plaster
conficeret. Non igitur dicendum est, quod quarto die
should-make not therefore to-be-said it-is that on-the-fourth day
Deus haec duo regimina fecerit; et per consequens intentio
God these two governments made and by consequence the-intention
Moysi esse non potuit illa, quam fingunt.
of-Moses to-be not could that which they-feign
Potest etiam hoc mendacium, tolerando, per distinctionem
can also this lie by-tolerating by distinction
dissolvi. Mitior namque est in adversarium solutio
to-be-dissolved milder for is toward an-adversary the-solution
distinctiva; non enim omnino mentiens esse videtur, sicut
by-distinction not for wholly lying to-be he-seems as
interemptiva illum videri facit. Dico ergo, quod licet Luna
the-destructive him to-seem makes I-say therefore that although the-Moon
non habeat lucem abundanter, nisi ut a Sole recipit, non
not have light abundantly except as from the-Sun it-receives not
propter hoc sequitur, quod ipsa Luna sit a Sole. Unde
on-account-of this it-follows that the-very Moon be from the-Sun whence
sciendum, quod aliud est esse ipsius Lunae, aliud virtus
to-be-known that other is the-to-be of-the-very Moon other the-power
eius, et aliud operari. Quantum est ad esse, nullo modo Luna
its and other to-operate as-far it-is to to-be in-no way the-Moon

dependet a Sole, nec etiam quantum ad virtutem, nec quantum
depends on the-Sun nor even as-far to power nor as-far
ad operationem simpliciter; quia motus eius est a motore
to operation simply because the-motion its is from mover
proprio, influentia sua est a propriis suis radiis. Habet enim
its-own the-influence its is from own its rays it-has for
aliquam lucem ex se, ut in eius eclipsi manifestum est; sed
some light from itself as in its eclipse manifest it-is but
quantum ad melius et virtuosius operandum, recipit aliquid a
as-far to better and more-powerfully operating it-receives something from
Sole, quia lucem abundantem, qua recepta, virtuosius operatur.
the-Sun namely light abundant which received more-powerfully it-operates
Sic ergo dico, quod regnum temporale non recipit esse
so therefore I-say that the-kingdom temporal not receives to-be
a spirituali, nec virtutem, quae est eius auctoritas, nec
from the-spiritual nor power which is its authority nor
etiam operationem simpliciter; sed bene ab eo recipit, ut
even operation simply but well from it it-receives that
virtuosius operetur per lucem gratiae, quam in coelo
more-powerfully it-operate through the-light of-grace which in heaven
et in terra benedictio summi Pontificis infundit illi. Et
and on earth the-blessing of-the-supreme Pontiff pours-into it and
ideo argumentum peccabat in forma: quia praedicatum in
therefore the-argument was-faulty in form because the-predicate in
conclusione non est extremitas maioris, ut patet; procedit
the-conclusion not is the-extreme of-the-major as is-plain it-proceeds
enim sic: Luna recipit lucem a Sole, qui est regimen
for thus the-Moon receives light from the-Sun which is the-government
spirituale; regimen temporale est Luna: ergo regimen
spiritual the-government temporal is the-Moon therefore the-government
temporale recipit auctoritatem a regimine spirituali. Nam
temporal receives authority from the-government spiritual for

in extremitate maioris, ponunt lucem: in praedicato vero
in the-extreme of-the-major they-place light in the-predicate but
conclusionis, auctoritatem: quae sunt res diversae subiecto
of-the-conclusion authority which are things different in-subject
et ratione, ut visum est.
and in-notion as seen it-is

V · LEVI AND JUDAH

They argue from Moses that Levi and Judah, sons of Jacob, figure the priesthood and the kingship, and as Levi was born first, so the Church comes first in authority. Even granting the figure, the argument fails in form, since birth and authority are different things, and the older does not always rule: many bishops are younger than their archpriests.

Adsumunt etiam argumentum de litera Moysi, dicentes, quod
they-assume also an-argument from the-letter of-Moses saying that
de femore Iacob fluxit figura horum duorum regiminum,
from the-thigh of-Jacob flowed a-figure of-these two governments
quia Levi et Iudas; quorum alter fuit pater sacerdotii,
namely Levi and Judah of-whom the-one was father of-the-priesthood
alter vero regiminis temporalis. Deinde sic arguunt ex
the-other but of-the-government temporal then thus they-argue from
iis: Sicut se habuit Levi ad Iudam, sic se habet Ecclesia
these as itself held Levi to Judah so itself holds the-Church
ad Imperium. Levi praecessit Iudam in nativitate, ut patet
to the-Empire Levi preceded Judah in birth as is-plain
in litera: ergo Ecclesia praecedit Imperium in auctoritate.
in the-letter therefore the-Church precedes the-Empire in authority

Et hoc vero de facili solvitur: nam quod dicunt, quod
and this indeed with ease is-solved for that-which they-say that
Levi et Iudas, filii Iacob, figurant ista regimina, possem
Levi and Judah sons of-Jacob figure these governments I-could
similiter hoc interimendo dissolvere; sed concedatur. Et
likewise this by-destroying to-dissolve but let-it-be-granted and
quum arguendo inferunt: Sicut Levi praecedit in nativitate,
when by-arguing they-infer as Levi precedes in birth
sic Ecclesia in auctoritate, dico similiter, quod aliud est
so the-Church in authority I-say likewise that other is
praedicatum conclusionis, et aliud maior extremitas: nam
the-predicate of-the-conclusion and other the-major extreme for
aliud est auctoritas, et aliud nativitas, subiecto et ratione;
other is authority and other birth in-subject and in-notion
propter quod peccatur in forma. Et est similis processus
on-account-of which it-is-sinned in form and it-is like the-process
huic: A praecedit B in C; D et E se habent ut A et
to-this A precedes B in C D and E themselves hold as A and
B: ergo D praecedit E in F; F vero et C diversa sunt.
B therefore D precedes E in F F but and C different are
Et si facerent instantiam dicentes, quod F sequitur ad C, hoc
and if they-made an-objection saying that F follows upon C that
est auctoritas ad nativitatem, et pro antecedente bene infertur
is authority upon birth and for the-antecedent well is-inferred
consequens, ut animal pro homine; dico quod falsum est:
the-consequent as animal for man I-say that false it-is
multi enim sunt maiores natu, qui non solum in auctoritate
many for are greater by-birth who not only in authority
non praecedunt, sed etiam praeceduntur a minoribus, ut patet,
not precede but also are-preceded by the-younger as is-plain

ubi Episcopi sunt tempore iuniores, quam sui Archipresbyteri.
where Bishops are in-time younger than their Archpriests
Et sic instantia videtur errare secundum non causam ut causa.
and thus the-objection seems to-err according-to non cause as cause

VI · SAMUEL AND SAUL

They argue from the book of Kings that Samuel, God's vicar, deposed Saul and gave his throne to another, so God's vicar now can give and take away the scepter. But Samuel acted not as a vicar but as a messenger carrying God's express command. A vicar has jurisdiction to act on his own judgment, while a messenger, like a hammer in a smith's hand, acts only by the will of the one who sends him; God has done much through angels that his vicar cannot do.

De litera vero primi libri Regum adsumunt etiam
from the-letter but of-the-first book of-Kings they-assume also
creationem et depositionem Saulis: et dicunt, quod Saul,
the-creation and deposition of-Saul and they-say that Saul
rex inthronizatus, fuit depositus per Samuelem, qui vice
king enthroned was deposed by Samuel who in-the-stead
Dei de praecepto fungebatur; ut in litera patet. Et ex hoc
of-God by command acted as in the-letter is-plain and from this
arguunt, quod quemadmodum ille Dei vicarius auctoritatem
they-argue that just-as that of-God vicar authority
habuit dandi et tollendi regimen temporale, et in alium
had of-giving and of-taking-away government temporal and to another
transferendi: sic et nunc Dei vicarius, Ecclesiae universalis
of-transferring so also now of-God the-vicar of-the-Church universal
antistes, auctoritatem habet dandi et tollendi, et etiam
the-prelate authority has of-giving and of-taking-away and also
transferendi sceptrum regiminis temporalis. Ex quo sine
of-transferring the-scepter of-government temporal from which without

dubio sequeretur, quod auctoritas Imperii dependeret, ut
doubt it-would-follow that the-authority of-the-Empire would-depend as
dicunt Et ad hoc dicendum, per interemptionem eius quod
they-say and to this to-be-said by destruction of-that which
dicunt Samuelem Dei vicarium, quia non ut vicarius, sed
they-say Samuel of-God vicar because not as vicar but
ut legatus specialis ad hoc, sive nuncius, portans mandatum
as legate special for this or messenger carrying the-command
Domini expressum, hoc fecit. Quod patet, quia quidquid
of-the-Lord express this he-did which is-plain because whatever
Deus dixit, hoc fecit solum, et hoc retulit.
God said this he-did only and this he-reported
Unde sciendum, quod aliud est esse vicarium, aliud est esse
whence to-be-known that other it-is to-be a-vicar other it-is to-be
nuncium sive ministrum; sicut aliud est esse doctorem, aliud
a-messenger or minister as other it-is to-be a-teacher other
est esse interpretem. Nam vicarius est, cui iurisdictio cum
it-is to-be an-interpreter for a-vicar is one-to-whom jurisdiction with
lege vel cum arbitrio commissa est; et ideo intra terminos
law or with discretion committed is and therefore within the-bounds
iurisdictionis commissae de lege vel de arbitrio potest agere circa
of-the-jurisdiction committed by law or by discretion he-can to-act about
aliquid, quod dominus omnino ignorat. Nuncius autem non
something which the-lord wholly is-ignorant-of a-messenger but not
potest, in quantum nuncius; sed quemadmodum malleus in sola
can in as-much-as messenger but just-as a-hammer by the-sole
virtute fabri operatur, sic et nuncius in solo arbitrio eius,
power of-the-smith operates so also a-messenger by the-sole discretion of-him
qui mittit illum. Non igitur sequitur, si Deus per nuncium
who sends him not therefore it-follows if God through the-messenger
Samuelem fecit hoc, quod vicarius Dei hoc facere possit.
Samuel did this that the-vicar of-God this to-do can

Multa enim Deus per Angelos fecit, et facit et facturus
many-things for God through Angels has-done and does and about-to-do
est, quae vicarius Dei, Petri successor, facere non posset.
is which the-vicar of-God Peter's successor to-do not could
Unde argumentum istorum est a toto ad partem,
whence the-argument of-these is from the-whole to the-part
construendo sic: Homo potest audire et videre; ergo oculus
by-constructing thus man can to-hear and to-see therefore the-eye
potest audire et videre, et hoc non tenet. Teneret autem
can to-hear and to-see and this not holds it-would-hold but
destructive sic: Homo non potest volare, ergo nec brachia
destructively thus man not can to-fly therefore neither the-arms
hominis possunt volare. Et similiter sic: Deus per nuncium
of-man can to-fly and likewise thus God through a-messenger
facere non potest, genita non esse genita, iuxta
to-make not can things-begotten not to-be begotten according-to
sententiam Agathonis; ergo nec vicarius eius facere potest.
the-saying of-Agathon therefore neither vicar his to-make can

They argue from Matthew that Christ received frankincense and gold to show himself lord of things spiritual and temporal, so his vicar is lord of both. Dante grants the text and its meaning but not the inference, which has four terms: God is lord of both, and the Pope is God's vicar, but a vicar is not God. No vicar, divine or human, equals his principal: Peter's successor cannot make earth rise or fire fall, nor could God commit to him the power to create; nor can a prince give a vicar all his authority.

Adsumunt etiam de litera Matthaei Magorum oblationem,
they-assume also from the-letter of-Matthew of-the-Magi the-offering
dicentes Christum recepisse simul thus et aurum, ad
saying Christ to-have-received together frankincense and gold for
significandum seipsum dominum et gubernatorem spiritualium
signifying himself lord and governor of-spiritual-things
et temporalium. Ex quo inferunt, Christi vicarium dominum
and temporal-things from which they-infer Christ's vicar lord
et gubernatorem eorundem; et, per consequens, habere
and governor of-the-same and by consequence to-have
utrorumque auctoritatem.
of-both authority
Ad hoc respondens, literam Matthaei et sensum confiteor: sed
to this answering the-letter of-Matthew and the-sense I-confess but
quod ex illa inferre conantur, in termino deficit. Syllogizant
what from it to-infer they-try in the-term fails they-syllogize
enim sic: Deus est dominus spiritualium et temporalium:
for thus God is lord of-spiritual-things and temporal-things
summus Pontifex est vicarius Dei; ergo est dominus
the-supreme Pontiff is the-vicar of-God therefore he-is lord
spiritualium et temporalium. Utraque namque propositio vera
of-spiritual-things and temporal-things each for proposition true

est, sed medium variatur et arguitur in quatuor terminis, in
is but the-middle is-varied and it-is-argued in four terms in
quibus forma syllogistica non salvatur; ut patet ex iis quae
which the-form syllogistic not is-saved as is-plain from those which
de Syllogismo simpliciter. Nam aliud est Deus, quod subicitur
on the-Syllogism simply for other is God which is-subject
in maiori; et aliud vicarius Dei, quod praedicatur in minori.
in the-major and other the-vicar of-God which is-predicated in the-minor
Et si quis instaret de vicarii aequivalentia, inutilis est
and if anyone should-urge about the-vicar's equivalence useless is
instantia; quia nullus vicariatus sive divinus, sive humanus,
the-objection because no vicariate whether divine or human
aequivalere potest principali auctoritati: quod patet de levi.
to-be-equivalent can to-the-principal authority which is-plain with ease
Nam scimus, quod successor Petri non aequivalet divinae
for we-know that the-successor of-Peter not is-equivalent to-divine
auctoritati, saltem in operatione naturae; non enim posset
authority at-least in the-operation of-nature not for could
facere, terram ascendere sursum, nec ignem descendere
to-make earth to-ascend upward nor fire to-descend
deorsum, per officium sibi commissum. Nec etiam possent
downward through the-office to-him entrusted nor also could
omnia sibi committi a Deo; quoniam potestatem creandi, et
all-things to-him to-be-entrusted by God since the-power of-creating and
similiter baptizandi nullo modo Deus committere posset, ut
likewise of-baptizing in-no way God to-entrust could as
evidenter probatur, licet Magister contrarium dixerit in quarto.
evidently is-proved although the-Master the-contrary said in the-fourth
Scimus etiam, quod vicarius hominis non aequivalet ei,
we-know also that the-vicar of-a-man not is-equivalent to-him
quantum in hoc quod vicarius est, quia nemo potest dare
as-far in this that vicar he-is because no-one can to-give

quod suum non est. Auctoritas principalis non est principis
what his not is the-authority principal not is the-prince's
nisi ad usum, quia nullus princeps seipsum auctorizare
except for use because no prince himself to-authorize
potest; recipere autem potest, atque dimittere, sed alium
can to-receive but he-can and to-give-up but another
creare non potest, quia creatio principis ex principe non
to-create not he-can because the-creation of-a-prince from a-prince not
dependet. Quod si ita est, manifestum est, quod nullus
depends but if so it-is manifest it-is that no
princeps potest sibi substituere vicarium in omnibus
prince can for-himself to-substitute a-vicar in all-things
aequivalentem; quare instantia nullam efficaciam habet.
equivalent wherefore the-objection no efficacy has

VIII · THE POWER TO BIND AND LOOSE

They argue from Christ's words to Peter, "whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven," that the Pope can loose and bind the laws and decrees of the Empire. Dante grants the minor premise but distinguishes the major: whatever *never extends beyond the term it governs. Taken absolutely, it would let him dissolve a marriage, which he cannot, or absolve the unrepentant, which not even God could do; it refers to the office of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and it is not shown that the Empire's laws belong to that office.*

Item adsumunt de litera eiusdem illud Christi ad Petrum:
likewise they-assume from the-letter of-the-same that of-Christ to Peter
'Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in
and whatever you-will-bind upon earth will-be bound also in
coelis; et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et
heaven and whatever you-will-loose upon earth will-be loosed also

in coelis:' quod etiam omnibus Apostolis esse dictum similiter,
in heaven which also to-all the-Apostles to-be said likewise
accipiunt de litera Matthaei, similiter et Ioannis. Ex quo
they-take from the-letter of-Matthew likewise and of-John from which
arguunt, successorem Petri omnia de concessione Dei posse
they-argue the-successor of-Peter all-things by grant of-God to-be-able
tam ligare quam solvere, et inde inferunt, posse solvere
as-well to-bind as to-loose and thence they-infer to-be-able to-loose
leges et decreta Imperii, atque leges et decreta ligare pro
the-laws and decrees of-the-Empire and laws and decrees to-bind for
regimine temporali; unde bene sequeretur illud, quod dicunt.
government temporal whence well would-follow that which they-say
Et dicendum ad hoc per distinctionem contra maiorem
and to-be-said to this by distinction against the-major
syllogismi, quo utuntur. Syllogizant enim sic: Petrus potuit
of-the-syllogism which they-use they-syllogize for thus Peter could
solvere omnia et ligare: successor Petri potest quidquid
to-loose all-things and to-bind the-successor of-Peter can whatever
Petrus potuit; ergo successor Petri potest omnia solvere
Peter could therefore the-successor of-Peter can all-things to-loose
et ligare. Unde inferunt, auctoritatem et decreta Imperii
and to-bind whence they-infer the-authority and decrees of-the-Empire
solvere et ligare ipsum posse.
to-loose and to-bind him to-be-able
Minorem concedo, maiorem vero non sine distinctione. Et
the-minor I-grant the-major but not without distinction and
ideo dico, quod hoc signum universale 'Omne,' quod includitur
therefore I-say that this sign universal every which is-included
in 'quodcumque,' numquam distribuit extra ambitum termini
in whatever never distributes outside the-compass of-the-term
distributi. Nam si dico: 'Omne animal currit;' omne distribuit
distributed for if I-say every animal runs every distributes

pro omni eo quod sub genere animalis comprehenditur. Si
for all that which under the-genus of-animal is-comprehended if
vero dico: 'Omnis homo currit;' tunc signum universale non
but I-say every man runs then the-sign universal not
distribuit, nisi pro suppositis huius termini, homo. Et quum
distributes except for the-supposits of-this term man and when
dico: 'Omnis grammaticus;' tunc distributio magis coarctatur.
I-say every grammarian then the-distribution more is-narrowed
Propter quod semper videndum est, quid est quod
on-account-of which always to-be-seen it-is what is that-which
signum universale habet distribuere: quo viso, facile apparebit
the-sign universal has to-distribute which seen easily will-appear
quantum sua distributio dilatetur, cognita natura et ambitu
how-far its distribution be-extended known the-nature and compass
termini distributi. Unde quum dicitur, 'Quodcumque ligaveris';
of-the-term distributed whence when it-is-said whatever you-will-bind
si hoc 'quodcumque' sumeretur absolute, verum esset quod
if this whatever were-taken absolutely true would-be what
dicunt, et non solum hoc facere posset, quin etiam solvere
they-say and not only this to-do he-could but also to-loose
uxorem a viro, et ligare ipsam alteri, vivente primo,
a-wife from a-husband and to-bind her to-another living the-first
quod nullo modo potest. Posset etiam solvere me non
which in-no way he-can he-could also to-loose me not
poenitentem, quod etiam facere ipse Deus non posset.
repenting which also to-do the-very God not could
Quum ergo ita sit, manifestum est quod non absolute
since therefore so it-be manifest it-is that not absolutely
sumenda est illa distributio, sed respective ad aliquid. Quid
to-be-taken is that distribution but relatively to something what
autem illa respiciat, satis est evidens, considerato illo quod
but that regards enough is evident considered that which

sibi conceditur, circa quod illa distributio subiungitur. Dicit
to-him is-granted about which that distribution is-subjoined says
enim Christus Petro: Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum;
for Christ to-Peter to-you I-shall-give the-keys of-the-kingdom of-the-heavens
hoc est: Faciam te ostiarium regni coelorum. Deinde
that is I-shall-make you doorkeeper of-the-kingdom of-the-heavens then
subdit: 'Et quodcumque,' quod est 'omne quod': id est,
he-adds and whatever which is every which that is
omne quod ad istud officium spectabit, solvere poteris
every which to that office will-pertain to-loose you-will-be-able
et ligare. Et sic signum universale quod includitur in
and to-bind and thus the-sign universal which is-included in
'Quodcumque,' contrahitur in sua distributione ab officio
whatever is-contracted in its distribution by the-office
clavium regni coelorum. Et sic adsumendo, vera est illa
of-the-keys of-the-kingdom of-the-heavens and thus by-assuming true is that
propositio; absolute vero non, ut patet. Et ideo dico quod
proposition absolutely but not as is-plain and therefore I-say that
etsi successor Petri, secundum exigentiam officii commissi
even-if the-successor of-Peter according-to the-requirement of-the-office entrusted
Petro, possit solvere et ligare; non tamen propter hoc
to-Peter can to-loose and to-bind not yet on-account-of this
sequitur quod possit solvere seu ligare decreta Imperii, sive
it-follows that he-can to-loose or to-bind the-decrees of-the-Empire or
leges, ut ipsi dicebant, nisi ulterius probaretur hoc spectare
laws as they said unless further were-proved this to-pertain
ad officium clavium; cuius contrarium inferius ostendetur.
to the-office of-the-keys whose contrary below will-be-shown

They argue from Peter's "Here are two swords" that both powers rest with his successor. But Christ, at the Last Supper with all twelve, told each to buy a sword against the persecution to come, and Peter answered, as was his way, on the surface of things; Dante lists Peter's impulsive replies through the Gospels in praise of his simplicity. If the swords are figurative, they are the sword Christ came to bring, of word and deed.

Accipiunt etiam illud Lucae, quod Petrus dicit Christo, cum
they-take also that of-Luke which Peter says to-Christ when
ait: 'Ecce duo gladii hic;' et dicunt, quod per illos duos
he-says behold two swords here and they-say that by those two
gladios duo praedicta regimina intelliguntur; quae quoniam
swords the-two aforesaid governments are-understood which since
Petrus dixit esse ibi, ubi erat, hoc est apud se, inde
Peter said to-be there where he-was that is with himself thence
arguunt illa duo regimina, secundum auctoritatem, apud
they-argue those two governments according-to authority with
successorem Petri consistere.
the-successor of-Peter to-consist
Et ad hoc dicendum, per interemptionem sensus in quo
and to this to-be-said by destruction of-the-sense in which
fundatur argumentum. Dicunt enim illos duos gladios
is-founded the-argument they-say for those two swords
quos adsignaverit Petrus duo praefata regimina importare:
which assigned Peter the-two aforesaid governments to-import
quod omnino negandum est, tum quia illa responsio non
which wholly to-be-denied is both because that answer not
fuisset ad intentionem Christi, tum quia Petrus, de
would-have-been to the-intention of-Christ and because Peter by
more, subito respondebat ad rerum superficiem tantum.
custom suddenly used-to-answer to of-things the-surface only

Quod autem responsio non fuisset ad intentionem Christi,
that moreover the-answer not would-have-been to the-intention of-Christ
non erit immanifestum, si considerentur verba praecedentia
not will-be unmanifest if be-considered the-words preceding
et causa verborum. Propter quod sciendum quod hoc
and the-cause of-the-words on-account-of which to-be-known that this
dictum fuit in die coenae; unde Lucas incipit superius
said was on the-day of-the-supper whence Luke begins above
sic: 'Venit autem dies azymorum, in quo necesse erat
thus came moreover the-day of-unleavened-bread on which necessary it-was
occidi Pascha;' in qua quidem coena praeloquutus fuerat
to-be-killed the-Passover in which indeed supper spoken-beforehand had
Christus de ingruente passione, in qua oportebat ipsum
Christ about the-impending passion in which it-behooved him
separari a discipulis suis. Item sciendum quod ubi ista
to-be-separated from disciples his likewise to-be-known that where those
verba intervenerunt, erant simul omnes duodecim discipuli;
words intervened were together all twelve disciples
unde parum post verba praemissa dicit Lucas: 'Et quum
whence a-little after the-words premised says Luke and when
facta esset hora, discubuit, et duodecim Apostoli cum eo.'
come was the-hour he-reclined and the-twelve Apostles with him
Et ex hinc continuato colloquio venit ad haec: 'Quando
and from here continued the-conversation he-comes to these-things when
misi vos sine sacculo et pera et calceamentis, numquid
I-sent you without purse and scrip and shoes surely-not
aliquid defuit vobis? At illi dixerunt: Nihil. Dixit ergo eis:
anything lacked to-you but they said nothing he-said therefore to-them
Sed nunc, qui habet sacculum, tollat, similiter et peram;
but now who has a-purse let-him-take likewise also a-scrip
et qui non habet, vendat tunicam, et emat gladium.'
and who not has let-him-sell his-tunic and let-him-buy a-sword

In quo satis aperte intentio Christi manifestatur; non enim
in which enough openly the-intention of-Christ is-manifested not for
dixit: Ematis, vel habeatis duos gladios, imo duodecim, quum
he-said buy or have two swords nay twelve since
ad duodecim discipulos diceret: 'Qui non habet, emat,' ut
to twelve disciples he-said who not has let-him-buy that
quilibet haberet unum. Et hoc etiam dicebat, praemonens
each might-have one and this also he-said forewarning
eos pressuram futuram, et despectum futurum erga eos,
them of-the-oppression future and the-contempt future toward them
quasi diceret: 'Quousque fui vobiscum, recepti eratis, nunc
as-if he-said as-long-as I-was with-you received you-were now
fugabimini; unde oportet vos praeparare vobis etiam
you-will-be-put-to-flight whence it-behooves you to-prepare for-yourselves even
ea quae iam prohibui vobis, propter necessitatem.' Itaque
those which already I-forbade you on-account-of necessity so
si responsio Petri, quae est ad hoc, fuisset sub intentione illa,
if the-answer of-Peter which is to this had-been under intention that
iam non fuisset ad eam quae erat Christi; de quo
already not it-would-have-been to that which was Christ's about which
Christus ipsum increpasset, sicut multoties increpuit, quum
Christ him would-have-rebuked as many-times he-rebuked when
inscie responderet. Hic autem non fecit, sed acquievit:
unknowingly he-answered here but not he-did but acquiesced
dicens ei: 'Satis est;' quasi diceret: 'Propter necessitatem
saying to-him enough it-is as-if he-said on-account-of necessity
dico; sed si quilibet habere non potest, duo sufficere possunt.'
I-say but if each to-have not can two to-suffice can
Et quod Petrus de more ad superficiem loqueretur, probat
and that Peter by custom to the-surface spoke proves
eius festina et impraemeditata praesumptio, ad quam non
his hasty and unpremeditated presumption to which not

solum fidei sinceritas impellebat, sed, ut credo, puritas
only of-faith sincerity impelled but as I-believe purity
et simplicitas naturalis. Hanc suam praesumptionem scribae
and simplicity natural this his presumption the-scribes
Christi testantur omnes.
of-Christ attest all
Scribit autem Matthaeus, quum Iesus interrogasset discipulos:
writes moreover Matthew when Jesus had-asked the-disciples
'Quem me esse dicitis?' Petrum ante omnes respondisse: 'Tu es
whom me to-be you-say Peter before all to-have-answered you are
Christus, filius Dei vivi.' Scribit etiam quod, quum Christus
Christ the-son of-God living writes also that when Christ
diceret discipulis quia oportebat eum ire in Hierusalem et
said to-the-disciples that it-behooved him to-go into Jerusalem and
multa pati; Petrus adsumpsit eum et coepit increpare illum,
many-things to-suffer Peter took him and began to-rebuke him
dicens: 'Absit a te, Domine; non erit tibi hoc.' Ad quem
saying far-be-it from you O-Lord not will-be to-you this to whom
Christus, redarguens, conversus dixit: 'Vade post me, Satana.'
Christ reproving turned said get behind me O-Satan
Item scribit, quod in monte transfigurationis, in conspectu
likewise he-writes that on the-mount of-the-transfiguration in the-sight
Christi, Moysi, et Heliae, et duorum filiorum Zebedaei,
of-Christ of-Moses and of-Elijah and of-the-two sons of-Zebedee
dixit: 'Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: si vis, faciamus hic
he-said O-Lord good it-is us here to-be if you-wish let-us-make here
tria tabernacula, tibi unum, Moysi unum, et Heliae unum.'
three tabernacles for-you one for-Moses one and for-Elijah one

Item scribit, quod quum discipuli essent in navicula
likewise he-writes that when the-disciples were in the-little-boat
tempore noctis, et Christus ambularet super aquam, Petrus
at-the-time of-night and Christ walked upon the-water Peter
dixit 'Domine, si tu es, iube me ad te venire super aquas.'
said O-Lord if you are bid me to you to-come upon the-waters
Item scribit, quod quum Christus praenunciaret scandalum
likewise he-writes that when Christ foretold scandal
discipulis suis, Petrus respondit: 'Etsi omnes scandalizati
to-the-disciples his Peter answered even-if all scandalized
fuerint in te, ego nunquam scandalizabor.' Et infra: 'Etiamsi
will-have-been in you I never shall-be-scandalized and below even-if
oportuerit me mori tecum, non te negabo.' Et hoc etiam
it-should-behoove me to-die with-you not you I-shall-deny and this also
contestatur Marcus. Lucas vero scribit Petrum etiam dixisse
attests Mark Luke but writes Peter also to-have-said
Christo, parum supra verba praemissa de gladiis: 'Domine,
to-Christ a-little above the-words premised about the-swords O-Lord
tecum paratus sum et in carcerem et in mortem ire.'
with-you ready I-am both into prison and into death to-go
Ioannes autem dicit de illo quod quum Christus vellet
John moreover says about him that when Christ wished
sibi lavare pedes, Petrus ait: 'Domine, tu mihi lavas
for-him to-wash the-feet Peter said O-Lord you for-me wash
pedes?' Et infra: 'Non lavabis mihi pedes in aeternum.'
the-feet and below not you-will-wash for-me the-feet for ever
Dicit etiam ipsum gladio percussisse ministri servum:
he-says also him with-a-sword to-have-struck of-the-minister the-servant
quod etiam conscribunt omnes quatuor.
which also write all four

Dicit etiam Ioannes ipsum introivisse subito, quum venit
says also John him to-have-entered at-once when he-came
in monumentum, videns alium discipulum cunctantem ad
into the-tomb seeing the-other disciple hesitating at
ostium.
the-door
Dicit iterum quod exsistente Iesu in litore, post resurrectionem,
he-says again that being Jesus on the-shore after the-resurrection
quum Petrus audisset quia Dominus esset, tunica subcinxit
when Peter had-heard that the-Lord it-was with-his-tunic he-girded
se (erat enim nudus), et misit se in mare.
himself he-was for naked and threw himself into the-sea
Ultimo dicit quod quum Petrus vidisset Ioannem, dixit Iesu:
lastly he-says that when Peter had-seen John he-said to-Jesus
'Domine, hic autem quid?'
O-Lord this-one moreover what
Iuvat quippe talia de Archimandrita nostro in laudem
it-pleases indeed such-things about Archimandrite our in praise
suae puritatis continuasse, in quibus aperte deprehenditur,
of-his purity to-have-continued in which openly is-detected
quod quum de duobus gladiis loquebatur, intentione simplici
that when about two swords he-spoke with-intention simple
respondebat ad Christum.
he-answered to Christ
Quod si verba illa Christi et Petri typice sunt accipienda,
but if words those of-Christ and of-Peter typically are to-be-taken
non ad hoc quod dicunt isti trahenda sunt, sed referenda sunt
not to this which they-say these to-be-drawn are but to-be-referred are
ad sensum illius gladii de quo scribit Matthaeus sic: 'Nolite
to the-sense of-that sword about which writes Matthew thus do-not
arbitrari quia veni pacem mittere in terram; non veni pacem
think that I-came peace to-send upon earth not I-came peace

mittere, sed gladium. Veni enim separare hominem adversus
to-send but a-sword I-came for to-separate a-man against
patrem suum,' etc. Quod quidem fit tam verbo, quam opere.
father his etc which indeed is-done as-well by-word as by-deed
Propter quod dicebat Lucas ad Theophilum: 'quae coepit Iesus
on-account-of which said Luke to Theophilus what began Jesus
facere et docere.' Talem gladium Christus emere praecipiebat,
to-do and to-teach such a-sword Christ to-buy commanded
quem duplicem ibi esse Petrus etiam respondebat. Ad verba
which twofold there to-be Peter also answered to words
enim et opera parati erant per quae facerent quod Christus
for and deeds ready they-were through which they-should-do what Christ
dicebat, se venisse facturum per gladium, ut dictum est.
said himself to-have-come to-do by the-sword as said it-is

X · THE DONATION OF CONSTANTINE

They argue that Constantine, cleansed of leprosy through Sylvester, gave Rome and other imperial dignities to the Church, so no one may hold them except from the Church. Constantine could not alienate the Empire's dignity, since his office is to keep mankind under one will, and dividing it would tear the seamless robe; the Empire's foundation is human right, which it may not destroy; jurisdiction comes before its judge; and the Church was forbidden to possess gold. He could set aside a patrimony for its care, and the Pope could receive it as a steward for Christ's poor.

Dicunt adhuc quidam quod Constantinus Imperator, mundatus
say further certain-ones that Constantine Emperor cleansed
a lepra intercessione Sylvestri, tunc summi Pontificis,
of leprosy by-the-intercession of-Sylvester then supreme Pontiff
Imperii sedem, scilicet Romam, donavit Ecclesiae, cum
of-the-Empire the-seat namely Rome gave to-the-Church with

multis aliis Imperii dignitatibus. Ex quo arguunt, dignitates
many other of-the-Empire dignities from which they-argue dignities
illas deinde neminem adsumere posse, nisi ab Ecclesia
those thereafter no-one to-assume to-be-able unless from the-Church
recipiat, cuius eas esse dicunt. Et ex hoc bene sequeretur
he-receive whose them to-be they-say and from this well would-follow
auctoritatem unam ab alia dependere, ut ipsi volunt.
authority one on another to-depend as they wish
Positis et solutis igitur argumentis quae radices in divinis
set-out and solved therefore the-arguments which roots in divine
eloquiis habere videbantur, restant nunc illa ponenda et
utterances to-have seemed remain now those to-be-set-out and
solvenda quae in gestis Romanis et ratione humana
to-be-solved which in deeds Roman and reason human
radicantur. Ex quibus primum est quod praemittitur, quod
are-rooted from which the-first is what is-premised which
sic syllogizant: Ea quae sunt Ecclesiae, nemo de
thus they-syllogize those-things which are of-the-Church no-one by
iure habere potest, nisi ab Ecclesia; et hoc conceditur.
right to-have can except from the-Church and this is-granted
Romanum regimen est Ecclesiae; ergo ipsum nemo de iure
the-Roman government is of-the-Church therefore it no-one by right
habere potest, nisi ab Ecclesia. Et minorem probant per
to-have can except from the-Church and the-minor they-prove through
ea quae de Constantino superius tacta sunt.
those which about Constantine above touched are
Hanc ergo minorem interimo; et quum probant, dico
this therefore minor I-destroy and when they-prove I-say
quod sua probatio nulla est, quia Constantinus alienare non
that their proof none is because Constantine to-alienate not
poterat Imperii dignitatem, nec Ecclesia recipere. Et quum
could of-the-Empire the-dignity nor the-Church to-receive and when

pertinaciter instant, quod dico sic ostendi potest: Nemini
stubbornly they-insist what I-say thus to-be-shown can to-no-one
licet ea facere per officium sibi deputatum quae
it-is-allowed those-things to-do through the-office to-him assigned which
sunt contra illud officium; quia sic idem, in quantum idem,
are against that office because thus the-same in as-much-as the-same
esset contrarium sibi ipsi: quod est impossibile. Sed contra
would-be contrary to-itself itself which is impossible but against
officium deputatum Imperatori est scindere imperium; quum
the-office assigned to-the-Emperor is to-cut the-empire since
officium eius sit humanum genus uni velle, et uni nolle
the-office his be the-human race to-one to-will and to-one to-will-not
tenere subiectum, ut in primo huius de facili videri potest:
to-hold subject as in the-first of-this with ease to-be-seen can
ergo scindere Imperium Imperatori non licet. Si ergo
therefore to-cut the-Empire to-the-Emperor not is-allowed if therefore
aliquae dignitates per Constantinum essent alienatae (ut
some dignities by Constantine had-been alienated as
dicunt) ab Imperio, et cessissent in potestatem Ecclesiae,
they-say from the-Empire and had-passed into the-power of-the-Church
scissa esset tunica inconsutilis, quam scindere ausi non sunt
cut would-be the-tunic seamless which to-cut dared not have
etiam qui Christum verum Deum lancea perforarunt.
even those-who Christ true God with-a-lance pierced
Praeterea, sicut Ecclesia suum habet fundamentum, sic et
moreover as the-Church its has foundation so also
Imperium suum: nam Ecclesiae fundamentum Christus est.
the-Empire its for of-the-Church the-foundation Christ is
Unde Apostolus ad Corinthios: ‘Fundamentum aliud nemo
whence the-Apostle to the-Corinthians foundation other no-one
potest ponere, praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus
can to-lay besides that which laid is which is Christ

Iesus.' Ipse est petra, super quam aedificata est Ecclesia;
Jesus he is the-rock upon which built is the-Church
Imperii vero fundamentum ius humanum est. Modo dico
of-the-Empire but the-foundation right human is now I-say
quod sicut Ecclesiae fundamento suo contrariari non licet,
that as for-the-Church to-foundation its to-be-contrary not it-is-allowed
sed debet semper inniti super illud, iuxta illud Canticorum:
but it-ought always to-lean upon it according-to that of-the-Canticles
'Quae est ista, quae ascendit de deserto, delitiis affluens,
who is this who comes-up from the-desert with-delights abounding
innixa super dilectum suum?' sic et Imperio licitum
leaning upon beloved her so also for-the-Empire allowed
non est, contra ius humanum aliquid facere. Sed contra
not it-is against right human anything to-do but against
ius humanum esset, si seipsum Imperium destrueret;
right human it-would-be if itself the-Empire should-destroy
ergo Imperio seipsum destruere non licet. Quum
therefore for-the-Empire itself to-destroy not it-is-allowed since
ergo scindere Imperium esset destruere ipsum, consistente
therefore to-cut the-Empire would-be to-destroy it consisting
Imperio in unitate Monarchiae universalis; manifestum est
the-Empire in the-unity of-the-Monarchy universal manifest it-is
quod Imperii auctoritate fungenti scindere Imperium
that of-the-Empire the-authority to-the-one-exercising to-cut the-Empire
non licet. Quod autem destruere Imperium sit contra ius
not is-allowed that moreover to-destroy the-Empire be against right
humanum, ex superioribus est manifestum.
human from the-above is manifest
Praeterea omnis iurisdictio prior est suo iudice; iudex
moreover every jurisdiction prior is to-its judge the-judge
enim ad iurisdictionem ordinatur, et non e converso. Sed
for to jurisdiction is-ordered and not from the-converse but

Imperium est iurisdictio, omnem temporalem iurisdictionem
the-Empire is a-jurisdiction every temporal jurisdiction
ambitu suo comprehendens; ergo ipsa est prior suo iudice,
in-the-compass its comprehending therefore it is prior to-its judge
qui est Imperator, quia ad ipsam Imperator est ordinatus,
who is the-Emperor because to it the-Emperor is ordered
et non e converso. Ex quo patet quod Imperator ipsam
and not from the-converse from which is-plain that the-Emperor it
permutare non potest, in quantum Imperator, quum ab eo
to-change not can in as-much-as Emperor since from it
recipiat esse quod est. Modo dico sic: Aut ille Imperator
he-receive the-to-be what he-is now I-say thus either that Emperor
erat, quum dicitur Ecclesiae contulisse, aut non. Et si
was when he-is-said to-the-Church to-have-conferred or not and if
non, planum est quod nihil poterat de Imperio conferre.
not plain it-is that nothing he-could of the-Empire to-confer
Si sic, quum talis collatio esset minoratio iurisdictionis,
if so since such conferring would-be a-lessening of-the-jurisdiction
in quantum Imperator, hoc facere non poterat.
in as-much-as Emperor this to-do not he-could
Amplius, si unus Imperator aliquam particulam ab Imperii
further if one Emperor some particle from of-the-Empire
iurisdictione discindere posset, eadem ratione et alius. Et
the-jurisdiction to-cut-off could by-the-same reason also another and
quum iurisdictio temporalis finita sit, et omne finitum
since jurisdiction temporal finite be and everything finite
per finitas decisiones absumatur; sequeretur quod iurisdictio
by finite cuttings be-consumed it-would-follow that the-jurisdiction
prima posset annihilari: quod est irrationabile.
first could to-be-annihilated which is irrational

Adhuc, quum conferens habeat se per modum agentis; et
further since the-one-conferring hold himself by way of-agent and
cui confertur, per modum patientis, ut placet Philosopho
he-to-whom it-is-conferred by way of-patient as pleases the-Philosopher
in quarto ad Nicomachum; non solum ad collationem esse
in the-fourth to Nicomachus not only for the-conferring to-be
licitam requiritur dispositio conferentis, sed etiam eius
lawful is-required the-disposition of-the-one-conferring but also of-him
cui confertur: videtur enim in patiente disposito actus
to-whom it-is-conferred it-seems for in the-patient disposed the-act
activorum inesse. Sed Ecclesia omnino indisposita erat ad
of-the-active-things to-be-in but the-Church wholly undisposed was for
temporalia recipienda, per praeceptum prohibitivum expressum,
temporal-things to-be-received by the-precept prohibitive express
ut habemus per Matthaeum, sic: 'Nolite possidere aurum,
as we-have through Matthew thus do-not possess gold
neque argentum, neque pecuniam in zonis vestris, non peram
nor silver nor money in belts your not a-scrip
in via,' etc. Nam etsi per Lucam habemus relaxationem
on the-way etc for even-if through Luke we-have a-relaxation
praecepti, quantum ad quaedam; ad possessionem tamen
of-the-precept as-far to certain-things for the-possession yet
auri et argenti licentiatam Ecclesiam post prohibitionem
of-gold and silver licensed the-Church after prohibition
illam invenire non potui. Quare si Ecclesia recipere non
that to-find not I-could wherefore if the-Church to-receive not
poterat, dato quod Constantinus hoc facere potuisset de
could granted that Constantine this to-do could of
se; actio tamen illa non erat possibilis, propter patientis
himself the-action yet that not was possible on-account-of the-patient's
indispositionem. Patet igitur quod nec Ecclesia recipere per
indisposition is-plain therefore that neither the-Church to-receive by

modum possessionis, nec ille conferre per modum alienationis
way of-possession nor he to-confer by way of-alienation
poterat. Poterat tamen Imperator, in patrocinium Ecclesiae,
could could yet the-Emperor for the-patronage of-the-Church
patrimonium et alia deputare, immoto semper superiori
a-patrimony and other-things to-assign unmoved always the-superior
dominio, cuius unitas divisionem non patitur. Poterat et
dominion whose unity division not suffers could also
vicarius Dei recipere, non tamquam possessor, sed tamquam
the-vicar of-God to-receive not as possessor but as
fructuum pro Ecclesia pro Christi pauperibus dispensator;
of-the-fruits for the-Church for Christ's poor the-dispenser
quod Apostolos fecisse non ignoratur.
which the-Apostles to-have-done not is-unknown

XI · POPE HADRIAN AND CHARLEMAGNE

They argue that Pope Hadrian called Charlemagne to defend the Church against the Lombards and gave him the imperial dignity, though Michael ruled at Constantinople, so every later emperor depends on the Church. But usurping a right does not make it a right; otherwise the Church's authority would depend on the Emperor, since Otto restored Pope Leo and deposed and exiled Benedict.

Adhuc dicunt, quod Hadrianus Papa Carolum Magnum sibi
further they-say that Hadrian Pope Charles the-Great to-himself
et Ecclesiae advocavit, ob iniuriam Longobardorum
and to-the-Church called-in on-account-of the-injury of-the-Lombards
tempore Desiderii regis eorum, et quod Carolus ab eo
in-the-time of-Desiderius king their and that Charles from him
recepit Imperii dignitatem; non obstante quod Michael
received of-the-Empire the-dignity not standing-in-the-way that Michael

imperabat apud Constantinopolim. Propter quod dicunt, quod
was-ruling at Constantinople on-account-of which they-say that
omnes qui fuerunt Romanorum Imperatores post ipsum, et ipsi
all who were of-the-Romans Emperors after him both they
advocati Ecclesiae sunt, et debent ab Ecclesia advocari. Ex
advocates of-the-Church are and ought by the-Church to-be-called-in from
quo etiam sequeretur illa dependentia quam concludere volunt.
which also would-follow that dependence which to-conclude they-wish
Et ad hoc infringendum dico quod nihil dicunt; usurpatio
and for this to-be-broken I-say that nothing they-say the-usurpation
enim iuris non facit ius. Nam si sic, eodem modo auctoritas
for of-right not makes right for if so in-the-same way the-authority
Ecclesiae probaretur dependere ab Imperatore; postquam
of-the-Church would-be-proved to-depend on the-Emperor after
Otto Imperator Leonem Papam restituit, et Benedictum
Otto Emperor Leo Pope restored and Benedict
deposuit, nec non in exilium in Saxoniam duxit.
deposed and also into exile into Saxony led

They argue from reason: all things of one genus are reduced to one that is their measure; Pope and Emperor are men; and since the Pope is reduced to no one, the Emperor must be reduced to him. Dante grants the premises but finds a fallacy of accident: Pope and Emperor are such by relations, of fatherhood and lordship, not by their humanity. As men they are measured by the best man; as Pope and Emperor, neither falls under the other, so both are reduced to some third, God or a substance below him.

Ratione vero sic arguunt. Sumunt etenim sibi principium
by-reason but thus they-argue they-take for to-themselves a-principle
de decimo primae Philosophiae, dicentes: Omnia quae sunt
from the-tenth of-first Philosophy saying all-things which are
unius generis reducuntur ad unum, quod est mensura
of-one genus are-reduced to one which is the-measure
omnium quae sub illo genere sunt. Sed omnes homines sunt
of-all which under that genus are but all men are
unius generis: ergo debent reduci ad unum, tamquam
of-one genus therefore they-ought to-be-reduced to one as
ad mensuram omnium eorum. Et quum summus Antistes
to the-measure of-all of-them and since the-supreme Prelate
et Imperator sint homines, si conclusio illa est vera, oportet
and the-Emperor be men if the-conclusion that is true it-behooves
quod reducantur ad unum hominem. Et quum Papa non sit
that they-be-reduced to one man and since the-Pope not be
reducendus ad alium, relinquitur quod Imperator, cum omnibus
to-be-reduced to another it-remains that the-Emperor with all
aliis, sit reducendus ad ipsum, tamquam ad mensuram et
others be to-be-reduced to him as to the-measure and
regulam; propter quod sequitur etiam idem quod volunt.
rule on-account-of which follows also the-same which they-wish

Ad hanc rationem solvendam, dico quod quum dicunt:
for this reason to-be-solved I-say that when they-say
Ea quae sunt unius generis oportet reduci ad aliquod
those-things which are of-one genus it-behooves to-be-reduced to some
unum de illo genere, quod est metrum in ipso, verum dicunt.
one of that genus which is the-measure in it true they-say
Et similiter verum dicunt, dicentes quod omnes homines sunt
and likewise true they-say saying that all men are
unius generis. Et similiter verum concludunt, quum inferunt
of-one genus and likewise true they-conclude when they-infer
ex his omnes homines esse reducendos ad unum metrum
from these all men to-be to-be-reduced to one measure
in suo genere. Sed quum ex hac conclusione subinferunt
in their genus but when from this conclusion they-infer-further
de Papa et Imperatore, falluntur secundum accidens.
about the-Pope and the-Emperor they-are-deceived according-to accident
Ad cuius evidentiam sciendum quod aliud est esse hominem,
for whose evidence to-be-known that other it-is to-be man
et aliud est esse Papam. Et eodem modo, aliud est esse
and other it-is to-be Pope and in-the-same way other it-is to-be
hominem, aliud esse Imperatorem; sicut aliud est esse hominem,
man other to-be Emperor as other it-is to-be man
aliud esse patrem et dominum: homo enim est id quod est
other to-be father and lord man for is that which he-is
per formam substantialem, per quam sortitur speciem et
through the-form substantial through which he-obtains species and
genus, et per quam reponitur sub praedicamento substantiae.
genus and through which he-is-placed under the-predicament of-substance
Pater vero est id quod est per formam accidentalem, quae
father but is that which he-is through the-form accidental which
est relatio, per quam sortitur speciem quamdam et genus, et
is relation through which he-obtains species certain and genus and

reponitur sub genere ad aliquid sive relationis. Aliter omnia
is-placed under the-genus to something or of-relation otherwise all-things
reducerentur ad praedicamentum substantiae; quum nulla forma
would-be-reduced to the-predicament of-substance since no form
accidentalis per se subsistat, absque hypostasi substantiae
accidental through itself subsist without the-hypostasis of-a-substance
subsistentis: quod est falsum. Quum ergo Papa et Imperator
subsisting which is false since therefore the-Pope and the-Emperor
sint id quod sunt per quasdam relationes; quia per
be that which they-are through certain relations because through
Papatum et per Imperiatum, quae relationes sunt, altera
the-Papacy and through the-Emperorship which relations are one
sub ambitu paternitatis, et altera sub ambitu dominationis:
under the-compass of-paternity and the-other under the-compass of-dominion
manifestum est quod Papa et Imperator, in quantum
manifest it-is that the-Pope and the-Emperor in as-much-as
huiusmodi, habent reponi sub praedicamento relationis, et
such have to-be-placed under the-predicament of-relation and
per consequens reduci ad aliquod exsistens sub illo genere.
by consequence to-be-reduced to something existing under that genus
Unde dico, quod alia est mensura ad quam habent reduci,
whence I-say that other is the-measure to which they-have to-be-reduced
prout sunt homines; et alia, prout sunt et Papa et
as they-are men and other as they-are both Pope and
Imperator. Nam, prout sunt homines, habent reduci ad
Emperor for as they-are men they-have to-be-reduced to
optimum hominem, qui est mensura omnium aliorum et idea,
the-best man who is the-measure of-all others and the-idea
ut ita dicam, quisquis ille sit, ad exsistentem maxime unum
as so I-may-say whoever he be to the-existing most one
in genere suo; ut haberi potest ex ultimis ad Nicomachum.
in genus his as to-be-had can from the-last to Nicomachus

In quantum vero sunt relativa quaedam, ut patet, reducenda
in as-much-as but they-are relatives certain as is-plain to-be-reduced
sunt vel ad invicem, si alterum subalternatur alteri; vel in
they-are either to each-other if the-one is-subalternated to-the-other or in
specie communicant per naturam relationis; vel ad aliquod
species they-share through the-nature of-relation or to some
tertium ad quod reducantur, tamquam ad communem unitatem.
third to which they-be-reduced as to a-common unity
Sed non potest dici, quod alterum subalternetur alteri;
but not can to-be-said that the-one be-subalternated to-the-other
quia sic alterum de altero praedicaretur: quod est falsum.
because thus the-one of the-other would-be-predicated which is false
Non enim dicimus: Imperator est Papa, nec e converso.
not for we-say the-Emperor is Pope nor from the-converse
Nec potest dici, quod communicent in specie; quum alia
nor can to-be-said that they-share in species since other
sit ratio Papae, alia Imperatoris, in quantum huiusmodi:
be the-notion of-Pope other of-Emperor in as-much-as such
ergo reducuntur ad aliquid, in quo habent uniri.
therefore they-are-reduced to something in which they-have to-be-united
Propter quod sciendum, quod sicut se habet relatio ad
on-account-of which to-be-known that as itself holds relation to
relationem, sic relativum ad relativum. Si ergo Papatus
relation so relative to relative if therefore the-Papacy
et Imperiatus, quum sint relationes superpositionis, habeant
and the-Emperorship since they-be relations of-superiority have
reduci ad respectum superpositionis, a quo respectu
to-be-reduced to the-respect of-superiority from which respect
cum suis differentialibus descendunt; Papa et Imperator,
with their differentials they-descend the-Pope and the-Emperor
quum sint relativa, reduci habebunt ad aliquod unum
since they-be relatives to-be-reduced will-have to some one

in quo reperiatur ipse respectus superpositionis, absque
in which be-found the-very respect of-superiority without
differentialibus aliis. Et hoc erit vel ipse Deus, in quo
differentials other and this will-be either the-very God in whom
respectus omnis universaliter unitur; vel aliqua substantia
respect every universally is-united or some substance
Deo inferior, in qua respectus superpositionis, per
than-God lower in which the-respect of-superiority by
differentiam superpositionis, a simplici respectu descendens,
the-difference of-superiority from the-simple respect descending
particuletur. Et sic patet, quod Papa et Imperator, in
be-particularized and thus is-plain that the-Pope and the-Emperor in
quantum homines, habent reduci ad unum; in quantum vero
as-much-as men have to-be-reduced to one in as-much-as but
Papa et Imperator, ad aliud: et per hoc patet ad rationem.
Pope and Emperor to another and by this is-plain to the-reason

XIII · THE EMPIRE BEFORE THE CHURCH

Having refuted the errors, Dante returns to the third question: the Empire's authority depends on God immediately, which can be shown either by removing the Church's authority as its cause or by direct proof, and here he takes the first way. What has all its power while something else does not exist or does not act cannot be caused by that thing; the Empire had all its power before the Church existed or acted, as Christ confirmed by his birth and death, and Paul by appealing to Caesar's tribunal. If Constantine had no authority, the Church would have received his gifts unjustly, which is unthinkable.

Positis et exclusis erroribus quibus potissime innituntur
set-out and excluded the-errors on-which chiefly lean
qui Romani Principatus auctoritatem dependere dicunt a
those-who of-the-Roman Principate the-authority to-depend say on

Romano Pontifice, redeundum est ad ostendendum veritatem
the-Roman Pontiff to-be-returned it-is to showing the-truth
huius tertiae quaestionis, quae a principio discutienda
of-this third question which from the-beginning to-be-discussed
proponebatur: quae quidem veritas apparebit sufficienter, si
was-proposed which indeed truth will-appear sufficiently if
sub praefixo principio inquirendo, praefatam auctoritatem
under the-fixed principle by-inquiring the-aforesaid authority
immediate dependere a culmine totius entis ostendero, qui
immediately to-depend on the-summit of-all being I-shall-have-shown who
Deus est. Et hoc erit ostensum, vel si auctoritas Ecclesiae
God is and this will-be shown either if the-authority of-the-Church
removeatur ab illa, quum de alia non sit altercatio; vel
be-removed from it since about another not be dispute or
si ostensive probetur a Deo immediate dependere.
if ostensively it-be-proved on God immediately to-depend
Quod autem auctoritas Ecclesiae non sit causa Imperialis
that moreover the-authority of-the-Church not be the-cause of-the-Imperial
auctoritatis, probatur sic: Illud, quo non existente aut quo
authority is-proved thus that which not existing or which
non virtuante, aliud habet totam suam virtutem, non
not exercising-power another-thing has all its power not
est causa illius virtutis; sed Ecclesia non existente aut non
is the-cause of-that power but the-Church not existing or not
virtuante, Imperium habuit totam suam virtutem: ergo
exercising-power the-Empire had all its power therefore
Ecclesia non est causa virtutis Imperii, et per consequens
the-Church not is the-cause of-the-power of-the-Empire and by consequence
nec auctoritatis, quum idem sit virtus et auctoritas eius.
nor of-the-authority since the-same be the-power and authority its
Sit Ecclesia A, Imperium B, auctoritas sive virtus Imperii
let-be the-Church A the-Empire B the-authority or power of-the-Empire

C. Si non existente A, C est in B, impossibile est A esse
C if not existing A C is in B impossible it-is A to-be
causam eius quod est C esse in B; quum impossibile sit
the-cause of-that which is C to-be in B since impossible it-be
effectum praecedere causam in esse. Adhuc, si nihil operante
the-effect to-precede the-cause in the-to-be further if nothing operating
A, C est in B, necesse est A non esse causam eius quod
A C is in B necessary it-is A not to-be the-cause of-that which
est C esse in B; quum necesse sit ad productionem effectus
is C to-be in B since necessary it-be for the-production of-the-effect
praeoperari causam, praesertim efficientem, de qua intenditur.
to-operate-before the-cause especially the-efficient about which it-is-intended
Maior propositio huius demonstrationis declarata est in
the-major proposition of-this demonstration declared is in
terminis; minorem Christus et Ecclesia confirmat. Christus
its-terms the-minor Christ and the-Church confirm Christ
nascendo et moriendo, ut superius dictum est; Ecclesia, quum
by-being-born and by-dying as above said it-is the-Church when
Paulus in Actibus Apostolorum dicat ad Festum: 'Ad tribunal
Paul in the-Acts of-the-Apostles says to Festus at the-tribunal
Caesaris sto, ubi me oportet iudicari;' quum etiam Angelus
of-Caesar I-stand where me it-behooves to-be-judged when also the-Angel
Dei Paulo dixerit parum post: 'Ne timeas, Paule, Caesari
of-God to-Paul said a-little after do-not fear O-Paul before-Caesar
te oportet adsistere.' Et infra iterum Paulus ad Iudaeos
you it-behooves to-stand and below again Paul to the-Jews
exsistentes in Italia: 'Contradicentibus autem Iudaeis, coactus
being in Italy contradicting moreover the-Jews compelled
sum appellare Caesarem, non quasi gentem meam habens
I-was to-appeal-to Caesar not as-if nation my having
aliquid accusare, sed ut eruerem animam meam de morte.'
anything to-accuse but that I-might-rescue soul my from death

Quod si Caesar iam tunc iudicandi temporalia non habuisset
but if Caesar already then of-judging temporal-things not had-had
auctoritatem, nec Christus hoc persuasisset, nec Angelus
the-authority neither Christ this would-have-persuaded nor the-Angel
illa verba nunciasset, nec ille qui dicebat: 'Cupio dissolvi
those words would-have-announced nor he who said I-desire to-be-dissolved
et esse cum Christo,' incompetentem iudicem appellasset.
and to-be with Christ an-incompetent judge would-have-appealed-to
Si etiam Constantinus auctoritatem non habuisset in
if also Constantine authority not had-had for
patrocinium Ecclesiae, illa quae de Imperio deputavit ei,
the-patronage of-the-Church those-things which from the-Empire he-assigned to-it
de iure deputare non potuisset; et sic Ecclesia illa collatione
by right to-assign not he-could-have and thus the-Church that gift
uteretur iniuste; quum Deus velit oblationes esse immaculatas,
would-use unjustly since God wills offerings to-be spotless
iuxta illud Levitici: 'Omnis oblatio quam conferetis Domino
according-to that of-Leviticus every offering which you-will-bring to-the-Lord
absque fermento erit.' Quod quidem praeceptum, licet
without leaven will-be which indeed precept although
ad offerentes faciem habere videatur; nihilominus est per
toward the-offerers face to-have it-seem nonetheless it-is by
consequens ad recipientes. Stultum enim est credere Deum
consequence toward the-receivers foolish for it-is to-believe God
velle recipi quod prohibet exhiberi; quum etiam in eodem
to-will to-be-received what he-forbids to-be-presented since also in the-same
praecipiatur Levitis: 'Nolite contaminare animas vestras, nec
it-be-commanded to-the-Levites do-not defile souls your nor
tangatis quidquam eorum, ne immundi sitis.' Sed dicere
touch anything of-them lest unclean you-be but to-say

quod Ecclesia sic abutatur patrimonio sibi deputato, est valde
that the-Church thus abuse the-patrimony to-it assigned is very
inconveniens: ergo falsum erat illud, ex quo sequebatur.
unfitting therefore false was that from which it-followed

XIV · THE CHURCH DID NOT RECEIVE THIS POWER

If the Church had power to authorize the Roman prince, it would have it from God, from itself, from some emperor, or from the consent of mankind. Not from God, by natural law, since the Church is God's work and not nature's, or by divine law, since both Testaments keep priests from temporal cares; not from itself, since none can give what it lacks; not from an emperor, as shown; and not from mankind's consent, since Asia, Africa, and most of Europe abhor the idea.

Amplius, si Ecclesia virtutem haberet auctorizandi Romanum
further if the-Church the-power had of-authorizing the-Roman
Principem, aut haberet a Deo, aut a se, aut ab
Prince either it-would-have from God or from itself or from
Imperatore aliquo, aut ab universo mortalium adsensu, vel
Emperor some or from the-universal of-mortals assent or
saltem ex illis praevalentium. Nulla est alia rimula per
at-least from them of-the-prevailing no is other little-crack through
quam virtus haec ad Ecclesiam manare potuisset. Sed a
which power this to the-Church to-flow could-have but from
nullo istorum habet: ergo virtutem praedictam non habet.
none of-these it-has therefore the-power aforesaid not it-has
Quod autem a nullo istorum habeat, sic apparet. Nam si
that moreover from none of-these it-have thus it-appears for if
a Deo recepisset, hoc fuisset aut per legem divinam
from God it-had-received this would-have-been either through law divine
aut per naturalem; quia quod a natura recipitur, a Deo
or through natural because what from nature is-received from God

recipitur, non tamen convertitur. Sed non per naturalem; quia
is-received not yet is-converted but not through natural because
natura non imponit legem, nisi suis effectibus: quum Deus
nature not imposes law except on-its effects since God
insufficiens esse non possit, ubi sine secundis agentibus aliquid
insufficient to-be not can where without second agents something
in esse producit. Unde quum Ecclesia non sit effectus naturae,
into the-to-be he-produces whence since the-Church not be the-effect of-nature
sed Dei, dicentis: 'Super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam
but of-God saying upon this rock I-shall-build Church
meam,' et alibi: 'Opus consummavi, quod dedisti mihi ut
my and elsewhere the-work I-have-finished which you-gave to-me that
faciam;' manifestum est quod ei natura legem non dedit.
I-should-do manifest it-is that to-it nature law not gave
Sed nec per divinam; omnis namque divina lex duorum
but neither through divine all for divine law of-the-two
Testamentorum gremio continetur: in quo quidem gremio
Testaments in-the-bosom is-contained in which indeed bosom
reperire non possum temporalium sollicitudinem sive curam
to-find not I-can of-temporal-things solicitude or care
sacerdotio, primo vel novissimo, commendatam fuisse.
to-the-priesthood first or latest entrusted to-have-been
Quinimo invenio sacerdotes primos ab illa de praecepto
nay-rather I-find the-priests first from it by command
remotos, ut patet per ea quae Deus ad Moysen; et sacerdotes
removed as is-plain through those which God to Moses and the-priests
novissimos, per ea quae Christus ad discipulos. Quam
latest through those which Christ to the-disciples which
quidem ab eis esse remotam possibile non esset, si regiminis
indeed from them to-be removed possible not would-be if of-government
temporalis auctoritas a sacerdotio demanaret; quum saltem in
temporal the-authority from the-priesthood flowed since at-least in

auctorizando sollicitudo provisionis instaret, et deinde cautela
authorizing solicitude of-provision would-press and then caution
continua, ne auctorizatus a tramite rectitudinis deviaret.
continual lest the-authorized from the-path of-rectitude should-stray
Quod autem a se non receperit, de facili patet. Nihil est
that moreover from itself not it-received with ease is-plain nothing is
quod dare possit, quod non habet. Unde omne agens aliquid
which to-give can what not it-has whence every agent something
actu esse tale oportet quale agere intendit: ut habetur in iis,
in-act to-be such it-behooves as to-act it-intends as is-had in those
quae de simpliciter Ente. Sed constat quod si Ecclesia sibi
which on simply Being but it-is-certain that if the-Church to-itself
dedit illam virtutem, non habebat illam priusquam daret: et
gave that power not it-had it before it-gave and
sic dedisset sibi quod non habebat, quod est impossibile.
thus it-would-have-given to-itself what not it-had which is impossible
Quod vero ab aliquo Imperatore non receperit, per ea
that but from some Emperor not it-received through those
quae superius manifesta sunt, patet sufficienter.
which above manifest are is-plain sufficiently
Et quod etiam ab adsensu omnium vel praevalentium non
and that also from the-assent of-all or of-the-prevailing not
habuerit, quis dubitat? quum non modo Asiani et Africani
it-had who doubts since not only the-Asians and Africans
omnes, quin etiam maior pars Europam colentium hoc
all but also the-greater part Europe inhabiting this
abhorreat? Fastidium etenim est, in rebus manifestissimis
abhors a-weariness for it-is in things most-manifest
probationes adducere.
proofs to-bring

What is against a thing's nature is not among its powers. The nature of the Church is its form, which is the life of Christ in word and deed, the pattern for its pastors. Christ renounced such rule before Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world," not because he is not its lord, but because, as the Church's pattern, he did not take its care, as a golden seal is not a measure as a seal. So the power to authorize the Empire is against the Church's nature.

Item, illud quod est contra naturam alicuius non est de
likewise that which is against the-nature of-something not is of
numero suarum virtutum; quum virtutes uniuscuiusque rei
the-number of-its powers since the-powers of-each thing
consequantur naturam eius, propter finis adeptionem. Sed
follow nature its for-the-sake-of of-the-end the-attainment but
virtus auctorizandi regnum nostrae mortalitatis est contra
the-power of-authorizing the-kingdom of-our mortality is against
naturam Ecclesiae: ergo non est de numero virtutum suarum.
the-nature of-the-Church therefore not it-is of the-number of-powers its
Ad evidentiam autem minoris, sciendum quod natura
for evidence moreover of-the-minor to-be-known that the-nature
Ecclesiae forma est Ecclesiae. Nam quamvis natura dicatur
of-the-Church the-form is of-the-Church for although nature be-said
de materia et forma, proprius tamen dicitur de forma,
of matter and form more-properly yet it-is-said of form
ut ostensum est in Naturali auditu. Forma autem Ecclesiae
as shown it-is in Natural hearing the-form moreover of-the-Church
nihil aliud est quam vita Christi, tam in dictis quam in
nothing other is than the-life of-Christ as-well in sayings as in
factis comprehensa. Vita enim ipsius idea fuit et exemplar
deeds comprehended the-life for of-him the-idea was and exemplar
militantis Ecclesiae, praesertim pastorum, maxime summi,
of-the-militant Church especially of-pastors most of-the-supreme

cuius est pascere agnos et oves. Unde ipse in Ioanne
whose it-is to-feed the-lambs and the-sheep whence he in John
formam suae vitae relinquens: 'Exemplum,' inquit, 'dedi
the-form of-his life leaving an-example he-says I-have-given
vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci vobis, ita et vos
you that just-as I have-done to-you so also you
faciatis.' Et specialiter ad Petrum, postquam pastoris officium
should-do and specially to Peter after the-pastor's office
sibi commisit, ut in eodem habemus: 'Petre,' inquit, 'sequere
to-him he-entrusted as in the-same we-have O-Peter he-says follow
me.' Sed Christus huiusmodi regimen coram Pilato abnegavit:
me but Christ such government before Pilate disowned
'Regnum,' inquit, 'meum non est de hoc mundo; si ex hoc
the-kingdom he-says my not is of this world if of this
mundo esset regnum meum, ministri mei utique decertarent, ut
world were kingdom my ministers my surely would-fight that
non traderer Iudaeis; nunc autem regnum meum non est hinc.'
not I-be-handed to-the-Jews now but kingdom my not is from-here
Quod non sic intelligendum est, ac si Christus, qui Deus
which not so to-be-understood is as if Christ who God
est, non sit dominus Regni huius; quum Psalmista dicat:
is not be lord of-kingdom this since the-Psalmist says
'Quoniam ipsius est mare, et ipse fecit illud, et aridam
for his is the-sea and he made it and the-dry-land
fundaverunt manus eius;' sed quia, ut exemplar Ecclesiae,
founded hands his but because as exemplar of-the-Church
regni huius curam non habebat. Velut si aureum sigillum
of-kingdom this the-care not he-had as if a-golden seal
loqueretur, de se dicens: Non sum mensura in aliquo
should-speak about itself saying not I-am a-measure in any
genere; quod quidem dictum non habet locum, in quantum
genus which indeed saying not has place in as-much-as

est aurum, quum sit metrum in genere metallorum, sed in
it-is gold since it-be measure in the-genus of-metals but in
quantum est quoddam signum receptibile per impressionem.
as-much-as it-is a-certain sign receivable through impression
Formale igitur est Ecclesiae, illud idem dicere, illud idem
formal therefore it-is to-the-Church that same to-say that same
sentire. Oppositum autem dicere vel sentire, contrarium formae,
to-think the-opposite moreover to-say or to-think contrary to-the-form
ut patet, sive naturae, quod idem est. Ex quo colligitur
as is-plain or to-nature which the-same is from which is-gathered
quod virtus auctorizandi regnum hoc sit contra naturam
that the-power of-authorizing kingdom this be against the-nature
Ecclesiae: contrarietas enim in opinione vel dicto sequitur ex
of-the-Church contrariety for in opinion or saying follows from
contrarietate quae est in re dicta vel opinata; sicut verum
the-contrariety which is in the-thing said or opined as true
et falsum ab esse rei, vel non esse, in oratione causatur,
and false by the-to-be of-the-thing or not to-be in a-statement are-caused
ut doctrina Praedicamentorum nos docet. Sufficienter igitur
as the-doctrine of-the-Predicaments us teaches sufficiently therefore
per argumenta superiora, ducendo ad inconveniens, probatum
through the-arguments above by-leading to the-unfitting proved
est auctoritatem Imperii ab Ecclesia minime dependere.
it-is the-authority of-the-Empire on the-Church by-no-means to-depend

Man alone shares the corruptible and the incorruptible, so he alone has two ends: the happiness of this life, figured by the earthly paradise and reached through philosophy and the moral and intellectual virtues; and the happiness of eternal life, the heavenly paradise, reached through revelation and the theological virtues. Greed would turn men from both, so they need two guides: the Pope to lead them to eternal life, and the Emperor to lead them by philosophy to peace and freedom. God alone chooses the Emperor; the electors only announce his choice. Yet Caesar owes Peter a firstborn son's reverence.

Licet in praecedenti Capitulo, ducendo ad inconveniens,
although in the-preceding Chapter by-leading to the-unfitting
ostensum sit auctoritatem Imperii ab auctoritate summi
shown it-be the-authority of-the-Empire by the-authority of-the-supreme
Pontificis non causari; non tamen omnino probatum est ipsam
Pontiff not to-be-caused not yet wholly proved it-is it
immediate dependere a Deo, nisi ex consequenti. Consequens
immediately to-depend on God except by consequence consequent
enim est, si ab ipso Dei vicario non dependet, quod a Deo
for it-is if on the-very of-God vicar not it-depends that on God
dependeat. Et ideo, ad perfectam determinationem propositi,
it-depend and therefore for the-perfect determination of-the-proposition
ostensive probandum est Imperatorem, sive mundi Monarcham,
ostensively to-be-proved it-is the-Emperor or of-the-world Monarch
immediate se habere ad Principem universi, qui Deus est.
immediately himself to-hold to the-Prince of-the-universe who God is
Ad huius autem intelligentiam sciendum quod homo solus
for of-this moreover understanding to-be-known that man alone
in entibus tenet medium corruptibilium et incorruptibilium;
among beings holds the-middle of-corruptible-things and incorruptible-things
propter quod recte a philosophis adsimilatur horizonti,
on-account-of which rightly by the-philosophers he-is-likened to-the-horizon

qui est medium duorum hemisphaeriorum. Nam homo, si
which is the-middle of-two hemispheres for man if
consideretur secundum utramque partem essentialem, scilicet
he-be-considered according-to each part essential namely
animam et corpus: corruptibilis est, si consideretur tantum
soul and body corruptible he-is if he-be-considered only
secundum unam, scilicet corpus; si vero secundum alteram,
according-to one namely the-body if but according-to the-other
scilicet animam, incorruptibilis est. Propter quod bene
namely the-soul incorruptible he-is on-account-of which well
Philosophus inquit de ipsa, prout incorruptibilis est, in
the-Philosopher says about it as incorruptible it-is in
secundo de Anima, quum dixit: 'Et solum hoc contingit
the-second on the-Soul when he-said and alone this happens
separari, tamquam perpetuum, a corruptibili.'
to-be-separated as perpetual from the-corruptible
Si ergo homo medium quoddam est corruptibilium et
if therefore man a-middle certain is of-corruptible-things and
incorruptibilium, quum omne medium sapiat naturam
incorruptible-things since every middle savor-of the-nature
extremorum, necesse est hominem sapere utramque naturam.
of-the-extremes necessary it-is man to-savor-of each nature
Et quum omnis natura ad ultimum quendam finem
and since every nature to last a-certain end
ordinetur, consequitur ut hominis duplex finis exsistat,
be-ordered it-follows that of-man a-twofold end exist
ut sicut inter omnia entia solus incorruptibilitatem et
that as among all beings alone incorruptibility and
corruptibilitatem participat; sic solus inter omnia entia in
corruptibility he-participates so alone among all beings to

duo ultima ordinetur: quorum alterum sit finis eius, prout
two last-things he-be-ordered of-which the-one be the-end his as
corruptibilis est; alterum vero, prout incorruptibilis.
corruptible he-is the-other but as incorruptible
Duos igitur fines Providentia illa inenarrabilis homini
two therefore ends Providence that unutterable to-man
proposuit intendendos; beatitudinem scilicet huius vitae, quae
has-set-before to-be-aimed-at the-blessedness namely of-this life which
in operatione propriae virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem
in the-operation of-his-own virtue consists and by the-terrestrial
Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vitae aeternae, quae
Paradise is-figured and the-blessedness of-life eternal which
consistit in fruitione divini aspectus ad quam propria
consists in the-enjoyment of-the-divine aspect to which own
virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lumine divino adiuta, quae
virtue to-ascend not can unless by-light divine aided which
per Paradisum coelestem intelligi datur.
by Paradise celestial to-be-understood is-given
Ad has quidem beatitudines, velut ad diversas conclusiones,
to these indeed blessednesses as to diverse conclusions
per diversa media venire oportet. Nam ad primam per
through diverse means to-come it-behooves for to the-first through
philosophica documenta venimus, dummodo illa sequamur,
philosophical teachings we-come provided-that them we-follow
secundum virtutes morales et intellectuales operando. Ad
according-to the-virtues moral and intellectual by-operating to
secundam vero per documenta spiritualia, quae humanam
the-second but through teachings spiritual which human
rationem transcendunt, dummodo illa sequamur secundum
reason transcend provided-that them we-follow according-to
virtutes theologicas operando, Fidem, Spem scilicet et
the-virtues theological by-operating Faith Hope namely and

Caritatem. Has igitur conclusiones et media (licet ostensa sint
Charity these therefore conclusions and means although shown be
nobis haec ab humana ratione, quae per philosophos tota
to-us these by human reason which through the-philosophers wholly
nobis innotuit; haec a Spiritu Sancto, qui per Prophetas
to-us became-known these by the-Spirit Holy who through the-Prophets
et Hagiographos, qui per coaeternum sibi Dei Filium
and Hagiographers who through coeternal to-himself of-God Son
Iesum Christum, et per eius discipulos, supernaturalem
Jesus Christ and through his disciples supernatural
veritatem ac nobis necessariam revelavit) humana cupiditas
truth and to-us necessary revealed human cupidity
postergaret, nisi homines tamquam equi, sua bestialitate
would-set-behind unless men as horses in-their bestiality
vagantes, in camo et freno compescerentur in via.
wandering with muzzle and bridle were-restrained on the-way
Propter quod opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum
on-account-of which need was for-man of-a-twofold director according-to
duplicem finem: scilicet summo Pontifice, qui secundum
the-twofold end namely of-the-supreme Pontiff who according-to
revelata humanum genus perduceret ad vitam aeternam;
things-revealed the-human race should-lead to life eternal
et Imperatore, qui secundum philosophica documenta genus
and of-the-Emperor who according-to philosophical teachings the-race
humanum ad temporalem felicitatem dirigeret. Et quum ad
human to temporal happiness should-direct and since to
hunc portum vel nulli, vel pauci, et hi cum difficultate
this harbor either none or few and these with difficulty
nimia pervenire possint, nisi sedatis fluctibus blandae
excessive to-arrive can unless calmed the-waves of-flattering
cupiditatis, genus humanum liberum in pacis tranquillitate
cupidity the-race human free in of-peace the-tranquility

quiescat: hoc est illud signum ad quod maxime debet
rest this is that mark at which most ought
intendere curator orbis, qui dicitur Romanus Princeps, ut
to-aim the-curator of-the-world who is-called the-Roman Prince that
scilicet in areola ista mortalium libere cum pace vivatur.
namely in plot-of-ground this of-mortals freely with peace one-may-live
Quumque dispositio mundi huius dispositionem inhaerentem
and-since the-disposition of-world this the-disposition inherent
coelorum circulationi sequatur; necesse est ad hoc ut utilia
of-the-heavens in-the-circulation follows necessary it-is for this that useful
documenta libertatis et pacis commode locis et temporibus
teachings of-liberty and peace fittingly to-places and times
applicentur de curatore isto, dispensari ab Illo, qui
be-applied concerning curator that to-be-dispensed by Him who
totalem coelorum dispositionem praesentialiter intuetur. Hic
the-total of-the-heavens disposition presently beholds this-one
autem est solus Ille, qui hanc praeordinavit, ut per ipsam
but is alone He who this foreordained that through it
Ipse providens suis ordinibus quaeque connecteret.
He providing in-his orders all-things should-connect
Quod si ita est, solus eligit Deus, solus ipse confirmat, quum
but if so it-is alone chooses God alone he confirms since
superiorem non habeat. Ex quo haberi potest ulterius, quod
a-superior not he-have from which to-be-had can further that
nec isti qui nunc, nec alii cuiuscumque modi dicti fuerint
neither these who now nor others of-whatever sort called will-have-been
Electores, sic dicendi sunt; quin potius denunciatores divinae
Electors so to-be-called are but rather announcers of-divine
providentiae sunt habendi. Unde fit quod aliquando
providence are to-be-held whence it-happens that sometimes
patiantur dissidium, quibus denunciandi dignitas est indulta:
they-suffer dissension to-whom of-announcing the-dignity is granted

vel quia omnes, vel quia quidam eorum, nebula cupiditatis
either because all or because certain of-them by-the-cloud of-cupidity
obtenebrati, divinae dispensationis faciem non discernunt.
darkened of-the-divine dispensation the-face not discern
Sic ergo patet quod auctoritas temporalis Monarchae, sine
thus therefore is-plain that the-authority of-the-temporal Monarch without
ullo medio, in ipsum de fonte universalis auctoritatis
any medium into him from the-fountain of-universal authority
descendit. Qui quidem fons, in arce suae simplicitatis
descends which indeed fountain in the-citadel of-its simplicity
unitus, in multiplices alveos influit ex abundantia bonitatis.
united into manifold channels flows from abundance of-goodness
Et iam satis videor metam adtigisse propositam. Enucleata
and already enough I-seem the-goal to-have-reached proposed unfolded
namque veritas est quaestionis illius qua quaerebatur
for the-truth is of-the-question that by-which it-was-asked
utrum ad bene esse mundi necessarium esset Monarchae
whether for well to-be of-the-world necessary were the-Monarch's
officium? ac illius qua quaerebatur an Romanus populus
office and of-that by-which it-was-asked whether the-Roman people
de iure Imperium sibi adsciverit? nec non illius ultimae
by right the-Empire to-itself adopted and also of-that last
qua quaerebatur an Monarchae auctoritas a Deo, vel
by-which it-was-asked whether the-Monarch's authority on God or
ab alio dependeret immediate? Quae quidem veritas ultimae
on another depended immediately which indeed truth of-the-last
quaestionis non sic stricte recipienda est, ut Romanus
question not so strictly to-be-received is that the-Roman
Princeps in aliquo Romano Pontifici non subiaceat; quum
Prince in anything to-the-Roman Pontiff not be-subject since
mortalis ista felicitas quodammodo ad immortalem felicitatem
mortal this happiness in-a-way to immortal happiness

ordinetur. Illa igitur reverentia Caesar utatur ad Petrum,
be-ordered that therefore reverence Caesar let-use toward Peter
qua primogenitus filius debet uti ad patrem; ut
with-which a-first-born son ought to-use toward a-father that
luce paternae gratiae illustratus, virtuosius orbem terrae
by-the-light of-paternal grace illuminated more-powerfully the-orb of-the-earth
irradiet, cui ab Illo solo praefectus est qui est
he-may-irradiate over-which by Him alone set he-is who is
omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator.
of-all spiritual-things and temporal-things the-governor

DANTE ALIGHIERI

Epistolae

The Letters

Alessandro, captain, and the council of the White party of Florence answer the cardinal, the papal legate sent to make peace in Tuscany, asking pardon if their reply is slow. His letter promised the very thing they went to war for, the health of their homeland: their white banners and reddened swords sought only to bring the lawless under the law and to win peace and freedom for the Florentine people. At the bidding of his envoy, Brother L., they lay down their arms and submit to his judgment, and beg him to bring peace to long-troubled Florence.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri, dominorum suorum
to-the-most-reverend in Christ father of-lords their
carissimo, domino Nicholao, miseratione coelesti Ostiensi
dearest lord Nicholas by-mercy heavenly of-Ostia
et Vallatrensi episcopo, Apostolicae Sedis legato, necnon
and of-Velletri bishop of-the-Apostolic See legate and-also
in Tuscia, Romaniola, et Maritima, terris et partibus
in Tuscany Romagna and the-Maritima lands and parts
circum adiacentibus, Paciario per sacrosanctam Ecclesiam
round adjoining Peacemaker by the-most-holy Church
ordinato, devotissimi filii Alexander capitaneus, Consilium
ordained the-most-devoted sons Alexander captain the-Council
et Universitas partis Alborum de Florentia semetipsos
and Body of-the-party of-the-Whites of Florence themselves
devotissime atque promptissime recommendant.
most-devotedly and most-readily commend

1. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et Apostolica pietate rogati,
1 by-precepts salutary admonished and by-Apostolic piety asked
sacrae vocis contextui quem misistis, post cara nobis
of-the-sacred voice to-the-tenor which you-sent after dear to-us
consilia, respondemus. Et si negligentiae sontes aut ignaviae
counsels we-reply and if of-negligence guilty or of-sloth

censeremur ob iniuriam tarditatis, citra iudicium
we-were-judged on-account-of the-injury of-tardiness short-of judgment
discretio sancta vestra praeponderet; et quantis qualibusque
the-discretion holy your may-outweigh and of-how-great and-of-what-sort
consiliis et responsis, observata sinceritate consortii, nostra
counsels and answers observed the-sincerity of-fellowship our
fraternitas decenter procedendo indigeat, et examinatis
brotherhood fittingly by-proceeding needs and examined
quae tangimus, ubi forte contra debitam celeritatem
the-things-which we-touch where perhaps against due speed
defecisse despicimur, ut affluentia vestrae benignitatis
to-have-failed we-are-looked-down-on that the-abundance of-your kindness
indulgeat deprecamur.
may-pardon we-pray

2. Ceu filii non ingrati literas igitur piae Paternitatis
2 like sons not ungrateful the-letters therefore of-the-pious Paternity
vestrae aspeximus, quae totius nostri desiderii personantes
your we-beheld which of-the-whole our desire sounding
exordia, subito mentes nostras tanta laetitia perfuderunt,
the-beginnings suddenly minds our with-so-great gladness flooded
quantam nemo valeret seu verbo seu cogitatione metiri. Nam
as-great-as no-one could either by-word or by-thought to-measure for
quam, fere pro desiderio somniantes, inhiabamus patriae
which almost for desire dreaming we-were-gaping-for the-fatherland's
sanitatem, vestrarum literarum series plusquam semel sub
health of-your letters the-tenor more-than once under
paterna monitione pollicetur. Et ad quid aliud in civile
paternal admonition promises and to what else into civil
bellum corruimus? Quid aliud candida nostra signa petebant?
war did-we-rush what else white our standards sought
Et ad quid aliud enses et tela nostra rubebant, nisi ut
and to what else swords and spears our were-red except that

qui civilia iura temeraria voluptate truncaverant, et iugo
those-who civil rights with-reckless pleasure had-mutilated both to-the-yoke
piae legis colla submitterent, et ad pacem patriae
of-pious law their-necks should-submit and to the-peace of-the-fatherland
cogerentur? Quippe nostrae intentionis cuspis legitima de
be-forced indeed of-our intention the-point lawful from
nervo quem tendebamus prorumpens, quietem solam et
the-string which we-were-drawing bursting-forth the-quiet alone and
libertatem populi Florentini petebat, petit, atque petet in
liberty of-the-people Florentine sought seeks and will-seek in
posterum. Quod si tam gratissimo nobis beneficio vigilatis, et
the-future but if to-so most-welcome to-us benefit you-attend and
adversarios nostros, prout sancta conamina nostra voluerint,
adversaries our as holy endeavors our will-have-willed
ad sulcos bonae civilitatis intenditis remeare, quis vobis
to the-furrows of-good civil-society you-intend to-return who to-you
dignas grates persolvere attentabit? Nec opis est nostrae,
worthy thanks to-pay will-attempt nor of-the-power it-is our
pater, nec quidquid Florentinae gentis reperitur in terris: sed
O-father nor whatever of-the-Florentine people is-found on earth but
si qua coelo est pietas quae talia remuneranda prospiciat,
if any in-heaven is piety which such-things to-be-rewarded foresees
illa vobis praemia digna ferat, qui tantae urbis misericordiam
it to-you rewards worthy may-bring who of-so-great a-city the-mercy
induistis, et ad sedanda civium profana litigia festinatis.
have-put-on and to the-settling of-the-citizens' profane disputes hasten
3. Sane, cum per sanctae religionis virum fratrem L.,
3 truly since through of-holy religion a-man brother L
civilitatis persuasorem et pacis, praemoniti atque requisiti
of-civility a-persuader and of-peace forewarned and requested
sumus instanter pro vobis, quemadmodum et ipsae
we-have-been urgently on-behalf-of you as also the-very

vestrae literae continebant, ut ab omni guerrarum insultu
your letters contained that from all of-wars assault
cessaremus et usu, et nos ipsos in paternas manus vestras
we-should-cease and use and we ourselves into paternal hands your
exhiberemus in totum, nos filii devotissimi vobis et pacis
we-should-give-over in whole we sons most-devoted to-you and of-peace
amatores et iusti, exuti iam gladiis, arbitrio vestro
lovers and of-justice stripped already of-swords to-the-judgment your
spontanea et sincera voluntate subimus, ceu relatu
with-spontaneous and sincere will we-submit as by-the-report
prefati vestri nuntii fratris L. narrabitur, et per
of-the-aforesaid your messenger brother L will-be-narrated and through
publica instrumenta solemniter celebrata liquebit.
public instruments solemnly celebrated will-be-clear
4. Idcirco pietati clementissimae vestrae filiali voce
4 therefore to-the-piety most-clement your with-filial voice
affectuosissime supplicamus, quatenus illam diu exagitatam
most-affectionately we-beseech that that long harassed
Florentiam sopore tranquillitatis et pacis irrigare velitis;
Florence with-the-sleep of-tranquility and peace to-water you-may-will
eiusque semper populum defensantes nos et qui nostri
and-its always people defending us and those-who of-our
sunt iuris, ut pius pater, commendatos habere: qui velut a
are right as a-pious father commended to-have who as from
patriae caritate numquam destitimus, sic de praeceptorum
the-fatherland's love never have-ceased so from of-precepts
vestrorum limitibus numquam exorbitare intendimus; sed semper
your the-limits never to-swerve we-intend but always
tam debite quam devote quibuscumque vestris obedire mandatis.
as-well dutifully as devoutly to-whatever your to-obey commands

Dante writes to Oberto and Guido, counts of Romena, on the death of their uncle Count Alessandro, who was his lord and whose memory will rule him as long as he lives. Alessandro's arms, silver whips on purple, declared his war on vice; all Tuscany and his friends should mourn him, Dante among them, who in exile had comforted himself with hope in him. Yet he who honored virtue on earth is now honored in heaven, a courtier in the eternal palace; his nephews should grieve in measure and take on his virtues. Dante excuses his absence from the funeral: exile's poverty kept him away.

Hanc epistolam scripsit Dantes Alighierius Oberto et Guidoni
this letter wrote Dante Alighieri to-Oberto and Guido
comitibus de Romena, post mortem Alexandri comitis de
counts of Romena after the-death of-Alexander count of
Romena patrui eorum, condolens illis de obitu suo.
Romena uncle their condoling with-them on the-death his

1. Patruus vester Alexander, comes illustris, qui diebus proximis
1 uncle your Alexander count illustrious who in-days recent
coelestem unde venerat secundum spiritum remeavit ad
the-heavenly whence he-had-come according-to the-spirit returned to
patriam, dominus meus erat, et memoria eius usque quo sub
fatherland lord my was and memory his as-long as under
tempore vivam dominabitur mihi; quando magnificentia sua,
time I-shall-live will-rule me since magnificence his
quae super astra nunc affluenter dignis praemiis muneratur,
which above the-stars now abundantly with-worthy rewards is-rewarded
me sibi ab annosis temporibus sponte sua fecit esse
me to-himself from many-yeared times of-own-accord his made to-be
subditum. Haec equidem cunctis aliis virtutibus comitata in
subject this indeed by-all other virtues accompanied in
illo, suum nomen prae titulis Italorum heroum illustrabat. Et
him his name before the-titles of-the-Italian heroes made-illustrious and

quid aliud heroica sua signa dicebant, nisi 'scuticam vitiorum
what else heroic his ensigns said except the-scourge of-vices
fugatricem ostendimus?' Argenteas etenim scuticas in purpureo
the-banisher we-show silver for scourges on purple
deferebat extrinsecus, et intrinsecus mentem in amore
he-bore outwardly and inwardly a-mind in love
virtutum vitia repellentem. Doleat ergo, doleat progenies
of-virtues vices repelling let-grieve therefore let-grieve the-progeny
maxima Tuscanorum, quae tanto viro fulgebat; et doleant
greatest of-the-Tuscans which with-so-great a-man shone and let-grieve
omnes amici eius et subditi, quorum spem mors crudeliter
all friends his and subjects whose hope death cruelly
verberavit: inter quos ultimos me miserum dolere oportet,
has-scourged among whom last me wretched to-grieve it-behooves
qui a patria pulsus et exul immeritus infortunia mea
who from the-fatherland driven and an-exile undeserving misfortunes my
rependens, continuo cara spe memet consolabar in illo.
weighing continually with-dear hope myself I-consoled in him
2. Sed quamquam, sensualibus amissis, doloris amaritudo
2 but although sensible-things lost of-grief the-bitterness
incumbat, si considerentur intellectualia quae supersunt, sane
may-press if be-considered the-intellectual-things which remain truly
mentis oculis lux dulcis consolationis exoritur. Nam qui
of-the-mind to-the-eyes the-light of-sweet consolation arises for who
virtutes honorabat in terris, nunc a virtutibus honoratur in
virtues honored on earth now by the-virtues is-honored in
coelis, et qui Romanae aulae palatinus erat in Tuscia, nunc
heaven and who of-the-Roman court palatine was in Tuscany now
regiae sempiternae aulicus praeelectus, in superna Ierusalem
of-the-royal eternal courtier chosen in the-supernal Jerusalem
cum beatorum principibus gloriatur. Quapropter, carissimi
with of-the-blessed the-princes glories wherefore O-dearest

domini mei, supplici exhortatione vos deprecor, quatenus
lords my with-suppliant exhortation you I-beseech that
modice dolere velitis et sensualia postergare, nisi prout vobis
moderately to-grieve you-may-will and sensible-things to-set-behind except as for-you
exemplaria esse possunt: et quemadmodum ipse iustissimus
examples to-be they-can and just-as he most-just
bonorum sibi vos instituit in haeredes; sic ipsi vos,
of-goods his you appointed as heirs so yourselves you
tamquam proximiores ad illum, mores eius egregios induatis.
as nearer to him manners his excellent may-put-on
3. Ego autem, praeter haec, me vestrum vestrae discretioni
3 I moreover besides these-things myself your to-your discretion
excuso de absentia lacrymosis exequiis; quia nec negligentia
excuse for absence at-the-tearful obsequies because neither negligence
neve ingratitudo me tenuit, sed inopina paupertas quam
nor ingratitude me held but unexpected poverty which
fecit exilium. Haec etiam, velut effera persecutrix, equis
made exile this also as-if a-savage persecutress of-horses
armisque vacantem, iam suae captivitatis me detrusit in
and-arms empty already of-her captivity me has-thrust into
antrum, et nitentem cunctis exsurgere viribus, huc usque
the-cave and striving with-all to-rise-up strength hither up-to
praevalens, impia retinere molitur.
prevailing impious to-hold-back strives

So that his lord will not hear false reports, Dante tells Moroello what binds him. Leaving the court where he had served in freedom, he had scarcely set foot by the Arno when a woman appeared like lightning, in every way suited to his nature and fortune; thunder followed, and a terrible, commanding love seized him. Like a lord returning from long exile, it killed or banished all that opposed it within him: his resolve to abstain from women and their songs, and his meditations on heavenly and earthly things. It has bound his free will; how it rules him the poem sent with this letter will tell.

Scribit Dantes domino Moroello Marchioni Malaspinae.
writes Dante to-lord Moroello Marquis Malaspina

1. Ne lateant dominum vincula servi sui, quem affectus
1 lest be-hidden from-the-lord the-bonds of-servant his whom affections
gratitudinis dominantur, et ne alia relata pro aliis,
of-gratitude master and lest other-things related for others
quae falsarum opinionum seminaria frequentius esse solent,
which of-false opinions seed-beds more-often to-be are-wont
negligenter praedicent carceratum, ad conspectum Magnificentiae
carelessly proclaim imprisoned to the-sight of-Magnificence
vestrae praesentis oratiunculae seriem placuit destinare.
your of-the-present little-speech the-tenor it-pleased to-send

2. Igitur mihi a limine suspiratae postea curiae separato,
2 therefore to-me from the-threshold of-the-sighed-for afterward court separated
in qua (velut saepe sub admiratione vidistis) fas fuit sequi
in which as often with wonder you-saw lawful it-was to-follow
libertatis officia, cum primum pedes iuxta Sarni fluenta
of-liberty the-duties when first feet beside of-the-Arno the-streams
securus et incautus defigerem, subito heu! mulier, ceu
secure and careless I-planted suddenly alas a-woman like
fulgur descendens, apparuit, nescio quomodo, meis auspitiis
lightning descending appeared I-know-not how to-my auspices

undique moribus et fortunae conformis. Oh quam in
on-all-sides in-manners and fortune conformable oh how in
eius admiratione obstupui! Sed stupor subsequentis tonitrui
her wonder I-was-stunned but the-stupor of-the-following thunder
terrore cessavit. Nam sicut divinis corruscationibus illico
by-the-terror ceased for as divine flashes at-once
succedunt tonitrua, sic inspecta flamma pulchritudinis eius
succeed thunders so seen the-flame of-beauty her
amor terribilis et imperiosus me tenuit. Atque hic ferox,
love terrible and imperious me held and this fierce
tanquam dominus pulsus a patria post longum exilium
as a-lord driven from the-fatherland after long exile
sola in sua repatrians, quidquid ei contrarium fuerat
alone into his-own returning whatever to-him contrary had-been
intra me, vel occidit, vel expulit, vel ligavit. Occidit ergo
within me either he-killed or expelled or bound he-killed therefore
propositum illud laudabile, quo a mulieribus suisque
purpose that praiseworthy by-which from women and-their
cantibus abstinebam, ac meditationes assiduas quibus tam
songs I-abstained and meditations assiduous by-which as-well
coelestia quam terrestria intuebar, quasi suspectas, impie
heavenly-things as earthly I-contemplated as-if suspect impiously
relegavit, et denique, ne contra se amplius anima rebellaret,
he-banished and finally lest against him further the-soul should-rebel
liberum meum ligavit arbitrium, ut non quo ego, sed quo
free my he-bound choice that not where I but where
ille vult, me verti oporteat. Regnat itaque amor in me,
he wills me to-be-turned it-behoove reigns therefore love in me
nulla refragante virtute; qualiterque me regat, inferius extra
no resisting virtue and-how me he-rule below outside
sinum praesentium requiratis.
the-bosom of-the-present-things seek

The exiled Florentine answers the exiled man of Pistoia, who has asked whether the soul can pass from one passion to another, from one love to another of the same kind. Dante answers with a poem, which, he says, sings that a love can grow sluggish and die, and that the corruption of one is the generation of another. Reason confirms it: a sensitive power, its organ remaining, is kept for a new act when one act perishes, and the concupiscible power, the seat of love, is such a power. Ovid's Sun, turning from the nymphs to Leucothoe, is the authority. Cino should read Seneca's Remedies for Fortune.

Exulanti Pistoriensi Florentinus exul immeritus, per tempora
to-the-exiled Pistoian a-Florentine exile undeserving through times
diuturna salutem et perpetuae caritatis ardorem.
long-lasting health and of-perpetual charity ardor

1. Eructavit incendium tuae dilectionis verbum confidentiae
1 has-poured-forth the-fire of-your love a-word of-confidence
vehementis ad me, in quo consuluisti, carissime, utrum
vehement to me in which you-asked O-dearest whether
de passione in passionem possit anima transformari: de
from passion into passion can the-soul to-be-transformed from
passione in passionem dico secundum eandem potentiam et
passion into passion I-say according-to the-same power and
obiecta diversa numero sed non specie; quod, quamvis ex
objects diverse in-number but not in-species which although from
ore tuo iustius prodire debuerat, nihilominus me illius
mouth your more-justly to-come-forth ought nonetheless me of-it
auctorem facere voluisti, ut in declaratione rei nimium
author to-make you-wished that in the-declaration of-a-thing too
dubitatae titulum mei nominis ampliares. Hoc etenim quam
doubted the-title of-my name you-might-enlarge this for how
iucundum, quam acceptum, quamque gratum exstiterit, absque
pleasant how acceptable and-how welcome it-was without

importuna deminutione verba non capiunt: ideo, causa
importunate diminution words not grasp therefore the-cause
conticentiae huius inspecta, ipse quod non exprimitur metiaris.
of-silence this seen yourself what not is-expressed measure
2. Redditur, ecce, sermo Calliopeus inferius, quo
2 is-rendered behold a-speech of-Calliope below in-which
sententialiter canitur, quamquam transumptive more poetico
sententiously it-is-sung although figuratively in-manner poetic
signetur, intentum amorem huius posse torpescere atque
it-be-signified intent love this to-be-able to-grow-torpid and
denique interire, nec non quod corruptio unius generatio
finally to-perish and also that the-corruption of-one the-generation
sit alterius in anima reformati.
be of-another in the-soul reformed
3. Et fides huius, quamquam sit ab experientia persuasum,
3 and the-faith of-this although it-be by experience persuaded
ratione potest et auctoritate muniri. Omnis enim potentia
by-reason it-can and by-authority to-be-fortified every for power
quae post corruptionem unius actus non deperit, naturaliter
which after the-corruption of-one act not perishes naturally
reservatur in alium: ergo potentiae sensitivae, manente organo,
is-reserved for another therefore the-powers sensitive remaining the-organ
per corruptionem eius actus non depereunt, et naturaliter
through the-corruption of-its act not perish and naturally
reservantur in alium. Quum igitur potentia concupiscibilis, quae
are-reserved for another since therefore the-power concupiscible which
sedes amoris est, sit potentia sensitiva, manifestum est quod
the-seat of-love is be a-power sensitive manifest it-is that
post corruptionem unius passionis, qua in actum reducitur; in
after the-corruption of-one passion by-which into act it-is-reduced for

alium reservatur. Maior et minor propositio syllogismi, quarum
another it-is-reserved the-major and minor proposition of-the-syllogism of-which
facile patet introitus, tuae diligentiae relinquantur probandae.
easily is-plain the-entrance to-your diligence let-be-left to-be-proved
4. Auctoritatem vero Nasonis, quarto de Rerum
4 the-authority but of-Naso in-the-fourth on of-Things
Transformatione, quae directe atque ad literam propositum
Transformation which directly and to the-letter the-proposition
respicit, sedulus intueare; scilicet ubi ait auctor (et quidem
regards diligently you-may-look-at namely where says the-author and indeed
in fabula trium sororum contemtricium Numinis in semine
in the-fable of-the-three sisters scorners of-the-Godhead in the-seed
Semeles) ad Solem loquens (qui nymphis aliis derelictis
of-Semele to the-Sun speaking who the-nymphs other forsaken
atque neglectis in quas prius exarserat, noviter Leucothoen
and neglected for whom before he-had-burned newly Leucothoe
diligebat): 'Quid nunc, Hyperione nate,' et reliqua.
loved why now from-Hyperion O-born and the-rest
5. Sub hoc, frater carissime, ad potentiam, quod contra
5 under this O-brother dearest to the-power that against
Rhamnusiae spicula sis patiens te exhortor. Perlege,
of-Rhamnusia the-darts you-be patient you I-exhort read-through
deprecor, Fortuitorum Remedia, quae ab inclytissimo
I-beg of-Chance-Things the-Remedies which by the-most-renowned
philosophorum Seneca nobis, velut a patre filiis,
of-philosophers Seneca to-us as from a-father to-sons
ministrantur, et illud de memoria sane tua non defluat:
are-supplied and that from memory truly your not let-flow-away
'Si de mundo fuissetis, mundus quod suum erat diligeret.'
if of the-world you-had-been the-world what its-own was would-love

Dante, a humble Italian and an undeserving exile, greets the kings, senators, lords, and peoples of Italy with peace. A new day dawns: Henry, the bridegroom of Italy, hastens to the wedding, merciful to those who ask mercy and stern to the rebellious. The Lombards should lay aside their barbarism, the oppressed lift up their hearts and forgive their wrongdoers, and all rise to meet their king. God predestined the Roman prince, as history shows down to Augustus' peace, in which Christ was born and bade men render to Caesar what is Caesar's; Pope Clement too lights Henry with his blessing.

Universis et singulis Italiae regibus et senatoribus almae
to-all and individual of-Italy kings and senators of-the-nurturing
urbis, nec non ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, atque
city and also dukes marquises counts and
populis, humilis Italus Dantes Alighierius Florentinus et
peoples the-humble Italian Dante Alighieri a-Florentine and
exul immeritus orat pacem.
exile undeserving prays peace

1. 'Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile,' quo signa surgunt
1 behold now the-time acceptable in-which the-signs rise
consolationis et pacis. Nam dies nova splendescit albam
of-consolation and peace for the-day new shines the-dawn
demonstrans, quae iam tenebras diuturnae calamitatis
showing which already the-darkness of-long-lasting calamity
attenuat; iamque aurae orientales crebrescunt: rutilat coelum
lessens and-already the-breezes eastern grow-frequent glows the-sky
in labiis suis, et auspicia gentium blanda serenitate
in lips its and the-auspices of-the-peoples with-alluring serenity
confortat. Et nos gaudium expectatum videbimus, qui diu
strengthens and we the-joy awaited shall-see who long
pernoctavimus in deserto; quoniam Titan exorietur pacificus,
have-spent-the-night in the-desert for Titan will-rise peaceful

et iustitia, sine sole quasi ut heliotropium hebetata,
and justice without sun as-if like the-heliotrope dulled
cum primum iubar ille vibraverit, revirescet. Saturabuntur
when first ray he will-have-flashed will-green-again will-be-filled
omnes qui esuriunt et sitiunt in lumine radiorum eius; et
all who hunger and thirst in the-light of-rays his and
confundentur qui diligunt iniquitatem a facie coruscantis.
will-be-confounded who love iniquity from the-face of-the-flashing-one
Arrexit namque aures misericordes leo fortis de tribu Iuda;
has-raised for ears merciful the-lion strong of the-tribe of-Judah
atque ululatum universalis captivitatis miserans, Moysen alium
and the-howling of-universal captivity pitying Moses another
suscitavit, qui de gravaminibus Aegyptiorum populum suum
has-raised-up who from the-oppressions of-the-Egyptians people his
eripiet, ad terram lacte ac melle manantem perducens.
will-snatch to a-land with-milk and honey flowing leading
2. Laetare iam, nunc miseranda Italia etiam Saracenis,
2 rejoice already now O-pitiable Italy even by-the-Saracens
quae statim invidiosa per orbem videberis; quia sponsus
who at-once envied through the-world will-seem because the-bridegroom
tuus, mundi solatium et gloria plebis tuae, clementissimus
your of-the-world the-solace and the-glory of-people your the-most-clement
Henricus, Divus et Augustus et Caesar, ad nuptias
Henry Divine and August and Caesar to the-nuptials
properat. Exsicca lacrymas; et moeroris vestigia dele,
hastens dry the-tears and of-mourning the-traces blot-out
pulcerrima; nam prope est qui liberabit te de carcere
O-most-beautiful for near is he-who will-free you from the-prison
impiorum; qui, percutiens malignantes, in ore gladii
of-the-impious who striking the-malignant in the-mouth of-the-sword

perdet eos, et vineam suam aliis locabit agricolis, qui
will-destroy them and vineyard his to-other will-let farmers who
fructum iustitiae reddant in tempore messis.
the-fruit of-justice may-render in the-time of-harvest
3. Sed an non miserebitur cuiquam? Immo ignoscet omnibus
3 but or not will-he-have-mercy on-anyone nay he-will-pardon all
misericordiam implorantibus, cum sit Caesar, et maiestas
mercy imploring since he-be Caesar and the-majesty
eius de fonte defluat pietatis. Huius iudicium omnem
his from the-fountain flows of-piety his judgment all
severitatem abhorret; et semper citra medium plectens,
severity abhors and always short-of the-mean punishing
ultra medium praemiando se figit. Anne propterea nequam
beyond the-mean by-rewarding itself fixes or on-that-account of-wicked
hominum applaudet audaciis, et initiis praesumptionum
men will-he-applaud the-audacities and to-the-beginnings of-presumptions
pocula propinabit? Absit; quoniam Augustus est. Et si
cups will-he-pledge far-be-it since August he-is and if
Augustus, nonne relapsorum facinora vindicabit, et usque in
August surely of-the-relapsed the-crimes he-will-avenge and even into
Thessaliam persequetur, Thessaliam, inquam, finalis deletionis?
Thessaly he-will-pursue Thessaly I-say of-final destruction
4. Pone, sanguis Longobardorum, coadductam barbariem;
4 lay-aside O-blood of-the-Lombards the-gathered barbarism
et si quid de Troianorum Latinorumque semine superest,
and if anything of of-the-Trojans and-of-the-Latins seed remains
illi cede, ne cum sublimis aquila fulguris instar descendens
to-it yield lest when the-sublime eagle of-lightning like descending
affuerit, abiectos videat pullos eius, et prolis propriae
will-have-come cast-out he-see the-chicks his and of-offspring own
locum corvulis occupatum. Eia, facite, Scandinaviae
the-place by-little-crows occupied come make of-Scandinavia

soboles, ut cuius merito trepidatis adventum, quantum ex
O-offspring that whose deservedly you-tremble-at the-coming as-much-as from
vobis est, praesentiam sitiatis. Nec seducat illudens
you it-is the-presence you-may-thirst-for nor let-seduce mocking
cupiditas, more Sirenum, nescio qua dulcedine vigiliam
cupidity in-manner of-the-Sirens I-know-not with-what sweetness the-vigil
rationis mortificans. 'Praeoccupetis faciem eius in confessione
of-reason mortifying anticipate the-face his in confession
subiectionis, et psalterio poenitentiae iubiletis;' considerantes
of-subjection and with-the-psaltery of-penitence rejoice considering
quod 'potestati resistens Dei ordinationi resistit'; et qui
that the-power resisting of-God ordinance resists and who
divinae ordinationi repugnat, voluntati omnipotentiae coaequali
the-divine ordinance opposes the-will of-omnipotence coequal
recalcitrat; et 'durum est contra stimulum calcitrare.'
kicks-against and hard it-is against the-goad to-kick
5. Vos autem qui lugetis oppressi, 'animum sublevate, quoniam
5 you but who mourn oppressed the-spirit raise-up since
prope est vestra salus.' Assumite rastrum bonae humilitatis,
near is your salvation take the-rake of-good humility
atque glebis exustae animositatis occatis, agellum sternite
and the-clods of-parched animosity harrowed the-little-field level
mentis vestrae, ne forte coelestis imber, sementem vestram
of-mind your lest perhaps the-heavenly rain seed your
ante iactum praeveniens, in vacuum de altissimo cadat;
before the-sowing anticipating into the-void from the-highest fall
neve resiliat gratia Dei ex vobis, tamquam ros quotidianus
nor rebound the-grace of-God from you as dew daily
ex lapide; sed velut foecunda vallis concipiatis, ac viride
from a-stone but as a-fruitful valley may-you-conceive and green
germinetis, viride dico fructiferum verae pacis; qua quidem
may-you-bud green I-say fruit-bearing of-true peace with-which indeed

viriditate vestra terra vernante, novus agricola Romanorum
greenness your land flowering-in-spring the-new farmer of-the-Romans
consilii sui boves ad aratrum affectuosius et confidentius
of-counsel his the-oxen to the-plow more-affectionately and more-confidently
coniugabit. Parcite, parcite iam ex nunc, o carissimi, qui
will-yoke spare spare already from now O dearest who
mecum iniuriam passi estis, ut Hectoreus pastor vos oves
with-me injury suffered have that the-Hectorean shepherd you sheep
de ovili suo cognoscat: cui, etsi animadversio temporalis
of fold his may-recognize to-whom even-if punishment temporal
divinitus est indulta; tamen, ut eius bonitatem redoleat,
divinely has-been granted yet that his goodness he-may-smell-of
a quo velut a puncto bifurcatur Petri Caesarisque potestas,
from whom as from a-point is-forked of-Peter and-of-Caesar the-power
voluptuose familiam suam corrigit, libentius vero eius miseretur.
with-delight household his he-corrects more-gladly but on-it he-has-mercy
6. Itaque, si culpa vetus non obest, quae plerumque
6 therefore if fault old not hinders which mostly
serpentis modo torquetur et vertitur in se ipsam, hinc
in-the-serpent's manner is-twisted and is-turned on it itself hence
utrique potestis advertere, pacem unicuique esse paratam et
both you-can to-notice peace for-each-one to-be prepared and
speratae laetitiae iam primitias degustare. Evigilate igitur
of-the-hoped-for gladness already the-first-fruits to-taste awake therefore
omnes, et assurgite regi vestro, incolae Italiae, non solum
all and rise-up to-king your O-inhabitants of-Italy not only
sibi ad imperium, sed, ut liberi, ad regimen reservati.
to-him for empire but as free-men for government reserved
7. Nec tantum ut assurgatis exhortor, sed ut illius obstupescatis
7 nor only that you-rise-up I-exhort but that at-his you-be-amazed
aspectum. Qui bibitis fluenta eius, eiusque maria navigatis; qui
sight who drink the-streams his and-his seas sail who

calcatis arenas littorum et Alpium summitates, quae sunt suae;
tread the-sands of-the-shores and of-the-Alps the-summits which are his
qui publicis quibuscumque gaudetis, et res privatas vinculo
who in-public whatever-things rejoice and things private by-the-bond
suae legis, non aliter, possidetis; nolite, velut ignari, decipere
of-his law not otherwise possess do-not as ignorant deceive
vosmetipsos, tamquam somniantes in cordibus, et dicentes:
yourselves as-if dreaming in hearts and saying
'Dominum non habemus.' Hortus enim eius et lacus est
a-lord not we-have the-garden for his and lake is
quod coelum circuit: nam 'Dei est mare, et ipse fecit illud;
what heaven encircles for of-God is the-sea and he made it
et aridam fundaverunt manus eius.' Unde Deum Romanum
and the-dry-land formed hands his whence God the-Roman
principem praedestinasse relucet in miris effectibus; et
prince to-have-predestined shines-forth in wonderful effects and
verbo Verbi confirmasse posterius profitetur Ecclesia.
by-the-word of-the-Word to-have-confirmed later professes the-Church
8. Nempe si 'a creatura mundi invisibilia Dei, per ea
8 indeed if from the-creation of-the-world the-invisible-things of-God through those
quae facta sunt, intellectu conspiciuntur'; et si ex notioribus
which made are by-the-intellect are-seen and if from the-better-known
nobis innotiora; similiter interest humanae apprehensioni,
to-us the-less-known likewise it-concerns human apprehension
ut per motum coeli motorem intelligamus et eius
that through the-motion of-heaven the-mover we-understand and his
velle; facile praedestinatio haec etiam leviter intuentibus
will easily predestination this even lightly to-those-looking
innotescet. Nam si a prima huius ignis favilla revolvamus
will-become-known for if from the-first of-this fire spark we-unroll
praeterita, ex quo scilicet Argis hospitalitas a Phrygibus
the-past-things from which namely to-the-Argives hospitality by the-Phrygians

denegata; et usque ad Octaviani triumphos mundi gesta
denied and up to Octavian's triumphs of-the-world the-deeds
revisere vacet; nonnulla eorum videbimus humanae virtutis
to-revisit there-be-leisure some of-them we-shall-see of-human virtue
omnino culmina transcendisse, et Deum per homines,
wholly the-summits to-have-surpassed and God through men
tamquam per coelos novos, aliquid operatum fuisse. Non
as through heavens new something worked to-have-been not
etenim semper nos agimus; quin interdum utensilia Dei
for always we act but sometimes instruments of-God
sumus; ac voluntates humanae, quibus inest ex natura
we-are and the-wills human in-which is from nature
libertas, etiam inferioris affectus immunes quandoque aguntur,
liberty even of-lower affection free sometimes are-moved
et obnoxiae voluntati aeternae, saepe illi ancillantur ignare.
and subject to-the-will eternal often it serve unknowingly
9. Et si haec, quae uti principia sunt ad probandum quod
9 and if these-things which as principles are for proving what
quaeritur, non sufficiunt; quis non ab illata conclusione
is-sought not suffice who not from the-inferred conclusion
per talia procedendo nobiscum opinari cogetur, pacem
through such-things by-proceeding with-us to-think will-be-compelled peace
videns annorum duodecim orbem totaliter amplexatam, quae
seeing of-years twelve the-world wholly having-embraced which
sui syllogizatoris faciem Dei filium, sicuti opere patrato,
of-its syllogizer the-face of-God the-son as by-the-work accomplished
ostendit? Et Hic, quum ad revelationem Spiritus, Homo
showed and He when for the-revelation of-the-Spirit Man
factus, evangelizaret in terris, quasi dirimens duo regna,
made he-preached-the-gospel on earth as-if dividing two kingdoms

Sibi et Caesari universa distribuens, 'Alterutri,' dixit,
to-Himself and to-Caesar all-things distributing to-each he-said
'reddi quae sua sunt.'
to-be-rendered what his are
10. Quod si pertinax animus poscit ulterius, nondum annuens
10 but if the-stubborn mind demands further not-yet assenting
veritati, verba Christi examinet etiam iam ligati; cui quum
to-the-truth the-words of-Christ let-it-examine even already bound to-whom when
potestatem suam Pilatus obiceret, Lux nostra de sursum
power his Pilate objected the-Light our from above
esse asseruit, quod ille iactabat qui Caesaris ibi auctoritate
to-be asserted what he was-boasting who of-Caesar there by-the-authority
vicaria gerebat officium. 'Non igitur ambuletis, sicut et gentes
vicarious bore the-office not therefore walk as also the-gentiles
ambulant in vanitate sensus' tenebris obscurati; sed aperite
walk in the-vanity of-sense with-darkness obscured but open
oculos mentis vestrae, ac videte; quoniam regem nobis coeli ac
the-eyes of-mind your and see that a-king for-us of-heaven and
terrae Dominus ordinavit. Hic est quem Petrus, Dei vicarius,
earth the-Lord has-ordained this-one is whom Peter of-God vicar
honorificare nos monet; quem Clemens, nunc Petri successor,
to-honor us admonishes whom Clement now Peter's successor
luce Apostolicae benedictionis illuminat; ut ubi radius
with-the-light of-the-Apostolic blessing illuminates that where the-ray
spiritualis non sufficit, ibi splendor minoris luminaris illustret.
spiritual not suffices there the-splendor of-the-lesser light may-illumine

Dante, an undeserving exile, writes to the wicked Florentines inside the city. Providence gave the world to the Roman Empire, and when its throne stands empty the world goes astray and Italy is tossed by storms. Driven by greed, the Florentines, first and alone, have risen against the Emperor, as if public right could lapse by prescription and Florence could be a realm apart from Rome. Its walls will not save it: Dante foresees its buildings battered and burned, its people raging, its temples stripped, and the city given to foreigners. Let Parma's luck embolden no one; Henry bears our sorrows, and the time to repent has come.

Dantes Aligherius Florentinus et exul immeritus, scelestissimis
Dante Alighieri a-Florentine and exile undeserving to-the-most-wicked
Florentinis intrinsecis.
Florentines within

1. Aeterni pia providentia Regis, qui dum coelestia
1 of-the-eternal the-pious providence King who while heavenly-things
sua bonitate perpetuat, infera nostra despiciendo non
by-his goodness he-perpetuates lower our by-looking-down-on not
deserit, sacrosancto Romanorum imperio res humanas
forsakes to-the-most-holy of-the-Romans empire the-affairs human
disposuit gubernandas, ut sub tanti serenitate praesidii
disposed to-be-governed that under of-so-great the-serenity of-protection
genus mortale quiesceret, et ubique, natura poscente, civiliter
the-race mortal might-rest and everywhere nature demanding civilly
degeretur. Hoc etsi divinis comprobatur eloquiis, hoc
it-might-be-lived this even-if by-divine is-proved utterances this
etsi solius podio rationis innixa contestatur antiquitas;
even-if of-sole on-the-prop reason leaning attests antiquity
non leviter tamen veritati applaudit, quod solio Augustali
not lightly yet to-the-truth it-applauds that the-throne Augustan
vacante totus orbis exorbitat, quod nauclerus et remiges
being-vacant the-whole world goes-astray that the-pilot and rowers

in navicula Petri dormitant, et quod Italia misera, sola,
in the-little-boat of-Peter sleep and that Italy wretched alone
privatis arbitriis derelicta, omnique publico moderamine
to-private wills abandoned and-of-every public governance
destituta, quanta ventorum fluctuumque concussione feratur
destitute by-how-great of-winds and-of-waves shaking it-is-borne
verba non caperent, sed et vix Itali infelices lacrymis
words not could-grasp but even scarcely the-Italians unhappy with-tears
metiuntur. Igitur in hanc Dei manifestissimam voluntatem
measure therefore against this of-God most-manifest will
quicumque temere praesumendo tumescunt, si gladius eius
whoever rashly by-presuming swell if the-sword of-him
qui dicit 'mea est ultio,' de coelo non cecidit, ex nunc
who says mine is vengeance from heaven not has-fallen from now
severi iudicis adventante iudicio pallore notentur.
of-the-severe judge the-coming judgment with-pallor let-them-be-marked
2. Vos autem divina iura et humana transgredientes, quos
2 you but divine laws and human transgressing whom
dira cupiditatis ingluvies paratos in omne nefas illexit,
the-dread of-cupidity gluttony ready for every wickedness has-enticed
nonne terror secundae mortis exagitat, ex quo, primi et
surely the-terror of-the-second death harasses from which first and
soli iugum libertatis horrentes, in Romani principis,
alone the-yoke of-liberty dreading against of-the-Roman prince
Mundi regis et Dei ministri, gloriam fremuistis; atque
of-the-World king and of-God minister the-glory you-have-raged and
iure praescriptionis utentes, debitae subiectionis officium
right of-prescription using of-due subjection the-duty
denegando, in rebellionis vesaniam maluistis insurgere? An
by-denying into of-rebellion the-madness you-have-preferred to-rise or
ignoratis, amentes et discoli, publica iura cum sola temporis
know-you-not O-madmen and perverse-ones public rights with only of-time

terminatione finiri, et nullius praescriptionis calculo fore
the-ending to-be-ended and of-no prescription to-the-reckoning to-be
obnoxia? Nempe legum sanctiones altissime declarant, et
subject indeed of-the-laws the-sanctions most-loftily declare and
humana ratio percunctando decernit, publica rerum dominia,
human reason by-inquiring decides the-public of-things dominions
quantalibet diuturnitate neglecta, numquam posse vanescere
by-however-much length neglected never to-be-able to-vanish
vel abstenuata conquiri. Nam quod ad omnium cedit
or weakened to-be-acquired for what to of-all redounds
utilitatem, sine omnium detrimento interire non potest,
utility without of-all detriment to-perish not can
vel etiam infirmari. Et hoc Deus et natura non vult,
or even to-be-weakened and this God and nature not wills
et mortalium penitus abhorreret adsensus. Quid fatua tali
and of-mortals wholly would-abhor the-assent why foolish such
opinione submota, tamquam alteri Babylonii, pium deserentes
opinion removed as other Babylonians the-pious deserting
imperium nova regna tentatis, ut alia sit Florentina civilitas,
empire new kingdoms do-you-try that other be the-Florentine civil-society
alia sit Romana? Cur Apostolicae monarchiae similiter invidere
other be the-Roman why the-Apostolic monarchy likewise to-envy
non libet; ut si Delia geminatur in coelo, geminetur et
not does-it-please that if Delia is-doubled in heaven be-doubled also
Delius? Atqui si male ausa rependere vobis terrori non est,
the-Delian but if badly the-dared to-weigh to-you terror not is
territet saltem obstinata praecordia, quod non modo sapientia,
let-it-terrify at-least obstinate hearts that not only wisdom
sed initium eius ad poenam culpae vobis ablatum
but the-beginning its for the-punishment of-the-fault from-you taken-away
est. Nulla etenim conditio delinquentis formidolosior, quam
is no for condition of-the-delinquent more-dreadful than

impudenter et sine Dei timore quidquid libet agentis.
shamelessly and without of-God fear whatever pleases of-one-doing
Hac nimirum persaepe animadversione percutitur impius, ut
by-this doubtless very-often punishment is-struck the-impious that
moriens obliviscatur sui, qui dum viveret oblitus est Dei.
dying he-forget himself who while he-lived forgotten has God
3. Sin prorsus arrogantia vestra insolens adeo roris altissimi,
3 but-if wholly arrogance your insolent so of-the-dew most-high
ceu cacumina Gelboe, vos fecit exsortes, ut senatus
like the-peaks of-Gilboa you has-made deprived that of-the-senate
aeterni consulto restitisse timori non fuerit, nec etiam non
eternal the-decree to-have-resisted to-fear not was nor even not
timuisse timetis; numquid timor ille perniciosus, humanus
to-have-feared you-fear surely-not fear that pernicious human
videlicet atque mundanus, abesse poterit, superbissimi vestri
namely and worldly to-be-absent will-be-able of-most-proud your
sanguinis vestraeque multum lacrymandae rapinae inevitabili
blood and-of-your much to-be-wept plunder inevitable
naufragio properante? An septi vallo ridiculo cuiquam
shipwreck hastening or fenced by-a-rampart ridiculous on-any
defensioni confiditis? O male concordes! O mira cupidine
defense do-you-trust O badly concordant O by-wonderful cupidity
caecati! Quid vallo sepsisse, quid propugnaculis et
blinded what with-a-rampart to-have-fenced what with-bulwarks and
pinnis vos armasse iuvabit, cum advolaverit aquila
battlements yourselves to-have-armed will-help when will-have-flown-down the-eagle
in auro terribilis, quae nunc Pirenen, nunc Caucason,
in gold terrible which now the-Pyrenees now Caucasus
nunc Atlanta supervolans, militiae coeli magis confortata
now Atlas flying-over of-the-soldiery of-heaven more strengthened
sufflamine, vasta maria quondam transvolando despexit?
by-the-blast the-vast seas once by-flying-across looked-down-on

Quid, cum adfore stupescetis, miserrimi hominum,
what when to-be-at-hand you-will-be-stunned O-most-wretched of-men
delirantis Hesperiae domitorem? Non equidem spes quam
of-raving Hesperia the-tamer not indeed hope which
frustra sine more fovetis, reluctantia ista iuvabitur, sed
in-vain without measure you-cherish resistance this will-be-helped but
hac obice iusti regis adventus inflammabitur amplius, ac
by-this obstacle of-the-just king the-coming will-be-inflamed more and
indignata misericordia semper concomitans eius exercitum
indignant mercy always accompanying his army
avolabit; et quo falsae libertatis trabeam tueri existimatis,
will-fly-away and where of-false liberty the-robe to-guard you-think
eo verae servitutis in ergastula concidetis. Miro namque
there of-true servitude into the-workhouses you-will-fall by-wonderful for
Dei iudicio quandoque agi credendum est, ut unde digna
of-God judgment sometimes to-be-done to-be-believed it-is that whence worthy
supplicia impius declinare arbitratur, inde in ea gravius
punishments the-impious to-avoid thinks thence into them more-heavily
praecipitetur; et qui divinae voluntati reluctatus est et
he-be-hurled and he-who to-the-divine will struggled has both
sciens et volens, eidem militet nesciens atque nolens.
knowing and willing to-the-same should-serve not-knowing and unwilling
4. Videbitis aedificia vestra non necessitati prudenter instructa,
4 you-will-see buildings your not for-necessity prudently built
sed delitiis inconsulte mutata, quae Pergama rediviva non
but for-delights rashly changed which Pergamum revived not
cingunt, tam ariete ruere, tristes, quam igne cremari.
girds as-well by-the-ram to-fall sad as by-fire to-be-burned
Videbitis plebem circumquaque furentem nunc in contraria, pro
you-will-see the-plebs all-around raging now into contrary-ways for
et contra, deinde in idem adversus vos horrenda clamantem,
and against then into the-same against you horrible-things crying

quoniam simul et ieiuna et timida nescit esse. Templa
since at-once both hungry and fearful it-knows-not to-be the-temples
quoque spoliata, quotidie matronarum frequentata concursu,
also despoiled daily of-matrons frequented by-the-concourse
parvulosque admirantes et inscios peccata patrum luere
and-little-ones wondering and unknowing the-sins of-the-fathers to-pay-for
destinatos videre pigebit. Et si praesaga mens mea non
destined to-see it-will-grieve and if foreboding mind my not
fallitur, sic signis veridicis, sicut inexpugnabilibus argumentis
is-deceived as by-signs truthful as by-unassailable arguments
instructa praenuntians, urbem diutino moerore confectam in
instructed foretelling the-city by-long-lasting grief worn-out into
manus alienorum tradi finaliter, plurima vestri parte seu
the-hands of-strangers to-be-handed finally the-greatest of-you part either
nece seu captivitate deperdita, perpessuri exilium pauci cum
by-slaughter or by-captivity lost about-to-suffer exile few with
fletu cernetis. Utque breviter colligam, quas tulit calamitates
weeping will-see and-that briefly I-may-gather what bore calamities
illa civitas gloriosa in fide pro libertate, Saguntum, ignominiose
that city glorious in faith for liberty Saguntum ignominiously
vos eas in perfidia pro servitute subire necesse est.
you them in perfidy for servitude to-undergo necessary it-is
5. Nec ab inopina Parmensium fortuna sumatis audaciam, qui
5 nor from the-unexpected of-the-Parmesans fortune take boldness who
malesuada fame urgente murmurantes invicem prius 'moriamur
evil-counseling hunger pressing murmuring to-each-other first let-us-die
et in media arma ruamus' in castra Caesaris, absente Caesare,
and into the-midst of-arms let-us-rush into the-camp of-Caesar absent Caesar
proruperunt. Nam et hi, quamquam de Victoria victoriam
burst-forth for also these although from Victoria victory
sunt adepti, nihilominus ibi sunt de dolore dolorem
have obtained nonetheless there they-have from sorrow sorrow

memorabiliter consecuti. Sed recensete fulmina Federici
memorably attained but review the-thunderbolts of-Frederick
prioris; et Mediolanum consulite pariter et Spoletum: quoniam
the-former and Milan consult equally and Spoleto since
ipsorum perversione simul et eversione discussa viscera vestra
their by-the-perversion at-once and overthrow shaken bowels your
nimium dilatata frigescent, et corda vestra nimium ferventia
too swollen will-grow-cold and hearts your too fervent
contrahentur. Ah Tuscorum vanissimi, tam natura quam
will-be-contracted ah of-the-Tuscans O-most-vain as-well by-nature as
vitio insensati! Quantum in noctis tenebris malesanae mentis
by-vice senseless how-much in of-night the-darkness of-the-ill-sound mind
pedes oberrent ante oculos pennatorum, nec perpenditis nec
the-feet wander before the-eyes of-the-feathered neither you-weigh nor
figuratis ignari. Vident namque vos pennati et immaculati
you-picture ignorant see for you the-feathered and unstained
in via, quasi stantes in limine carceris, et miserantem
on the-way as-if standing on the-threshold of-the-prison and pitying
quempiam, ne forte vos liberet captivatos et in compedibus
anyone lest perhaps you he-free captive and in fetters
adstrictos et manicis, propulsantes. Nec advertitis dominantem
bound and handcuffs driving-away nor do-you-notice ruling
cupidinem, quia caeci estis, venenoso susurro blandientem,
cupidity because blind you-are with-poisonous whisper flattering
minis frustatoriis cohibentem, nec non captivantem vos in
with-threats deceptive restraining and also captivating you in
lege peccati, ac sacratissimis legibus, quae iustitiae naturalis
the-law of-sin and to-the-most-sacred laws which of-justice natural
imitantur imaginem, parere vetantem; observantia quarum,
imitate the-image to-obey forbidding the-observance of-which
si laeta, si libera, non tantum non servitus esse probatur,
if glad if free not only not servitude to-be is-proved

quin immo perspicaciter intuenti liquet, ut est ipsa summa
but rather to-one-shrewdly looking it-is-clear as it-is the-very highest
libertas. Nam quid aliud haec nisi liber cursus voluntatis
liberty for what else this except the-free course of-the-will
in actum, quem suis leges mansuetis expediunt? Itaque
into act which for-their-own laws gentle make-ready so
solis existentibus liberis qui voluntarie legi obediunt, quos
only existing free-men who voluntarily the-law obey whom
vos esse censebitis, qui, dum praetenditis libertatis affectum,
you to-be will-you-judge who while you-pretend of-liberty affection
contra leges universas in legum principem conspiratis?
against the-laws universal against of-the-laws the-prince conspire
6. O miserrima Fesulanorum propago, et iterum iam Punica
6 O most-wretched of-the-Fiesolans offspring and again already Punic
barbaries! An parum timoris praelibata incutiunt? Omnino vos
barbarism or little of-fear the-foregoing strike wholly you
tremere arbitror vigilantes, quamquam spem simuletis in facie
to-tremble I-think waking although hope you-feign in face
verboque mendaci, atque in somniis expergisci plerumque, sive
and-in-word lying and in dreams to-awake often either
pavescentes infusa praesagia, sive diurna consilia recolentes.
dreading the-instilled presages or daily counsels recalling
Verum si merito trepidantes insanisse poenitet non dolentes,
but if deservedly trembling to-have-raged you-repent not grieving
ut in amaritudinem poenitentiae metus dolorisque rivuli
that into the-bitterness of-penitence of-fear and-grief the-rivulets
confluant, vestris animis infigenda supersunt, quod Romanae
may-flow-together in-your minds to-be-fixed there-remain that of-the-Roman
rei baiulus hic, divus et triumphator Henricus, non sua privata
state the-bearer this divine and triumphant Henry not his private
sed publica mundi commoda sitiens, ardua quaeque pro nobis
but public of-the-world advantages thirsting arduous all-things for us

aggressus est, sua sponte poenas nostras participans,
undertaken has of-his-own will punishments our sharing
tamquam ad ipsum, post Christum, digitum prophetiae
as-if to him after Christ the-finger of-prophecy
propheta direxerit Isaias, cum, spiritu Dei revelante, praedixit:
the-prophet had-directed Isaiah when the-spirit of-God revealing he-foretold
'Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse
truly infirmities our he bore and sorrows our he
portavit.' Igitur tempus amarissime poenitendi vos temere
carried therefore the-time most-bitterly of-repenting for-you of-the-rashly
praesumptorum, si dissimulare non vultis, adesse conspicitis.
presumed if to-dissemble not you-wish to-be-at-hand you-see
Et sera poenitentia hoc a modo veniae genitiva non erit;
and late repentance this from now of-pardon generative not will-be
quin potius tempestivae animadversionis exordium. Est enim:
but rather of-timely punishment the-beginning it-is for
quoniam peccator percutitur ut sine retractatione revertatur.
since the-sinner is-struck that without retraction he-turn-back
Scriptum prid. Kal. Aprilis in finibus Thusciae sub
written day-before the-Kalends of-April in the-bounds of-Tuscany under
fontem Sarni, faustissimi cursus Henrici Caesaris ad
the-source of-the-Arno of-the-most-auspicious course of-Henry Caesar into
Italiam anno primo.
Italy year first

Dante and all the Tuscans who desire peace kiss the feet of Henry, King of the Romans. When he crossed the ridges of the Apennines a new hope shone on Latium; Dante himself touched his feet and thought "Behold the Lamb of God." But now he lingers in the valley of the Po, as if the Empire's rights ended at the Ligurian border, while the Tuscan tyranny grows bold. He should hear Curio's cry to Caesar and the voice from the clouds that rebuked Aeneas, for his son John is a new Ascanius. Cutting off the hydra's heads at Cremona or Brescia is useless while the root lives: that root is Florence, the viper, the Myrrha, the Amata, and he, a second son of Jesse, must strike down this Goliath.

Sanctissimo triumphatori et Domino singulari, domino
to-the-most-holy triumpher and Lord singular lord
Henrico, divina providentia Romanorum Regi, semper
Henry by-divine providence of-the-Romans King ever
Augusto, devotissimi sui Dantes Aligherius Florentinus et
August the-most-devoted his Dante Alighieri a-Florentine and
exul immeritus, ac universaliter omnes Tusci qui pacem
exile undeserving and universally all the-Tuscans who peace
desiderant terrae, osculantur pedes.
desire of-the-earth kiss the-feet

1. Immensa Dei dilectione testante, relicta nobis est
1 immense of-God the-love testifying left to-us is
pacis hereditas, ut in sua mira dulcedine militiae
of-peace the-inheritance that in its wonderful sweetness of-warfare
nostrae dura mitescerent, et, in usu eius, Patriae
our the-hard-things might-grow-mild and in the-use of-it of-the-Fatherland
triumphantis gaudia mereremur. At livor antiqui et
triumphant the-joys we-might-merit but the-envy of-the-ancient and
implacabilis hostis, humanae prosperitati semper et latenter
implacable enemy for-human prosperity always and secretly

insidians, nonnullos exheredando volentes, ob tutoris
lying-in-wait some by-disinheriting willing on-account-of of-the-guardian
absentiam, nos alios impius denudavit invitos. Hinc diu super
the-absence us others impious stripped unwilling hence long by
flumina confusionis deflevimus, et patrocinia iusti regis
the-rivers of-confusion we-wept and the-patronage of-a-just king
incessanter implorabamus, qui satellitium saevi tyranni
unceasingly we-implored who the-retinue of-the-savage tyrant
disperderet, et nos in nostra iustitia reformaret. Quumque tu,
should-scatter and us in our justice should-reform and-when you
Caesaris et Augusti successor, Apennini iuga transiliens,
of-Caesar and of-Augustus successor of-the-Apennine the-ridges leaping-over
veneranda signa Tarpeia retulisti, protinus longa substiterunt
the-venerable standards Tarpeian brought-back forthwith long ceased
suspiria, lacrymarumque diluvia desierunt; et, ceu Titan
sighs and-of-tears the-floods stopped and as Titan
peroptatus exoriens, nova spes Latio saeculi melioris effulsit.
much-desired rising a-new hope on-Latium of-an-age better shone-forth
Tunc plerique vota sua praevenientes in iubilo, tam Saturnia
then very-many vows their anticipating in jubilation both the-Saturnian
regna quam Virginem redeuntem cum Marone cantabant.
reigns and the-Virgin returning with Maro sang
2. Verum quia sol noster (sive desiderii fervor hoc
2 but because sun our whether of-desire the-fervor this
submoneat, sive facies veritatis) aut morari iam creditur, aut
suggest or the-face of-truth either to-tarry already is-believed or
retrocedere supputatur, quasi Iosue denuo, vel Amos filius
to-go-back is-reckoned as-if Joshua again or of-Amos the-son
imperaret, incertitudine dubitare compellimur, et in vocem
commanded by-uncertainty to-doubt we-are-compelled and into the-voice
Praecursoris irrumpere sic: 'Tu es qui venturus es, an alium
of-the-Forerunner to-burst thus you are he-who about-to-come are or another

expectamus?' Et quamvis longa sitis in dubium quae
do-we-await and although long thirst into doubt the-things-which
sunt certa propter esse propinqua, ut adsolet, furibunda
are certain on-account-of to-be near as is-wont furious
deflectat: nihilominus in te credimus et speramus, asseverantes
turn-aside nonetheless in you we-believe and we-hope asserting
te Dei ministrum, et Ecclesiae filium, et Romanae gloriae
you of-God minister and of-the-Church son and of-Roman glory
promotorem. Nam et ego, qui scribo tam pro me quam
the-promoter for also I who write as-much for myself as
pro aliis, velut decet imperatoriam maiestatem, benignissimum
for others as befits imperial majesty most-kind
vidi et clementissimum te audivi, quum pedes tuos manus
saw and most-clement you heard when feet your hands
meae tractarunt, et labia mea debitum persolverunt. Tunc
my handled and lips my the-due paid then
exultavit in te spiritus meus, et tacitus dixi mecum: 'Ecce
exulted in you spirit my and silent I-said with-myself behold
Agnus Dei, ecce qui abstulit peccata mundi!'
the-Lamb of-God behold who took-away the-sins of-the-world

3. Sed quid tam sera moretur segnities, admiramur. Quoniam
3 but why so late should-tarry the-sloth we-wonder since
iamdudum in valle victor Eridani, non secus Tusciam
long-ago in the-valley victor of-the-Po not otherwise Tuscany
derelinquis, praetermittis et negligis, quam si iura tutanda
you-forsake pass-by and neglect than if the-rights to-be-guarded
imperii circumscribi Ligurum finibus arbitreris; non
of-the-empire to-be-circumscribed of-the-Ligurians by-the-borders you-should-think not
prorsus (ut suspicamur) advertens, quoniam Romanorum
wholly as we-suspect noticing that of-the-Romans
potestas nec metis Italiae, nec tricornis Europae
the-power neither by-the-bounds of-Italy nor of-three-horned Europe

margine coarctatur. Nam etsi vim passa in angustum
by-the-margin is-confined for even-if violence having-suffered into narrow-space
gubernacula sua contraxerit undique, tamen de inviolabili
helm its it-has-contracted on-all-sides yet from inviolable
iure fluctus Amphitritis attingens, vix ab inutili unda
right the-waves of-Amphitrite reaching scarcely by the-useless wave
Oceani se circumcingi dignatur. Scriptum etenim nobis est:
of-Ocean itself to-be-girded deigns written for for-us it-is

'Nascetur pulcra Troianus origine Caesar,
will-be-born of-beautiful the-Trojan origin Caesar
Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris.'
the-empire by-the-Ocean the-fame who will-bound by-the-stars

Et quum universaliter orbem describi edixisset Augustus (ut
and when universally the-world to-be-enrolled had-decreed Augustus as
bos noster evangelizans, accensus ignis aeterni flamma, remugit),
ox our evangelizing kindled of-fire eternal by-the-flame bellows-back
si non de iustissimi principatus aula prodiisset edictum,
if not from of-the-most-just principate the-court had-come-forth the-edict
Unigenitus Dei Filius, homo factus ad profitendum secundum
the-Only-begotten of-God Son man made for professing according-to
naturam assumptam edicto se subditum, nunquam tunc
the-nature assumed to-the-edict himself subject never then
nasci de Virgine voluisset: non enim suasisset
to-be-born of the-Virgin would-have-willed not for he-would-have-urged
iniustum, quem 'omnem iustitiam implere' decebat.
an-unjust-thing whom all justice to-fulfill it-befitted
4. Pudeat itaque in angustissima mundi area irretiri
4 let-it-shame therefore in the-narrowest of-the-world space to-be-entangled
tamdiu, quem mundus omnis expectat; et ab Augusti
so-long him-whom the-world whole awaits and from of-Augustus

circumspectione non defluat, quod Tuscana tyrannis in dilationis
circumspection not let-slip that the-Tuscan tyranny in of-delay
fiducia confortatur, et quotidie malignantium cohortando
confidence is-strengthened and daily of-the-malignant by-exhorting
superbiam, vires novas accumulat, temeritatem temeritati
the-pride strength new piles-up rashness to-rashness
adiciens. Intonet iterum vox illa Curionis in Caesarem:
adding let-thunder again the-voice that of-Curio against Caesar

'Dum trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes,
while they-tremble with-no strengthened vigor the-parties
Tolle moras; semper nocuit differre paratis:
take-away delays always it-has-harmed to-postpone for-the-prepared
Par labor atque metus pretio maiore petuntur.'
equal toil and fear at-a-price greater are-sought

Intonet illa vox increpitantis a nubibus iterum in
let-thunder that voice of-the-chiding-one from the-clouds again against
Aeneam:
Aeneas

'Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
if you no moves of-such-great the-glory of-things
Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem;
nor over you-yourself your undertake praise the-labor
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
Ascanius rising and the-hopes of-the-heir Iulus
Respice; cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
regard to-whom the-kingdom of-Italy and-the-Roman earth
Debentur.'
are-owed

5. Iohannes namque, regius primogenitus tuus et rex, quem,
5 John for royal first-born your and king whom
post diei orientis occasum, mundi successiva posteritas
after of-the-day rising the-setting of-the-world successive posterity
praestolatur, nobis est alter Ascanius, qui vestigia magni
awaits for-us is another Ascanius who the-footsteps of-great
genitoris observans, in Turnos ubique sicut leo desaeviet, et
father observing against Turnuses everywhere like a-lion will-rage and
in Latinos velut agnus mitescet. Praecaveant sacratissimi
toward Latins as a-lamb will-grow-gentle let-beware of-the-most-sacred
regis alta consilia, ne coeleste iudicium Samuelis illa verba
king the-high counsels lest the-heavenly judgment of-Samuel those words
reasperet: 'Nonne quum parvulus esses in oculis tuis, caput
re-harshen surely when little you-were in eyes your head
in tribubus Israel factus es? Unxitque te Dominus in regem
in the-tribes of-Israel made you-were and-anointed you the-Lord for king
super Israel; et misit te Deus in via, et ait: Vade et interfice
over Israel and sent you God on the-way and said go and kill
peccatores Amalech?' Nam et tu in regem sacratus es, ut
the-sinners of-Amalek for also you as king consecrated are that
Amalech percutias et Agag non parcas; atque ulciscaris
Amalek you-may-strike and Agag not you-may-spare and you-may-avenge
illum qui misit te, de gente brutali et de festina sua
him who sent you from a-nation brutish and from hasty its
sollemnitate; quae quidem et Amalech et Agag sonare dicuntur.
solemnity which indeed both Amalek and Agag to-sound are-said
6. Tu Mediolani tam vernando quam hiemando moraris,
6 you at-Milan as-well in-spring as in-winter tarry
et hydram pestiferam per capitum amputationem reris
and the-hydra pestiferous by the-heads' amputation you-think
extinguere? Quod si magnalia gloriosi Alcidae recensuisses,
to-extinguish but if the-great-deeds of-glorious Alcides you-had-reviewed

te ut illum falli cognosceres, cui pestilens animal,
you as him to-be-deceived you-would-recognize to-whom the-pestilent animal
capite repullulante multiplici, in damnum crescebat, donec
head re-sprouting manifold to loss grew until
instanter magnanimus vitae principium impedivit. Non etenim
urgently the-great-souled of-life the-source hindered not for
ad arbores extirpandas valet ipsa ramorum incisio, quin
for trees to-be-uprooted avails the-very of-branches cutting but-that
iterum multiplicius virulenter ramificent, quousque radices
again more-manifoldly virulently they-branch as-long-as the-roots
incolumes fuerint, ut praebeant alimentum. Quid praeses
unharmed will-have-been so-that they-furnish nourishment what O-ruler
unice mundi, peregisse praeconizabis, quum cervicem
single of-the-world to-have-accomplished will-you-proclaim when the-neck
Cremonae deflexeris contumacis? Nonne tunc vel Brixiae
of-Cremona you-will-have-bent contumacious surely then either of-Brescia
vel Papiae rabies inopina turgescet? Immo! Quae, quum etiam
or of-Pavia the-rage unexpected will-swell nay which when also
flagellata resederit, mox alia Vercellis, vel Pergami, vel
scourged will-have-settled soon another at-Vercelli or at-Bergamo or
alibi returgebit, donec huius scatescentiae causa radicalis
elsewhere will-swell-again until of-this bubbling-up the-cause radical
tollatur, et radice tanti erroris avulsa, cum trunco rami
be-removed and the-root of-so-great error torn-up with the-trunk the-branches
pungitivi arescant.
stinging wither

7. An ignoras, excellentissime principum, nec de specula
7 or are-you-ignorant O-most-excellent of-princes nor from the-watchtower
summae celsitudinis deprehendis, ubi vulpecula foetoris istius,
of-highest loftiness discern where the-little-fox of-stench that
venantium secura, decumbat? Quippe nec Pado praecipiti,
of-the-hunters secure lies-down indeed neither from-the-Po swift

nec Tiberi tuo criminosa potatur, verum Sarni fluenta
nor from-the-Tiber your the-criminal drinks but of-the-Arno the-streams
torrentis adhuc rictus eius inficiunt, et Florentia (forte
of-the-torrent still the-jaws her pollute and Florence perhaps
nescis?) dira haec pernicies nuncupatur. Haec est vipera versa
you-know-not dire this pest is-called this is the-viper turned
in viscera genitricis: haec est languida pecus, gregem domini
into the-bowels of-the-mother this is the-sick sheep the-flock of-the-lord
sui sua contagione commaculans: haec Myrrha scelesta et
her by-her contagion defiling this Myrrha wicked and
impia, in Cinyrae patris amplexus exaestuans: haec Amata
impious into of-Cinyras father embraces burning this Amata
illa impatiens, quae, repulso fatali connubio, quem fata
that impatient who repulsed the-fated marriage whom the-fates
negabant generum sibi adscire non timuit, sed in bella
refused as-son-in-law for-herself to-adopt not feared but into wars
furialiter provocavit, et demum, male ausa luendo,
madly provoked and at-last evilly the-things-dared by-paying-for
laqueo se suspendit. Vere matrem viperea feritate
with-a-noose herself hanged truly the-mother with-viperous ferocity
dilaniare contendit, dum contra Romam cornua rebellionis
to-tear she-strives while against Rome the-horns of-rebellion
exacuit, quae ad imaginem suam atque similitudinem fecit
she-sharpens which to image her and likeness made
illam. Vere fumos, evaporante sanie, vitiantes exhalat, et
her truly fumes evaporating pus corrupting she-exhales and
inde vicinae pecudes et insciae contabescunt, dum, falsis
thence neighboring cattle and unknowing waste-away while with-false
alliciendo blanditiis et figmentis, aggregat sibi finitimos, et
by-enticing blandishments and fictions she-gathers to-herself neighbors and
infatuat aggregatos. Vere in paternos ardet ipsa concubitus,
infatuates those-gathered truly for paternal burns she-herself unions

dum improba procacitate conatur summi pontificis, qui
while with-shameless boldness she-tries of-the-supreme pontiff who
pater est patrum, adversus te violare assensum. Vere 'Dei
father is of-fathers against you to-violate the-assent truly of-God
ordinationi resistit,' propriae voluntatis idolum venerando,
ordinance she-resists of-her-own will the-idol by-venerating
dum regem aspernata legitimum non erubescit; insana,
while the-king having-spurned lawful not she-blushes the-insane
regi non suo iura non sua pro male agenda potestate
with-a-king not her-own rights not her-own for evil to-be-done power
pacisci. Sed attendit ad laqueum mulier furiata quo se
to-bargain but she-attends to the-noose the-woman maddened with-which herself
innectat. Nam saepe quis in reprobum sensum traditur,
she-may-entangle for often one into a-reprobate sense is-handed-over
ut traditus faciat ea quae non conveniunt. Quae quamvis
that handed-over he-do those which not befit which although
iniusta sint opera, iusta tamen supplicia esse noscuntur.
unjust be works just yet punishments to-be are-known
8. Eia itaque, rumpe moras, proles altera Isai, sume
8 come therefore break delays O-offspring other of-Jesse take
tibi fiduciam de oculis Domini Dei Sabaoth, coram quo
to-yourself confidence from the-eyes of-the-Lord God of-Sabaoth before whom
agis: et Goliam hunc in funda sapientiae tuae atque in
you-act and Goliath this in the-sling of-wisdom your and in
lapide virium tuarum prosterne; quoniam in eius occasu
the-stone of-strengths your lay-low since at his fall
nox et umbra timoris castra Philistinorum operiet; fugient
night and the-shadow of-fear the-camp of-the-Philistines will-cover will-flee
Philistei et liberabitur Israel. Tunc hereditas nostra, quam
the-Philistines and will-be-freed Israel then inheritance our which
sine intermissione deflemus ablatam, nobis erit in integrum
without intermission we-lament taken-away to-us will-be in whole

restituta. Ac quemadmodum sacrosanctae Ierusalem memores,
restored and just-as of-the-most-holy Jerusalem mindful
exules in Babylone, gemiscimus; ita tunc cives, et respirantes
exiles in Babylon we-groan so then citizens and breathing
in pace, confusionis miserias in gaudio recolemus.
in peace of-the-confusion the-miseries in joy we-shall-recall
Scriptum in Tuscia sub fontem Sarni XIV Kal. Maias
written in Tuscany under the-source of-the-Arno fourteenth Kalends of-May
MCCCXI, divi Henrici faustissimi cursus ad Italiam
1311 of-divine Henry of-the-most-auspicious course into Italy
anno primo.
year first

"How lonely sits the city": Dante laments Rome, widowed and deserted, as Jeremiah mourned Jerusalem. The cardinals, the Church's first officers, have driven the Bride's chariot off the track like Phaethon and led the flock to the precipice, selling doves in the temple. One of the least sheep of Christ, Dante speaks from zeal, not presumption. Greed is their wife; the Fathers lie neglected while the canonists are studied for gain. He urges them, Orsini and the follower of the other faction alike, to fight together for the Bride, for Rome, and for Italy, so that the Gascons' shame may be remembered forever.

Cardinalibus Italicis Dantes Alighierius de Florentia.
to-the-Cardinals Italian Dante Alighieri of Florence

1. 'Quomodo sola sedet civitas, plena populo: facta est quasi
1 how alone sits the-city full of-people made it-is as-if
vidua domina gentium!' Principum quondam Pharisaeorum
a-widow the-mistress of-nations of-the-chiefs once of-the-Pharisees
cupiditas, quae sacerdotium vetus abominabile fecit, non
the-cupidity which the-priesthood old abominable made not
modo Leviticae prolis ministerium transtulit, quin et
only of-the-Levitical offspring the-ministry transferred but also
praeelectae civitati David obsidionem peperit et ruinam.
on-the-chosen city of-David siege brought-forth and ruin
Quod quidem de specula provecta aeternitatis intuens
which indeed from the-watchtower advanced of-eternity beholding
Qui solus aeternus est, mentem Deo dignam viri
He-who alone eternal is a-mind of-God worthy of-a-man
prophetici per Spiritum Sanctum sua iussione impressit,
prophetic through the-Spirit Holy by-his command impressed
et is sanctam Ierusalem velut exstinctam, per verba
and he holy Jerusalem as-if extinguished through words
praesignata, et nimium, 'proh dolor!' iterata, deflevit.
foresignified and too-much O grief repeated lamented

2. Nos quoque eundem Patrem et Filium, eundem Deum et
2 we also the-same Father and Son the-same God and
hominem, nec non eandem Matrem et Virginem profitentes,
man and also the-same Mother and Virgin professing
propter quos et propter quorum salutem ter de caritate
on-account-of whom and on-account-of whose salvation thrice about love
interrogato, dictum est: 'Petre, pasce sacrosanctum ovile;'
to-him-questioned said it-is O-Peter feed the-most-holy fold
Romam (cui post tot triumphorum pompas, et verbo et
Rome for-which after so-many of-triumphs pomps both by-word and
opere Christus orbis confirmavit imperium, quam etiam ille
by-deed Christ of-the-world confirmed the-empire which also that
Petrus et Paulus gentium praedicator, in Apostolicam sedem
Peter and Paul of-the-nations the-preacher into the-Apostolic see
aspergine proprii sanguinis consecrarunt), quam nunc
with-the-sprinkling of-their-own blood consecrated which now
cum Ieremia, non lugendo post venientes, sed post ipsum
with Jeremiah not by-mourning after those-coming but after him
dolentes, viduam et desertam lugere compellimur; piget, heu,
grieving widowed and deserted to-mourn we-are-compelled it-grieves alas
non minus quam plagam lamentabilem cernere haeresium.
not less than the-wound lamentable to-see of-heresies
3. Impietatis fautores, Iudaei, Saraceni, et gentes sabbata
3 of-impiety the-abettors Jews Saracens and gentiles the-sabbaths
nostra rident, et, ut fertur, conclamant: 'Ubi est Deus
our mock and as is-reported cry-out where is God
eorum?' Et forsan suis insidiis ac potestati contra
their and perhaps to-their snares and power against
defensantes Angelos hoc adscribunt: et, quod horribilius est,
the-defending Angels this they-ascribe and what more-horrible is

astronomi quidam et crude prophetantes necessarium asserunt,
astronomers certain and crudely prophesying necessary assert
quod, male usi libertate arbitrii, eligere maluistis.
what badly having-used the-freedom of-choice to-choose you-preferred
4. Vos equidem, Ecclesiae militantis veluti primi praepositi
4 you indeed of-the-Church militant as first commanders
pili, per manifestam orbitam Crucifixi currum Sponsae
of-the-maniple along the-manifest track of-the-Crucified the-chariot of-the-Bride
regere negligentes, non aliter quam falsus auriga Phaeton
to-guide neglecting not otherwise than the-false charioteer Phaethon
exorbitastis; et, quorum sequentem gregem per saltus
you-have-left-the-track and whose following flock through the-glades
peregrinationis huius illustrare intererat, ipsum una
of-pilgrimage this to-illumine it-was-the-concern it together
vobiscum ad praecipitium traduxistis. Nec ad imitandum
with-you to the-precipice you-have-led nor for imitation
recenseo vobis exempla, quum dorsa, non vultus, ad
do-I-recount to-you examples since backs not faces toward
Sponsae vehiculum habeatis; vereque dici possitis, qui
of-the-Bride the-vehicle you-have and-truly to-be-said you-can those-who
Prophetae ostensi sunt, male versi ad templum: vobis, ignem
to-the-Prophet shown are badly turned to the-temple you the-fire
de coelo missum despicientibus, ubi nunc arae ab alieno
from heaven sent despising where now the-altars from strange-fire
calescunt: vobis, columbas in templis vendentibus, ubi quae
are-warmed you doves in temples selling where things-which
pretio mensurari non possunt, in detrimentum haec ad
by-price to-be-measured not can to the-detriment these for
commutandum venalia facta sunt. Sed attendatis ad funiculum,
exchanging salable made are but attend to the-cord
attendatis ad ignem, neque patientiam contemnatis Illius,
attend to the-fire nor the-patience despise of-Him

qui ad poenitentiam vos expectat. Quod si de praelibato
who to repentance you awaits but if about the-aforesaid
praecipitio dubitatur, quid aliud declarando respondeam, nisi
precipice it-is-doubted what else by-declaring should-I-answer except
quod in Alcimum cum Demetrio consensistis?
that to Alcimus with Demetrius you-agreed
5. Forsitan et 'quis iste, qui Ozae repentinum supplicium
5 perhaps also who this-one who of-Uzzah the-sudden punishment
non formidans, ad arcam, quamvis labantem, se erigit?'
not dreading to the-ark although tottering himself raises
indignanter obiurgabitis. Quippe de ovibus pascuis Iesu
indignantly you-will-rebuke indeed of the-sheep of-the-pastures of-Jesus
Christi minima una sum; quippe nulla pastorali auctoritate
Christ the-least one I-am indeed no pastoral authority
abutens, quoniam divitiae mecum non sunt. Non ergo
abusing since riches with-me not are not therefore
divitiarum, sed gratia Dei sum id quod sum, et 'zelus
of-riches but by-the-grace of-God I-am that which I-am and the-zeal
domus eius me comedit.' Nam etiam in ore lactentium et
of-house his me has-eaten for even in the-mouth of-sucklings and
infantium sonuit iam Deo placita veritas, et caecus natus
of-infants sounded already to-God pleasing truth and the-blind born
veritatem confessus est, quam Pharisaei non modo tacebant,
the-truth confessed has which the-Pharisees not only kept-silent
sed et maligne reflectere conabantur. His habeo persuasum
but also maliciously to-turn-aside tried by-these I-have been-persuaded
quod audeo. Habeo praeter hoc praeceptorem Philosophum, qui
what I-dare I-have besides this the-teacher the-Philosopher who
cuncta moralia dogmatizans, amicis omnibus veritatem docuit
all moral-things teaching to-friends all truth taught
praeferendam. Nec Ozae praesumptio, quam obiectandam quis
to-be-preferred nor of-Uzzah presumption which to-be-objected anyone

crederet quasi temere prorumpentem me inficiet sui tabe
would-believe as-if rashly bursting-forth me will-infect of-its with-the-plague
reatus; quia ille ad arcam, ego ad boves calcitrantes et
guilt because he to the-ark I to the-oxen kicking and
per abvia distrahentes, attendo. Ille ad arcam proficiat,
through pathless-ways dragging attend he to the-ark let-him-advance
qui salutiferos oculos ad naviculam fluctuantem aperuit.
who saving eyes toward the-little-ship tossing opened
6. Non itaque videor quemquam exacerbasse ad iurgia; quin
6 not therefore I-seem anyone to-have-provoked to quarrels but
potius confusionis ruborem et in vobis et in aliis, nomine
rather of-confusion the-blush both in you and in others in-name
solo archimandritis, per orbem (duntaxat pudor eradicatus
only archimandrites throughout the-world provided-only shame uprooted
non sit totaliter) accendisse, quum de tot pastoris officium
not be wholly to-have-kindled since of so-many the-shepherd's office
usurpantibus, de tot ovibus, et si non abactis, neglectis
usurping of so-many sheep even if not driven-off neglected
tamen et incustoditis in pascuis, una sola vox, sola pia,
yet and unguarded in the-pastures one alone voice alone pious
et haec privata, in matris Ecclesiae quasi funere audiatur.
and this private in of-mother Church as-it-were the-funeral be-heard
7. Quidni? Cupiditatem unusquisque sibi duxit in uxorem,
7 why-not cupidity each-one for-himself has-led as wife
quemadmodum et vos, quae nunquam pietatis et aequitatis,
as also you who never of-piety and of-equity
ut caritas, sed semper impietatis et iniquitatis est genitrix.
as charity but always of-impiety and of-iniquity is the-mother
Ha, mater piissima, sponsa Christi! quos in aqua et spiritu
ah O-mother most-pious bride of-Christ whom in water and spirit
generas tibi filios ad ruborem! Non Caritas, non Astraea,
you-beget for-yourself as-sons to blushing not Charity not Astraea

sed filiae sanguisugae factae sunt tibi nurus. Quae
but the-daughters of-the-leech made are to-you daughters-in-law who
quales pariant tibi foetus, praeter Lunensem pontificem,
of-what-sort bear to-you offspring except the-Lunian pontiff
omnes alii contestantur. Iacet Gregorius tuus in telis
all others attest lies Gregory your in webs
aranearum; iacet Ambrosius in neglectis clericorum latibulis;
of-spiders lies Ambrose in neglected of-clerics hiding-places
iacet Augustinus; abiectus Dionysius, Damascenus et Beda;
lies Augustine cast-aside Dionysius Damascene and Bede
et nescio quod Speculum, Innocentium, et Ostiensem
and I-know-not what Mirror Innocent and Hostiensis
declamant. Cur enim? Illi Deum quaerebant, ut finem et
they-declaim why for they God sought as end and
optimum; isti census et beneficia consequuntur.
best these revenues and benefices pursue
8. Sed, o Patres, ne me phoenicem aestimetis in orbe terrarum.
8 but O Fathers lest me a-phoenix you-think in the-orb of-the-lands
Omnes enim, quae garrio, murmurant aut cogitant aut somniant.
all for what I-chatter murmur or think or dream
Et qui inventa non attestantur? Nonnulli sunt in admiratione
and who things-found not attest some are in wonder
suspensi: an semper et hi silebunt, neque Factori suo
suspended whether always also these will-be-silent nor to-Maker their
testimonium reddent? Vivit Dominus; quique movit linguam
testimony will-render lives the-Lord and-he-who moved the-tongue
in asina Balaam, Dominus est etiam modernorum brutorum.
in the-ass of-Balaam Lord is also of-modern brutes
9. Iam garrulus factus sum: vos me coegistis. Pudeat ergo
9 now garrulous made I-am you me compelled let-it-shame therefore
tam ab infra, non de coelo ut absolvat, argui vel
so from below not from heaven that it-absolve to-be-reproved or

moneri. Recte quidem nobiscum agit, quum ex ea parte
to-be-admonished rightly indeed with-us it-acts when from that side
pulsatur ad nos ad quam cum caeteris sensibus inflet
it-is-knocked at us on which with the-other senses it-may-blow-into
auditum, ac pariat pudor in nobis poenitentiam, primogenitam
the-hearing and may-bear shame in us penitence first-born
suam, et haec propositum emendationis aggeneret.
its and this a-purpose of-amendment beget
10. Quod ut gloriosa longanimitas foveat et defendat, Romam
10 which that the-glorious long-suffering may-cherish and defend Rome
urbem, nunc utroque lumine destitutam, nunc Hannibali
the-city now of-each light bereft now to-Hannibal
nedum aliis miserandam, solam sedentem et viduam, prout
not-to-say to-others to-be-pitied alone sitting and widowed as
superius proclamatur, qualis est, pro modulo vestrae imaginis
above is-proclaimed such-as she-is for the-measure of-your imagination
ante mortales oculos affigatis omnes. Et ad vos haec sunt
before mortal eyes fix all and to you these-things are
maxime, qui sacrum Tiberim parvuli cognovistis. Nam etsi
most who the-sacred Tiber as-children knew for even-if
Latiale Caput pie cunctis est Italis diligendum, tamquam
the-Latian Capital piously by-all is Italians to-be-loved as
commune suae civilitatis principium; vestras iuste censetur
the-common of-their civil-society beginning yours justly it-is-judged
accuratissime colere ipsum, quum sit vobis principium ipsius
most-carefully to-cherish it since it-be for-you the-beginning of-the-very
quoque esse. Et si caeteros Italos in praesens miseria dolore
also to-be and if the-other Italians at present misery with-grief
confecit et rubore confudit; erubescendum esse vobis
has-worn-out and with-blushing confounded to-be-blushed-at to-be for-you
dolendumque quis dubitet, qui causa insolitae sui vel
and-to-be-grieved who would-doubt who the-cause of-the-unwonted of-itself or

solis eclipseos fuistis? Tu prae omnibus, Urse, ne degratiati
of-the-sun eclipse were you before all O-Orsini lest disgraced
collegae propter te remanerent inglorii; et ut illi militantis
colleagues on-account-of you should-remain inglorious and that they of-the-militant
Ecclesiae veneranda insignia, quae forsan non emeriti sed
Church the-venerable insignia which perhaps not having-served-out but
immeriti coacti posuerant, Apostolici culminis auctoritate
undeservedly compelled they-had-laid-down of-the-Apostolic summit by-the-authority
resumerent. Tu quoque, Transtiberinae sectator factionis alterius,
might-resume you also of-the-Transtiberine O-follower of-the-faction of-the-other
ut ira defuncti Antistitis in te velut ramus insitionis in
that the-wrath of-the-dead Prelate in you as a-branch of-grafting on
trunco non suo frondesceret, quasi triumphatam Carthaginem
a-trunk not its-own might-leaf as-if triumphed-over Carthage
nondum exueras, illustrium Scipionum patriae potuisti
not-yet you-had-put-off of-the-illustrious Scipios to-the-fatherland you-could
hunc animum sine ulla tui iudicii contradictione praeferre.
this spirit without any of-your judgment contradiction prefer
11. Emendabitur quidem (quamquam non sit quin nota
11 it-will-be-amended indeed although not it-be but-that the-mark
cicatrixque infamis Apostolicam Sedem usserit ad ignem, et
and-scar infamous the-Apostolic See has-burned to the-fire and
cui coeli et terra sunt reservati, deturpet), si unanimes
for-whom heaven and earth are reserved disfigure if unanimous
omnes qui huiusmodi exorbitationis fuistis auctores, pro Sponsa
all who of-such-a swerving were authors for the-Bride
Christi, pro sede Sponsae, quae Roma est, pro Italia nostra,
of-Christ for the-seat of-the-Bride which Rome is for Italy our
et ut plenius dicam, pro tota civitate peregrinantium
and that more-fully I-may-say for the-whole city of-those-sojourning
in terris, viriliter propugnetis, ut de palaestra iam
on earth manfully you-fight that from the-arena of-the-already

coepti certaminis undique ab Oceani margine circumspecta,
begun contest on-all-sides from of-the-Ocean the-margin watched
vosmetipsos cum gloria offerentes, audire possitis: 'Gloria in
yourselves with glory offering to-hear you-may-be-able glory in
excelsis;' et ut Vasconum opprobrium, qui tam dira cupidine
the-highest and that of-the-Gascons the-reproach who so with-dire cupidity
conflagrantes Latinorum gloriam sibi usurpare contendunt,
burning of-the-Latins the-glory to-themselves to-usurp strive
per saecula cuncta futura sit posteris in exemplum.
through ages all to-come may-be for-posterity for an-example

Dante thanks his friend for his concern for his return. Letters from his nephew and others tell him that under a new decree he may come home if he pays a sum and submits to the shame of being offered as a penitent. Is this the glorious recall of a man who has borne nearly fifteen years of exile, of a man of philosophy who preaches justice? He will not pay those who wronged him. If another way can be found that leaves his fame and honor whole, he will take it gladly; otherwise he will never enter Florence. Can he not see the sun and stars, and think on truth, anywhere under heaven?

Amico Florentino.

to-a-friend Florentine

1. In litteris vestris, et reverentia debita et affectione

1 in letter your both with-reverence due and with-affection

receptis, quam repatriatio mea curae sit vobis ex animo,

received how-much repatriation my a-care be to-you from the-heart

grata mente ac diligenti animadversione concepi; et inde

with-grateful mind and diligent attention I-perceived and thereby

tanto me districtius obligastis, quanto rarius exules invenire

so-much me more-strictly you-have-bound as more-rarely exiles to-find

amicos contingit. Ad illarum vero significata respondeo; et

friends it-happens to their but meanings I-reply and

si responsio non erit qualiter forsan pusillanimitas appeteret

if the-reply not will-be as perhaps the-faint-heartedness would-desire

aliquorum, ut sub examine vestri consilii ante iudicium

of-some that under the-examination of-your counsel before judgment

ventiletur, affectuose deposco.

it-be-winnowed affectionately I-request

2. Ecce igitur quod per litteras vestri meique nepotis, nec

2 behold therefore what through letters of-your and-my nephew and

non aliorum quamplurium amicorum, significatum est mihi

also of-other very-many friends signified it-is to-me

per ordinamentum nuper factum Florentiae super absolutione
through an-ordinance recently made in-Florence about the-absolution
bannitorum: quod si solvere vellem certam pecuniae quantitatem,
of-the-banished that if to-pay I-wished a-certain of-money quantity
vellemque pati notam oblationis, et absolvi possem et
and-I-wished to-suffer the-mark of-the-offering both to-be-absolved I-could and
redire ad praesens. In quo quidem duo ridenda et
to-return at present in which indeed two-things to-be-laughed-at and
male praeconsiliata sunt, Pater; dico male praeconsiliata per
badly premeditated are O-Father I-say badly premeditated by
illos qui talia expresserunt, nam vestrae litterae discretius
those who such-things expressed for your letter more-discreetly
et consultius clausulatae nihil de talibus continebant.
and more-advisedly worded nothing of such-things contained
3. Estne ista revocatio gloriosa, qua Dantes Alighierius
3 is that recall glorious by-which Dante Alighieri
revocatur ad patriam, per trilustrium fere perpessus
is-recalled to the-fatherland through fifteen-years almost having-suffered
exilium? Hocne meruit innocentia manifesta quibuslibet?
exile this has-merited innocence manifest to-anyone
Hoc sudor et labor continuatus in studio? Absit a viro
this the-sweat and toil continued in study far-be-it from a-man
philosophiae domestico temeraria terreni cordis humilitas,
of-philosophy intimate the-rash of-an-earthly heart humility
ut more cuiusdam Cioli et aliorum infamium quasi
that in-the-manner of-a-certain Ciolo and others infamous as-if
victus, ipse se patiatur offerri! Absit a viro praedicante
conquered he himself allow to-be-offered far-be-it from a-man preaching
iustitiam ut perpessus iniurias, iniuriam inferentibus, velut
justice that having-suffered injuries injury to-those-inflicting as
benemerentibus, pecuniam suam solvat!
to-the-well-deserving money his he-pay

4. Non est haec via redeundi ad patriam, Pater mi;
4 not is this the-way of-returning to the-fatherland O-Father my
sed si alia per vos aut deinde per alios invenietur,
but if another through you or then through others will-be-found
quae famae Dantis atque honori non deroget, illam non
which to-the-fame of-Dante and honor not detract that not
lentis passibus acceptabo. Quod si per nullam talem
with-slow steps I-shall-accept but if through no such
Florentia introitur, numquam Florentiam introibo. Quidni?
Florence is-entered never Florence shall-I-enter why-not
nonne solis astrorumque specula ubique conspiciam?
surely of-the-sun and-of-the-stars the-mirrors everywhere I-shall-behold
Nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub
surely the-sweetest truths I-shall-be-able to-contemplate everywhere under
coelo, ni prius inglorium, immo ignominiosum, populo
heaven unless first inglorious nay ignominious to-the-people
Florentinaeque civitati me reddam? Quippe nec panis deficiet.
and-to-the-Florentine city myself I-render indeed nor bread will-fail

Dante came to Verona to see whether Can Grande's fame was true and found the deeds surpassed it; a friend despite the difference in rank, he dedicates to him the Paradiso. *He then introduces it: the work is polysemous, with a literal sense and allegorical, moral, and anagogical senses, as the verse* In exitu Israel de Aegypto *shows; its subject is the state of souls after death, and allegorically man rewarded or punished for his choices. He sets out its agent, form, end, title, and branch of philosophy: it is a comedy, since it begins in the horror of Hell and ends in the joy of Paradise, in the humble vernacular, and its end is to lead men from misery to bliss. He expounds the opening lines on God's glory shining through the universe and on the Empyrean, explains the invocation, and, pressed by poverty, leaves the rest unexpounded, saying only that the poem will rise from heaven to heaven and end in God.*

Magnifico atque victorioso domino, domino Kani Grandi
to-the-magnificent and victorious lord lord Can Grande
de Scala, sacratissimi Caesarei Principatus in urbe Verona
della Scala of-the-most-sacred Imperial Principate in the-city of-Verona
et civitate Vicentia Vicario generali; devotissimus suus
and the-city of-Vicenza Vicar general most-devoted his
Dantes Aligherius, Florentinus natione non moribus, vitam
Dante Alighieri a-Florentine by-birth not by-character life
optat per tempora diuturna felicem, et gloriosi nominis
wishes through times long happy and of-glorious name
in perpetuum incrementum.
for ever increase

1. Inclyta vestrae Magnificentiae laus, quam fama vigil
1 the-renowned of-your Magnificence praise which fame watchful
volitans disseminat, sic distrahit in diversa diversos, ut
flying spreads so draws in diverse-directions diverse-people that
hos in spem suae prosperitatis attollat, hos exterminii
these into hope of-their prosperity it-raises these of-extermination

deiciat in terrorem. Hoc quidem praeconium, facta
it-casts into terror this indeed heralding the-deeds
modernorum exsuperans, tamquam veri existentia latius,
of-the-moderns surpassing as of-truth than-the-existence more-widely
arbitrabar aliquando superfluum. Verum ne diuturna me nimis
I-thought once superfluous but lest long me too
incertitudo suspenderet, velut Austri regina Hierusalem
uncertainty should-hold-suspended as of-the-South the-queen Jerusalem
petiit, velut Pallas petiit Heliconam, Veronam petii fidis
sought as Pallas sought Helicon Verona I-sought with-faithful
oculis discursurus audita. Ibique magnalia vestra vidi,
eyes to-examine the-things-heard and-there great-deeds your I-saw
vidi beneficia simul et tetigi; et quemadmodum prius
I-saw the-benefits together and I-touched and just-as first
dictorum suspicabar excessum, sic posterius ipsa facta
of-the-things-said I-suspected the-excess so afterward the-very deeds
excessiva cognovi. Quo factum est, ut ex auditu solo cum
excessive I-knew whereby happened it-is as from hearing alone with
quadam animi subiectione benevolus prius exstiterim; sic ex
a-certain of-mind submission well-wishing first I-was so from
visu primordii et devotissimus et amicus.
the-sight of-the-beginning both most-devoted and friend
2. Nec reor, amici nomen assumens, ut nonnulli forsitan
2 nor do-I-think the-friend's name taking as some perhaps
obiectarent, reatum praesumptionis incurrere, quum non minus
might-object the-guilt of-presumption to-incur since not less
dispares connectantur quam pares amicitiae sacramento. Nam
unequal are-joined than equal by-friendship's sacrament for
si delectabiles et utiles amicitias inspicere libeat, persaepius
if delightful and useful friendships to-inspect it-please very-often
inspicienti patebit, praeeminentes inferioribus coniugari
to-one-inspecting it-will-be-plain the-preeminent to-inferior to-be-joined

personis. Et si ad veram ac per se amicitiam torqueatur
persons and if to true and through itself friendship be-turned
intuitus, nonne illustrium summorumque principum plerumque
the-gaze surely of-illustrious and-highest princes very-often
viros fortuna obscuros, honestate praeclaros, amicos fuisse
men in-fortune obscure in-honor distinguished friends to-have-been
constabit? Quidni? quum etiam Dei et hominis amicitia
it-will-be-certain why-not since even of-God and of-man the-friendship
nequaquam impediatur excessu! Quod si cuiquam, quod
by-no-means is-bindered by-excess but if to-anyone what
asseritur, videretur indignum, Spiritum Sanctum audiat,
is-asserted seemed unworthy the-Spirit Holy let-him-hear
amicitiae suae participes quosdam homines profitentem. Nam
of-his friendship sharers certain men professing for
in Sapientia de Sapientia legitur, 'quoniam infinitus thesaurus
in Wisdom about Wisdom it-is-read that an-infinite treasure
est hominibus, quo qui usi sunt, participes facti sunt
it-is to-men which those-who used have sharers made are
amicitiae Dei.' Sed habet imperitia vulgi sine discretione
of-the-friendship of-God but has the-ignorance of-the-vulgar without discernment
iudicium: et quemadmodum solem pedalis magnitudinis
judgment and just-as the-sun of-a-foot's size
arbitratur; sic circa unam vel alteram rem credulitate decipitur.
it-judges so about one or another thing by-credulity it-is-deceived
Eos autem quibus optimum quod est in nobis noscere datum
those but to-whom the-best which is in us to-know given
est, gregum vestigia sectari non decet, quinimmo suis erroribus
it-is the-flocks' footsteps to-follow not befits nay-rather their errors
obviare tenentur: nam intellectu ac ratione vigentes, divina
to-oppose they-are-bound for in-intellect and reason thriving with-divine
quadam libertate dotati, nullis consuetudinibus adstringuntur.
a-certain freedom endowed by-no customs are-constrained

Nec mirum, quum non ipsi legibus, sed ipsis leges potius
nor wonder since not they by-laws but by-them the-laws rather
dirigantur. Liquet igitur, quod superius dixi, me scilicet esse
are-directed it-is-clear therefore what above I-said me namely to-be
devotissimum et amicum, nullatenus esse praesumptuosum.
most-devoted and friend in-no-way to-be presumptuous
3. Praeferens ergo amicitiam vestram quasi thesaurum
3 preferring therefore friendship your as-if a-treasure
carissimum, providentia diligenti et accurata sollicitudine
dearest with-providence diligent and careful solicitude
illam servare desidero. Itaque, quum in dogmatibus moralis
it to-preserve I-desire so since in the-teachings of-moral
negotii amicitiam adaequari et salvari analogo
business friendship to-be-equalized and to-be-preserved by-the-analogous
doceatur, ad retribuendum pro collatis beneficiis analogiam
it-be-taught for repaying for the-conferred benefits the-analogy
sequi mihi votivum est; et propter hoc munuscula mea
to-follow to-me desired it-is and on-account-of this little-gifts my
saepe multumque conspexi, et ab invicem segregavi,
often and-much I-have-looked-over and from one-another separated
nec non segregata percensui, digniusque gratiusque vobis
and also the-separated reviewed the-more-worthy and-more-welcome to-you
inquirens. Neque ipsi praeeminentiae vestrae congruum
seeking nor to-the-very preeminence your fitting
comperi magis, quam Comoediae sublimem Canticam, quae
have-I-found more than of-the-Comedy the-sublime Canticle which
decoratur titulo Paradisi; et illam sub praesenti epistola,
is-adorned with-the-title of-Paradise and it under the-present letter
tamquam sub epigrammate proprio dedicatam, vobis adscribo,
as under an-epigram its-own dedicated to-you I-ascribe
vobis offero, vobis denique recommendo.
to-you I-offer to-you finally I-commend

4. Illud quoque praeterire silentio simpliciter, inardescens non
4 that also to-pass-over in-silence simply kindling not
sinit affectus, quod in hac donatione plus domino quam dono
permits affection that in this gift more on-the-lord than on-the-gift
honoris et famae conferri videri potest; quinimmo, cum eius
of-honor and fame to-be-conferred to-seem can nay-rather with its
titulo iam praesagium de gloria vestri nominis amplianda,
title already a-presage about the-glory of-your name to-be-amplified
satis attentis videbar expressisse; quod de proposito. Sed
enough to-the-attentive I-seemed to-have-expressed which from purpose but
zelus gloriae vestrae, quam sitio, nostram parvipendens,
the-zeal for-glory your which I-thirst-for our little-esteeming
a primordio metam praefixam urgebit ulterius. Itaque,
from the-beginning goal set-before will-urge further so
formula consummata epistolae, ad introductionem oblati
the-form completed of-the-letter to the-introduction of-the-offered
operis aliquid, sub lectoris officio, compendiose aggrediar.
work something under of-a-reader the-office concisely I-shall-undertake
5. Sicut dixit Philosophus in secundo Metaphysicorum: 'Sicut
5 as said the-Philosopher in the-second of-the-Metaphysics as
res se habet ad esse, sic se habet ad veritatem;' cuius
a-thing itself holds to the-to-be so itself it-holds to truth whose
ratio est, quia veritas de re, quae in veritate consistit
reason is because truth about a-thing which in truth consists
tanquam in subiecto, est similitudo perfecta rei sicut
as in a-subject is the-likeness perfect of-the-thing as
est. Eorum vero quae sunt, quaedam sic sunt, ut habeant
it-is of-those but which are some so are that they-have
esse absolutum in se; quaedam sunt ita, ut habeant esse
to-be absolute in themselves some are so that they-have to-be
dependens ab alio per relationem quandam, ut eodem
depending on another through relation a-certain as at-the-same

tempore esse, et ad aliud se habere, sicut relativa pater
time to-be and to another themselves to-hold as relatives father
et filius, dominus et servus, duplum et dimidium, totum
and son lord and servant double and half whole
et pars, et huiusmodi, in quantum talia. Proptereaquodque
and part and of-this-kind in as-much-as such and-because
esse talium dependet ab alio, consequens est quod eorum
the-to-be of-such depends on another consequent it-is that their
veritas ab alio dependeat: ignorato enim dimidio, numquam
truth on another depend not-known for the-half never
cognoscitur duplum; et sic de aliis.
is-known the-double and so about the-others

6. Volentes igitur aliqualem introductionem tradere de parte
6 wishing therefore some introduction to-hand-on about a-part
operis alicuius, oportet aliquam notitiam tradere de toto
of-a-work some it-behooves some knowledge to-hand-on about the-whole
cuius est pars. Quapropter et ego, volens de parte supra
of-which it-is a-part wherefore also I wishing about the-part above
nominata Comoediae aliquid tradere per modum introductionis,
named of-the-Comedy something to-hand-on by way of-introduction
aliquid de toto opere praemittendum existimavi, ut facilior
something about the-whole work to-be-set-first I-thought that easier
et perfectior sit ad partem introitus. Sex igitur sunt quae in
and more-perfect be to the-part the-entrance six therefore are which in
principio cuiusque doctrinalis operis inquirenda sunt, videlicet
the-beginning of-every doctrinal work to-be-inquired are namely
subiectum, agens, forma, finis, libri titulus, et genus
the-subject agent form end of-the-book title and kind
philosophiae. De istis tria sunt in quibus pars ista quam vobis
of-philosophy of these three are in which part this which to-you
destinare proposui, variatur a toto, scilicet subiectum, forma
to-send I-proposed varies from the-whole namely subject form

et titulus; in aliis vero non variatur, sicut apparet inspicienti;
and title in others but not it-varies as appears to-one-looking
et ideo, circa considerationem de toto, ista tria inquirenda
and therefore about the-consideration of the-whole these three to-be-inquired
seorsim sunt: quo facto, satis patebit ad introductionem
separately are which done enough it-will-be-plain for the-introduction
partis. Deinde inquiremus alia tria, non solum per respectum
of-the-part then we-shall-inquire the-other three not only with respect
ad totum, sed etiam per respectum ad ipsam partem oblatam.
to the-whole but also with respect to the-very part offered
7. Ad evidentiam itaque dicendorum, sciendum est quod
7 for evidence therefore of-the-things-to-be-said to-be-known it-is that
istius operis non est simplex sensus, immo dici potest
of-this work not is simple the-sense nay to-be-called it-can
polysemum, hoc est plurium sensuum; nam alius sensus
polysemous that is of-several senses for one sense
est qui habetur per literam, alius est qui habetur per
is which is-had through the-letter another is which is-had through
significata per literam. Et primus dicitur literalis, secundus
the-things-signified by the-letter and the-first is-called literal the-second
vero allegoricus, sive mysticus. Qui modus tractandi, ut melius
but allegorical or mystical which manner of-treating that better
pateat, potest considerari in his versibus: 'In exitu Israel
it-be-plain can to-be-considered in these verses in the-going-out of-Israel
de Aegypto, domus Iacob de populo barbaro, facta est
from Egypt of-the-house of-Jacob from a-people barbarous made was
Iudaea sanctificatio eius, Israel potestas eius.' Nam si literam
Judaea the-sanctification his Israel the-power his for if the-letter
solam inspiciamus, significatur nobis exitus filiorum Israel
alone we-inspect is-signified to-us the-going-out of-the-sons of-Israel
de Aegypto, tempore Moysis; si allegoriam, nobis significatur
from Egypt in-the-time of-Moses if the-allegory to-us is-signified

nostra redemptio facta per Christum; si moralem sensum,
our redemption made through Christ if the-moral sense
significatur nobis conversio animae de luctu et miseria peccati
is-signified to-us the-conversion of-the-soul from the-grief and misery of-sin
ad statum gratiae; si anagogicum, significatur exitus animae
to the-state of-grace if the-anagogical is-signified the-going-out of-the-soul
sanctae ab huius corruptionis servitute ad aeternae gloriae
holy from of-this corruption the-servitude to of-eternal glory
libertatem. Et quamquam isti sensus mystici variis appellentur
the-freedom and although these senses mystical by-various be-called
nominibus, generaliter omnes dici possunt allegorici, quum
names generally all to-be-called can allegorical since
sint a literali sive historiali diversi. Nam allegoria dicitur ab
they-be from the-literal or historical different for allegory is-called from
alleon graece, quod in latinum dicitur alienum, sive diversum.
alleon in-Greek which into Latin is-said other or different
8. His visis, manifestum est quod duplex oportet esse
8 these seen manifest it-is that double it-behooves to-be
subiectum, circa quod currant alterni sensus. Et ideo
the-subject about which run the-alternate senses and therefore
videndum est de subiecto huius operis, prout ad literam
to-be-seen it-is about the-subject of-this work as to the-letter
accipitur; deinde de subiecto, prout allegorice sententiatur.
it-is-taken then about the-subject as allegorically it-is-understood
Est ergo subiectum totius operis, literaliter tantum
is therefore the-subject of-the-whole work literally only
accepti, 'status animarum post mortem simpliciter sumptus.'
taken the-state of-souls after death simply taken
Nam de illo et circa illum totius operis versatur
for about that and around that of-the-whole work turns
processus. Si vero accipiatur opus allegorice, subiectum est
the-process if but be-taken the-work allegorically the-subject is

'homo, prout merendo et demerendo per arbitrii libertatem
man as by-meriting and by-demeriting through of-choice the-freedom
Iustitiae praemianti aut punienti obnoxius est.'
to-Justice rewarding or punishing subject he-is
9. Forma vero est duplex, forma tractatus et forma
9 the-form but is twofold the-form of-the-treatise and the-form
tractandi. Forma tractatus est triplex, secundum triplicem
of-treating the-form of-the-treatise is threefold according-to the-threefold
divisionem. Prima divisio est, qua totum opus dividitur in
division the-first division is by-which the-whole work is-divided into
tres Canticas. Secunda, qua quaelibet Cantica dividitur in
three Canticles the-second by-which each Canticle is-divided into
Cantus. Tertia, qua quilibet Cantus dividitur in Rithimos.
Cantos the-third by-which each Canto is-divided into Rhymes
Forma sive modus tractandi est poeticus, fictivus, descriptivus,
the-form or manner of-treating is poetic fictive descriptive
digressivus, transumptivus; et cum hoc definitivus, divisivus,
digressive figurative and with this definitive divisive
probativus, improbativus, et exemplorum positivus.
probative refutative and of-examples positive
10. Libri titulus est: Incipit Comoedia Dantis Alighierii,
10 of-the-book the-title is here-begins the-Comedy of-Dante Alighieri
Florentini natione, non moribus. Ad cuius notitiam sciendum
Florentine by-birth not by-character for whose knowledge to-be-known
est, quod comoedia dicitur a comus, villa, et oda, quod
it-is that comedy is-said from comus village and oda which
est cantus, unde comoedia quasi villanus cantus. Et est
is song whence comedy as-if villager's song and is
comoedia genus quoddam poeticae narrationis, ab omnibus
comedy a-kind certain of-poetic narration from all
aliis differens. Differt ergo a tragoedia in materia per hoc,
others differing it-differs therefore from tragedy in matter by this

quod tragoedia in principio est admirabilis et quieta, in fine
that tragedy in the-beginning is admirable and quiet in the-end
sive exitu est foetida et horribilis; et dicitur propter hoc
or outcome is foul and horrible and it-is-called on-account-of this
a tragus, quod est hircus, et oda, quasi cantus hircinus,
from tragus which is goat and oda as-if song goatish
id est foetidus ad modum hirci, ut patet per Senecam in
that is foul in the-manner of-a-goat as is-plain through Seneca in
suis Tragoediis. Comoedia vero inchoat asperitatem alicuius
his Tragedies comedy but begins the-harshness of-some
rei, sed eius materia prospere terminatur, ut patet per
thing but its matter prosperously ends as is-plain through
Terentium in suis Comoediis. Et hinc consueverunt dictatores
Terence in his Comedies and hence have-been-accustomed writers
quidam in suis salutationibus dicere loco salutis, 'tragicum
certain in their greetings to-say in-place of-greeting a-tragic
principium, et comicum finem.' Similiter differunt in modo
beginning and a-comic end likewise they-differ in the-manner
loquendi: elate et sublime tragoedia; comoedia vero remisse
of-speaking loftily and sublimely tragedy comedy but slackly
et humiliter; sicut vult Horatius in sua Poetica, ubi licentiat
and humbly as wishes Horace in his Poetics where he-licenses
aliquando comicos ut tragoedos loqui, et sic e converso:
sometimes comic-poets as tragedians to-speak and thus from the-converse

'Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
sometimes yet even the-voice comedy raises
Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
and-angry Chremes with-swollen disputes mouth
Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri.'
and the-tragic-poet often grieves in-speech pedestrian

Et per hoc patet, quod Comoedia dicitur praesens opus.
and by this is-plain that Comedy is-called the-present work
Nam si ad materiam respiciamus, a principio horribilis et
for if to the-matter we-look at the-beginning horrible and
foetida est, quia Infernus; in fine prospera, desiderabilis
foul it-is because Hell at the-end prosperous desirable
et grata, quia Paradisus. Si ad modum loquendi, remissus
and welcome because Paradise if to the-manner of-speaking slack
est modus et humilis, quia loquutio vulgaris, in qua et
is the-manner and humble because speech vernacular in which even
mulierculae communicant. Sunt et alia genera narrationum
little-women communicate there-are also other kinds of-narrations
poeticarum, scilicet carmen bucolicum, elegia, satyra, et
poetic namely song bucolic elegy satire and
sententia votiva, ut etiam per Horatium patere potest in
opinion votive as also through Horace to-be-plain can in
sua Poetica; sed de istis ad praesens nil dicendum est.
his Poetics but about these at present nothing to-be-said is
11. Potest amodo patere, quomodo assignandum sit subiectum
11 it-can henceforth to-be-plain how to-be-assigned be the-subject
partis oblatae. Nam, si totius operis literaliter sumpti sic est
of-the-part offered for if of-the-whole work literally taken so is
subiectum: 'status animarum post mortem, non contractus, sed
the-subject the-state of-souls after death not narrowed but
simpliciter acceptus:' manifestum est quod hac in parte talis
simply taken manifest it-is that this in part such
status est subiectum, sed contractus, scilicet 'status animarum
state is the-subject but narrowed namely the-state of-souls
beatarum post mortem.' Et si totius operis allegorice sumpti
blessed after death and if of-the-whole work allegorically taken
subiectum est 'homo, prout merendo et demerendo per arbitrii
the-subject is man as by-meriting and by-demeriting through of-choice

libertatem est Iustitiae praemianti aut punienti obnoxius';
the-freedom he-is to-Justice rewarding or punishing subject
manifestum est in hac parte hoc subiectum contrahi, et
manifest it-is in this part this subject to-be-narrowed and
est 'homo, prout merendo obnoxius est Iustitiae praemianti.'
it-is man as by-meriting subject he-is to-Justice rewarding
12. Et sic patet de forma partis per formam adsignatam
12 and thus is-plain about the-form of-the-part through the-form assigned
totius. Nam, si forma tractatus in toto est triplex,
of-the-whole for if the-form of-the-treatise in the-whole is threefold
in hac parte tantum est duplex, scilicet divisio Canticae
in this part only it-is twofold namely the-division of-the-Canticle
et Cantuum. Non eius potest esse propria forma divisio
and of-the-Cantos not its can to-be proper form the-division
prima, quum ista pars sit primae divisionis.
first since this part be of-the-first division
13. Patet etiam libri titulus. Nam si titulus totius libri est:
13 is-plain also of-the-book the-title for if the-title of-the-whole book is
Incipit Comoedia etc., ut supra; titulus autem huius partis erit:
here-begins the-Comedy etc as above the-title but of-this part will-be
Incipit Cantica tertia Comoediae Dantis, quae dicitur Paradisus.
here-begins the-Canticle third of-the-Comedy of-Dante which is-called Paradise
14. Inquisitis his tribus in quibus variatur pars a toto,
14 investigated these three in which varies the-part from the-whole
videndum est de aliis tribus in quibus variatio nulla est
to-be-seen it-is about the-other three in which variation none is
a toto. Agens igitur totius et partis est ille qui
from the-whole the-agent therefore of-the-whole and of-the-part is he who
dictus est, et totaliter videtur esse.
mentioned is and wholly seems to-be

15. Finis totius et partis esse potest multiplex, scilicet
15 the-end of-the-whole and of-the-part to-be can manifold namely
propinquus et remotus. Sed omissa subtili investigatione,
near and remote but omitted subtle investigation
dicendum est breviter, quod finis totius et partis
to-be-said it-is briefly that the-end of-the-whole and of-the-part
est, 'removere viventes in hac vita de statu miseriae, et
is to-remove the-living in this life from the-state of-misery and
perducere ad statum felicitatis.'
to-lead to the-state of-happiness
16. Genus vero philosophiae, sub quo hic in toto et parte
16 the-kind but of-philosophy under which here in the-whole and the-part
proceditur, est morale negotium, sive Ethica; quia non ad
one-proceeds is moral business or Ethics because not for
speculandum, sed ad opus incoeptum est totum. Nam etsi
speculating but for work begun is the-whole for even-if
in aliquo loco vel passu pertractatur ad modum speculativi
in some place or passage it-is-treated in the-manner of-speculative
negotii, hoc non est gratia speculativi negotii, sed gratia
business this not is for-the-sake-of speculative business but for-the-sake-of
operis; quia, ut ait Philosophus in secundo Metaphysicorum,
work because as says the-Philosopher in the-second of-the-Metaphysics
'ad aliquid et tunc speculantur practici aliquando.'
toward something and then speculate the-practical sometimes
17. His itaque praemissis, ad expositionem literae
17 these therefore premised to the-exposition of-the-letter
secundum quandam praelibationem accedendum est; at illud
according-to a-certain foretaste to-be-approached it-is but that
praenunciandum, quod expositio literae nil aliud est,
to-be-announced-beforehand that the-exposition of-the-letter nothing other is
quam formae operis manifestatio. Dividitur ergo ista pars,
than of-the-form of-the-work the-manifestation is-divided therefore this part

seu tertia Cantica quae Paradisus dicitur, principaliter in
or third Canticle which Paradise is-called principally into
duas partes, scilicet in prologum et partem executivam. Pars
two parts namely into the-prologue and part executive part
secunda incipit ibi: Surgit mortalibus per diversas fauces.
the-second begins there rises for-mortals through diverse passes
18. De parte prima est sciendum, quod, quamvis communi
18 about the-part first it-is to-be-known that although by-common
ratione posset exordium dici, proprie autem loquendo non
reason it-could exordium to-be-called properly but speaking not
debet dici nisi prologus; quod Philosophus in tertio
ought to-be-called except prologue which the-Philosopher in the-third
Rhetoricorum videtur innuere, ubi dicit, quod 'prooemium
of-the-Rhetoric seems to-indicate where he-says that the-proem
est principium in oratione rhetorica, sicut prologus in poetica,
is the-beginning in an-oration rhetorical as the-prologue in poetic
et praeludium in fistulatione.' Est etiam praenotandum, quod
and the-prelude in piping it-is also to-be-noted-first that
praenunciatio ista, quae communiter exordium dici potest,
foreannouncement this which commonly exordium to-be-called can
aliter fit a poetis, aliter a rhetoribus. Rhetores enim
otherwise is-made by poets otherwise by rhetoricians the-rhetoricians for
consuevere praelibare dicenda, ut animum comparent
have-been-accustomed to-foretaste the-things-to-be-said that the-mind they-may-prepare
auditoris, Sed poetae non solum hoc faciunt, quinimmo post
of-the-hearer but poets not only this do nay-rather after
haec invocationem quandam emittunt. Et hoc est eis
these-things an-invocation certain they-send-forth and this is for-them
conveniens, quia multa invocatione opus est eis, quum aliquid
fitting because of-much invocation need is for-them since something
supra communem modum hominum a superioribus substantiis
above the-common manner of-men from higher substances

petendum sit, quasi divinum quoddam munus. Ergo praesens
to-be-sought be as-if a-divine certain gift therefore the-present
prologus dividitur in partes duas: in prima praemittitur
prologue is-divided into parts two in the-first is-premised
quid dicendum sit, in secunda invocatur Apollo; et incipit
what to-be-said be in the-second is-invoked Apollo and begins
secunda pars ibi: O bone Apollo, ad ultimum laborem, etc.
the-second part there O good Apollo for the-last labor etc
19. Propter primam partem notandum, quod ad bene
19 on-account-of the-first part to-be-noted that for well
exordiendum tria requiruntur, ut dicit Tullius in Nova
beginning three-things are-required as says Tully in the-New
Rhetorica, scilicet ut benevolum et attentum et docilem
Rhetoric namely that well-disposed and attentive and teachable
reddat aliquis auditorem: et hoc maxime in admirabili genere
render one the-hearer and this most in the-admirable kind
causae, ut ipsemet Tullius dicit. Quum ergo materia circa
of-cause as himself Tully says since therefore the-matter about
quam versatur praesens tractatus, sit admirabilis; propterea
which turns the-present treatise be admirable therefore
ad admirabile reducenda ista tria intenduntur in principio
to the-admirable to-be-brought-back these three are-aimed-at in the-beginning
exordii, sive prologi. Nam dicit se dicturum ea, quae
of-the-exordium or prologue for he-says himself about-to-say those which
ex iis quae vidit in primo coelo retinere potuit. In quo
of those which he-saw in the-first heaven to-retain he-could in which
dicto omnia illa tria comprehenduntur; nam in utilitate
saying all those three are-comprehended for in the-usefulness
dicendorum benevolentia paratur; in admirabilitate attentio;
of-the-things-to-be-said goodwill is-prepared in the-admirableness attention
in possibilitate docilitas. Utilitatem innuit, quum recitaturum
in the-possibility teachableness usefulness he-indicates when about-to-recite

se dicit ea quae maxime allectiva sunt desiderii
himself he-says those-things which most alluring are of-desire
humani, scilicet gaudia Paradisi: admirabilitatem tangit, quum
human namely the-joys of-Paradise admirableness he-touches when
promittit se tam ardua tam sublimia dicere, scilicet
he-promises himself so arduous so sublime-things to-say namely
conditiones regni coelestis: possibilitatem ostendit, quum
the-conditions of-the-kingdom heavenly possibility he-shows when
dicit se dicturum ea quae mente retinere potuit; si enim
he-says himself about-to-say those which in-mind to-retain he-could if for
ipse, et alii poterunt, Haec omnia tanguntur in verbis illis,
he and also will-be-able these all are-touched in words those
ubi dicit se fuisse in primo coelo; et quod dicere
where he-says himself to-have-been in the-first heaven and that to-say
vult de regno coelesti quidquid in mente sua, quasi
he-wishes about the-kingdom heavenly whatever in mind his as-if
thesaurum, potuit retinere. Viso igitur de bonitate ac
a-treasure he-could to-retain seen therefore about the-goodness and
perfectione primae partis prologi, ad litteram accedatur.
perfection of-the-first part of-the-prologue to the-letter let-it-be-approached
20. Dicit ergo, quod gloria primi Motoris, qui Deus est,
20 he-says therefore that the-glory of-the-first Mover who God is
in omnibus partibus universi resplendet, sed ita, ut in
in all parts of-the-universe shines but so that in
aliqua parte magis, et in aliqua minus. Quod autem ubique
some part more and in some less that moreover everywhere
resplendeat, ratio et auctoritas manifestat. Ratio sic: Omne
it-shine reason and authority makes-manifest reason thus everything
quod est, aut habet esse a se, aut ab alio. Sed constat,
which is either has to-be from itself or from another but it-is-certain
quod habere esse a se non convenit nisi uni, scilicet
that to-have to-be from itself not befits except to-one namely

primo, seu principio, qui Deus est. Et quum habere esse
the-first or principle who God is and since to-have to-be
non arguat per se necesse esse, et per se necesse esse
not argue through itself necessary to-be and through itself necessary to-be
non competat nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu principio, quod
not belong except to-one namely the-first or principle which
est causa omnium: ergo omnia quae sunt, praeter unum
is the-cause of-all therefore all-things which are besides one
ipsum, habent esse ab alio. Si ergo accipiatur ultimum in
itself have to-be from another if therefore be-taken the-last in
universo, vel quodcumque, manifestum est quod id habet esse
the-universe or whatever manifest it-is that it has to-be
ab aliquo; et illud a quo habet, a se, vel ab aliquo
from something and that from which it-has from itself or from something
habet. Si a se, sic est primum; si ab aliquo, et illud
has if from itself so it-is first if from something also that
similiter vel a se, vel ab aliquo. Et esset sic procedere
likewise either from itself or from something and it-would-be so to-proceed
in infinitum in causis agentibus, ut probatur in secundo
into infinity in causes agent as is-proved in the-second
Metaphysicorum. Quod quum sit impossibile, erit devenire
of-the-Metaphysics which since it-be impossible it-will-be to-come
ad primum, qui Deus est. Et sic, mediate vel immediate,
to the-first who God is and thus mediately or immediately
omne quod est, habet esse ab Eo; quia ex eo quod causa
everything which is has to-be from Him because from that which the-cause
secunda recepit a prima, influit super causatum ad modum
second has-received from the-first it-flows upon the-caused to the-manner
recipientis et respuentis radium, propter quod causa prima
of-one-receiving and reflecting ray on-account-of which the-cause first
est magis causa. Et hoc dicitur in libro De Causis: quod
is more cause and this is-said in the-book On Causes that

‘omnis causa primaria plus influit super suum causatum,
every cause primary more flows upon its caused
quam causa universalis secunda.’ Sed hoc quantum ad esse.
than the-cause universal second but this as-far to the-to-be
21. Quantum vero ad essentiam, probo sic: Omnis essentia,
21 as-far but to essence I-prove thus every essence
praeter primam, est causata; aliter essent plura, quae
besides the-first is caused otherwise there-would-be several which
essent per se necesse, quod est impossibile. Quod causatum
would-be through itself necessary which is impossible what caused
est, vel a natura est, vel ab intellectu; et quod a natura
is either by nature is or by intellect and what by nature
est, per consequens causatum est ab intellectu, quum natura
is by consequence caused is by intellect since nature
sit opus intelligentiae. Omne ergo quod est causatum, est
be the-work of-intelligence everything therefore which is caused is
causatum ab aliquo intellectu mediate vel immediate. Quum
caused by some intellect mediately or immediately since
ergo virtus sequatur essentiam cuius est virtus; si essentia
therefore power follow the-essence whose it-is the-power if the-essence
sit intellectiva, virtus tota est unius, quae causat. Et
be intellective the-power whole is of-one which causes and
sic, quemadmodum prius devenire erat ad primam causam
thus just-as before to-come it-was to the-first cause
ipsius esse; sic nunc, essentiae et virtutis. Propter quod
of-the-very to-be so now of-essence and of-power on-account-of which
patet, quod omnis essentia et virtus procedat a prima,
is-plain that every essence and power proceed from the-first
et intelligentiae inferiores recipiant quasi a radiante,
and the-intelligences lower receive as-if from a-radiating-one
et reddant radios superioris ad suum inferius, ad modum
and render the-rays of-the-higher to its lower to the-manner

speculorum. Quod satis aperte tangere videtur Dionysius de
of-mirrors which enough openly to-touch seems Dionysius about
coelesti hierarchia loquens. Et propter hoc dicitur in libro
the-celestial hierarchy speaking and on-account-of this it-is-said in the-book
De Causis quod 'omnis intelligentia est plena formis.' Patet
On Causes that every intelligence is full of-forms is-plain
ergo quomodo ratio manifestat divinum lumen, id est
therefore how reason manifests the-divine light that is
divinam bonitatem, sapientiam et virtutem resplendere ubique.
divine goodness wisdom and power to-shine everywhere
22. Similiter etiam ac scientia facit auctoritas. Dicit enim
22 likewise also as knowledge does authority says for
Spiritus Sanctus per Hieremiam: 'Numquid non coelum et
the-Spirit Holy through Jeremiah surely not heaven and
terram ego impleo?' et in Psalmo: 'Quo ibo a spiritu
earth I fill and in the-Psalm whither shall-I-go from spirit
tuo? et quo a facie tua fugiam? Si ascendero in coelum,
your and whither from face your shall-I-flee if I-shall-ascend into heaven
tu illic es; si descendero in infernum, ades. Si sumpsero
you there are if I-shall-descend into hell you-are-present if I-shall-take
pennas meas' etc. Et Sapientia dicit quod 'Spiritus Domini
wings my etc and Wisdom says that the-Spirit of-the-Lord
replevit orbem terrarum.' Et Ecclesiasticus, in quadragesimo
has-filled the-orb of-the-lands and Ecclesiasticus in the-forty
secundo: 'Gloria Domini plenum est opus eius.' Quod
second of-the-glory of-the-Lord full is the-work his which
etiam scriptura paganorum contestatur; nam Lucanus in
also the-scripture of-the-pagans attests for Lucan in
nono: 'Iuppiter est quodcumque vides quocumque moveris.'
the-ninth Jupiter is whatever you-see wherever you-move

23. Bene ergo dictum est, cum dicit quod divinus radius,
23 well therefore said it-is when he-says that the-divine ray
seu divina gloria, per universum penetrat et resplendet.
or divine glory through the-universe penetrates and shines
Penetrat, quantum ad essentiam; resplendet, quantum ad esse.
it-penetrates as-far to essence it-shines as-far to the-to-be
Quod autem subicit de magis et minus, habet veritatem
what moreover he-adds about more and less has truth
in manifesto; quoniam videmus aliquid in excellentiori gradu
in the-manifest since we-see something in a-more-excellent degree
esse, aliquid vero in inferiori; ut patet de coelo et elementis,
to-be something but in a-lower as is-plain of heaven and the-elements
quorum quidem illud incorruptibile, illa vero corruptibilia sunt.
of-which indeed that incorruptible those but corruptible are
24. Et postquam praemisit hanc veritatem, prosequitur ab ea,
24 and after he-set-forth this truth he-proceeds from it
circumloquens Paradisum; et dicit, quod fuit in coelo illo
circumlocuting Paradise and he-says that he-was in heaven that
quod de gloria Dei, sive de luce recipit affluentius. Propter
which of the-glory of-God or of light receives more-abundantly on-account-of
quod sciendum, quod illud coelum est coelum supremum,
which to-be-known that that heaven is the-heaven supreme
continens corpora universa, et a nullo contentum, intra
containing bodies all and by none contained within
quod omnia corpora moventur (ipso in sempiterna quiete
which all bodies are-moved it in eternal rest
permanente), a nulla corporali substantia virtutem recipiens.
remaining from no bodily substance power receiving
Et dicitur empyreum, quod est idem quod coelum igne
and it-is-called empyrean which is the-same as heaven with-fire

sive ardore flagrans; non quod in eo sit ignis vel ardor
or heat burning not that in it be fire or heat
materialis, sed spiritualis, qui est amor sanctus, sive caritas.
material but spiritual which is love holy or charity
25. Quod autem de divina luce plus recipiat, potest probari
25 that moreover of divine light more it-receive can to-be-proved
per duo. Primo, per suum omnia continere et a nullo
by two-things first by its all-things to-contain and by none
contineri; secundo, per sempiternam suam quietem sive
to-be-contained second by eternal its rest or
pacem. Quantum ad primum probatur sic. Continens se
peace as-far to the-first it-is-proved thus the-container itself
habet ad contentum in naturali situ, sicut formativum ad
holds to the-contained in natural position as the-formative to
formabile, ut habetur in quarto Physicorum. Sed in naturali
the-formable as is-had in the-fourth of-the-Physics but in the-natural
situ totius universi primum coelum est omnia continens;
position of-the-whole universe the-first heaven is all-things containing
ergo se habet ad omnia sicut formativum ad formabile;
therefore itself holds to all-things as the-formative to the-formable
quod est, se habere per modum causae. Et quum omnis
which is itself to-hold by the-manner of-a-cause and since every
vis causandi sit radius quidam profluens a prima causa,
power of-causing be a-ray certain flowing-forth from the-first cause
quae Deus est; manifestum est quod illud coelum quod
which God is manifest it-is that that heaven which
magis habet rationem causae, magis de luce divina recipit.
more has the-notion of-cause more of light divine receives
26. Quantum ad secundum, probatur sic. Omne quod movetur,
26 as-far to the-second it-is-proved thus everything which is-moved
movetur propter aliquid quod non habet, quod est terminus
is-moved for-the-sake-of something which not it-has which is the-terminus

sui motus; sicut coelum lunae movetur propter aliquam
of-its motion as the-heaven of-the-moon is-moved for-the-sake-of some
partem sui, quae non habet illud ubi, ad quod movetur: et
part of-itself which not has that where to which it-is-moved and
quia pars quaelibet eius non adepto quolibet ubi (quod est
because part any of-it not attained every where which is
impossibile), movetur ad aliud; inde est, quod semper movetur
impossible is-moved to another hence it-is that always it-is-moved
et numquam quiescit, ut est eius appetitus. Et quod dico
and never rests as is its appetite and what I-say
de coelo lunae, intelligendum est de omnibus praeter
about the-heaven of-the-moon to-be-understood is of all except
primum. Omne ergo quod movetur, est in aliquo defectu,
the-first everything therefore which is-moved is in some defect
et non habet totum suum esse simul. Illud igitur coelum
and not has whole its to-be at-once that therefore heaven
quod a nullo movetur, in se et in qualibet sui parte
which by nothing is-moved in itself and in every of-itself part
habet quidquid potest modo perfecto, eo quod motu
has whatever it-can in-a-manner perfect for-this that motion
non indiget ad suam perfectionem. Et quum omnis perfectio
not it-needs for its perfection and since every perfection
sit radius Primi, quod est in summo gradu perfectionis;
be a-ray of-the-First which is in the-highest degree of-perfection
manifestum est quod coelum primum magis recipit de luce
manifest it-is that the-heaven first more receives of light
Primi, qui est Deus. Ista tamen ratio videtur arguere
of-the-First who is God this yet reason seems to-argue
ad destructionem antecedentis, eo quod simpliciter et
to the-destruction of-the-antecedent for-this that simply and
secundum formam arguendi non probat. Sed si consideremus
according-to the-form of-arguing not it-proves but if we-consider

materiam eius, bene probat, quia de quodam sempiterno, in
the-matter its well it-proves because about a-certain eternal-thing in
quo posset defectus sempiternari: itaque, si Deus non dedit
which could defect to-be-eternalized so if God not gave
illi motum, patet quod non dedit illi materiam in aliquo
to-it motion is-plain that not he-gave to-it matter in anything
egentem. Et per hanc suppositionem tenet argumentum
needing and by this supposition holds the-argument
ratione materiae; et similis modus arguendi est ac si dicerem:
by-reason of-the-matter and a-similar manner of-arguing is as if I-said
Si homo est, est risibilis; nam in omnibus convertibilibus
if man is he-is risible for in all convertibles
tenet similis ratio gratia materiae. Sic ergo patet quod,
holds similar reason on-account of-the-matter thus therefore is-plain that
quum dicit in illo coelo quod plus de luce Dei recipit,
when he-says in that heaven which more of the-light of-God receives
intelligit circumloqui Paradisum, sive Coelum Empireum.
he-means to-circumlocute Paradise or the-Heaven Empyrean
27. Praemissis quoque rationibus consonanter dicit Philosophus
27 to-the-premised also reasons consonantly says the-Philosopher
in primo De Coelo, quod coelum 'tanto habet honorabiliorem
in the-first On Heaven that heaven by-so-much has more-honorable
materiam suis inferioribus, quanto magis elongatum est
matter than-its lower-things by-how-much more removed it-is
ab his quae hic sunt.' Adhuc etiam posset adduci quod
from those which here are further also could to-be-adduced what
dicit Apostolus ad Ephesios de Christo: 'Qui ascendit super
says the-Apostle to the-Ephesians about Christ who ascended above
omnes coelos, ut impleret omnia.' Hoc est coelum deliciarum
all heavens that he-might-fill all-things this is the-heaven of-the-delights
Domini; de quibus deliciis dicitur contra Luciferum per
of-the-Lord about which delights it-is-said against Lucifer through

Ezechielem: 'Tu signaculum similitudinis, sapientia plenus
Ezekiel you the-seal of-likeness with-wisdom full
et perfectus decore, in deliciis Paradisi Dei fuisti.'
and perfect in-beauty in the-delights of-Paradise of-God you-were
28. Et postquam dixit quod fuit in loco illo Paradisi, per
28 and after he-said that he-was in place that of-Paradise through
suam circumlocutionem prosequitur dicens, se vidisse
his circumlocution he-proceeds saying himself to-have-seen
aliqua quae recitare non potest qui descendit. Et reddit
some-things which to-recount not can who descends and he-renders
causam, dicens quod intellectus in tantum profundat se in
the-cause saying that the-intellect in so-much deepens itself into
ipsum desiderium suum, quod est Deus, quod memoria sequi
the-very desire its which is God that memory to-follow
non potest. Ad quae intelligenda sciendum est, quod
not can for which-things to-be-understood to-be-known it-is that
intellectus humanus in hac vita, propter connaturalitatem et
the-intellect human in this life on-account-of the-connaturality and
affinitatem quam habet ad substantiam intellectualem separatam,
affinity which it-has to substance intellectual separate
quando elevatur, in tantum elevatur ut memoria post reditum
when it-is-raised in so-much is-raised that memory after return
deficiat, propter transcendisse humanum modum. Et hoc
fails on-account-of having-surpassed the-human manner and this
insinuatur nobis per Apostolum ad Corinthios loquentem,
is-insinuated to-us through the-Apostle to the-Corinthians speaking
ubi dicit: 'Scio huiusmodi hominem (sive in corpore, sive
where he-says I-know such a-man whether in the-body or
extra corpus, nescio; Deus scit), quoniam raptus est in
outside the-body I-know-not God knows that rapt he-was into
Paradisum, et audivit arcana verba, quae non licet homini
Paradise and heard secret words which not it-is-lawful for-man

loqui.' Ecce, postquam humanam rationem intellectus ascensione
to-speak behold after human reason the-intellect by-ascent
transierat, quae extra se agerentur non recordabatur. Hoc
had-passed-beyond what outside itself were-done not he-remembered this
etiam est insinuatum nobis in Matthaeo, ubi tres discipuli
also is insinuated to-us in Matthew where three disciples
ceciderunt in faciem suam, nihil postea recitantes, quasi
fell on face their nothing afterward recounting as-if
obliti. Et in Ezechiele scribitur: 'Vidi et cecidi in faciem
forgetful and in Ezekiel it-is-written I-saw and I-fell on face
meam.' Et ubi ista invidis non sufficiant, legant
my and where these to-the-envious not suffice let-them-read
Ricardum de sancto Victore in libro de Contemplatione;
Richard of Saint Victor in the-book on Contemplation
legant Bernardum in libro de Consideratione; legant
let-them-read Bernard in the-book on Consideration let-them-read
Augustinum in libro de Quantitate Animae, et non
Augustine in the-book on the-Quantity of-the-Soul and not
invidebunt. Si vero in dispositionem elevationis tantae
they-will-envy if but against the-disposition of-elevation so-great
propter peccatum loquentis oblatrarent, legant Danielem,
on-account-of the-sin of-the-speaker they-should-bark let-them-read Daniel
ubi et Nabuchodonosor invenient contra peccatores aliqua
where also Nebuchadnezzar they-will-find against sinners some-things
vidisse divinitus, oblivionique mandasse. Nam 'Qui oriri
to-have-seen divinely and-to-oblivion to-have-committed for he-who to-rise
solem suum facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super
sun his makes upon the-good and the-bad and rains upon
iustos et iniustos,' aliquando misericorditer ad conversionem,
the-just and the-unjust sometimes mercifully for conversion

aliquando severe ad punitionem, plus et minus, ut vult,
sometimes severely for punishment more and less as he-wills
gloriam suam quantumcumque male viventibus manifestat.
glory his however badly to-those-living manifests
29. Vidit ergo, ut dicit, aliqua quae referre nescit et
29 he-saw therefore as he-says some-things which to-relate he-knows-not-how and
nequit rediens. Diligenter quippe notandum est quod dicit,
cannot returning diligently indeed to-be-noted it-is that he-says
nescit et nequit. Nescit quia oblitus, nequit
he-knows-not-how and cannot he-knows-not-how because forgetful cannot
quia, si recordatur et contentum tenet, sermo tamen deficit.
because if he-remembers and the-content holds speech yet fails
Multa namque per intellectum videmus quibus signa
many-things for through the-intellect we-see for-which signs
vocalia desunt; quod satis Plato insinuat in suis libris per
vocal are-lacking which enough Plato insinuates in his books through
assumptionem metaphorismorum: multa enim per lumen
the-assumption of-metaphors many-things for through light
intellectuale vidit quae sermone proprio nequivit exprimere.
intellectual he-saw which in-speech own he-could-not to-express
30. Postea dicit, se dicturum illa quae de regno
30 afterward he-says himself about-to-say those-things which about the-kingdom
coelesti retinere potuit; et hoc dicit esse materiam sui operis;
heavenly to-retain he-could and this he-says to-be the-matter of-his work
quae qualia sint et quanta, in parte executiva patebit.
which of-what-kind they-be and how-great in the-part executive will-be-plain
31. Deinde quum dicit: O bone Apollo, etc., facit
31 then when he-says O good Apollo etc he-makes
invocationem suam. Et dividitur ista pars in partes duas: in
invocation his and is-divided this part into parts two in
prima invocando petit, in secunda suadet Apollini petitionem
the-first by-invoking he-asks in the-second he-urges to-Apollo the-petition

factam, remunerationem quandam praenuntians; et incipit
made a-reward certain foretelling and begins
secunda pars ibi: O divina virtus. Prima pars dividitur in
the-second part there O divine power the-first part is-divided into
partes duas; in prima petit divinum auxilium, in secunda
parts two in the-first he-asks divine help in the-second
tangit necessitatem suae petitionis, quod est iustificare
he-touches the-necessity of-his petition which is to-justify
ipsam; et incipit ibi: Hucusque alterum iugum Parnassi, etc.
it and it-begins there hitherto one ridge of-Parnassus etc
32. Haec est sententia secundae partis prologi in generali:
32 this is the-sense of-the-second part of-the-prologue in general
in speciali vero non exponam ad praesens. Urget enim
in particular but not I-shall-expound at present presses for
me rei familiaris angustia, ut haec et alia
me of-the-thing domestic the-narrowness that these and other-things
utilia reipublicae derelinquere oporteat. Sed spero de
useful to-the-commonwealth to-abandon it-behoove but I-hope from
magnificentia vestra, ut alias habeatur procedendi ad
magnificence your that at-another-time be-had of-proceeding to
utilem expositionem facultas.
useful exposition the-opportunity
33. De parte vero executiva, quae fuit divisa iuxta totum
33 about the-part but executive which was divided according-to the-whole
prologum, nec dividendo nec sententiando quidquam dicetur
prologue neither by-dividing nor by-expounding anything will-be-said
ad praesens; nisi hoc, quod ibi procedetur ascendendo de
at present except this that there it-will-be-proceeded by-ascending from
coelo in coelum, et recitabitur de animabus beatis inventis
heaven to heaven and it-will-be-recounted about souls blessed found
in quolibet orbe, et quod vera illa beatitudo in sentiendo
in each orb and that true that blessedness in perceiving

veritatis principium consistit; ut patet per Iohannem ibi:
of-truth the-principle consists as is-plain through John there
'Haec est vera beatitudo, ut cognoscant te Deum verum,' etc.;
this is true blessedness that they-know you God true etc
et per Boetium in tertio de Consolatione ibi: 'Te cernere
and through Boethius in the-third on Consolation there you to-behold
finis.' Inde est quod ad ostendendum gloriam beatitudinis in
the-end hence it-is that for showing the-glory of-blessedness in
illis animabus, ab eis, tamquam videntibus omnem veritatem,
those souls from them as seeing all truth
multa quaerentur quae magnam habent utilitatem et
many-things will-be-asked which great have usefulness and
delectationem. Et quia, invento principio, seu primo, videlicet
delight and because found the-principle or first namely
Deo, nihil est quod ulterius quaeratur, quum sit A et O, idest
God nothing is which further be-sought since he-be A and O that-is
principium et finis, ut visio Iohannis designat; in ipso Deo
the-beginning and end as the-vision of-John designates in the-very God
terminatur tractatus, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum.
is-ended the-treatise who is blessed for ages of-ages

DANTE ALIGHIERI · GIOVANNI DEL VIRGILIO

Eclogae

The Eclogues

Ioannes de Virgilio Danti Alagerii. Carmen

I · GIOVANNI DEL VIRGILIO TO DANTE

Giovanni, a cleric of the Muses, writes to Dante in verse. Why does the voice of the Muses, who has sung the threefold realm of the dead, cast such serious things to the crowd in the vernacular, which the clergy scorn, while scholars read nothing of his? Rather let him sing in Latin the great events of the day: the flight of Jove's eagle, the lilies broken by the plowman, the Ligurian mountains and the fleets of Naples. Then his fame would pass the bounds of Italy, and Giovanni would gladly present him, crowned with laurel, to the exulting schools. He asks Dante to answer, and to visit him.

Pieridum vox alma, novis qui cantibus orbem
Of-the-Pierides O-voice nurturing, with-new who songs the-world
mulces lethifluum, vitali tollere ramo
soothe death-flowing, with-the-vital to-raise branch
dum cupis, evolvens triplicis confinia sortis
while you-desire, unrolling of-the-threefold the-bounds lot
indita pro meritis animarum, sontibus Orcum,
assigned according-to the-merits of-souls, to-the-guilty Orcus,
astripetis Lethen, epiphoebia regna beatis; 5
to-the-star-seeking Lethe, the-beyond-the-sun realms to-the-blessed;
tanta quid heu semper iactabis seria vulgo,
such why alas always will-you-cast serious-things to-the-crowd,
et nos pallentes nihil ex te vate legemus?
and we pale nothing from you prophet shall-read?
Ante quidem cithara pandum delphina movebis,
Before indeed with-the-lyre the-curved dolphin you-will-move,
Davus et ambiguae Sphingos problemata solvet,
Davus and of-the-ambiguous Sphinx the-riddles will-solve,

tartareum praeceps quam gens idiota figuret,
of-Tartarus the-abyss than the-people unlearned should-picture,
et secreta poli vix exsperata Platoni:
and the-secrets of-the-pole scarcely found-out by-Plato:
quae tamen in triviis nunquam digesta coaxat
which yet at the-crossroads never digested croaks
comicomus nebulo, qui Flaccum pelleret orbe.
the-long-haired fool, who Flaccus would-drive from-the-world.
Non loquor his, immo studio callentibus, inquis.
Not I-speak to-these, nay in-study to-those-skilled, you-say.
Carmine sed laico! Clerus vulgaria temnit,
In-song but lay! the-Clergy vernacular-things scorns,
etsi non varient, quum sint idiomata mille.
even-if not they-differ, since there-be idioms a-thousand.
Praeterea nullus, quos inter es agmine sextus,
Moreover none, whom among you-are in-the-band sixth,
nec quem consequeris coelo, sermone forensi
nor he-whom you-follow to-heaven, in-language of-the-forum
descripsit: quare, censor liberrime vatum,
wrote: wherefore, O-censor most-free of-poets,
fabor, si fandi paulum concedis habenas.
I-shall-speak, if of-speaking a-little you-grant the-reins.
Nec margaritas profligа prodigus apris,
Nor pearls squander lavish to-swine,
nec preme Castalias indigna veste sorores.
nor press the-Castalian in-unworthy dress sisters.
At precor ora cie, quae te distinguere possint,
But I-pray mouths stir, which you to-distinguish may-be-able,
carmine vatisono sorti communis utrique.
in-song poet-sounding to-the-lot common to-each.

Et iam multa tuis lucem narratibus orant.
And already many-things for-your light narrations pray.
Dic age quo petiit Iovis armiger astra volatu:
Tell come with-what sought of-Jove the-armor-bearer the-stars flight:
dic age quos flores, quae lilia fregit arator:
tell come what flowers, what lilies broke the-plowman:
dic Phrygios damas laceratos terga molosso:
tell the-Phrygian deer torn on-the-backs by-the-Molossian:
dic Ligurum montes, et classes Parthenopaeas
tell of-the-Ligurians the-mountains, and the-fleets Parthenopean
carmine, quo possis Alcidae tangere Gades,
in-song, with-which you-could of-Alcides to-touch Gades,
et quo te refluus relegens mirabitur Ister
and with-which you flowing-back re-reading will-wonder the-Danube
et Pharos, et quondam regnum te noscet Elissae.
and Pharos, and once the-kingdom you will-know of-Elissa.
Si te fama iuvat, parvo te limite septum
If you fame delights, by-a-small you boundary enclosed
non contentus eris, nec vulgo iudice tolli.
not content you-will-be, nor by-the-crowd as-judge to-be-raised.
En ego iam primus, si dignum duxeris esse,
Lo I now first, if worthy you-will-deem to-be,
clericus Aonidum, vocalis verna Maronis,
cleric of-the-Aonides, voiced slave of-Maro,
promere gymnasiis te delectabor ovantum
to-display in-the-schools you I-shall-delight of-the-exulting
inclita Peneis redolentem tempora sertis;
famous with-Penean fragrant temples garlands;
ut praevectus equo sibi plaudit praeco sonorus
as carried-before on-horse to-himself applauds the-herald sonorous

festa trophaea ducis populo praetendere laeto.
festive the-trophies of-the-leader to-the-people to-hold-forth glad.
Iam mihi bellisonis horrent clangoribus aures.
Already to-me with-war-sounding bristle clangors the-ears.
Quid pater Apenninus hiat? quid concitat aequor
Why father Apennine gapes? why stirs the-sea
Tirrhenum Nereus? quid Mars infrendet utroque?
Tyrrhenian Nereus? why Mars gnashes-his-teeth on-both-sides?
Tange chelyn, tantos hominum compesce labores.
Touch the-lyre, so-great of-men restrain the-labors.
Ni canis haec, alios a te pendendo poeta,
Unless you-sing these-things, others from you by-hanging O-poet,
omnibus ut solus dicas indicta manebunt:
for-all as alone you-say unsaid will-remain:
si tamen Eridani mihi spem mediane dedisti,
if yet of-the-Po to-me hope O-middle-one you-have-given,
quod visare, notis me dignareris amicis,
that to-visit, with-your-known me you-would-deign friends,
nec piget enerves numeros legisse priorem,
nor it-irks nerveless numbers to-have-read the-first,
quos strepit arguto temerarius anser olori:
which shrills to-the-clear-voiced rash goose swan:
respondere velis, aut solvere vota, magister.
to-answer may-you-will, or to-pay vows, O-master.

Dantes Alagerii Ioanni de Virgilio. Ecloga I.

II · DANTE TO GIOVANNI: ECLOGUE I

Tityrus and Meliboeus are counting their goats under an oak when the song Mopsus has sent comes to them. Meliboeus longs to know it, and Tityrus tells of Mopsus, who sings in unknown pastures of Maenalus and calls Tityrus to the laurel. Tityrus would rather be crowned on the Arno, and only when his song has revealed the heavenly bodies and their dwellers as it revealed the realms below. Meliboeus reminds him that Mopsus scorns his comic words, which women use and the Muses blush at, so Tityrus will win him over with milk: he will send ten little vessels from his dearest ewe, ready to be milked.

Vidimus in nigris albo patiente lituris
We-saw in black the-white bearing erasures
Pierio demulsa sinu modulamina nobis.
from-Pierian caressed bosom the-measures to-us.
Forte recensentes pastas de more capellas,
By-chance counting-over pastured according-to custom the-goats,
tunc ego sub quercu meus et Meliboeus eramus:
then I under the-oak my and Meliboeus were:
ille quidem (cupiebat enim consciscere cantum),
he indeed (desired for to-know the-song),
Tityre, quid Mopsus, quid vult? edissere, dixit.
O-Tityrus, what Mopsus, what wishes? explain, he-said.
Ridebam, Mopse; magis et magis ille premebat.
I-laughed, O-Mopsus; more and more he pressed.
Victus amore sui, posito vix denique risu,
Conquered by-love of-him, laid-aside scarcely at-last laughter,
stulte, quid insanis? inquam; tua cura capellae
O-fool, why do-you-rave? I-say; your care the-goats

10 te potius poscunt, quamquam mala coenula turbet.
you rather demand, although bad the-little-supper troubles.
Pascua sunt ignota tibi, quae Maenalus alto
The-pastures are unknown to-you, which Maenalus with-lofty
vertice declivi celator solis inumbrat,
peak sloping the-concealer of-the-sun shades,
herbarum vario florumque impicta colore.
of-grasses with-various and-of-flowers painted color.
Circuit haec humilis, et tectus fronde saligna
Encircles these lowly, and covered with-foliage of-willow
15 perpetuis undis a summo margine ripas
with-perpetual waves from the-highest edge the-banks
rorans alveolus: qui, quas mons desuper edit,
bedewing a-little-channel: which, which the-mountain from-above gives-forth,
sponte viam, qua mitis eat, se fecit aquarum.
of-its-own-accord a-way, by-which gentle it-may-go, itself made of-waters.
Mopsus in his, dum lenta boves per gramina ludunt,
Mopsus in these, while the-pliant the-oxen through grasses play,
contemplatur ovans hominum superumque labores:
contemplates exulting of-men and-of-the-gods-above the-labors:
20 inde per inflatos calamos interna recludit
thence through the-inflated reeds the-inner reveals
gaudia, sic ut dulce melos armenta sequantur,
joys, so that the-sweet melody the-herds follow,
placatique ruant campis de monte leones,
and-pacified rush in-the-fields from the-mountain lions,
et refluant undae, frondes et Maenala nutent.
and flow-back the-waves, the-leaves and Maenalus nod.
Tityre, tunc, si Mopsus, ait, decantat in herbis
O-Tityrus, then, if Mopsus, he-says, sings in the-grasses

ignotis, ignota tamen sua carmina possim,
unknown, unknown yet his songs I-might-be-able,
te monstrante, meis vagulis prodiscere capris.
you showing, to-my wandering to-teach goats.
Hic ego quid poteram, quum sic instaret anhelus?
Here I what could-I, when so pressed panting?
Montibus Aoniis Mopsus, Meliboee, quotannis
On-the-mountains Aonian Mopsus, O-Meliboeus, every-year
dum satagunt alii causarum iura doceri,
while busy-themselves others of-lawsuits the-rights to-be-taught,
se dedit, et sacri nemoris perpalluit umbra.
himself has-given, and of-the-sacred grove has-grown-pale in-the-shade.
Vatificis prolutus aquis, et lacte canoro
With-prophetic washed waters, and with-milk melodious
viscera plena ferens, et plenus adusque palatum,
the-entrails full bearing, and full right-up-to the-palate,
me vocat ad frondes versa Peneide cretas.
me he-calls to the-leaves turned from-the-Peneid grown.
Quid facies? Meliboeus ait. Tu tempora lauro
What will-you-do? Meliboeus says. You the-temples with-laurel
semper inornata per pascua pastor habebis?
always unadorned through the-pastures shepherd will-have?
O Meliboee, decus vatum quoque nomen in auras
O Meliboeus, the-honor of-poets also the-name into the-airs
fluxit, et insomnem vix Mopsum Musa peregit,
has-flowed, and sleepless scarcely Mopsus the-Muse has-kept,
retuleram, quum sic dedit indignatio vocem:
I-had-replied, when thus gave indignation voice:
quantos balatus colles et prata sonabunt,
how-great bleatings the-hills and the-meadows will-sound,

si viridante coma fidibus paeana ciebo!
if with-greening hair to-the-strings a-paean I-shall-raise!
Sed timeam saltus, et rura ignara deorum.
But I-should-fear the-glades, and the-countryside ignorant of-the-gods.
Nonne triumphales melius pexare capillos,
Surely triumphal better to-comb hair,
et patrio, redeam si quando, abscondere canos
and by-the-paternal, should-I-return if ever, to-hide the-gray
fronde sub inserta solitum flavescere, Sarno?
leafage under inserted accustomed to-grow-yellow, Arno?
Ille: Quis hoc dubitet? Propter quod respice tempus,
He: Who this would-doubt? On-account-of which regard the-time,
Tityre, quam velox; nam iam senuere capellae,
O-Tityrus, how swift; for already have-grown-old the-goats,
quas concepturis dedimus nos matribus hircos.
which to-the-about-to-conceive gave we mothers he-goats.
Tunc ego: Quum mundi circumflua corpora cantu
Then I: When of-the-world the-encircling bodies by-song
astricolaeque meo, velut infera regna, patebunt,
and-the-star-dwellers my, as the-lower realms, will-lie-open,
devincire caput hedera lauroque iuvabit,
to-bind the-head with-ivy and-laurel will-delight,
concedat Mopsus. Mopsus, tunc ille, quid? inquit.
let-him-allow Mopsus. Mopsus, then he, what? says.
Comica nonne vides ipsum reprehendere verba,
The-comic surely you-see him to-blame the-words,
tum quia foemineo resonant ut trita labello,
both because on-womanish they-sound as worn little-lip,
tum quia Castalias pudet acceptare sorores?
and because the-Castalian it-shames to-accept sisters?

Ipse ego respondi: Versus iterumque relegi,
Myself I answered: The-verses and-again I-reread,
Mopse, tuos. Tunc ille humeros contraxit, et, Ergo
O-Mopsus, your. Then he the-shoulders shrugged, and, Therefore
quid faciemus, ait, Mopsum revocare volentes?
what shall-we-do, he-says, Mopsus to-call-back wishing?
Est mecum, quam noscis, ovis gratissima, dixi,
There-is with-me, which you-know, a-sheep most-dear, I-said,
ubera vix quae ferre potest, tam lactis abundans,
the-udders scarcely which to-carry can, so of-milk abounding,
(rupe sub ingenti carptas modo ruminat herbas)
(the-rock under huge plucked just-now she-ruminates grasses)
nulli iuncta gregi, nullis assuetaque caulis,
to-no joined flock, to-no and-accustomed folds,
sponte venire solet, numquam vi poscere mulctram.
of-her-own-accord to-come she-is-wont, never by-force to-require the-milking-pail.
Hanc ego praestolor manibus mulgere paratis;
Her I await with-hands to-milk ready;
hac implebo decem missurus vascula Mopso.
with-her I-shall-fill ten about-to-send little-vessels to-Mopsus.
Tu tamen interdum capros meditere petulcos,
You yet meanwhile the-goats may-you-ponder butting,
et duris crustis discas infigere dentes.
and on-hard crusts may-you-learn to-fix the-teeth.
Talia sub quercu Meliboeus, et ipse canebam,
Such-things under the-oak Meliboeus, and myself sang,
parva tabernacla nobis dum farra coquebant.
the-little huts for-us while the-spelt were-cooking.

Ioannes de Virgilio Danti Alagerii. Ecloga responsiva

III · GIOVANNI TO DANTE: THE ANSWERING ECLOGUE

Mopsus, idling in his cave where the Savena meets the Reno, hears Tityrus' song carried from the Adriatic shore, and all Arcadia rejoices at it. He takes up his slender reed and hails Tityrus as second to the poet of the Benacian pipe, or that poet himself, laments the loss of the Arno's pastures, and begs him to come to his cave, where Alexis, Nisa, and Thestylis will serve him a feast, and the shepherds of Parrhasia will crowd to see him. He should not fear: the place is safe. Then Mopsus doubts himself, for Iolas will not let Tityrus go; he will at least send milk, as the sun sets.

Forte sub irriguos colles, ubi Sarpina Rheno
By-chance under well-watered hills, where the-Savena to-the-Reno
obvia fit, viridi niveos interlita crines
meeting comes, with-green snowy interwoven hair
nympha procax, fueram nativo conditus antro.
nymph wanton, I-had-been in-my-native hidden cave.
Frondentes ripas tondebant sponte iuvenci:
Leafy the-banks were-cropping of-their-own-accord the-bullocks:
mollia carpebant agnae, dumosa capellae.
the-soft-things were-plucking the-lambs, the-thorny the-goats.
Quid facerem? nam solus eram puer incola silvae.
What was-I-to-do? for alone I-was a-boy dweller of-the-wood.
Irruerant alii causis adigentibus urbem;
Had-rushed others causes driving into-the-city;
nec tum Nisa mihi, nec respondebat Alexis,
nor then Nisa to-me, nor answered Alexis,
suetus uterque comes: calamos moderabar hydraules
accustomed each companion: the-reeds I-was-ruling of-the-water-organ

falce recurvella cunctae solamina, quando
with-sickle curved of-all the-solace, when
litoris Adriaci resonantem Tityron umbra,
of-the-shore Adriatic resounding Tityrus in-the-shade,
qua densae longo pretexunt ordine pinus
where dense in-long fringe row the-pines
pascua porrectae coelo genioque locali,
the-pastures stretched to-heaven and-to-the-genius local,
alida myrtetis et humi florentibus herbis,
dry with-myrtle-groves and on-the-ground with-flowering grasses,
quaque nec arentes Aries fluvialis arenas
and-where not dry the-Ram of-the-river the-sands
esse sinit, molli dum postulat aequora villo,
to-be allows, with-soft while he-asks the-waters fleece,
retulit ipse mihi flantis leve sibilus Euri,
reported itself to-me of-the-blowing lightly the-whistle Eurus,
quo vocalis odor per Maenala celsa profusus,
by-which vocal the-scent through Maenalus high poured-forth,
balsamat auditus, et lac distillat in ora;
embalms the-hearings, and milk distils into the-mouths;
quale nec a longo meminerunt tempore mulsum
such-as not from long remembered time mead
custodes gregium; quamquam tamen Arcades omnes.
the-guardians of-the-flocks; although yet the-Arcadians all.
Arcades exultant audito carmine nymphae,
The-Arcadians exult heard the-song the-nymphs,
pastoresque, boves, et oves, hirtaeque capellae,
and-the-shepherds, oxen, and sheep, and-shaggy goats,
arrectisque onagri decursant auribus ipsi;
and-with-pricked-up the-wild-asses run-down ears themselves;

ipsi etiam Fauni saliunt de colle Lycaei.
themselves even the-Fauns leap from the-hill of-Lycaeus.
Et mecum: Si cantat oves et Tityrus hircos
And with-me: If sings sheep also Tityrus he-goats
aut armenta trahit, quia nam civile canebas
or herds draws, why indeed the-civil you-were-singing
urbe sedens carmen, quando hoc Benacia quondam
in-the-city sitting song, when this Benacian once
pastorale sonans detrivit fistula labrum?
pastoral sounding wore-down the-pipe the-lip?
Audiat in silvis et te cantare bubulcum.
Let-him-hear in the-woods also you to-sing a-herdsman.
Nec mora, depositis calamis maioribus, inter
Nor delay, laid-aside the-reeds the-greater, among
arripio tenues, et labris flantibus hisco.
I-seize the-slender, and with-lips blowing I-gape.
Ah, divine senex, ah sic eris alter ab illo:
Ah, O-divine old-man, ah thus you-will-be the-second from him:
alter es, aut idem, Samio si credere vati.
the-second you-are, or the-same, the-Samian if to-believe the-prophet.
Sic liceat Mopso, sicut liceat Meliboeo.
Thus may-it-be-allowed to-Mopsus, as may-it-be-allowed to-Meliboeus.
Eheu pulvereo quod stes in tegmine scabro,
Alas dusty that you-stand in covering rough,
et merito indignans singultes pascua Sarni
and deservedly indignant sob-for the-pastures of-the-Arno
rapta tuis gregibus, ingratae dedecus urbi!
snatched from-your flocks, to-the-ungrateful a-disgrace city!
Humectare genas lacrymarum flumine Mopso
To-moisten the-cheeks of-tears with-a-river Mopsus

parce tuo, nec te crucia crudelis et illum,
spare your, nor yourself torture cruel and him,
cuius amor tantum, tantum complectitur, inquam,
whose love so-much, so-much embraces, I-say,
iam te, blande senex, quanto circumligat ulmum
already you, O-charming old-man, with-as-great binds-round the-elm
proceram vitis per centum vincula nexu.
tall the-vine through a-hundred bonds by-knot.
O, si quando sacros iterum flavescere canos
O, if ever sacred again to-grow-yellow gray-hairs
fonte tuo videas, et ab ipsa Phyllide pexos,
from-fountain your you-may-see, and by herself Phyllis combed,
quam visando tuas tegetes miraberis uvas:
how by-seeing your huts you-will-wonder-at the-grapes:
ast intermedium pariat ne taedia tempus,
but the-intermediate may-bring-forth lest weariness time,
laetitiae spectare potes, quibus otior antris,
of-gladness to-behold you-can, in-which I-am-at-leisure caves,
et mecum pausare: simul cantabimus ambo;
and with-me to-rest: together we-shall-sing both;
ipse levi calamo, sed tu gravitate magistrum
I-myself with-light reed, but you with-gravity a-master
firmius insinuans, ne quem sua deserat aetas.
more-firmly insinuating, lest anyone his abandon age.
Ut venias locus ipse vocat. Fons humidus intus
That you-may-come the-place itself calls. A-fountain moist within
antra rigat, quae saxa tegunt, virgulta flabellant,
the-caves waters, which rocks cover, shrubs fan,
circiter origanum redolet, quoque causa soporis
around marjoram is-fragrant, also the-cause of-sleep

herba papaveris est, oblivia qualiter aiunt
the-herb of-poppy is, forgetfulness as they-say
grata creans. Serpylla tibi substernet Alexis,
pleasant creating. Thyme for-you will-strew Alexis,
quem Corydon vocet ipse rogem: tibi Nisa lavabit
whom Corydon should-call I-myself would-ask: for-you Nisa will-wash
ipsa pedes accincta libens, coenamque parabit.
herself your-feet girded gladly, and-supper will-prepare.
Thestylis haec inter piperino pulvere fungos
Thestylis these among with-peppery powder the-mushrooms
condiet, et permixta doment multa allia, si quos
will-season, and mixed should-tame many garlics, if any
forsitan imprudens Meliboeus legerit hortis.
perhaps unwitting Meliboeus gathered in-the-gardens.
Ut comedas apium memorabunt mella susurri.
That you-may-eat of-the-bees will-mention the-honeys the-buzzings.
Poma leges, Nisaeque genas aequantia mandes,
Apples you-will-gather, and-Nisa's cheeks equaling may-you-chew,
pluraque servabis nimio defensa decore.
and-more you-will-keep by-excessive defended beauty.
Iamque superserpunt hederae radicibus antrum,
And-already creep-over the-ivies with-roots the-cave,
serta parata tibi: nulla est cessura voluptas.
garlands ready for-you: no is about-to-yield pleasure.
Huc ades: huc venient, qui te pervisere gliscent,
Hither come: hither will-come, who you to-visit will-burn,
Parrhasii iuvenesque senesque, et carmina laeti
Parrhasian both-youths and-old-men, and songs glad
qui nova mirari, cupiantque antiqua doceri.
who new-things to-wonder-at, and-desire ancient-things to-be-taught.

Hi tibi silvestres capreas, hi tergora lyncum
These to-you woodland roes, these the-hides of-lynxes
orbiculata ferent, tuus ut Meliboeus amabat.
spotted will-bring, your as Meliboeus loved.
Huc ades; et nostros timeas ne Tityre saltus;
Hither come; and our you-should-fear not O-Tityrus the-glades;
namque fidem celsae concusso vertice pinus,
for faith the-lofty with-shaken top pines,
glandiferaeque etiam quercusque arbusta dedere.
and-acorn-bearing also and-oaks shrubs have-given.
Non hic insidiae, non hic iniuria, quantas,
Not here snares, not here injury, as-great-as,
esse putas. Non ipse mihi te fidis amanti?
to-be you-think. Not you-yourself to-me yourself you-trust loving?
Sunt forsan mea regna tibi despecta? Sed ipsi
Are perhaps my realms to-you despised? But themselves
dî non erubuere cavis habitare sub antris:
the-gods not blushed hollow to-dwell under caves:
testis Achilleus Chiron, et pastor Apollo.
witness Achilles' Chiron, and the-shepherd Apollo.
Mopse, quid es demens? Quia non permittet Iolas
O-Mopsus, why are-you mad? Because not will-permit Iolas
comis et urbanus, dum sunt tua rustica dona,
courteous and urbane, while are your rustic gifts,
hisque tabernaclis non est modo tutius antrum,
and-than-these huts not is now safer the-cave,
quîs potius ludat. Sed te quis mentis anhelum
in-which rather he-may-play. But you what of-mind panting
ardor agit, vel quae pedibus nova nata cupido?
ardor drives, or what for-the-feet new born desire?

Miratur puerum virgo, puer ipse volucrem,
Wonders-at the-boy the-maiden, the-boy himself the-bird,
et volucris silvas, et silvae flamina verna;
and the-bird the-woods, and the-woods the-breezes of-spring;
Tityre, te Mopsus: miratio gignit amorem.
O-Tityrus, you Mopsus: wonder begets love.
Me contemne; sitim Phrygio Musone levabo:
Me despise; thirst with-the-Phrygian Musone I-shall-relieve:
scilicet hoc nescis, fluvio potabor avito.
namely this you-know-not, by-the-river I-shall-be-watered ancestral.
Quid tamen interea mugit mea bucula circum?
What yet meanwhile lows my little-cow around?
Quadrifluumne gravat coxis humentibus uber?
The-four-streamed does-it-burden with-haunches moist the-udder?
Sic reor: en propero situlas implere capaces
So I-think: lo I-hasten the-pails to-fill capacious
lacte novo, quo dura queant mollescere crusta.
with-milk new, with-which hard may-be-able to-grow-soft crusts.
Ad mulctrale veni: si tot mandabimus illi
To the-milking-pail come: if as-many we-shall-send to-him
vascula, quot nobis promisit Tityrus ipse:
little-vessels, as-many-as to-us promised Tityrus himself:
sed lac pastori fors est mandare superbum.
but milk to-a-shepherd perhaps it-is to-send proud.
Dum loquor en comites, et sol de monte rotabat.
While I-speak lo comrades, and the-sun from the-mountain was-rolling.

Dantes Alagerii Ioanni de Virgilio. Ecloga II

IV · DANTE TO GIOVANNI: ECLOGUE II

In the noon heat Tityrus and Alphesiboeus shelter in a wood, and Alphesiboeus wonders that Mopsus should love the arid rocks of the Cyclopes under Etna. Meliboeus arrives panting, and his pipe plays Mopsus' song by itself. Alphesiboeus begs Tityrus not to leave the dewy fields of Pelorus for the Cyclops' cave. Tityrus would go to see Mopsus, but fears Polyphemus; Alphesiboeus recalls how the Cyclops tore Acis apart and terrified Achaemenides, and prays that Tityrus be kept safe for the laurel. Evening falls and the flocks go home; Iolas, hidden nearby, heard it all and told it.

Velleribus Colchis praepes detectus Eous
By-fleeces Colchian swift uncovered Eous
alipedesque alii pulchrum Titana ferebant:
and-wing-footed others the-beautiful Titan were-bearing:
orbita, qua primum flecti de culmine coepit,
the-orbit, where first to-be-bent from the-summit began,
currigerum canthum libratim quemque tenebat,
chariot-bearing the-rim balanced each was-holding,
resque refulgentes, solitae superarier umbris,
and-things shining, accustomed to-be-surpassed by-shadows,
vincebant umbras, et fervere rura sinebant.
were-conquering the-shadows, and to-glow the-fields allowed.
Tityrus hoc propter confugit et Alphesiboeus
Tityrus this on-account-of fled and Alphesiboeus
ad silvam, pecudumque suique misertus uterque,
to the-wood, both-of-the-flocks and-of-himself pitying each,
fraxineam silvam, tiliis platanisque frequentem:
the-ash wood, with-limes and-with-planes thronged:

et dum silvestri pecudes mistaeque capellae
and while on-the-woodland the-flocks and-mixed goats
insidunt herbae, dum naribus aëra captant,
sit grass, while with-nostrils the-air they-catch,
Tityrus hic annosus enim, defensus acerna
Tityrus here aged for, defended by-maple
fronde, soporifero gravis incumbebat odori,
leafage, sleep-bringing heavy lay-upon scent,
nodosoque piri vulso de stirpe bacillo
and-with-knotty of-pear plucked from the-stock staff
stabat subnixus, ut diceret Alphesiboeus.
stood propped-up, that should-speak Alphesiboeus.
Quod mentes hominum, fabatur, ad astra ferantur,
That the-minds of-men, he-was-saying, to the-stars be-borne,
unde fuere, novae cum corpora nostra subirent;
whence they-were, new when bodies our they-entered;
quod libeat niveis avibus resonare Caystrum
that it-please to-snowy birds to-resound the-Cayster
temperie coeli laetis, et valle palustri;
in-the-temper of-the-sky glad, and in-the-valley marshy;
quod pisces coëant pelagi, pelagusque relinquant,
that fishes come-together of-the-sea, and-the-sea leave,
flumina qua primum Nerei confinia tangunt;
the-rivers where first of-Nereus the-borders they-touch;
Caucason Hyrcanae maculent quod sanguine tigres,
Caucasus the-Hyrcanian stain that with-blood tigers,
et Libyes coluber quod squama verrat arenas,
and of-Libya the-serpent that with-scale sweeps the-sands,
non miror; nam cuique placent conformia vitae,
not I-wonder; for to-each please things-conformed to-life,

Tityre, sed Mopso miror, mirantur et omnes
O-Tityrus, but at-Mopsus I-wonder, they-wonder also all
pastores alii mecum Sicula arva tenentes,
the-shepherds others with-me the-Sicilian fields holding,
arida Cyclopum placeant quod saxa sub Aetna.
the-arid of-the-Cyclopes should-please that rocks under Etna.
Dixerat: et calidus, et gutture tardus anhelo
He-had-spoken: and hot, and in-throat slow panting
iam Meliboeus adest; et vix, En Tityre, dixit,
now Meliboeus is-present; and scarcely, Lo O-Tityrus, he-said,
irrisere senes iuvenilia guttura, quantum
laughed-at the-old-men the-youthful throats, as-much-as
Sergestum e scopulo vulsum risere Sicani.
at-Sergestus from the-rock torn-off laughed the-Sicanians.
Tum senior viridi canum de cespite crinem
Then the-elder green gray from the-turf hair
sustulit, et patulis efflanti naribus infit:
raised, and with-wide to-the-one-panting nostrils begins:
o nimium iuvenis, quae te nova causa coegit
O too young, what you new cause has-compelled
pectoreos cursu rapido sic angere folles?
of-the-breast with-course rapid so to-squeeze the-bellows?
Ille nihil contra: sed, quam tunc ipse tenebat,
He nothing in-reply: but, which then he held,
cannea quum tremulis coniuncta est fistula labris,
reed when to-trembling joined was the-pipe lips,
sibilus hinc simplex avidas non venit ad aures.
a-whistle thence simple to-eager not came to the-ears.
Verum, ut arundinea puer is pro voce laborat;
But, when on-the-reedy the-boy he for voice labors;

(mira loquar, sed vera tamen) spiravit arundo:
(wonderful-things I-shall-say, but true yet) breathed the-reed:
'Forte sub irriguos colles ubi Sarpina Rheno.'
'By-chance under well-watered hills where the-Savena to-the-Reno.'
Et tria si flasset ultra spiramina flata,
And three if it-had-blown beyond breathings blown,
centum carminibus tacitos mulcebat agrestes.
with-a-hundred songs silent was-soothing the-rustics.
Tityrus et secum conceperat Alphesiboeus;
Tityrus and with-himself had-conceived Alphesiboeus;
Tityron et voces compellant Alphesiboei:
Tityrus and the-voices address of-Alphesiboeus:
sic, venerande senex, tu roscida rura Pelori
thus, O-venerable old-man, you the-dewy fields of-Pelorus
deserere auderes, antrum Cyclopis iturus?
to-desert would-you-dare, the-cave of-the-Cyclops about-to-go?
Ille: Quid hoc dubitas? quid me, carissime, tentas?
He: What this do-you-doubt? why me, O-dearest, do-you-try?
Quid dubito? quid tento? refert tunc Alphesiboeus,
What do-I-doubt? what do-I-try? replies then Alphesiboeus,
tibia non sentis quod fit virtute canora
the-pipe not you-feel that becomes by-the-power melodious
numinis, et similis natis de murmure cannis,
of-a-godhead, and like to-the-born from the-murmur reeds,
murmure pandenti turpissima tempora regis,
with-murmur revealing the-most-shameful temples of-the-king,
qui iussu Bromii Pactolida tinxit arenam?
who by-the-command of-Bromius the-Pactolian dyed sand?
Quod vocet ad litus Aetnaeo pumice tectum,
That it-calls to the-shore with-Etnaean pumice covered,

fortunate senex, falso ne crede favori,
O-fortunate old-man, false not trust favor,
et Dryadum miserere loci, pecorumque tuorum.
and of-the-Dryads have-pity on-the-place, and-on-the-flocks your.
Te iuga, te saltus nostri, te flumina flebunt
You the-ridges, you the-glades our, you the-rivers will-weep
absentem, et nymphae mecum peiora timentes,
absent, and the-nymphs with-me worse-things fearing,
et cadet invidia, quam nunc habet ipse Pachynus:
and will-fall the-envy, which now has itself Pachynus:
nos quoque pastores te cognovisse pigebit.
us also shepherds you to-have-known it-will-grieve.
Fortunate senex, fontes, et pabula nota
O-fortunate old-man, the-fountains, and pastures known
desertare tuo vivaci nomine nolis.
to-desert with-your living name may-you-not-will.
O plusquam media merito pars pectoris huius
O more-than half deservedly part of-the-breast this
(atque suum tetigit), longaevus Tityrus inquit,
(and his touched), the-aged Tityrus says,
Mopsus amore pari mecum connexus ob illas,
Mopsus by-love equal with-me joined on-account-of those,
quae male gliscentem timide fugere Pyreneum,
which badly swelling timidly fled the-Pyrenean,
litora dextra Pado ratus a Rubicone sinistra
the-shores right by-the-Po thinking by the-Rubicon left
me colere Aemilida qua terminat Adria terram,
me to-inhabit the-Aemilian where bounds the-Adriatic the-land,
litoris Aetnaei commendat pascua nobis:
of-the-shore Etnaean commends the-pastures to-us:

nescius in tenera quod nos duo degimus herba
unknowing on tender that we two spend grass
Trinacridae montis, quo non foecundius alter
of-the-Trinacrian mountain, than-which not more-fruitful another
montibus in Siculis pecudes, armentaque pavit.
mountains in Sicilian flocks, and-herds pastured.
Sed quamquam viridi sint postponenda Pelori
But although to-green they-be to-be-placed-after Pelorus
Aetnica saxa solo, Mopsum visurus adirem,
the-Etnaean rocks soil, Mopsus about-to-see I-would-go,
hic grege dimisso, ni te, Polypheme, timerem.
here the-flock left, unless you, O-Polyphemus, I-feared.
Quis Polyphemon, ait, non horreat, Alphesiboeus,
Who Polyphemus, says, not would-dread, Alphesiboeus,
assuetum rictus humano sanguine tingi,
accustomed the-jaws with-human blood to-be-stained,
tempore iam ex illo, quando Galatea relicti
the-time already from that, when Galatea of-the-abandoned
Acidis heu miseri discerpere viscera vidit?
Acis alas wretched to-tear the-entrails saw?
Vix illa evasit. An vis valuisset amoris,
Scarcely she escaped. Or the-force would-have-prevailed of-love,
effera dum rabies tanta perferbuit ira?
savage while the-rage with-so-great boiled anger?
Quid quod Achaemenides, sociorum caede cruentum
What of-this-that Achaemenides, of-his-comrades with-slaughter bloody
tantum prospiciens, animam vix claudere quivit?
only looking-out, the-soul scarcely to-hold-in could?
Ah! mea vita, precor numquam tam dira voluptas
Ah! O-my life, I-pray never so dire a-pleasure

te premat, ut Rhenus et Naias illa recludat
you oppress, that the-Reno and the-Naiad that should-shut-out
hoc illustre caput, cui iam frondator in alta
this illustrious head, for-which already the-pruner on the-high
virgine perpetuas festinat cernere frondes.
virgin perpetual hastens to-cull leaves.
Tityrus arridens, et tota mente secundus,
Tityrus smiling, and with-whole mind favorable,
verba gregis magni tacitus concepit alumni.
the-words of-the-flock of-the-great silent received of-the-nursling.
Sed quia tam proni scindebant aethra iugales,
But because so prone were-cleaving the-air the-yoke-horses,
ut rem quamque sua iam multum vinceret umbra,
that thing each its already much conquered shadow,
virgiferi silvis gelida cum valle relictis,
the-staff-bearers the-woods cold with the-valley left,
post pecudes rediere suas: hirtaeque capellae
behind the-flocks returned their: and-shaggy goats
inde velut reduces ad mollia prata praeibant.
thence as returning to the-soft meadows went-before.
Callidus interea iuxta latitavit Iolas,
Crafty meanwhile nearby hid Iolas,
omnia qui didicit, qui retulit omnia nobis.
all-things who learned, who reported all-things to-us.
Ille quidem nobis, et nos tibi, Mopse, poimus.
He indeed to-us, and we to-you, O-Mopsus, have-composed.

DANTE ALIGHIERI

Quaestio de Aqua et Terra

The Question of Water and Earth

Dante greets all who read this letter. At Mantua a question arose and was left unsettled: whether water, in its own sphere, is anywhere higher than the earth that emerges from it, the habitable quarter. Out of love of truth he will settle it and write down his determination, lest envious men twist what he said. Of the many arguments made for the water's being higher he keeps five; the first held that the circumferences of water and earth cannot share a center, since they are unequally distant, and the second that the nobler body, water, deserves the nobler, higher place.

Quaestio aurea ac perutilis edita per Dantem Alagherium
a-question golden and very-useful published by Dante Alighieri
poetam Florentinum clarissimum de natura duorum
poet Florentine most-illustrious about the-nature of-the-two
elementorum aquae et terrae diserentem.
elements water and earth disputing
Universis et singulis praesentes litteras inspecturis, Dantes
to-all and individual the-present letter about-to-inspect Dante
Alagherii de Florentia, inter vere philosophantes minimus,
Alighieri of Florence among truly philosophizing the-least
in Eo salutem, qui est principium veritatis et lumen.
in Him greeting who is the-principle of-truth and light
§ I. Manifestum sit omnibus vobis quod, existente me
§ I manifest let-be to-all you that being I
Mantuae, quaestio quaedam exorta est, quae dilatata multoties,
at-Mantua a-question certain arisen is which spread-out many-times
ad apparentiam magis quam ad veritatem, indeterminata
to appearance rather than to truth undetermined
restabat. Unde quum in amore veritatis e pueritia mea
remained whence since in the-love of-truth from boyhood my
continue sim nutritus, non sustinui quaestionem praefatam
continually I-have-been nourished not I-endured the-question aforesaid

linquere indiscussam; sed placuit de ipsa verum ostendere,
to-leave undiscussed but it-pleased about it the-truth to-show
nec non argumenta facta contra dissolvere, tum veritatis
and also the-arguments made against to-dissolve both of-truth
amore tum etiam odio falsitatis. Et ne livor multorum,
for-love and also from-hatred of-falsity and lest the-envy of-many
qui absentibus viris invidiosis mendacia confingere solent, post
who against-absent men envied lies to-fabricate are-wont behind
tergum bene dicta transmutent, placuit insuper, in hac
the-back well things-said should-change it-pleased moreover in this
cedula meis digitis exarata, quod determinatum fuit a me
little-sheet with-my fingers written what determined was by me
relinquere, et formam totius disputationis calamo designare.
to-leave and the-form of-the-whole disputation with-the-pen to-set-down
§ II. Quaestio igitur fuit de situ et figura, sive forma,
§ II the-question therefore was about the-situation and figure or form
duorum elementorum, aquae videlicet et terrae; et voco
of-the-two elements of-water namely and earth and I-call
hic formam illam, quam Philosophus ponit in quarta specie
here form that which the-Philosopher places in the-fourth species
qualitatis in Praedicamentis. Et restricta fuit quaestio ad hoc,
of-quality in the-Predicaments and restricted was the-question to this
tamquam ad principium investigandae veritatis, ut quaereretur:
as to the-principle of-investigating truth that it-be-asked
Utrum aqua in sphaera sua, hoc est in sua naturali
whether water in sphere its that is in its natural
circumferentia, in aliqua parte esset altior terra quae
circumference in some part were higher than-the-earth which
emergit ab aquis, et quam communiter quartam habitabilem
emerges from the-waters and which commonly the-fourth habitable
appellamus; et arguebatur quod sic multis rationibus, quarum
we-call and it-was-argued that so by-many reasons of-which

(quibusdam omissis propter earum levitatem) quinque
some omitted on-account-of their lightness five
retinui, quae aliquam efficaciam habere videbantur.
I-retained which some efficacy to-have seemed
§ III. Prima fuit talis: Duarum circumferentiarum inaequaliter
§ III the-first was such of-two circumferences unequally
a se distantium impossibile est idem esse centrum:
from each-other distant impossible it-is the-same to-be the-center
circumferentia aquae et circumferentia terrae inaequaliter
the-circumference of-water and the-circumference of-earth unequally
distant; ergo etc. Deinde procedebatur: Quum centrum
are-distant therefore etc then it-was-proceeded since the-center
terrae sit centrum universi, ut ab omnibus confirmatur; et
of-the-earth be the-center of-the-universe as by all is-confirmed and
omne quod habet positionem in mundo aliam ab eo sit altius;
everything which has position in the-world other than it be higher
quod circumferentia aquae sit altior circumferentia terrae
that the-circumference of-water be higher than-the-circumference of-earth
concludebatur, quum circumferentia sequatur undique ipsum
was-concluded since the-circumference follow on-all-sides the-very
centrum. Maior principalis syllogismi videbatur patere per
center the-major of-the-principal syllogism seemed to-be-plain through
ea, quae demonstrata sunt in geometria; minor per sensum,
those which demonstrated are in geometry the-minor through sense
eo quod videmus in aliqua parte terrae circumferentiam
for-this that we-see in some part of-the-earth the-circumference
includi a circumferentia aquae, in aliqua vero excludi.
to-be-included by the-circumference of-water in some but to-be-excluded
§ IV. Secunda ratio: Nobiliori corpori debetur nobilior locus;
§ IV the-second reason to-the-nobler body is-owed a-nobler place
aqua est nobilius corpus quam terra; ergo aquae debetur
water is a-nobler body than earth therefore to-water is-owed

nobilior locus. Et quum locus tanto sit nobilior quanto
a-nobler place and since place by-so-much be nobler by-how-much
superior, propter magis propinquare nobilissimo continenti,
higher on-account-of more to-draw-near to-the-most-noble container
quod est coelum primum, relinquitur, quod locus aquae
which is the-heaven first it-remains that the-place of-water
sit altior loco terrae, et per consequens quod aqua sit
be higher than-the-place of-earth and by consequence that water be
altior terra, quum situs loci et locati non differat.
higher than-earth since the-situation of-place and of-the-placed not differ
Maior et minor principalis syllogismi huius rationis quasi
the-major and minor of-the-principal syllogism of-this reason as-if
manifestae dimittebantur.
manifest were-let-go

II · THE REMAINING ARGUMENTS AND THE ORDER OF PROOF

The third argument appealed to sailors, who cannot see the land from the sea but can from the mast; the fourth held that springs and rivers flow from the sea, so the sea must be higher; the fifth that water follows the moon, whose orbit is eccentric. Against them stand sense, since rivers everywhere run down to the sea, and reason. Dante will show that water is nowhere higher than the land, that the land is everywhere higher than the sea, answer an objection, give the causes of the land's rising, and reply to the arguments. He assumes that water naturally moves down and is fluid.

§ V. Tertia ratio erat: Omnis opinio quae contradicit
§ V the-third reason was every opinion which contradicts
sensui est mala opinio; opinari aquam non esse altiorem
sense is a-bad opinion to-think water not to-be higher
terra est contradicere sensui; ergo est mala opinio. Prima
than-earth is to-contradict sense therefore it-is a-bad opinion the-first

dicebatur patere per Commentatorem super tertio de
was-said to-be-plain through the-Commentator on the-third on
Anima; secunda, sive minor, per experientiam nautarum,
the-Soul the-second or minor through the-experience of-sailors
qui vident, in mari existentes, montes sub se; et
who see at sea being mountains below themselves and
probant dicendo, quod ascendendo malum vident eos, in
prove by-saying that by-ascending the-mast they-see them in
navi vero non vident; quod videtur accidere propter hoc,
the-ship but not they-see which seems to-happen on-account-of this
quod terra valde inferior sit et depressa a dorso maris.
that the-earth much lower be and depressed from the-back of-the-sea
§ VI. Quarto arguebatur sic: Si terra non esset inferior
§ VI fourthly it-was-argued thus if the-earth not were lower
ipsa aqua, terra esset totaliter sine aquis, saltem
than-the-very water the-earth would-be wholly without waters at-least
in parte detecta, de qua quaeritur; et sic nec essent
in the-part uncovered about which it-is-asked and thus neither would-there-be
fontes, neque flumina, neque lacus; cuius oppositum videmus:
fountains nor rivers nor lakes whose opposite we-see
quare oppositum eius ex quo sequebatur est verum, scilicet
wherefore the-opposite of-that from which it-followed is true namely
quod aqua sit altior terra. Consequentia probabatur per
that water be higher than-earth the-consequence was-proved by
hoc, quod aqua naturaliter fertur deorsum; et quum mare
this that water naturally is-borne downward and since the-sea
sit principium omnium aquarum (ut patet per Philosophum
be the-principle of-all waters as is-plain through the-Philosopher
in Meteoris suis), si mare non esset altius quam terra,
in the-Meteors his if the-sea not were higher than the-earth

non moveretur aqua ad ipsam terram; quum in omni motu
not would-be-moved water to the-very earth since in every motion
naturali aquae principium oporteat esse altius.
natural of-water the-principle it-behoove to-be higher
§ VII. Item arguebatur quinto: Aqua videtur maxime sequi
§ VII likewise it-was-argued fifthly water seems most to-follow
motum Lunae, ut patet in accessu et recessu maris;
the-motion of-the-Moon as is-plain in the-approach and retreat of-the-sea
quum igitur orbis Lunae sit excentricus, rationabile videtur
since therefore the-orb of-the-Moon be eccentric reasonable it-seems
quod aqua in sua sphaera excentricitatem imitetur orbis
that water in its sphere the-eccentricity imitate of-the-orb
Lunae, et per consequens sit excentrica; et quum hoc
of-the-Moon and by consequence be eccentric and since this
esse non possit, nisi sit altior terra, ut in prima ratione
to-be not can unless it-be higher than-earth as in the-first reason
ostensum est, sequitur idem quod prius.
shown it-is follows the-same as before
§ VIII. His igitur rationibus, et aliis non curandis,
§ VIII by-these therefore reasons and others not to-be-cared-for
conantur ostendere suam opinionem esse veram, qui tenent
they-try to-show their opinion to-be true who hold
aquam esse altiorem terra ista detecta, sive habitabili,
water to-be higher than-earth this uncovered or habitable
licet in contrarium est sensus et ratio. Ad sensum enim
although to the-contrary is sense and reason to sense for
videmus, per totam terram flumina descendere ad mare,
we-see through the-whole earth rivers to-descend to the-sea
tam meridionale quam septentrionale, tam orientale quam
as-well southern as northern as-well eastern as
occidentale; quod non esset, si principia fluminum et tractus
western which not would-be if the-beginnings of-the-rivers and the-tracts

alveorum non essent altiora ipsa superficie maris. Ad
of-the-channels not were higher than-the-very surface of-the-sea to
rationem vero patebit inferius; et hoc multis rationibus
reason but it-will-be-plain below and this by-many reasons
demonstrabitur, in ostendendo sive determinando de situ
will-be-demonstrated in showing or determining about the-situation
et forma duorum elementorum, ut superius tangebatur.
and form of-the-two elements as above was-touched
§ IX. Hic erit ordo. Primo demonstrabitur impossibile,
§ IX here will-be the-order first will-be-demonstrated impossible
aquam in aliqua parte suae circumferentiae altiorem esse
water in any part of-its circumference higher to-be
hac terra emergente, sive detecta. Secundo demonstrabitur,
than-this earth emerging or uncovered second will-be-demonstrated
terram hanc emergentem esse ubique altiorem totali
the-earth this emerging to-be everywhere higher than-the-whole
superficie maris. Tertio instabitur contra demonstrata,
surface of-the-sea third it-will-be-objected against the-things-demonstrated
et solvetur instantia. Quarto ostendetur causa finalis et
and will-be-solved the-objection fourth will-be-shown the-cause final and
efficiens huius elevationis sive emergentiae terrae. Quinto
efficient of-this elevation or emergence of-the-earth fifth
solvetur ad argumenta superius praenotata.
it-will-be-replied to the-arguments above noted
§ X. Dico ergo propter primum, quod si aqua, in sua
§ X I-say therefore for the-first that if water in its
circumferentia considerata, esset in aliqua parte altior quam
circumference considered were in some part higher than
terra, hoc esset de necessitate altero istorum duorum
earth this would-be of necessity in-one of-these two
modorum; vel quod aqua esset excentrica, sicut prima
ways either that water were eccentric as the-first

et quinta ratio procedebat; vel quod, concentrica existens,
and fifth reason proceeded or that concentric being
esset gibbosa in aliqua parte, secundum quam terrae
it-were humped in some part according-to which over-the-earth
supereminеret; aliter esse non posset, ut subtiliter inspicienti
it-would-rise-above otherwise to-be not could as subtly to-one-looking
satis manifestum est. Sed neutrum istorum est possibile;
enough manifest it-is but neither of-these is possible
ergo nec illud ex quo alterum vel alterum sequebatur.
therefore neither that from which the-one or the-other followed
Consequentia, ut dicitur, est manifesta per locum a
the-consequence as is-said is manifest through the-topic from
sufficienti divisione causae; impossibilitas consequentis, per
sufficient division of-the-cause the-impossibility of-the-consequent through
ea quae ostendentur, apparebit.
those which will-be-shown will-appear
§ XI. Ad evidentiam igitur dicendorum, duo supponenda
§ XI for evidence therefore of-the-things-to-be-said two to-be-supposed
sunt: primum est, quod aqua naturaliter movetur deorsum;
are the-first is that water naturally is-moved downward
secundum est, quod aqua est labile corpus naturaliter, et non
the-second is that water is a-flowing body naturally and not
terminabile termino proprio. Et si quis haec duo principia
boundable by-a-boundary its-own and if anyone these two principles
vel alterum ipsorum negaret, ad ipsum non esset determinatio;
or one of-them should-deny to him not would-be determination
quum contra negantem principia alicuius scientiae non sit
since against one-denying the-principles of-any science not be
disputandum in illa scientia, ut patet ex primo Physicorum;
to-be-disputed in that science as is-plain from the-first of-the-Physics

sunt etenim haec principia inventa sensu et inductione, quorum
are for these principles found by-sense and induction of-which
est talia invenire, ut patet ex primo ad Nicomachum.
it-is such-things to-find as is-plain from the-first to Nicomachus

III · WATER IS NOT HIGHER THAN THE EARTH

If water were higher, it would have to be eccentric or humped. If eccentric, water would move upward naturally, water and earth would fall along different lines, and heaviness would mean two things, which Dante shows with a figure. If humped, the hump would flow down until level, and nature would not do with two humps what one, the earth's, can do. So water is concentric, and every shore, and the land beyond, stands above the sea. It is objected that the heaviest body seeks the center equally, so earth would lie wholly beneath the water; but earth might be heavier on one side.

§ XII. Ad destructionem igitur primi membri consequentis
§ XII for the-destruction therefore of-the-first member of-the-consequent
dico, quod aquam esse excentricam est impossibile; quod
I-say that water to-be eccentric is impossible which
sic demonstro: Si aqua esset excentrica, tria impossibilia
thus I-demonstrate if water were eccentric three impossibles
sequerentur; quorum primum est, quod aqua esset naturaliter
would-follow of-which the-first is that water would-be naturally
mobilis sursum et deorsum; secundum est, quod aqua non
movable upward and downward the-second is that water not
moveretur deorsum per eandem lineam cum terra; tertium
would-be-moved downward by the-same line with earth the-third
est, quod gravitas aequivoce praedicaretur de ipsis; quae omnia
is that heaviness equivocally would-be-predicated of them which all
non tantum falsa sed impossibilia esse videntur. Consequentia
not only false but impossible to-be seem the-consequence

declaratur sic: Sit coelum circumferentia, in qua tres cruces,
is-declared thus let-be heaven the-circumference in which three crosses
aqua in qua duae, terra in qua una; et sit centrum
water in which two earth in which one and let-be the-center
coeli et terrae punctus in quo A, centrum vero aquae
of-heaven and of-earth the-point in which A the-center but of-water
excentricae punctus in quo B; ut patet in figura signata.
eccentric the-point in which B as is-plain in the-figure marked
Dico ergo, quod si aqua erit in A, et habeat transitum,
I-say therefore that if water will-be at A and have passage
quod naturaliter movebitur ad B; quum omne grave
that naturally it-will-be-moved to B since every heavy-thing
moveatur ad centrum propriae circumferentiae naturaliter; et
be-moved to the-center of-its-own circumference naturally and
quum moveri ab A ad B sit moveri sursum; quum A
since to-be-moved from A to B be to-be-moved upward since A
sit simpliciter deorsum ad omnia; aqua movebitur naturaliter
be simply downward to all-things water will-be-moved naturally
sursum; quod erat primum impossibile, quod sequi dicebatur.
upward which was the-first impossible which to-follow was-said
Praeterea sit gleba terrae in Z, et ibidem sit
moreover let-be a-clod of-earth at Z and in-the-same-place let-be
quantitas aquae, et absit omne prohibens; quum igitur,
a-quantity of-water and let-be-absent everything hindering since therefore
ut dictum est, omne grave moveatur ad centrum propriae
as said it-is every heavy-thing be-moved to the-center of-its-own
circumferentiae, terra movebitur per lineam rectam ad A,
circumference the-earth will-be-moved by a-line straight to A
et aqua per lineam rectam ad B; sed hoc oportebit esse
and the-water by a-line straight to B but this it-will-behoove to-be
per lineas diversas, ut patet in figura signata; quod non
by lines diverse as is-plain in the-figure marked which not

solum est impossibile, sed rideret Aristoteles, si audiret;
only is impossible but would-laugh Aristotle if he-heard
et hoc erat secundum quod declarari debebatur. Tertium
and this was the-second which to-be-declared ought the-third
vero declaro sic: Grave et leve sunt passiones corporum
but I-declare thus heavy and light are passions of-bodies
simplicium, quae moventur motu recto; et levia moventur
simple which are-moved by-motion straight and light-things are-moved
sursum, gravia vero deorsum. Hoc enim intendo per grave
upward heavy-things but downward this for I-mean by heavy
et leve, quod sit mobile; sicut vult Philosophus in Coelo
and light that it-be movable as wills the-Philosopher in Heaven
et Mundo. Si igitur aqua moveretur ad B, terra vero ad
and the-World if therefore water were-moved to B the-earth but to
A; quum ambo sint corpora gravia, movebuntur ad diversa
A since both be bodies heavy they-will-be-moved to diverse
deorsum; quorum una ratio esse non potest, quum unum sit
downward of-which one notion to-be not can since one be
deorsum simpliciter, aliud vero secundum quid. Et quum
downward simply the-other but in-some respect and since
diversitas in ratione finium arguat diversitatem in his quae
diversity in the-notion of-ends argue diversity in those which
sunt propter illa, manifestum est quod diversa ratio
are for-the-sake-of them manifest it-is that diverse the-notion
gravitatis erit in aqua et in terra; et quum diversitas
of-heaviness will-be in water and in earth and since diversity
rationis cum identitate nominis aequivocationem faciat, ut
of-notion with identity of-name equivocation make as
patet per Philosophum in Antepraedicamentis; sequetur
is-plain through the-Philosopher in the-Antepredicaments it-will-follow
quod gravitas aequivoce praedicetur de aqua et terra; quod
that heaviness equivocally be-predicated of water and earth which

erat tertium consequentiae membrum declarandum. Sic igitur
was the-third of-the-consequence member to-be-declared thus therefore
patet per veram demonstrationem de genere illarum, qua
is-plain by true demonstration of the-kind of-those by-which
demonstrant non esse hoc, quod aqua non est excentrica;
they-demonstrate not to-be this that water not is eccentric
quod erat primum consequentis principalis consequentiae
which was the-first of-the-consequent of-the-principal consequence
quod destrui debebatur.
which to-be-destroyed ought

§ XIII. Ad destructionem secundi membri consequentis
§ XIII for the-destruction of-the-second member of-the-consequent
principalis consequentiae dico, quod aquam esse gibbosam
of-the-principal consequence I-say that water to-be humped
est etiam impossibile; quod sic demonstro: Sit coelum, in
is also impossible which thus I-demonstrate let-be heaven in
quo quatuor cruces, aqua in quo tres, terra in quo duae;
which four crosses water in which three earth in which two
et centrum terrae et aquae concentricae et coeli sit D.
and the-center of-earth and of-water concentric and of-heaven let-be D
Et praesciatur hoc, quod aqua non potest esse concentrica
and be-foreknown this that water not can to-be concentric
terrae, nisi terra sit in aliqua parte gibbosa supra centralem
with-earth unless the-earth be in some part humped above the-central
circumferentiam (ut patet instructis in mathematicis), si
circumference as is-plain to-those-instructed in mathematics if
in aliqua parte emergit a circumferentia aquae. Et ideo
in some part it-emerges from the-circumference of-water and therefore
gibbus aquae sit in quo H, gibbus vero terrae in quo G;
the-hump of-water let-be in which H the-hump but of-earth in which G
deinde protrahatur linea una a D ad H, et una alia a D
then let-be-drawn a-line one from D to H and one other from D

ad F; manifestum est quod linea quae est a D ad H est
to F manifest it-is that the-line which is from D to H is
longior quam quae est a D ad F; et per hoc summitas
longer than that-which is from D to F and by this the-summit
eius est altior summitate alterius; et quum utraque contingat
its is higher than-the-summit of-the-other and since each touch
in summitate sua superficiem aquae, neque transcendat;
at summit its the-surface of-water nor surpass
patet quod aqua gibbi erit sursum per respectum ad
is-plain that the-water of-the-hump will-be upward with respect to
superficiem ubi est F. Quum igitur non sit ibi prohibens (si
the-surface where is F since therefore not be there a-hindrance if
vera sunt quae prius supposita erant), aqua gibbi
true are the-things-which before supposed were the-water of-the-hump
dilabetur, donec coaequetur ad D cum circumferentia centrali
will-slip-down until it-be-equalized to D with the-circumference central
sive regulari; et sic impossibile erit permanere gibbum, vel
or regular and thus impossible it-will-be to-remain the-hump or
esse; quod demonstrari debebat. Et praeter hanc potissimam
to-be which to-be-demonstrated ought and besides this most-powerful
demonstrationem potest etiam probabiliter ostendi, quod aqua
demonstration it-can also probably to-be-shown that water
non habeat gibbum extra circumferentiam regularem; quia
not have a-hump outside the-circumference regular because
quod potest fieri per unum, melius est quod fiat per
what can to-be-done by one better it-is that it-be-done by
unum quam per plura; sed totum suppositum potest fieri
one than by several but the-whole supposed can to-be-done
per solum gibbum terrae, ut infra patebit; ergo non est
by only the-hump of-earth as below will-be-plain therefore not there-is
gibbus in aqua; quum Deus et natura semper faciat et velit
a-hump in water since God and nature always do and will

quod melius est, ut patet per Philosophum de Coelo et
what better is as is-plain through the-Philosopher on Heaven and
Mundo, et secundo de Generatione Animalium. Sic igitur
the-World and the-second on the-Generation of-Animals thus therefore
patet de primo sufficienter; videlicet, quod impossibile est
is-plain about the-first sufficiently namely that impossible it-is
aquam in aliqua parte suae circumferentiae esse altiorem, hoc
water in any part of-its circumference to-be higher that
est remotiorem ad centrum mundi, quam sit superficies huius
is more-remote from the-center of-the-world than be the-surface of-this
terrae habitabilis; quod erat primum in ordine dicendorum.
earth habitable which was the-first in the-order of-the-things-to-be-said
§ XIV. Si ergo impossibile est aquam esse excentricam,
§ XIV if therefore impossible it-is water to-be eccentric
ut per primam figuram demonstratum est; et esse cum
as by the-first figure demonstrated it-is and to-be with
aliquo gibbo, ut per secundam est demonstratum; necesse
some hump as by the-second it-is demonstrated necessary
est ipsam esse concentricam et coaequam, hoc est aequaliter
it-is it to-be concentric and equalized that is equally
in omni parte suae circumferentiae distantem a centro
in every part of-its circumference distant from the-center
mundi; ut de se patet.
of-the-world as of itself is-plain
§ XV. Nunc arguo sic: Quidquid supereminet alicui parti
§ XV now I-argue thus whatever rises-above some part
circumferentiae distantis aequaliter a centro, est remotius
of-a-circumference distant equally from the-center is more-remote
ab ipso centro quam aliqua pars ipsius circumferentiae;
from the-very center than any part of-the-very circumference
sed omnia littora, tam ipsius Amphitritis, quam marium
but all the-shores as-well of-herself Amphitrite as of-the-seas

mediterraneorum, supereminent superficiei contingentis maris,
inland rise-above the-surface of-the-touching sea
ut patet ad oculum; ergo omnia littora sunt remotiora a
as is-plain to the-eye therefore all the-shores are more-remote from
centro mundi, quum centrum mundi sit centrum maris (ut
the-center of-the-world since the-center of-the-world be the-center of-the-sea as
visum est), et superficies littorales sint partes totalis superficiei
seen it-is and the-surfaces of-the-shores be parts of-the-total surface
maris; et quum omne remotius a centro mundi sit
of-the-sea and since everything more-remote from the-center of-the-world be
altius; consequens est quod littora omnia sint supereminentia
higher consequent it-is that the-shores all be rising-above
toti mari; et si littora, multo magis aliae regiones terrae,
the-whole sea and if the-shores much more the-other regions of-earth
quum littora sint inferiores partes terrae; et id flumina ad illa
since the-shores be the-lower parts of-earth and this the-rivers to them
descendentia manifestant. Maior vero huius demonstrationis
descending make-manifest the-major but of-this demonstration
demonstratur in theorematibus geometricis; et demonstratio est
is-demonstrated in the-theorems geometrical and the-demonstration is
ostensiva, licet vim suam habeat, ut in his quae demonstratae
ostensive although force its it-have as in those which demonstrated
sunt superius, per impossibile. Et sic patet de secundo.
are above by the-impossible and thus is-plain about the-second
§ XVI. Sed contra ea quae sunt determinata sic arguitur:
§ XVI but against those which are determined thus it-is-argued
Gravissimum corpus aequaliter undique ac potissime petit
the-heaviest body equally on-all-sides and most-powerfully seeks
centrum; terra est gravissimum corpus; ergo aequaliter
the-center earth is the-heaviest body therefore equally
undique ac potissime petit centrum. Et ex hac conclusione
on-all-sides and most-powerfully it-seeks the-center and from this conclusion

sequitur, ut declarabo, quod terra aequaliter in omni parte
it-follows as I-shall-declare that earth equally in every part
suae circumferentiae distet a centro, per hoc quod dicitur
of-its circumference be-distant from the-center by this that is-said
aequaliter; et quod sit substans omnibus corporibus, per
equally and that it-be lying-beneath all bodies by
hoc quod dicitur potissime; unde sequeretur (si aqua esset
this that is-said most-powerfully whence it-would-follow if water were
concentrica, ut dicitur), quod terra undique esset circumfusa
concentric as is-said that earth on-all-sides would-be surrounded
et latens; cuius contrarium videmus. Quod illa sequantur
and hidden whose contrary we-see that those-things follow
ex conclusione, sic declaro: Ponamus per contrarium sive
from the-conclusion thus I-declare let-us-posit by the-contrary or
oppositum consequentis illius, quod est in omni parte
opposite of-the-consequent of-that which is in every part
aequaliter distare, et dicamus quod non distet; et ponamus
equally to-be-distant and let-us-say that not it-be-distant and let-us-posit
quod ex una parte superficies terrae distet per viginti stadia,
that on one side the-surface of-earth be-distant by twenty stades
ex alia per decem; et sic unum hemisphaerium eius erit
on the-other by ten and thus one hemisphere its will-be
maioris quantitatis quam alterum; nec refert utrum parum vel
of-greater quantity than the-other nor it-matters whether little or
multum diversificentur in distantia, dummodo diversificentur.
much they-differ in distance provided they-differ
Quum ergo maioris quantitatis terrae sit maior virtus
since therefore of-the-greater quantity of-earth be the-greater power
ponderis, hemisphaerium maius per virtutem sui ponderis
of-weight the-hemisphere greater by the-power of-its weight
praevalentem impellet hemisphaerium minus, donec adaequetur
prevailing will-push the-hemisphere lesser until be-equalized

quantitas utriusque, per cuius adaequationem adaequetur
the-quantity of-each by whose equalization be-equalized
pondus; et sic undique redibit ad distantiam quindecim
the-weight and thus on-all-sides it-will-return to a-distance of-fifteen
stadiorum; sicut et videmus in appensione ac adaequatione
stades as also we-see in the-hanging and equalizing
ponderum in bilancibus. Per quod patet, quod impossibile
of-weights in balances through which is-plain that impossible
est terram aequaliter centrum petentem diversimode sive
it-is earth equally the-center seeking diversely or
inaequaliter in sua circumferentia distare ab eo. Ergo
unequally in its circumference to-be-distant from it therefore
necessarium est oppositum suum, quod est aequaliter distare,
necessary is the-opposite its which is equally to-be-distant
quum distet; et sic declarata est consequentia, quantum
since it-be-distant and thus declared is the-consequence as-far-as
ex parte eius quod est aequaliter distare. Quod etiam
from the-side of-that which is equally to-be-distant that also
sequatur, ipsam substare omnibus corporibus (quod sequi
it-follow it to-lie-beneath all bodies which to-follow
etiam ex conclusione dicebatur), sic declaro: Potissima
also from the-conclusion was-said thus I-declare the-most-powerful
virtus potissime attingit finem; nam per hoc potissima est,
power most-powerfully attains the-end for by this most-powerful it-is
quod citissime ac facillime finem consequi potest; potissima
that most-swiftly and most-easily the-end to-attain it-can the-most-powerful
virtus gravitatis est in corpore potissime petente centrum,
power of-heaviness is in the-body most-powerfully seeking the-center
quod quidem est terra; ergo ipsa potissime attingit finem
which indeed is earth therefore it most-powerfully attains the-end
gravitatis, qui est centrum mundi; ergo substabit
of-heaviness which is the-center of-the-world therefore it-will-lie-beneath

omnibus corporibus, si potissime petit centrum; quod erat
all bodies if most-powerfully it-seeks the-center which was
secundo declarandum. Sic igitur apparet esse impossibile quod
secondly to-be-declared thus therefore it-appears to-be impossible that
aqua sit concentrica terrae; quod est contra determinata.
water be concentric with-earth which is against the-things-determined
§ XVII. Sed ista ratio non videtur demonstrare, quia propositio
§ XVII but this reason not seems to-demonstrate because the-proposition
maior principalis simpliciter non videtur habere necessitatem.
major principal simply not seems to-have necessity
Dicebatur enim, gravissimum corpus aequaliter undique ac
it-was-said for the-heaviest body equally on-all-sides and
potissime petit centrum; quod non videtur esse necessarium;
most-powerfully seeks the-center which not seems to-be necessary
quia, licet terra sit gravissimum corpus comparatum ad
because although earth be the-heaviest body compared to
alia corpora, comparatum tamen in se, secundum suas
other bodies compared yet in itself according-to its
partes, potest esse gravissimum et non gravissimum; quia
parts it-can to-be heaviest and not heaviest because
posset esse gravior terra ex una parte quam ex altera. Nam
could to-be heavier earth on one side than on the-other for
quum adaequatio corporis gravis non fiat per quantitatem,
since the-equalization of-a-body heavy not be-made by quantity
in quantum quantitas, sed per pondus; poterit ibi esse
in as-much-as quantity but by weight will-be-able there to-be
adaequatio ponderis, quando non sit ibi adaequatio quantitatis;
equalization of-weight when not be there equalization of-quantity
et sic illa demonstratio est apparens, et non existens.
and thus that demonstration is apparent and not existing

That reply fails: earth, a simple body, is uniformly heavy. But universal nature intends every form to be realized, and mixed bodies require a place where all the elements meet, so earth, obeying, lets itself be raised in part by the power of heaven, as the appetites obey reason. The emerging land has the shape of a half-moon, from Gades to the Ganges and from the equator to about 67 degrees. Turning to the efficient cause, Dante excludes earth, since rising is against its nature, water, air, and fire, which act uniformly, and the heaven of the moon, which would have raised land on both sides of the equator.

§ XVIII. Sed talis instantia nulla est, procedit enim ex
§ XVIII but such objection null is it-proceeds for from
ignorantia naturae homogeneorum et simplicium; corpora
ignorance of-the-nature of-homogeneous and simple-things bodies
enim homogenea et simplicia (sunt homogenea, ut aurum
for homogeneous and simple-ones are homogeneous as gold
depuratum, et corpora simplicia, ut ignis et terra) regulariter in
refined and bodies simple as fire and earth regularly in
suis partibus qualificantur omni naturali passione. Unde quum
their parts are-qualified by-every natural passion whence since
terra sit corpus simplex, regulariter in suis partibus qualificatur,
earth be a-body simple regularly in its parts it-is-qualified
naturaliter et per se loquendo; quare quum gravitas insit
naturally and through itself speaking wherefore since heaviness be-in
naturaliter terrae, et terra sit corpus simplex, necesse est ipsam
naturally earth and earth be a-body simple necessary it-is it
in omnibus partibus suis regularem habere gravitatem, secundum
in all parts its regular to-have heaviness according-to
proportionem quantitatis; et sic cadit ratio instantiae
the-proportion of-quantity and thus falls the-reason of-the-objection

principalis. Unde respondendum est, quod ratio instantiae
principal whence to-be-answered it-is that the-reason of-the-objection
sophistica est, quia fallit secundum quid et simpliciter.
sophistical is because it-deceives in-some respect and simply
Propter quod sciendum est quod natura universalis non
on-account-of which to-be-known it-is that nature universal not
frustratur suo fine; unde, licet natura particularis aliquando
is-frustrated of-its end whence although nature particular sometimes
propter inobedientiam materiae ab intento fine frustretur,
on-account-of the-disobedience of-matter from the-intended end be-frustrated
natura tamen universalis nullo modo potest a sua intentione
nature yet universal in-no way can from its intention
deficere; quum naturae universali aequaliter actus et potentia
to-fail since to-nature universal equally the-act and potency
rerum, quae possunt esse et non esse, subiaceat. Sed
of-things which can to-be and not to-be be-subject but
intentio naturae universalis est, ut omnes formae quae
the-intention of-nature universal is that all forms which
sunt in potentia materiae primae reducantur in actum, et
are in the-potency of-matter first be-brought-back into act and
secundum rationem speciei sint in actu; ut materia prima,
according-to the-notion of-the-species be in act that matter first
secundum suam totalitatem, sit sub omni forma materiali,
according-to its totality be under every form material
licet secundum partem sit sub omni privatione supposita,
although according-to part it-be under every privation supposed
praeter unam. Nam quum omnes formae, quae sunt in
except one for since all forms which are in
potentia materiae idealiter, sint in actu in Motore coeli, ut
the-potency of-matter ideally be in act in the-Mover of-heaven as
dicit Commentator in de Substantia Orbis; si omnes istae
says the-Commentator in on the-Substance of-the-Orb if all these

formae non essent semper in actu, Motor coeli deficeret
forms not were always in act the-Mover of-heaven would-fall-short
ab integritate diffusionis suae bonitatis; quod non est
from the-integrity of-the-diffusion of-his goodness which not is
dicendum. Et quum omnes formae materiales generabilium
to-be-said and since all forms material of-generable-things
et corruptibilium, praeter formas elementorum, requirant
and of-corruptible-things except the-forms of-the-elements require
materiam et subiectum mixtum et complexionatum, ad
matter and subject mixed and of-a-complexion to
quod, tanquam ad finem, ordinata sunt elementa in quantum
which as to an-end ordered are the-elements in as-much-as
elementa; et mixtio esse non possit, ubi miscibilia simul
elements and mixture to-be not can where the-things-mixable together
esse non possunt, ut de se patet; necesse est, esse partem
to-be not can as of itself is-plain necessary it-is to-be a-part
in universo ubi omnia miscibilia, scilicet elementa, convenire
in the-universe where all things-mixable namely the-elements to-come-together
possint; haec autem esse non posset, nisi terra in aliqua parte
can this moreover to-be not could unless earth in some part
emergeretur, ut patet intuenti. Unde quum intentioni
were-made-to-emerge as is-plain to-one-looking whence since to-the-intention
naturae universalis omnis natura obediat; necesse fuit etiam
of-nature universal every nature obey necessary it-was also
simplici naturae terrae, quae est esse deorsum, inesse
to-the-simple nature of-earth which is to-be downward to-be-in
aliam naturam per quam obediret intentioni universalis
another nature through which it-might-obey the-intention of-universal
naturae; ut scilicet pateretur elevari in parte a virtute
nature that namely it-might-suffer to-be-raised in part by the-power
coeli, tanquam obediens a praecipiente; sicut videmus de
of-heaven as obeying by one-commanding as we-see about

concupiscibili et irascibili in homine; quae licet secundum
the-concupiscible and irascible in man which although according-to
proprium impetum ferantur secundum sensitivam affectionem,
their-own impulse they-be-borne according-to sensitive affection
secundum tamen quod rationi obedibiles sunt, quandoque a
according yet as to-reason obedient they-are sometimes from
proprio impetu retrahuntur, ut patet ex primo Ethicorum.
their-own impulse are-drawn-back as is-plain from the-first of-the-Ethics
§ XIX. Et ideo, licet terra secundum simplicem eius
§ XIX and therefore although earth according-to the-simple its
naturam aequaliter petat centrum, ut in ratione instantiae
nature equally seek the-center as in the-reason of-the-objection
dicebatur; secundum tamen naturam quandam patitur elevari
was-said according-to yet a-nature certain it-suffers to-be-raised
in parte, naturae universali obediens, ut mixtio sit possibilis;
in part to-nature universal obeying that mixture be possible
et secundum haec salvatur concentricitas terrae et aquae;
and according-to these-things is-saved the-concentricity of-earth and of-water
et nihil sequitur impossibile apud recte philosophantes; ut
and nothing follows impossible among rightly those-philosophizing as
patet in ista figura, ut sit coelum circulus in quo A,
is-plain in this figure so-that be heaven the-circle in which A
aqua circulus in quo B, terra circulus in quo C; nec refert,
water the-circle in which B earth the-circle in which C nor it-matters
quantum ad propositum, utrum aqua parum vel multum
as-far to the-purpose whether water a-little or much
a terra distare videatur. Et sciendum quod ista est vera,
from earth to-be-distant seem and to-be-known that this is true
quia est qualis est forma et situs duorum elementorum;
because it-is such-as is the-form and situation of-the-two elements
aliae duae superiores falsae; et positae sunt, non quia sic
the-other two upper false and placed are not because so

sit, sed ut sentiat discens, ut ille dicit in primo Priorum.
it-be but that may-perceive the-learner as he says in the-first of-the-Prior
Et quod terra emergat per gibbum et non per centralem
and that earth emerge through a-bump and not through the-central
circumferentiam, indubitabiliter patet, considerata figura
circumference indubitably is-plain considered the-figure
terrae emergentis. Nam figura terrae emergentis est figura
of-earth emerging for the-figure of-earth emerging is the-figure
semilunii; qualis nullo modo esse posset, si emergeretur
of-a-half-moon such-as in-no way to-be could if it-were-made-to-emerge
secundum circumferentiam regularem sive centralem; nam, ut
according-to the-circumference regular or central for as
demonstratum est in theorematibus mathematicis, necesse est
demonstrated it-is in the-theorems mathematical necessary it-is
circumferentiam regularem sphaerae a superficie plana sive
the-circumference regular of-a-sphere from a-surface plane or
sphaerica, qualem oportet esse superficiem aquae, emergere
spherical such-as it-behooves to-be the-surface of-water to-emerge
semper cum horizonte circulari. Et quod terra emergens
always with a-horizon circular and that earth emerging
habeat figuram qualis est semilunii, patet et per naturales
have a-figure such-as is of-a-half-moon is-plain both through the-naturalists
de ipsa tractantes, et per astrologos climata describentes,
about it treating and through the-astrologers the-climates describing
et per cosmographos regiones terrae per omnes plagas
and through the-cosmographers the-regions of-earth through all quarters
ponentes. Nam, ut communiter ab omnibus habetur, haec
setting for as commonly by all it-is-held this
habitabilis extenditur per lineam longitudinis a Gadibus,
habitable is-extended along the-line of-longitude from Gades
quae supra terminos occidentales ab Hercule ponitur, usque
which upon the-bounds western by Hercules is-placed up

ad ostia fluminis Ganges, ut scribit Orosius. Quae quidem
to the-mouths of-the-river Ganges as writes Orosius which indeed
longitudo tanta est, ut occidente Sole in aequinoctiali
longitude so-great is that setting the-Sun in the-equinoctial
existente illis qui sunt in altero terminorum, oritur illis qui
being to-those who are at one of-the-bounds it-rises to-those who
sunt in altero, sicut per eclipsim Lunae compertum est
are at the-other as through the-eclipse of-the-Moon found it-is
ab astrologis. Igitur oportet terminos praedictae longitudinis
by the-astrologers therefore it-behooves the-bounds of-the-aforesaid longitude
distare per CLXXX gradus, quae est dimidia distantia
to-be-distant by one-hundred-eighty degrees which is half the-distance
totius circumferentiae. Per lineam vero latitudinis, ut
of-the-whole circumference along the-line but of-latitude as
communiter habemus ab eisdem, extenditur ab illis quorum
commonly we-have from the-same it-is-extended from those whose
zenith est circulus aequinoctialis, usque ad illos quorum
zenith is the-circle equinoctial up to those whose
zenith est circulus descriptus a polo zodiaci circa polum
zenith is the-circle described by the-pole of-the-zodiac around the-pole
mundi, qui quidem distat a polo mundi circiter
of-the-world which indeed is-distant from the-pole of-the-world about
XXIII gradus; et sic extensio latitudinis est quasi LXVII
XXIII degrees and thus the-extension of-latitude is about LXVII
graduum, et non ultra, ut patet intuenti. Et sic patet,
degrees and not beyond as is-plain to-one-looking and thus is-plain
quod terram emergentem oportet habere figuram semilunii,
that earth emerging it-behooves to-have the-figure of-a-half-moon
vel quasi; quia illa figura resultat ex tanta latitudine et
or nearly because that figure results from such latitude and
longitudine, ut patet. Si vero haberet horizontem circularem,
longitude as is-plain if but it-had a-horizon circular

haberet figuram circularem cum convexo; et sic longitudo
it-would-have a-figure circular with convexity and thus longitude
et latitudo non differrent in distantia terminorum; sicut
and latitude not would-differ in the-distance of-the-bounds as
manifestum esse potest etiam mulieribus. Et sic patet de
manifest to-be can even to-women and thus is-plain about
tertio proposito in ordine dicendorum.
the-third proposed in the-order of-the-things-to-be-said

§ XX. Restat nunc videre de causa finali et efficiente huius
§ XX it-remains now to-see about the-cause final and efficient of-this
elevationis terrae, quae demonstrata est sufficienter; et hic
elevation of-earth which demonstrated is sufficiently and this
est ordo artificialis; nam quaestio an est debet praecedere
is the-order artificial for the-question whether it-is ought to-precede
quaestionem propter quid est. Et de causa finali sufficiant
the-question on-account-of what it-is and about the-cause final let-suffice
quae dicta sunt in praemediata distinctione. Propter
what said are in the-immediately-preceding distinction for
causam vero efficientem investigandam, praenotandum est,
the-cause but efficient to-be-investigated to-be-noted-beforehand it-is
quod tractatus praesens non est extra materiam naturalem,
that the-treatise present not is outside matter natural
quia inter ens mobile, scilicet aquam et terram, quae
because among being movable namely water and earth which
sunt corpora naturalia; et propter haec quaerenda est
are bodies natural and on-account-of these-things to-be-sought is
certitudo secundum materiam naturalem, quae est hic materia
certainty according-to matter natural which is here the-matter
subiecta; nam circa unumquodque genus in tantum certitudo
subject for about each genus in so-far certainty
quaerenda est, in quantum natura rei recipit, ut patet
to-be-sought is in as-much-as the-nature of-the-thing admits as is-plain

ex primo Ethicorum. Quum igitur innata sit nobis via
from the-first of-the-Ethics since therefore innate be to-us the-way
investigandae veritatis circa naturalia ex notioribus
of-investigating truth about natural-things from the-things-better-known
nobis, naturae vero minus notis, in certiora naturae
to-us to-nature but less known into the-things-more-certain to-nature
et notiora, ut patet ex primo Physicorum; et notiores
and better-known as is-plain from the-first of-the-Physics and better-known
sint nobis in talibus effectus quam causae (quia per ipsos
be to-us in such-things the-effects than the-causes because through them
ducimur in cognitionem causarum, ut patet; quia eclipsis
we-are-led into knowledge of-the-causes as is-plain because the-eclipse
solis duxit in cognitionem interpositionis lunae; unde
of-the-sun led into knowledge of-the-interposition of-the-moon whence
propter admirari coepere philosophari), viam inquisitionis
on-account-of wondering they-began to-philosophize the-way of-inquiry
in naturalibus oportet esse ab effectibus ad causas; quae
in natural-things it-behooves to-be from effects to causes which
quidem via, licet habeat certitudinem sufficientem, non
indeed way although it-have certainty sufficient not
tamen habet tantam, quantam habet via inquisitionis in
yet it-has so-much as-much-as has the-way of-inquiry in
mathematicis, quae est a causis, sive a superioribus,
mathematics which is from causes or from higher-things
ad effectus, sive ad inferiora; et ideo quaerenda est illa
to effects or to lower-things and therefore to-be-sought is that
certitudo, quae sic demonstrando haberi potest. Dico igitur,
certainty which thus by-demonstrating to-be-had can I-say therefore
quod causa huius elevationis efficiens non potest esse terra
that the-cause of-this elevation efficient not can to-be earth
ipsa; quia quum elevari sit quoddam ferri sursum;
itself because since to-be-raised be a-certain being-borne upward

et ferri sursum sit contra naturam terrae; et nihil,
and being-borne upward be against the-nature of-earth and nothing
per se loquendo, possit esse causa eius quod est contra
through itself speaking can to-be the-cause of-that which is against
suam naturam; relinquitur, quod terra huius elevationis
its nature it-remains that earth of-this elevation
efficiens causa esse non possit. Et similiter etiam neque
efficient cause to-be not can and likewise also neither
aqua esse potest; quia quum aqua sit corpus homogeneum,
water to-be can because since water be a-body homogeneous
in qualibet sui parte, per se loquendo, uniformiter
in any of-itself part through itself speaking uniformly
oportet esse virtutem; et sic non esset ratio quia magis
it-behooves to-be the-power and thus not would-be a-reason why more
elevasset hic quam alibi. Haec eadem ratio removet ab
it-would-have-raised here than elsewhere this same reason removes from
hac causalitate aerem et ignem; et quum non restet ulterius
this causality air and fire and since not remain further
nisi coelum, reducendus est hic effectus in ipsum, tanquam
except heaven to-be-traced-back is this effect into it as
in causam propriam. Sed quum sint plures coeli, adhuc
into the-cause proper but since there-be several heavens still
restat inquirere in quod, tanquam in propriam causam,
it-remains to-inquire into which as into the-proper cause
habeat reduci. Non in coelum lunae; quia quum
it-have to-be-traced-back not into the-heaven of-the-moon because since
organum suae virtutis sive influentiae sit ipsa luna; et ipsa
the-organ of-its power or influence be the-very moon and it
tantum declinet per zodiacum ab aequinoctiali versus polum
as-much decline along the-zodiac from the-equinoctial toward the-pole
antarcticum, quantum versus arcticum, ita elevasset ultra
antarctic as toward the-arctic so it-would-have-raised beyond

aequinoctialem, sicut citra; quod non est factum. Nec
the-equinoctial as on-this-side which not is done nor
valet dicere quod illa declinatio non potuit esse propter
does-it-avail to-say that that declination not could to-be on-account-of
magis appropinquare terrae per excentricitatem; quia si haec
more to-approach earth through eccentricity because if this
virtus elevandi fuisset in luna (quum agentia propinquiora
power of-raising had-been in the-moon since agents nearer
virtuosius operentur), magis elevasset ibi quam hic.
more-powerfully operate more it-would-have-raised there than here

V · THE STARRY HEAVEN, AND THE REPLIES

Nor can the planets or the ninth sphere be the cause; it is the starry heaven, whose stars differ in power, and those over the uncovered land raise it, by attraction like a magnet or by vapors. The rise is not circular because there was not enough matter; why on this side, men should not ask, for God's judgments are unsearchable, as Job's friend, the Psalmist, Isaiah, the Apostle, and the Creator himself say. The five arguments are then answered. The question was determined at Verona, in the chapel of St. Helena, before the clergy, under Can Grande, on Sunday, January 20, 1320.

§ XXI. Haec eadem ratio removet ab huiusmodi causalitate
§ XXI this same reason removes from such causality
omnes orbes planetarum; et quum primum mobile, scilicet
all the-orbs of-the-planets and since the-first movable namely
sphaera nona, sit uniforme per totum, et per consequens
the-sphere ninth be uniform through the-whole and by consequence
uniformiter per totum virtuatum, non est ratio quare
uniformly through the-whole endowed-with-power not there-is a-reason why
magis ab ista parte quam ab alia elevasset. Quum
more on this side than on another it-would-have-raised since

igitur non sint plura corpora mobilia, praeter coelum
therefore not there-be more bodies movable besides the-heaven
stellatum, quod est octava sphaera, necesse est hunc effectum
starry which is the-eighth sphere necessary it-is this effect
in ipsum reduci. Ad cuius evidentiam sciendum, quod
into it to-be-traced-back for whose clarification to-be-known that
licet coelum stellatum habeat unitatem in substantia, habet
although the-heaven starry have unity in substance it-has
tamen multiplicitatem in virtute; propter quod oportuit
yet multiplicity in power on-account-of which it-behooved
habere diversitatem illam in partibus quam videmus, ut per
to-have diversity that in the-parts which we-see that through
organa diversa virtutes diversas influeret; et qui haec
organs diverse powers diverse it-might-pour-in and who these-things
non advertit, extra limitem philosophiae se esse cognoscat.
not notices outside the-bounds of-philosophy himself to-be let-him-know
Videmus in eo differentiam in magnitudine stellarum et in
we-see in it difference in the-magnitude of-the-stars and in
luce, in figuris et imaginibus constellationum; quae quidem
light in the-figures and images of-the-constellations which indeed
differentiae frustra esse non possunt, ut manifestissimum esse
differences in-vain to-be not can as most-manifest to-be
debet omnibus in philosophia nutritis. Unde alia est virtus
ought to-all in philosophy nourished whence other is the-power
huius stellae et illius, et alia huius constellationis et illius; et
of-this star and of-that and other of-this constellation and of-that and
alia virtus stellarum quae sunt citra aequinoctialem, et
other the-power of-the-stars which are on-this-side-of the-equinoctial and
alia earum quae sunt ultra. Unde quum vultus inferiores sint
other of-those which are beyond whence since the-faces lower be
similes vultibus superioribus (ut Ptolemaeus dicit), consequens
like to-the-faces higher as Ptolemy says consequent

est, quod quum iste effectus non possit reduci nisi
it-is that since this effect not can to-be-traced-back except
in coelum stellatum, ut visum est, quod similitudo virtualis
into the-heaven starry as seen it-is that the-likeness virtual
agentis consistat in illa regione coeli quae operit hanc terram
of-the-agent consist in that region of-heaven which covers this earth
detectam. Et quum ista terra detecta extendatur a linea
uncovered and since this earth uncovered be-extended from the-line
aequinoctiali usque ad lineam quam describit polus zodiaci
equinoctial up to the-line which describes the-pole of-the-zodiac
circa polum mundi, ut superius dictum est; manifestum est,
around the-pole of-the-world as above said it-is manifest it-is
quod virtus elevans est illis stellis quae sunt in regione
that the-power raising is in-those stars which are in the-region
coeli istis duobus circulis contenta, sive elevet per modum
of-heaven by-these two circles contained whether it-raise by the-manner
attractionis, ut magnes attrahit ferrum, sive per modum
of-attraction as the-magnet attracts iron or by the-manner
pulsionis, generando vapores pellentes, ut in particularibus
of-pushing by-generating vapors pushing as in particular
montuositatibus. Sed nunc quaeritur: Quum illa regio coeli
mountainous-places but now it-is-asked since that region of-heaven
circulariter feratur, quare illa elevatio non fuit circularis; et
circularly be-borne why that elevation not was circular and
respondeo quod ideo non fuit circularis, quia materia non
I-answer that therefore not it-was circular because the-matter not
sufficiebat ad tantam elevationem. Sed tunc arguetur magis,
sufficed for so-great elevation but then it-will-be-argued more
et quaeritur: Quare potius elevatio hemisphaerialis fuit ab
and it-is-asked why rather the-elevation hemispherical was from
ista parte quam ab alia; et ad hoc est dicendum, sicut dicit
this side than from another and to this it-is to-be-said as says

Philosophus in secundo de Coelo, quum quaerit quare coelum
the-Philosopher in the-second on Heaven when he-asks why the-heaven
movetur ab oriente in occidentem et non e converso;
is-moved from east to west and not from the-converse
ibi enim dicit, quod consimiles quaestiones vel a multa
there for he-says that similar questions either from much
stultitia vel a multa praesumptione procedunt, propterea
folly or from much presumption proceed for-this-reason
quod sunt supra intellectum nostrum. Et ideo dicendum
that they-are above intellect our and therefore to-be-said
ad hanc quaestionem, quod ille dispensator Deus gloriosus,
to this question that that dispenser God glorious
qui dispensavit de situ polorum, de situ centri
who disposed about the-situation of-the-poles about the-situation of-the-center
mundi, de distantia ultimae circumferentiae universi a
of-the-world about the-distance of-the-last circumference of-the-universe from
centro eius, et de aliis consimilibus, haec fecit tamquam
the-center its and about other similar-things these-things did as
melius sicut et illa. Unde quum dixit: 'Congregentur aquae
better as also those whence when he-said let-be-gathered the-waters
in locum unum, et appareat arida,' simul et virtuatum
into place one and let-appear the-dry at-once also endowed-with-power
est coelum ad agendum, et terra potentiata ad patiendum.
was heaven for acting and earth made-potent for suffering
§ XXII. Desinant ergo, desinant homines quaerere quae
§ XXII let-cease therefore let-cease men to-seek the-things-which
supra eos sunt, et quaerant usque quo possunt, ut
above them are and let-them-seek as-far as they-can that
trahant se ad immortalia et divina pro posse,
they-may-draw themselves to the-immortal and divine according-to ability
ac maiora se relinquant. Audiant amicum
and the-greater-things than-themselves let-them-leave let-them-hear the-friend

Iob dicentem: 'Numquid vestigia Dei comprehendes, et
of-Job saying surely-not the-footprints of-God will-you-comprehend and
Omnipotentem usque ad perfectionem reperies?' Audiant
the-Almighty up to perfection will-you-find let-them-hear
Psalmistam dicentem: 'Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex
the-Psalmist saying wonderful made is knowledge your from
me: confortata est, et non potero ad eam.' Audiant
me strengthened it-is and not I-shall-be-able to it let-them-hear
Isaiam dicentem: 'Quam distant coeli a terra, tantum
Isaiah saying as-far-as are-distant the-heavens from earth so-far
distant viae meae a viis vestris.' Loquebatur equidem in
are-distant ways my from ways your he-was-speaking indeed in
persona Dei ad hominem. Audiant vocem Apostoli ad
the-person of-God to man let-them-hear the-voice of-the-Apostle to
Romanos: 'O altitudo divitiarum scientiae et sapientiae
the-Romans O depth of-the-riches of-the-knowledge and wisdom
Dei quam incomprehensibilia iudicia eius, et investigabiles
of-God how incomprehensible the-judgments his and unsearchable
viae eius!' Et denique audiant propriam Creatoris vocem
the-ways his and finally let-them-hear own of-the-Creator voice
dicentis: 'Quo ego vado, vos non potestis venire.' Et haec
saying where I go you not can to-come and these-things
sufficiant ad inquisitionem intentae veritatis.
let-suffice for the-inquiry of-the-intended truth

§ XXIII. His visis, facile est solvere ad argumenta quae
§ XXIII these-things seen easy it-is to-reply to the-arguments which
superius contra fiebant; quod quidem quinto proponebatur
above against were-made which indeed fifthly was-proposed
faciendum. Quum igitur dicebatur: Duarum circumferentiarum
to-be-done when therefore it-was-said of-two circumferences
inaequaliter a se distantium impossibile est idem
unequally from each-other distant impossible it-is the-same

esse centrum; dico quod verum est, si circumferentiae
to-be the-center I-say that true it-is if the-circumferences
sunt regulares sine gibbo vel gibbis. Et quum dicitur in
are regular without hump or humps and when it-is-said in
minori quod circumferentia aquae et circumferentia terrae
the-minor that the-circumference of-water and the-circumference of-earth
sunt huiusmodi, dico quod non est verum, nisi per
are such I-say that not it-is true except through
gibbum qui est in terra; et ideo ratio non procedit.
the-hump which is in earth and therefore the-reason not proceeds
Ad secundum, quum dicebatur: Nobiliori corpori debetur
to the-second when it-was-said to-the-nobler body is-owed
nobilior locus, dico quod verum est secundum propriam
a-nobler place I-say that true it-is according-to its-own
naturam; et concedo minorem; sed quum concluditur quod
nature and I-grant the-minor but when it-is-concluded that
ideo aqua debet esse in altiori loco, dico quod verum est
therefore water ought to-be in a-higher place I-say that true it-is
secundum propriam naturam utriusque corporis; sed per
according-to the-proper nature of-each body but through
supereminentem causam (ut superius dictum est) accidit in
a-surpassing cause as above said it-is it-happens in
hac parte terram esse superiorem; et sic ratio deficiebat in
this part earth to-be higher and thus the-reason failed in
prima propositione. Ad tertium, quum dicitur: Omnis opinio
the-first proposition to the-third when it-is-said every opinion
quae contradicit sensui est mala opinio, dico quod ista ratio
which contradicts sense is a-bad opinion I-say that this reason
procedit ex falsa imaginatione. Imaginantur enim nautae,
proceeds from false imagination imagine for the-sailors
quod ideo non videant terram in pelago existentes de
that therefore not they-see the-earth at sea being from

navi, quia mare sit altius quam ipsa terra; sed hoc non
the-ship because the-sea be higher than the-very earth but this not
est; immo esset contrarium, magis enim viderent. Sed
is nay it-would-be the-contrary more for they-would-see but
est hoc quia frangitur radius rectus rei visibilis inter
it-is this because is-broken the-ray straight of-the-thing visible between
rem et oculum, a convexo aquae; nam quum aquam
the-thing and the-eye by the-convexity of-water for since water
formam rotundam habere oporteat ubique circa centrum,
form round to-have it-behoove everywhere around the-center
necesse est in aliqua distantia ipsam efficere obstantiam
necessary it-is at some distance it to-make an-obstruction
alicuius convexi. Ad quartum, quum arguebatur: Si terra non
of-some convexity to the-fourth when it-was-argued if earth not
esset inferior etc.; dico quod illa ratio fundatur in falso; et
were lower etc I-say that that reason is-founded on the-false and
ideo nihil est. Credunt enim vulgares et physicorum
therefore nothing it-is believe for the-common-people and of-physical
documentorum ignari, quod aqua ascendat ad cacumina
teachings ignorant that water ascend to the-summits
montium, et etiam ad locum fontium in forma aquae;
of-the-mountains and even to the-place of-the-fountains in the-form of-water
sed istud est valde puerile, nam aquae generantur ibi (ut
but this is very childish for waters are-generated there as
per Philosophum patet in Meteoris suis), ascendente materia
through the-Philosopher is-plain in Meteors his ascending matter
in forma vaporis. Ad quintum, quum dicitur quod aqua est
in the-form of-vapor to the-fifth when it-is-said that water is
corpus imitabile orbis lunae, et per hoc concluditur quod
a-body imitative of-the-orb of-the-moon and by this it-is-concluded that
debeat esse excentrica, quum orbis lunae sit excentricus;
it-ought to-be eccentric since the-orb of-the-moon be eccentric

dico quod ista ratio non habet necessitatem; quia licet
I-say that this reason not has necessity because although
unum adimitetur aliud in uno, non propter hoc est
one imitate another in one not on-account-of this it-is
necesse quod imitetur in omnibus. Videmus ignem imitari
necessary that it-imitate in all-things we-see fire to-imitate
circulationem coeli, et tamen non imitatur ipsum in non
the-circling of-heaven and yet not it-imitates it in not
moveri recte, nec in non habere contrarium suae qualitati;
being-moved straight nor in not having a-contrary to-its quality
et ideo ratio non procedit. Et sic ad argumenta.
and therefore the-reason not proceeds and thus to the-arguments
Sic igitur determinatur determinatio et tractatus de forma
thus therefore is-determined the-determination and treatise about the-form
et situ duorum elementorum, ut superius propositum fuit.
and situation of-the-two elements as above proposed it-was
§ XXIV. Determinata est haec philosophia dominante
§ XXIV determined was this philosophy ruling
invicto Domino, domino Kane Grandi de Scala pro
unconquered Lord lord Can Grande della Scala for
Imperio sacrosancto Romano, per me Dantem Alagherium,
the-Empire most-holy Roman by me Dante Alighieri
philosophorum minimum, in inclyta urbe Verona, in sacello
of-philosophers the-least in the-renowned city Verona in the-chapel
Helenae gloriosae, coram universo clero Veronensi, praeter
of-Helena glorious before the-whole clergy of-Verona besides
quosdam qui, nimia caritate ardentes, aliorum rogamina non
certain-ones who with-too-much charity burning of-others the-requests not
admittunt, et per humilitatis virtutem Spiritus Sancti pauperes,
admit and by of-humility the-virtue of-the-Spirit Holy poor-ones
ne aliorum excellentiam probare videantur, sermonibus eorum
lest of-others the-excellence to-approve they-seem the-discourses of-them

interesse refugiunt. Et hoc factum est in anno a nativitate
to-attend shun and this done was in the-year from the-nativity
Domini nostri Iesu Christi millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo, in
of-the-Lord our Jesus Christ one-thousand three-hundred twentieth on
die Solis, quem praefatus noster Salvator per gloriosam
the-day of-the-Sun which the-aforesaid our Savior through glorious
suam nativitatem, ac per admirabilem suam resurrectionem
his nativity and through wonderful his resurrection
nobis innuit venerandum; qui quidem dies fuit septimus a
to-us has-indicated as-to-be-venerated which indeed day was the-seventh from
Ianuariis idibus, et decimus tertius ante kalendas Februarias.
the-January ides and tenth third before the-kalends of-February

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