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F According to early commentators, he was killed in 1289 by a member of the Guelf Bostoli of Arezzo, but other sources report that he died in 1291 while fighting to regain control of his family lands in the Casentino.

Antonio Illiano

Federigo Tignoso

A relatively obscure figure who probably lived in the first part of the thirteenth century. A member of the Tignosi of Rimini, although said to have lived in Bertinoro, he was renowned for his wealth and generosity, as Guido del Duca claims in his praise of him and of other worthy figures on the second terrace of Purgatory (*Purg.* 14.106).

Paul Colilli

Feltro

City in northeastern Italy whose modern-day name is Feltre, referred to prophetically by Cunizza da Romano in *Par.* 9.52-53. In *Inf.* 1.105, the phrase, *sua nazione sarà tra feltro e feltro* ("his birth will be between felt and felt") is used to refer prophetically to the birth of the Veltro, or "greyhound," a figure Dante believes will deliver Italy from corruption and evil. Many different interpretations of the line—depending, in a large part, upon the broader problem of the identification of the Veltro—have been proposed. For some, the line, read as *tra Feltro e Feltro* ("between Feltro and Feltro"), is interpreted as specifying the area in which the Veltro will be born. Most take the line as referring to the cities of Feltre and Montefeltro (in which case the Veltro would be identified with Cangrande or with Benedict XI); although, if the Veltro is identified with Uguccone della Faggiuola, San Leo Feltrio and Macerata Feltria may be intended. For others, the fabric, felt, is indicated, suggesting that the Veltro will be of humble origins, or that he will be a friar. Other interpretations include: a link with the Tartars, whose leaders were buried wrapped in felt; an indication that the Veltro will be born under a favorable constellation; a reference to the felt-lined urn used, in the communes, for the voting-in of magistrates; or an allusion to the traditional felt caps of Castor and Pollux, the twins of the sign of Gemini. In this case the Veltro would be identified with Dante himself, who was born under this sign, as he recalls in *Par.* 22.114.

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Claire Honess

Ferdinand IV of Castile

Ferdinando, king of Castile and Leon (1295-1312). One of the negligent and irresponsible rulers referred to by the Eagle in the Heaven of Jupiter, blamed for his luxury and effeminacy (*Par.* 19.125). He is in office at the time that the poem's action is conceived to take place (1300).

R. A. Malogi

Fiesole

Etruscan city, situated on a hill close to Florence. More important, culturally and commercially, than its neighbor until the tenth century, its fortunes fell as those of Florence rose, culminating in the city's destruction at the hands of the Florentines in 1125.

Dante is concerned, above all, with the legendary history of the city, which attributed the foundation of Fiesole to Atlas, whose son Dardanus had founded Troy and thus set in motion the series of events which brought Aeneas to Italy to found the Roman Empire. According to these legends Catiline had held out against the Romans in Fiesole after his conspiracy against Cicero, and traditionally, it was to avenge this act that Julius Caesar had ordered the destruction of Fiesole, and the construction of a new city—Florence, the *bellissima e famosissima figlia di Roma* ("most beautiful and famous daughter of Rome," *Conv.* 1.3.4)—which was peopled by a mixture of Fiesolans and Romans.

It is to these legends that Cacciaguada alludes in *Par.* 15.125-126 in his depiction of the good

Florentine mother of his day, who *giungesse con la sua famiglia / d'i Troiani, di Fiesole e di Roma* ("told with her household tales of the Trojans, of Fiesole, and of Rome"). Here the passing on of civic history is presented as an important element of good citizenship.

In *Par.* 16.121-122 Cacciaguada refers to immigration to Florence from Fiesole—*Già era 'l Caponsacco [...] / disceso giù da Fiesole* ("Already Caponsacco had come down from Fiesole")—while in the encounter with Brunetto Latini, the factional conflicts in Florence are seen as deriving from the Fiesolan element within the city, and from the fact that Florence's Roman inheritance no longer serves as a model for its citizens. The Florentines are thus defined as *quello ingrato popolo maligno / che discese di Fiesole ab antico* ("that ungrateful, malicious people who came down from Fiesole of old," *Inf.* 15.61-62), and as *le bestie fiesolane* ("the Fiesolan beasts," *Inf.* 15.73), while Dante is *la semente sante / di que' Roman che vi rimaser quando / fu fatto il nido di malizia tanta* ("the holy seed of the Romans who remained there when that nest of so much malice was built," *Inf.* 15.76-78).

The Fiesolan support for Catiline is referred to in *Par.* 6.53-54, when Justinian remarks that the imperial eagle *a quel colle / sotto 'l qual tu nascesti parve amaro* ("to that hill under which you were born [...] seemed bitter"); and in *Epist.* 6.24 the *miserrima Fesulanorum propago* ("most wretched offshoot of Fiesole"), which had opposed Rome at the time of Catiline, is seen as rebelling once more against the empire, this time in its resistance to Henry VII.

Claire Honess

Figuralism

In his groundbreaking essay "Figura" (1939), Erich Auerbach adopted the term "figuralism" in order to clearly distinguish Dante's realistic mode of representation in the *Commedia* from other modes of allegory and symbolism that were popular during the Middle Ages. Although like other modes it is used to signify one thing by another, figuralism always has to do with concrete, historical realities, not with abstractions, personifications, or mere analogical correspondences to an invisible, purely spiritual (Neoplatonic) universe. Modeled on the Bible, the characters and events represented by the method of figuralism are

recorded.

In figural representation in the Bible, historical realities are understood to be intrinsically related to each other by special correspondences. Specifically, persons and events of the Old Testament are taken to signify persons and events in the New Testament. Both members of the figural relation are equally real and historical, but the New Testament personality or event is considered to be the "fulfillment" of the corresponding "figure" in the Old Testament.

To the extent that in the figural relation one thing is signified by another, it can be called "allegorical" in a broad sense. This usage is in fact current in the literature of and on "biblical allegory" (see De Lubac). Nevertheless, the figural relations of prefiguration and fulfillment obtaining between what are reputedly real historical facts and individuals cannot be produced by allegory as a merely rhetorical technique. An allegory may refer to what is no more than a construction of figurative language, or it may be an elaborate metaphor for something more abstract or merely mythical or fictitious. In figural relations, on the other hand, it is not language but the realities themselves that signify, and what they signify is the reality in which they will ultimately be fulfilled and have their final meaning revealed.

This makes the figure an essentially relational reality. When presented as figures, personages or events are in specific relations and have determinate significances. For instance, Moses receiving the Law on Mount Sinai stands as a figure of Christ promulgating his new commandment in the Sermon on the Mount. Both individuals are taken as fully historical, but the meaning of each is understood as determined by the other. The figure of Moses handing down the Law to the Jews prepares the way for understanding the significance of Jesus' new teaching and his law of love. At the same time, the full significance of Moses is disclosed only retrospectively, when the Christian gospel appears as the fulfillment of the Old Testament Law. In a sense special to figuralism, Moses represents Christ in a preliminary, veiled, and incomplete form, while Christ's full historical reality and significance are achieved through his fulfilling the role of a new Moses.

In general, the figures of the Old Testament all point to or signify the central figure of the New Testament—namely, Christ—and other person

F and things (like Rahab as a figure for the Church) related to him. This system of biblical figuralism is known alternatively as "typology," and the Old Testament figure is termed the "type," while its fulfillment in the New Testament goes by the name of "antitype." Abraham's setting about to sacrifice his only son, Isaac, who carries for his father the wood up the mountain of Moriah (recounted in Gen. 12), is a type for the sacrifice by God the Father of his only-begotten Son, who bears his wooden cross up Mount Calvary. Even Adam, in his created perfection, is a type or figure of Christ, the New Adam (1 Cor. 15:47), who has returned to pay the outstanding debt of the old one.

In the strict sense, then, figuralism concerns the relation of the Old Testament to the New. Its sources are in the Gospel of Matthew and St. Paul's interpretations of Old Testament events as being "types or examples for us." In what became a touchstone text for the Middle Ages and specifically for Dante, Paul interpreted the Exodus figurally as a type for the pilgrimage of the Church, and the saving of the Hebrews in the Red Sea served as a figure of baptism (1 Cor. 10:1-11). Paul similarly interpreted the two sons of Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, as figures for the synagogue and the Church: the one born to Abraham's slave, Hagar, and the other to his wife, Sarah, prefigure, respectively, the old covenant of bondage to the Law and the new covenant of freedom offered to the children of God, heirs to the kingdom of Heaven (Gal. 4:21-31). Consistently, Paul saw in Jewish rites and religion "a shadow of things to come" (Col. 2:17)—that is, a figure of Christ and the Christian liberty that frees from the Law through grace. "The old law is a figure of the new law" (*Lex vetus figura est novae legis*, Heb. 7:19).

The early Church fathers followed Paul's lead in interpreting the Old Testament figurally, but at the same time they mixed figural interpretation with forms of interpretation based on various sorts of allegory. Origen, in particular, while not unimportant to the development of the figural interpretation of the historical realities of Scripture, tended to favor a more abstractly spiritual- or moral-allegorical method of exegesis in which the supposedly historical contents of Scripture were interpreted as signifying inner states of the soul or philosophical doctrines. In St. Augustine, however, these divergent exegetical tendencies are harmonized by according a clear priority to historical-figural—that is, real-prophetic—inter-

pretation. In addition to relying on the Pauline source texts to validate figural interpretation, Augustine finds the method to be authorized by John 5:46, in which Christ says, "If you had believed Moses, you would have believed me, for he wrote of me" (see *City of God* 20.28). Accordingly, the Pentateuch, of which Moses was considered to be the author, and by extension the whole of the Old Testament, was held to be "about Christ"; that is, everything in it was held to signify him, in his various relations, figurally.

From such early interpretive practices emerged the fourfold method of scriptural exegesis that became canonical in the Middle Ages and which Dante outlines in *Conv.* 2.1, expressly applying it to the interpretation of his poem in *Epist.* 13.20-25 (assuming he wrote it). The method makes room for a moral-allegorical level of meaning alongside the literal-historical and strictly figural or typological meaning, and it includes as well an anagogical meaning by which history prefigures what is beyond history—the kingdom to come. The fourfold method of exegesis thus integrates figural with allegorical interpretation broadly considered, and this integration is especially suited to and evident in Dante's adaptation of these exegetical methods to his poetic project.

There is, however, a serious obstacle to taking Dante's poem as figural in the sense that is defined by the Bible and its exegesis. For Dante emphasizes that what he sees is damnation or salvation realized, not just prefigured. It is the state of souls in eternity (*status animarum post mortem*, *Epist.* 13.24) and not just a figure for this. Dante's souls do not signify anything beyond themselves, and nothing is going to come after to fulfill them. However, a qualification is necessary here, for the souls will be reunited with their bodies after the Last Judgment, and their state will then be perfected (*Inf.* 6.103-111; *Purg.* 1.73-75; and *Par.* 14.37-66). Nevertheless, this "perfecting" still does not involve a relation between two historical entities, but only the more intense realization of an existence itself already beyond history. The main point about the souls Dante sees in the afterlife is that they already have their fulfillment in themselves, and this is what so radically distinguishes them from all this-worldly, historical beings.

In order to understand the *Commedia* as basically figural, we need to consider the earthly existences of the individuals that Dante encounters in the otherworld. It is this historical life that is the

figure of what Dante sees fulfilled in the afterlife. The historical life is not directly represented by Dante in his encounter with the souls in the afterlife but is generally related by the characters themselves or, at any rate, it "shows through" as the kind of life—in its decisive act or crucial moment—that would inevitably lead to such a state in eternity as Dante does see and represent. On this basis, if there is to be a figural connection, it must generally be established backward to the earthly existence that, while not necessarily represented in the poem, in fact constitutes the basis for Dante's representations of eternity. In other words, Dante indirectly represents human character as it was on earth, and this representation is the figure of what is fulfilled in the afterlife of Dante's poem.

This relation to historical reality is evident in the example on which Auerbach's exposition turns—namely, the historical Cato as figure of what he is to become in the afterlife. The pagan Cato, known to Dante from tradition for his unyielding integrity, is recognizable in the venerable, albeit rigid and unyielding, solitary old man (*veglio solo*) astonishingly revealed on the shore of Purgatory as its guardian. The historical Cato of Utica valued political freedom above his own life—which he himself took in order to avoid outliving the free Roman republic—making him an apt prefiguration of the watchman over Christian freedom that he becomes in the realm of the afterlife. Moreover, as a guardian of the Law, Cato shows up in the guise of a pagan Moses, as is also hinted at in his transfigured face. This sort of allusion to an Old Testament figure who parallels the figure evoked from ancient pagan history suggests that Dante's procedure constitutes an extension of figuralism from its originally biblical application to the wider field of universal history. Just as Christian interpreters had read the Old Testament, so Dante reads ancient history figurally.

Dante's representations, then, can be of figures taken from universal history. Yet still, the fulfillment of these figures seems not to be historical and hence not to fit exactly the definition of figuralism. For the souls as Dante sees them are in eternity. Here a somewhat more complicated model than one based simply on the relation between the Old and the New Testaments, which defines typology or figuralism in the strictest sense, becomes necessary.

The system of figural correspondences in the Bible itself was indeed not limited solely to rela-

tions between the Old Testament and the New, but could be extended further from the New Testament to subsequent history in such a way that events of Christ's life were taken to signify what was to happen in the age of the Church. Jesus' miracles—for example, the feeding of the five thousand—came to be read as figures of the sacraments, and his parables of the kingdom of Heaven were taken as prophecies of the establishment of the Church on Earth. Martha and Mary, themselves prefigured by the Old Testament sisters Leah and Rachel, were widely held to be figures, respectively, of the active and contemplative lives and callings of Christians. Peter's healing of a paralyzed man by the gate of the temple, as recounted in Acts 3, was read as a figure of baptism.

But a further step is nevertheless necessary to make Dante's new use of figuralism in representing the afterlife comprehensible in terms of its biblical precedent. Indeed, biblical figuralism, too turns out to have a further, ultrahistorical dimension, to the extent that the historical events of the New Testament themselves figure something to be realized only at the end of time, in the *eschaton*. Christ incarnate and his actions on Earth prefigure what will be consummated at his Second Coming for all eternity. This is the "anagogical" sense in which Scripture represents what in fact exceeds history in fulfilling it.

This reference to what may be beyond history does not weaken the historical specificity—the reality of both figure and fulfillment—of figuralism, but rather raises it to another level. For the consummation of history in eternity reveals the final truth of history: making it even more real than historical reality itself. Dante's representation of the eternal states of souls thus comprehends the historical reality while projecting it into the suprahistorical reality of an eschatological existence where history is perfected and fulfilled.

Dante's realized eschatology, his representing the eternal states of souls in the shape of historical individuals, tends to blur the lines between figure and fulfillment, but in this it is actual consonant with the Christian theology of the Christ event. For the Resurrection of Christ is already the fulfillment of history, the *eschaton*; it is paradoxically the end of history within history, though its full implications are still to be worked out by the further development and consummation for all that is definitively achieved already in Christ. At this extent, the relation of figure and fulfillment

between the New Testament and subsequent history can even be reversed. All fullness is in Christ and the Christ event, of which subsequent Christian history is a "postfiguration."

Chief examples of the *Commedia's* figurationalism, taken by Auerbach and other interpreters as integral to the poet's method of representing the other world throughout the poem, are Virgil and Beatrice. For centuries, failure to clearly recognize the difference between figural, or real-prophetic, and other forms of allegorical representation, resulted in treating Virgil as only an allegory of Reason, rather than as a concrete, historical individual. As a figure, however, it is precisely the historical Virgil that signifies, prefiguring by his earthly life the Virgil in Limbo, who is likewise positioned as a concretely real existence. Virgil the prophet of empire and the Roman poet who leads the likes of Statius to Christian salvation, prefigures the Virgil who guides Dante through the realm of the afterlife, just as the historical Rome prefigures the kingdom of God, the Rome in which Christ is a Roman (*Purg.* 32.102). The significance of Virgil in God's providential plan is thus represented as fulfilled in eternity, without in any way diminishing Virgil's historical reality, but rather precisely on that historical basis.

As for Beatrice, similar debates have stretched over centuries, attempting to resolve the question of her identity—as either a Florentine girl or an allegory for theology—one way or the other. But Dante criticism that follows him, is realism. And this certainly deserves the recognition it has achieved as an aspect of Dante's vision. But Dante's representations of historical reality were a figure of what was more real than "reality." Unlike *figura Christi* for Dante—brings to the highest imaginable consummation his real, historical relation to her as the object of his total love and devotion.

The figurational relation between two concrete realities which makes one element (whether earlier or later) the figure for the other must not be understood as imposed externally by an arbitrary act of interpretation. In the language of medieval exegesis, figurational significances are *innatae* rather than *illatae*, not inferential but inherent in the things themselves. These are significances that history proves to realize and reveal. The figure of Joshua's leading the Israelites over Jordan into the promised land, for example, is not simply comparative or analogous to Christ's leading humanity out of sin into salvation but rather intrinsically related to this later, culminating event. Although the figure is a real event in and for itself, its deepest reality, what it truly is and means, is revealed and realized only through the figurational relation to the Creator and Lord of history, who alone determines what history definitively is and means. Indeed, figurational presupposes a conception of history as guided teleologically, as *intended* in accordance with a providential plan that gives specific significance to each individual and event by reference to the final end of all things. Such significance can be disclosed only by revelation, in which history's final meaning is known—a conception that is alien to modern views of history, which are based rather on chronological and causal connections in a continuum of events without any known end.

The importance for Dante studies of figurationalism, generally presumed to be fundamental to the composition of the *Commedia*, resides in its embodying what is ultimately a prophetic mode of writing that approximates the kind of writing employed in the Bible and even more fundamentally in authoring history, of which the Bible discloses the meaning. The keynote for Auerbach's theory of "figura," as well as for the great part of Dante criticism that follows him, is realism. In the term "figurationalism" is that Dante's representation of eternity. Indeed, the final insight encapsulated in the *Commedia* purport to reveal in a definitive perspective, and specific actualities, the full historical meaning and reality of individuals and events.

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Flora

A minor work in the Italian vernacular attributed to Dante, *Il Fiore* ("The Flower") is a series of 232 sonnets that summarize the narrative of the Roman *de la rose*, the masterpiece of Old French allegor-

ical literature. Contained in ms. H 438 of the Biblioteca Interuniversitaria of Montpellier, the poem was published for the first time in 1881 by its discoverer, Fernand Castets. This same manuscript also has a section containing the *Detto d'Amore* (Ashb. 1334, now located in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence). The *Detto d'Amore* likewise attempts to adapt the *Rose*, in a much more condensed manner and with a very different metric form.

The first part of the *Rose* composed by Guillaume de Lorris, which is idealistic and courtly, had already served as a model for Brunetto Latini's rhyming couplets of seven-syllable lines written in France at the beginning of the 1260s. The *Detto d'Amore* and the *Fiore* were composed in Florence in the 1280s and 1290s, and are true remakings of the *Rose* (to which Jean de Meun had by then added his own continuation emphasizing scholastic learning).

The question of Dante's authorship of the two works, particularly the *Fiore*, rests on arguments that have remained essentially the same since the time of Castets. The most important evidence of authenticity is provided by the internal signature: the author twice identifies himself as Durante, the diminutive of which is "Dante" (82.9 and 202.14). Even if the second instance occurs in a completely comical and insignificant context, the first instance corresponds to Jean de Meun's citation of Guillaume de Lorris in a part of the *Rose* that is primary for the identification of the two authors. "Dante" is thus the name of the first-person narrator, but also the name of the poet's author. Additional evidence appears in the first quartet of sonnet 97, where the poet employs the evangelic motif of the wolf disguised as a sheep (which reappears in the *Commedia*). The parallel reference to Fraile Alberto in two of the *Fiore's* sonnets (88.13 and 130.4) and in Dante's sonnet "Messere Brunetto, questa pulzelle" (*Rime* 99.10) suggests a common origin for these two texts. Further evidence of Dante's authorship is the recollection of the violent death of Siger of Brabant (92.9-11), who will appear in *Par.* 10.133-138. In the *Fiore*, the Averroist philosopher and adversary of St. Thomas is exalted for his futile battle against the overwhelming power of Scholastic logic. In *Paradiso*, he is praised by St. Thomas himself for the significant way in which his philosophical truth coincided with theological truth.

I Israel

"Israel" is the name given in Gen. 32:27-28 to Jacob, son of Isaac son of Abraham, in view of his becoming father of the progenitors of the twelve tribes of the people known collectively by this name. Dante uses the name "Israel" for Jacob in *Inf.* 4.59, and for the whole Jewish people (*quello popolo d'Israel*) in *Conv.* 2.5.1; *DVE* 1.7.8; *Epist.* 7.19 and 29 and 13.21; and *Mon.* 1.8.3, 1.14.9, 2.7.5, and 8. Dante's references typically reflect the view of the Jews as blind to salvation, even though God had spoken to them through their prophets (*Conv.* 2.5.1-2). In this respect Dante is in line with traditions dominant in the Middle Ages that represented Israel as stubbornly unbelieving in Christ the Messiah. And yet, Israel has symbolic value in the Bible as the promised land—not only the land promised the Jews, but the true and final spiritual home of all human beings. Accordingly, in the Middle Ages Israel was also the symbolic place of redemption, the holy land, as well as the figure of the chosen souls destined for eternal life. This connotation of the name "Israel" as the people and place of promise is conveyed by Dante especially in a phrase (*In exitu Israel de Aegypto*) he quotes from the Psalms on three different occasions, in *Purg.* 2.46, *Conv.* 2.1.6, and *Epist.* 13.21.

In *Purg.* 2.46, Dante quotes *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, the first verse or "incipit" of Psalm 113 in the Vulgate (= 114 + 115 in the Hebrew and Protestant Bibles), as a way of keying the whole of the second *cantica* in a special way to the Exodus paradigm. Meaning "When Israel went out from Egypt," the verse is sung by the souls as they arrive at the shore of the mountain of Purgatory, ferried by an angel over the sea covering the Southern Hemisphere. Dante quotes only the opening verse but explains that all the souls "were singing all together with one voice, with as much of that psalm as is written thereafter" (*cantavan tutti insieme ad una voce / con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scripto*). The Latinism—*scripto* instead of the Italian *scritto*—calls attention to the fact that this writing is "scriptural." The singing in unison may allude to choral chanting of the psalm in the liturgy. Dante's explanation may also be understood as spelling out a convention whereby psalms were cited by their incipits only, even when the psalm in its entirety was meant—as seems to be the case, for example, in the gospels with Jesus' citation from the Cross of Psalm 22: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Like Psalm 22,

Psalm 113 as a whole celebrates the passage from death to life by grace of the saving act of God, as becomes more explicit in its concluding verses: "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence, but we who live bless the Lord."

The psalm's theme literally is the Exodus, the successful flight of the Hebrews from slavery in Egypt, their passing through the Red Sea (which the psalm conflates with their crossing over the Jordan into the promised land, as recounted in Joshua 3) by the miraculous intervention of God—the founding event of early Israelite, Mosaic religion. The souls' leaving behind the perils of the world and reaching Purgatory, "Israel"—that is, the promised land of Christian salvation—is thereby understood to be a fulfillment of what had been prefigured by the Exodus of the people of Israel from Egypt. In accordance, moreover, with the traditional meaning of the Exodus as prefiguring the Christian's escape from death and passage to resurrected, glorified life, Dante's emergence from Hell and a condition of sin to a state of grace is presented in this light allegorically as an Exodus. As such, the verse becomes a *leitmotif* for Dante's redemptive, paschal poem in its entirety, as brought to focus in the passage to Purgatory set at dawn on Easter morning, 1300. Dante refers to his journey as an Exodus again in a number of places, signally in *Par.* 25.55-56.

Dante takes the Exodus, the most canonical of stories of return from exile, as the paradigm also for his method of interpreting scripture and, by extension, of building spiritual meaning into his own *poema sacro*. He employs the psalm, citing its incipit, as a key illustration in detailed expositions of scriptural allegory, the so-called allegory of the theologians, in *Conv.* 2.1.6-7 and the Letter to Cangrande (*Epist.* 13.20-25). The Exodus event, in fact, serves ideally to illustrate the four different levels of meaning ascribed to texts by the four-fold method of scriptural exegesis that had become canonical in the Middle Ages and that Dante himself adopts. On the first level, the literal, this text designates a historical event: Moses' leading the Israelites out of Egypt, the whole history of which is told in the book of Exodus. Next, the typological level of significance relates this event in Old Testament history to the New Testament, and specifically to its central event, Christ's redemption of humanity. This event, furthermore, has an inner, moral dimension: the freeing of the individual soul from sin, which constitutes the third

level of significance of the Exodus event, its so-called tropological or moral sense. Finally, the Exodus signifies an exit of Christian souls from the corruptible world into eternal glory, and this is its analogical sense.

The meaning of the Exodus was firmly established in the exegetical tradition dedicated to this psalm verse, and more broadly in commentary on the book of Exodus, as a prefiguration of the events of Easter—Christ's resurrection from death, and beyond that, the general resurrection. St. Augustine in his sermons on this psalm says, "When we hear in the psalm, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, [etc.], let us not think of past things narrated to us but rather of things future being taught: for those miracles in that people were and indeed are, but not without bearing signification of future things (*sed non sine futurorum significatione gerebantur*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 113.1). According to Peter Lombard, "These miracles are figures of the spiritual mysteries of Christ and the Church, as exposition of the psalm makes clear" (*In psalmis* 113). Hugh of St.-Cher defines the psalm as a sign of victory (*signum victoriae*).

Beyond its role in allegorical exegesis of the Bible, the verse has a life in the church liturgy. As dictated by the Roman Breviary, the psalm is sung regularly—that is, as part of the Ordinary, at Vespers on Sunday. Despite considerable variation, especially of psalms for the Proper (those that change day by day according to the seasons and feasts), it has a prominent role in the Easter liturgy. Furthermore, in the Middle Ages it was sung in the Office of the Dead, accompanying the transport of the deceased to their final resting place, symbolized thereby as an Exodus to the promised land of the afterlife. Certainly its familiarity to Dante in these contexts, as well as its already achieved exemplary status in exegetical tradition, impressed it on his mind and contributed to its becoming a keystone for his reflection.

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William Frank

Italian Language

When Dante speaks of the Italian language, he means the Italian vernacular (*lo volgare italiano* *Conv.* 1.6.8). The characterization of Italian as vernacular (*volgare*) is predicated on its being the language of the common people (*volgo*) and is intended to distinguish it from Latin, the language of the learned (*litterati*). The Italian vernacular is variously called *la lingua di si* ("the language of si," *VN* 25.5), *lo parlare italico* ("the Italian speech," *Conv.* 1.11.14), and *vulgaris Italiae* ("the vernacular of Italy," *DVE* 1.10.9); all these terms are synonymous. To understand the essence and evolution of the Italian language in Dante, one needs to comprehend his notion of the Italian vernacular with all its nuances and connotations.

Origin of the Italian Vernacular

Dante notes in the *De vulgari eloquentia* that the human discourse was created by God simultaneously with Adam himself, and that this God-given language was highly stable and fully developed from the outset, being lexically, syntactically, and phonetically very sound (*DVE* 1.6.4). He adds that the Adamic language was unchangeable and was passed on as such to all subsequent generations; and that this same language would still be spoken in his own time were it not for the Babelic confusion (*DVE* 1.6.4-5). The construction of the Tower of Babel led to the creation of numerous distinct languages, eliminating forever the linguistic uniformity and stability humankind had previously

Air
 One of the four sublunar elements in Aristotle's physics, air unites the primary qualities hot and wet. It is the second-lightest of the elements and therefore finds its proper place above the level of aqueous matter and below the level of fiery matter. Air rises or falls to this level on its own accord. Like the other three elements, air is mutable. If cooled it can be transformed from a hot-wet element into a cold-wet element. Air can, in other words, condense into water. The pure elements air and water are not identical with the air and water that we breathe and drink, but the behavior of our air and water are nonetheless to be understood in the same terms. Thus, as Dante points out in the *Questio de aqua et terra*, water is "generated" on mountains from the condensation of vapor—an aerial body (*Quest.* 83).

John Kleiner

Alberigo, Fra
 Member of the prominent Guelf Manfredi family of Faenza who were banished in 1274 by their long-standing rivals, the Accarisi. After repeated attempts to return, the Manfredi succeeded on November 13, 1280, with the treacherous aid of the Ghibelline Tebaldo dei Zambrasi, *ch'apri Faenza quando si dormia* ("who opened Faenza when it slept," *Inf.* 32.123). Though the dates of his birth and death are uncertain, according to references in the early commentaries, at an advanced age Alberigo entered the order of the Jovial Friars, constituted in Bologna in 1261 (*Inf.* 23.103-108). It is clear from the pilgrim's astonishment upon finding him in Hell that he was still alive in April 1300, the fictive date of the journey; he in fact executed a will in Ravenna in 1302 and seems to have died around 1307. Dante refers to Alberigo's son, Ugoino Bucciola, as a poet who chose not to write in his Romagna dialect (*DYE* 1.14.3).

Alberigo resides in Ptolomea, the third ring of the ninth circle of Hell reserved for traitors of guests (*Inf.* 33.109-150). On May 2, 1285, Alberigo had his cousin Manfredus de Manfredis and his son Albertigus killed during a banquet in his home, signaling the hired assassins with an order to bring the fruit. Records in the archives of Bologna suggest the web of economic and political interests that motivated the murder. Aware of the sizable inheritance due a young nephew and the political preeminence it would guarantee, in

1277 Alberigo required his cousin to legally recognize his role as guardian, a position Manfred apparently coveted for himself.

In *Inferno* Alberigo reveals startling information about Ptolomea (in one of the poet's most audacious departures from the canonical theology of his day): that certain of the souls it houses reside in Hell while their bodies continue to inhabit Earth. Though devils occupy human bodies in the Judeo-Christian folklore of the period, the idea is theologically suspect, at best. Alberigo provides support in the person of Branca d'Orta for what he terms the zone's "advantage" and the unorthodox doctrine it dramatizes.

Readers have speculated on the significance of the pilgrim's cold imperiousness to Alberigo, evident in the clever though deceitful bargain that he strikes with him and in his refusal to grant Alberigo's request that he alleviate his suffering. The poet's editorial comment on the pilgrim's refusal has elicited a fair amount of critical attention. The neatly expressed oxymoron *e cortesia fu lui essere villano* ("and it was courtesy to treat him boorishly," *Inf.* 33.150) reflects the ethics of Hell and the divine justice that engendered it, while also providing a formula (courtesy = villany) for the verbal irony whereby words connote their opposites, which is employed in the final cantos of the *Inferno*.

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Donna Howell

Albero da Siena

Mentioned by Grifolino (*Inf.* 29.109), who reports that the convinced Albero that he could teach him to fly. But when Grifolino failed to "make him Daedalus," Albero persuaded the bishop of Siena (his father, some say, his protector only, according to others) to burn Grifolino at the stake on a charge of heresy for having duped him.

R. Allen Shoof

Albert I

The son of Rudolph of Habsburg. Albert ruled as king of Germany from 1285 to 1308, at which time

he was assassinated by his nephew, John of Sweden. He was elected emperor in 1298 but was never crowned.

Albert I features prominently in Dante's blistering invective against Italy and Florence (*Purg.* 6.76-151). Inveighing against him in the pivotal apostrophe that opens *O Albero Tedesco* (97-117), Dante rebukes him for his neglect of Italy; calls for divine justice to strike his dynasty and to put fear in his successor (a likely allusion to the untimely death of Albert's son Rudolph in 1307 and to the emperor's own tragic demise the following year); points to his and his father's greedy involvement in German politics as the cause of the desolation of the "garden of the empire"; and laments him with a sarcastic invitation to come witness the extent of Italy's troubles. Another significant reference to Albert I appears in the Heaven of Jupiter, where Dante has the Eagle voice his disapproval of the emperor's invasion of Bohemia (*Par.* 19.115-119). In *Conv.* 4.3.6, he refers disparagingly to Albert as a non-Roman emperor, because he was never crowned in Rome.

Antonio Milano

Albert the Great

Albert of Cologne, known as Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), renowned theologian known in his day as "doctor universalis" for the staggering range of his knowledge monumentalized in the thirty-eight volumes of his *Opera omnia* (Paris: Bibliopolam, 1890-1899). St. Albert (*Albergo*) played a leading role in introducing Aristotle's thought in its full amplitude into the mainstream of philosophical thought and speculative theology in medieval Europe. He thereby gave significant impetus to the new thinking called Scholasticism that dominated the thirteenth century. This period is commonly seen as culminating in St. Thomas Aquinas, who studied with Albert, probably in Paris, where he taught from 1245 to 1248, and certainly back at Cologne, where he taught until 1254, before becoming provincial of the Dominican order in Germany and eventually bishop of Regensburg.

Beyond his connection with Thomas Aquinas, Albert had an originality of his own and an importance for Dante that has emerged in recent decades as preeminent that of the "angelic doctor" on many crucial points. Bruno Nardi has demonstrated that passages in Dante previously thought to be based on the system of Aquinas probably depend instead

directly on works of Albert. In particular, the Neoplatonic cast of Dante's metaphysical assumptions derives more from Albert than Aquinas. This can be seen with regard to the doctrines of the nature and origin of the soul, as well as its prophetic powers of receiving revelation in dreams; the progressive derivation, basically emanationist in character, of intelligence and light from a divine source; and the notion of a deification (*deificatio*) involving union with a higher intellect through knowledge of forms of the celestial sphere.

Dante places Albert at the right side of Thomas—both were Dominicans—who introduces him as his brother and teacher (*grate e maestro fammi*), among the wise spirits (*spiriti sapienti*) of the Heaven of the Sun (*Par.* 10.98-99). Albert's works, furthermore, are cited in connection with the theory of flight of the ratty and density of bodies and vapors, the necessary postulation of a ninth heavenly sphere, and the cold and damp humors of old age, in *Conv.* 2.13.21-22, 3.5.12, 3.7.3, and 4.23.12-13.

It is particularly in maintaining Platonic ideas within the new Aristotelian framework, as well as in the cultivation of the physical sciences as independent sources of knowledge rather than merely as instruments for theology, that Albert's thought distinguished itself and became massively influential. All reality became open to investigation—the physical realm, even by direct empirical methods. He is a great representative of the Gothic Age, an age that is endowed with a new sense of a directly observable nature and one that is brought to consummate expression by Dante.

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William Franl

Alberto degli Alberti

Count of Mangona whose two sons, Alessa dro and Napoleone, having quarreled over the

analysis of its operations, and he rejected any position that finally subordinated reason to will.

Aristotle had defined the will as appetitive made rational (*On the Soul*, 3.9.432b 5-7). In contrast to sensitive appetite, whose concupiscible and irascible powers incline a person toward or away from a material object, the will moves toward an object only after reason, having determined its true nature, judges that object in relation to the good in general. That is to say, our sensory powers incline us toward an apple because it tastes good; our will turns toward it because reason has determined that eating it will make us healthy, so that obtaining an object will be a movement toward happiness. As Aquinas says, "the will means rational appetite" (*appetitus rationalis*; *ST* 1.2.6.2).

In *Purgatorio* (17-18), Dante fleshes out this condensed account of the operations of the will by considering it in relation to love. Virgil first tells Dante that neither God nor any creature was ever without natural love or intellectual love ("love of the mind"; *Purg.* 17.91-93). Natural love in a being has as its end or goal the desire for its proper place and the realization of its own perfection. As such it is without error; inanimate things invariably seek their proper place, and beasts instinctively move to realize their nature. In human beings, natural love has as its end or goal the complete good which is God. We are able to apprehend this primal good, however, only in a confused way; because eternal beatitude is beyond our capacity to comprehend fully, the human will consequently consists of the movement toward specific objects perceived as sharing in the good as such.

In *Purg.* 18.191ff., Virgil therefore explains how something in particular causes the will to enter into act. Since the soul in human beings is disposed by nature to love, the will rouses it into action whenever something offers it pleasure. There are three stages in this process. First, our faculty of perception (*apprehensio*) abstracts an intention or image from some material object. The "apprehensive" faculty then presents this intentional object to the soul (*animus*) so that it turns to consider it. The soul judges whether it is beautiful (*giacere*) and offers happiness and pleasure. If it does, the will inclines toward it, and such an inclination is called love (*amor*).

Aquinas defines this love as the complacency that arises in the will from the adaptation (*coaptatio*, a "fitting together") which the appetible object, having undergone rational perception, is

able to bring about in the rational appetite. That is to say, the intention of a particular object that appears good to the rational appetite generates a change in that appetite such that it takes pleasure in the object as something like it. In this technical sense, love is thus an alteration in the will that takes the form of an inclination toward an object. Love becomes desire when the will is moved by the object to obtain it; for this reason Dante calls desire a "spiritual motion" (*Purg.* 18.32). Finally, desire turns into joy when the soul rests in possession of the object.

The pivotal event in these unfoldings of will occurs when the soul determines whether an object is good or bad. How the soul comes to form this judgment is complex; it is the source of free will, and therefore treated under that heading. Insofar as the will in general is concerned, however, it is important to note that once this judgment has been made—once the soul has judged that an object participates in the good in general—the inclination toward it is part of the will's very nature (*voluntas ut natura*) and therefore a necessary act on its part. But, as Virgil explains, the will can err by loving things of lesser merit and thereby can cause the individual to engage in sin.

According to this theory of appetite, human will is not autonomous but a passive potency that enters into activity only when and if the soul apprehends some external object. This seems to imply that rational appetite is not voluntary, since the principal cause of our acts of will appears to come from outside us. We should note, however, that to this point we have considered the will with respect to its end, which is the good as such. Even though the will is bound to seek its happiness, because we are able to apprehend such happiness only in a confused manner, this subjection does not impede its freedom. Since eternal blessedness is the only good that is complete and lacks nothing, it follows that no end that reason can apprehend as good is completely good. Consequently, no end we rationally conceive can compel our will to move to it necessarily. Moreover, the will is free to act on the respective values of several different goods which the intellect has delineated, just as it can choose the means to obtain what it desires. (Although these operations are fully acts of will, they may appropriately fall under the rubric of free will as are discussed there.)

Critics from the earliest commentators to the present day have argued that Dante allegorizes

faculties of the soul in his poem. Perhaps the most dramatic allegorization of the will in the *Commedia* is Dante's "limp" in the prologue scene. As he inches toward his encounter with the leopard, lion, and wolf, Dante says his "hatted foot was always the lower" (*Inf.* 1.30). Freccero has shown that in this scene Dante draws on a long tradition that pictured the *affectus*, or appetite, as the left foot of the soul. This foot was lamed by the wound of concupiscent when Adam sinned in the Garden of Eden.

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Harren Ginsberg

William of Nogaret

William of Nogaret (c. 1260-1313) rose from relatively humble origin, through his reputation as a lawyer, to highest service and acquired wealth under King Philip IV of France. From 1302 he was principal agent in the king's dispute over jurisdiction with Pope Boniface VIII. Nogaret, accompanied by Sciarra Colonna and an armed party, entered Boniface's City of Anagni, southeast of Rome, on September 7, 1303, to serve notice of a French appeal against the pope to a general council and to prevent the pope's imminent excommunication of Philip. Boniface suffered detention and considerable indignities, dying soon after the incident. Dante records this event in *Purg.* 20.86-90, where Hugh of Capet refers prophetically to William and Sciarra as *viri ladroni* ("living thieves"), equating them with the two thieves crucified with Christ.

Michael Haven

William of Orange

The hero of a series of *chansons de geste* well known in Italy, the *Cycle de Guillaume*, William (*Reignier*) battled the Saracens for the Franks alongside Renouart. Dante places them both in the Heaven of Mars, among those who fought for faith (*Par.* 18.46-48).

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Jessica Leventstein

William II of Sicily

Of the Norman House of Hauteville and known as "William the Good"—in contradistinction to his father, William I, "the Bad"—William II (*Guiglielmo*) reigned as king of Sicily and Puglia in southern Italy (the Kingdom of Sicily) from 1166 to 1189. He established a flourishing court at Palermo, and despite his cultivation of courtly refinement and pleasure—perhaps even with a certain Oriental coloration reflecting Arab domination in preceding centuries—he was very positively evaluated by chroniclers of the period. Dante, his customary rigor against worldliness notwithstanding, follows suit and places him among the exemplary just rulers—including Constantine, Trajan, Hezekiah, Rhipheus, and David—around the eye of the eagle, emblem of empire, that dominates, even as speaker, the Heaven of Jupiter (*Par.* 20.61-66).

What the eagle says about William II, beyond naming him in the splendor of a generic love of heaven for just princes, is that he is sorely missed by the territories that "now" languish under the misrule of his tyrannical successors, Charles II of Anjou and Frederick II of Aragon, rulers of Sicily and Puglia, respectively, in Dante's own time, and unremittingly vituperated by him (see also *Par.* 19.127-135): *E quel che vedi ne l'arco declivo / Guiglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora / che piagne Carlo e Federigo vivo* ("And the one you see in the lower arch was William, whom the land mourns that weeps for Charles and Frederick being still alive," *Par.* 20.61-63). Dante's placing William II in the lower arc of the eagle's brow perhaps alludes to his being the end of the line of Norman kings in Sicily.

William II's reign represents the climax of Norman rule in southern Italy, which began with Robert Guiscard, who in 1061—five years before the Norman Conquest of England—invaded Sicily

W and won it back from Saracen dominion, under which it had fallen during the attacks against the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century. William died childless and was succeeded by his aunt, *la gran Costanza*, who married Frederick Barbarossa's son, Henry VI of Swabia, and gave birth to Frederick II, "its [the House of Swabia's] third and last power," as Dante puts it (*Par.* 3.118-120). The "last of the Roman emperors" (*Com.* 4.3.6) was thus produced by a mixing of the House of Hauteville's Norman blood with that of Hohenstaufen in the Swabian line, which makes William a forebear of the imperial dynasty, so supremely important in Dante's view.

Among William II's achievements still appreciable today is the Cathedral of Monreale near Palermo, chief monument of Norman architecture in Sicily. The sarcophagi of William II and his father are to be found there, in the south transept.

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William Franke

William VII of Monferrat

William (*Guiglielmo*), marquis of Montferrat, is placed in the lowest position by Dante in the valley of the negligent princes in *Ante-Purgatory*: *Quel che più basso tra costor s'atterra, / guardando in suso, è Guiglielmo marchese, / per cui e Alessandria e la sua guerra / fa pianger Monferrato e Canavese* ("The one that lower down sits on the ground among them, looking, is the marquis William, for whom Alexandria and its war make Monferrato and Canavese weep," *Purg.* 7.133-136). William, born in 1254, reached the apogee of his power around 1280, when he controlled nine Piedmontese and Lombard cities—including Milan, Turin, and Alessandria—constituting a powerful Ghibelline league. When, in 1282, several of these cities seceded and joined the Guelfs, William regained them by force, but when Alessandria, incited by Asti, rose against him, he was captured and imprisoned. He was put on display in his cell until, after seventeen months, on February 6, 1292, he died. His son—from his second marriage, to Beatrice, the daughter of Alfonso X of Castile—sought to avenge his

father's humiliation and death by declaring war against Alessandria. Not only did William's son fail to defeat the City of Alessandria, but he furthermore failed to stop its troops from capturing several towns within the territory of Monferrat—the cause of the mourning to which Dante alludes. Contemporary accounts stress William's excessive political ambition and his cruelty, while Dante's placement of him in the valley of flowers emphasizes his neglect of duty because of the lure of worldly things—represented in the valley by the nightly appearance of a serpent.

Claudia Rattazzi Papka

Witte, Karl

Karl Witte (1800-1883) was a jurist who early in his life aroused attention because of his extraordinary learning capacity. At age 10 he enrolled at the University of Leipzig; there he wrote a Latin thesis on the Greek mathematician Nicodemus and obtained his Ph.D. at the University of Giessen at age 14. His attempt to do his Habilitation (an examination required in Germany for university teaching) failed because the university refused to give him access to it owing to his young age. The Prussian minister of culture therefore gave him a grant to go on a trip for study and research, and Witte went to Italy for two years, where he studied law, art history, and Italian literature. In this context he discovered Dante. In 1823 he was appointed professor of law, first at the University of Breslau and later at the University of Halle. He published several books on legal problems and, parallel to these activities, became the most advanced Dante scholar of his time. He edited the first scholarly and annotated edition of the *Divina Commedia* (Berlin, 1862), which he also translated into German (Berlin, 1865). Witte then edited Dante's *Monarchia* (Vienna, 1874) and *La Vita Nuova* (Leipzig, 1876). His two-volume *Dante-Forschungen* appeared in 1862 (Halle) and in 1879 (Heilbronn). Witte collaborated with Philalethes, i.e., King Johann Nepomuk of Saxony, who used this pseudonym for his work on Dante. Under his protection Witte founded the *Deutsche Dante-Gesellschaft* (1865) and in the same year the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft* (first issued in 1867). He also edited the fifth edition of Ludwig Kannegiesser's popular translation of the *Göttliche Komödie* in 1873.

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Ernst Behler

Women

While in some ways Dante seems to have a traditional view of the roles of women in his work, in others he is quite unusual. There are echoes of ancient and medieval misogyny, particularly in *Inferno*, but there are also corrections of such misogyny in *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* and an attempt to establish a place for women in his ideal world. And there is evidence as early as the *Vita Nuova* that Dante's relations with women went beyond the narcissism of the poet-lover, not only in his worship of Beatrice but also in his acceptance of criticism from women friends and his acknowledgment that that criticism moves him in a new direction. He finds that new direction, finally, in the *Commedia*, as the instrument of women: the Virgin Mary and her messenger, Beatrice.

Attitudes toward women in the Middle Ages were complicated and varied. Misogynist attacks arguing the inferiority of women and blaming them for the destruction of men from Eve and Delilah to contemporary seducers and shrews—drawing authority from Paul, Tertullian, Jerome, and a host of others down to Jean de Meun—are certainly a part of medieval culture, but there is another side. Women played important roles in medieval life, not only in the religious sphere as powerful abbesses, mystics, and reformers but also in the secular, as rulers, regents, and consorts. Women were often the instigators of texts—religious and historical as well as literary—by asking questions, making requests, or giving commissions; and many of them exerted an influence as friends and/or patrons of churchmen and intellectuals. There are medieval texts supporting women's political roles, or asserting the superior devotion of women to Christ, as well as courtly lyrics in which women may be silent objects of worship or anger or may be articulate debaters unmasking male postures. And there is literature by women,

religious and secular, asserting their needs and expressing their views.

It is impossible to know how much of this material, historical or literary, Dante knew or was aware of—perhaps very little. What one can say is that his work reflects most of the medieval attitudes toward women, negative and positive, and that he finally comes out on the positive side. There were many women in Dante's literary life, and presumably in his real life as well. The love lyrics in the *Rime* are addressed to a variety of named (Fioretta, Violetta, Lisetta) and unnamed ladies, some of whom may be Beatrice or perhaps the lady at the window in the last part of the *Vita Nuova*. There is also a *pargoletta* and a "stone lady," cold and cruel, who inspired Dante's so-called *rime petrose*, or "stony poems." The *Vita Nuova* makes a revisionist attempt to explain away some of the early ones as shields Dante used to hide his love for Beatrice. In one poem no longer extant about sixty ladies of Florence, Beatrice's name was ninth; Dante interprets that as significant for her symbolic meaning, but the fact remains that he once put eight other names before hers. Though the *Vita Nuova* was written apparently to explain the significance Dante has come to see in Beatrice—her role as a Christ figure in his life—it is impossible for him to conceal altogether the feelings he had for a number of other women. He was apparently so embarrassed by the woman he turned to for comfort after Beatrice's death—the *gentile donna* at the window, who showed compassion for his suffering—that he constructed an elaborate allegory in the *Convivio* to explain her as Lady Philosophy.

But women were not only objects of Dante's love; many were also friends, whom he addressed in the *Rime*, talking to them about his love, asking their comfort, or warning them against bad men. In the narrative of the *Vita Nuova*, women friends are even more important. They are sensitive to but not always indulgent of his moods—comforting him when he is ill or grieving, making fun of him when he plays the swooning lover—and by their critical perceptions, they turn his poetry in a new direction. One friend (*amica persona*) takes him to a gathering of lovely women (a wedding reception) for his pleasure, but Beatrice's presence makes him tremble, and they laugh at him; when, on the other hand, he grieves with them for Beatrice over the death of her father, they notice the