

compares it to a belief in witches, as being a fact of consciousness as long as it is believed, his misapprehension of the point is almost ludicrous, says Mr. Illingworth. For the sense of freedom is an immediate part of my consciousness. I cannot be conscious without it. I cannot tear it out. Moreover, upon this sense of freedom all law and morality depend. And, last of all, and most impressively, 'the sense of freedom has maintained itself, from the dawn of history, against a spirit far

more powerful than any which philosophy can raise—the spirit of remorse. What would not humanity, age after age, have given to be free from remorse? Yet remorse still stares us in the face, overshadowing our hearts with sadness, and driving its countless victims into madness, suicide, despair, and awful forebodings of the after-world. Men would have exorcised it, if they could. But they cannot. And remorse is only a darker name for man's conviction of his own free-will.'

Dante's use of the Divine Name in the 'Divina Commedia.'

BY ELEANOR F. JOURDAIN.

IN the *Divina Commedia* we find that the conclusions of the philosophy of Dante's day and the doctrines of the Christian Church are placed side by side and considered to be simultaneously tenable; for Dante admits no antagonism between reason and faith. In accordance with this view his conception of God unites what the Church teaches us as to the mystery of the Holy Trinity, with what Pagan thought has gained by speculation into the Infinite. Learning from Aristotle, Dante distinguishes between the relative and absolute sides of Perfect Virtue, and thus he thinks of God, considered absolutely, as Perfect Holiness: considered relatively to man, as Perfect Justice. But he teaches, too, that we can only conceive of this Perfect, or Divine Justice, as manifested in Power, Wisdom, and Love, the attributes which are traditionally connected with the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. This belief of Dante's has a direct bearing upon the leading idea of the *Divina Commedia*.

It is comparatively seldom, and only, I believe, in the *Paradiso*, that God is referred to in the absolute sense, as, e.g., 'the first and Unspeakable Holiness.'¹ For the most part the allusions to the Deity are from the point of view of his relation to man: Divine Justice governs the three kingdoms, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. But each kingdom

is represented as being under the special influence and control of one person of the Holy Trinity. The spirits in Hell see God revealed to them as Power, in Purgatory chiefly as Wisdom, in Paradise as Love. There are, however, many indications in the poem that, though the vision of the spirits in Hell is strictly limited, in Purgatory and Paradise it gradually widens, and towards the end of Dante's journey the whole relation of God to man is more clearly revealed.

The evidence for these points lies principally in the use of the Name of God by the actors in the poem; though whether every detail of their practice is the result of deliberate intention on Dante's part, or only of a poetical instinct of consistency, it is hard to decide.

I.

In Hell the spirits of sinners are, presumably, forbidden to mention God by name. Vanni Fucci,² the only spirit who utters the word, uses it in blasphemous defiance of God's power. As a rule the Deity is referred to in periphrasis, not only by the shades themselves, but even by Dante and Virgil in their presence. Thus Francesca and Paolo are implored by Dante to come and speak to him 'if Another deny it not';³ Odysseus describes the whirlwind which seized and sank his ship, 'as it pleased Another.'⁴ And Virgil, in the presence of the defiant demons who bar the

¹ *Par.* x. (The English equivalents for the Italian passages referred to in this paper are taken for the most part from Butler's *Divina Commedia*).

² *Inf.* xxv.

³ *Ibid.* v.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxvi.

entrance to the city of Dis, speaks of God as 'Such an One'—'By Such an One is it granted.'¹ In the same way, referring to Christ's descent into Hell, he says '*He* came.'² Even Beatrice, since in the allegory of the poem she represents divine Love, is not spoken of by name in presence of the shades. Virgil, when he is with Dante in the circle of the Violent, says of her, 'Such an One separated herself from singing Alleluia who committed this duty to me.'³ When, however, they are not in the presence of the shades, Dante and Virgil constantly speak of God by name. More than this, we find them separated from the sinful spirits among whom they pass by their perception of the fuller relation of God to man implied in the term 'Divine Justice,' which they alone are allowed to use.⁴ This expression, 'Divine Justice,' is nearly always a recognition, not only of God's Power, but also of his Wisdom and his Love. So, on one occasion, Dante appeals to the Justice of God—'Ah Justice Divine . . . wherefore does our sin so bring us low?'⁵

But in addressing the spirits and the officials of Hell, Dante, Virgil, and the one angel who appears momentarily on the dark scene, all speak of God—without reference to His Wisdom and His Love—as a Power,⁶ terrible in the movements of His unquestioned Will. 'Wherefore kick ye at that Will whose end can never be cut short . . . ?'⁷ says the angel who comes to open the gates of the City of Dis. So Virgil, fearing lest Minos should hinder his journey onward, says: 'Thus it is willed in that place where to will is to have power to do.'⁸ To Pluto, again, he says: 'Our journey to the depth is not without cause: it is willed on high.'⁹ The spirits themselves acknowledge this, and recognise God as Power. In the whirlwind of

¹ *Inf.* viii.² *Ibid.* xii.³ *Ibid.* xii.

⁴ There is one instance in which a subordinate official in Hell, the Centaur Nessus, is permitted to use the name of God, and to refer to Him as 'Divine Justice' (*Inf.* xii.). To him, with the other centaurs, is entrusted the punishment of contumacious sinners in the circle of the Violent, and it is quite in accordance with Dante's view that an official should have privileges distinct from the sinners under his control.

⁵ *Inf.* vii.

⁶ The three words usually translated 'power' are *potenzia*, *virtù* (having this simpler meaning rather than the moral significance attached to our word 'virtue') and *possanza*. The latter word is generally used when Christ is spoken of as sharing in the attribute of power.

⁷ *Inf.* ix.⁸ *Ibid.* v.⁹ *Ibid.* vii.

Hell the cries of the sensual sinners blaspheme the 'Divine Power.'¹⁰ Francesca da Rimini sorrowfully admits that no prayer of hers can move this Power, this 'King of the Universe.'¹⁰ To the gluttonous, God is 'the Power that is their foe.'¹¹ To the warrior Farinata, in the place of the burning tombs where the heresiarchs lie, God is again a Power, 'the supreme General.'¹² The demons who pursue Dante and Virgil down to the Sixth of the Evil Pits are obliged by the 'Will of Providence,'¹³ Dante notes, to remain in the place appointed for them. The alchemist Grifolino relates how he has been condemned to his circle by Minos, 'to whom it is not permitted to err,'¹⁴ thus recognising God as the Power that lies beyond and above the dread judge Minos.

During the whole of the journey through Hell we have no mention on the part of the spirits of the Second or Third Persons of the Trinity, nor of the attributes of Wisdom and Love. Even Virgil only mentions Christ twice, and then not by name. This occurs when the poets are passing through the circle where are the souls of those who lived before Christ came into the world. "Tell me, my Master, tell me," says Dante, "has any ever issued thence, either through his own merit or that of Another, so that thereafter he was in bliss?" And he who understood my shrouded speech, made answer: "I was new in this state when I saw come hither a Mighty One, crowned with a sign of victory."¹⁵ And in another place he alludes to the descent of Christ into Hell.¹⁶ In each case the attribute of Power is strongly insisted upon. Dante, on one occasion, passing through the Second of the Evil Pits where the simoniacs are immured, invokes the Wisdom of God, but here again the notion of Power is superadded. 'O highest Wisdom. . . how great Justice does thy Power distribute!'¹⁷

II.

In the second kingdom—Purgatory—the spirits are not forbidden to use the Name of God. Not only Dante, his guides Virgil and Beatrice, and Cato the Warden of Purgatory, but also the shades who are doing penance, speak of God by name. Even below the entrance, Belacqua, a spirit who has not yet summoned energy enough to knock at

¹⁰ *Ibid.* v.¹¹ *Ibid.* vi.¹² *Ibid.* x.¹³ *Ibid.* xxiii.¹⁴ *Ibid.* xxix.¹⁵ *Ibid.* iv.¹⁶ *Ibid.* xii.¹⁷ *Ibid.* xix.

the door, and prepare to undergo his purification, and whose lazy movements and indolent speech provoke Dante to a smile, speaks of one of the guardian angels as the 'Bird of God.'¹ And the spirits whose bodies were slain by violence, and who only repented in their last hour, are able to tell us that they issued forth from life 'reconciled to God.'²

As the Mountain of Purification is especially the province of God the Son, the Redeemer, we find Him frequently mentioned by name. The spirits who have given way to wrath implore the meek 'Lamb of God'³ to grant them peace and mercy. On other occasions Christ is mentioned by name, not only by Beatrice⁴ and by Dante,⁵ but also by the repentant spirits.⁶ The expression 'Divine Power,' so frequently used in Hell, is never used by a dweller in Purgatory. The words occur occasionally,⁷ but are used by Virgil, who has come through Hell. It is Virgil, too, who alone makes use of the expression, 'The Eternal King,' thus referring to God in terms which recall the notion of Power. Such expressions are replaced in the *Purgatorio* by a series of words which show that the idea of God as Supreme Wisdom is present in the minds of the spirits. Thus we find continually 'the Righteous Will,' 'the Heavenly Councils,' and other similar forms. 'Of a righteous will is His made,'⁸ says Casella the singer. 'God in His grace has willed,'⁹ says Nino. Statius speaks of the 'blessed Council' and 'true Court'¹⁰ of Heaven, and Forese of the 'Eternal Counsels.'¹¹ 'Divine Love' is once mentioned by Dante, but he is speaking of that Love as abiding in Paradise.¹² One remarkable expression appears for the first time: the application to the Deity of the epithet, 'The Highest Good.'¹³ But it is not used by a spirit in Purgatory. Matilda, who has descended from Heaven, is speaking of the Terrestrial Paradise. 'The Highest Good. . . gave him (man) this place as a pledge to him of eternal peace.'¹⁴ And Beatrice uses very much the same expression. When her presence convicts Dante of having fallen from his ideal, she reminds him that once his love for her was leading him to love 'that Good beyond which there is naught to aspire unto.'¹⁵

¹ *Purg.* iv.² *Ibid.* v.³ *Ibid.* xv.⁴ *Ibid.* xxxii.⁵ *Ibid.* xxi.⁶ *Ibid.* xx., xxvi.⁷ *Ibid.* iii., vi.⁸ *Ibid.* ii.⁹ *Ibid.* viii.¹⁰ *Ibid.* xxi.¹¹ *Ibid.* xxiii.¹² *Ibid.* xxvi.¹³ *Il Sommo Bene.*¹⁴ *Purg.* xxviii.¹⁵ *Ibid.* xxvi.

The comprehensive term, 'Divine Justice,' is only used in Purgatory by Statius¹⁶ and Beatrice.¹⁷ Statius is perhaps marked out in this way because, usually second only to Virgil in Dante's estimation, he is here represented as a Christian, and therefore superior to him.¹⁸ In Purgatory he fills for a time the office of a guide, and explains to Virgil and Dante the laws which govern the advance of the purified spirits from terrace to terrace of the mountain.

III.

In examining Dante's use of the Divine Name in the *Paradiso*, we must remember that Purgatory is the fore-court of Paradise, and that all the spirits who are undergoing purification are destined finally to ascend into Heaven. We are therefore not surprised to find anticipated in the *Purgatorio* some of the characteristic words of the *Paradiso*, though in the latter poem new words appear implying a closer relation with God. The difference between the expression used is, indeed, in most cases, one of degree rather than of kind. But it is clearly suggested in the *Paradiso* that at the root of God's dealings with humanity is His love for man. Thus the words recalling the view of God as Power almost entirely disappear from the pages of the *Paradiso*. In the few cases in which they still occur they are used by Dante, who, as we must remember, has passed through Hell on his way to Purgatory and Paradise, or by Beatrice, with the special intention of identifying the Christ who suffered for love of man with God the Power who rules the world. Thus, when the vision of Christ surrounded by the saints dawns on Dante's eyes, Beatrice says: 'Here is the Wisdom and the Might which opened the ways between Heaven and Earth, whereof there was so long desire.'¹⁹ On another occasion, and with a reminiscence of this passage, the same epithet is applied to Christ. And again, when on hearing one of the famous invectives against the Pope, Beatrice's face changes, Dante says: 'Such eclipse I believe that there was in Heaven when the most High Power suffered.'²⁰

It is only in the *Paradiso* that we find a complete invocation of the Holy Trinity.²¹ Throughout this part of the poem, too, we find frequent mention

¹⁶ *Ibid.* xxi.¹⁷ *Ibid.* xxxiii.¹⁸ See Butler's edition of the *Purgatorio*.¹⁹ *Par.* xxiii.²⁰ *Ibid.* xxvii.²¹ *Ibid.* xiv. and xxvii. (though Hugh Capet in *Purg.* xx. had mentioned Christ and the Holy Spirit by name).

of the Three Persons by name, not only by Dante and Beatrice, but by the spirits of the blessed. The name of Christ occurs several times,¹ though not so frequently as the name of the Holy Spirit. The expression 'Divine Justice,' including the whole relation of God to man, is used by Dante when he calls upon the image of the Eagle to solve his doubts, since, by the Eagle, 'Divine Justice is apprehended without a veil.'

But words signifying that God is Love, is the Highest Good, crowd upon the pages of the *Paradiso*, and show that in the knowledge of God's Love the spirits rest in perfect content and bliss. 'In His Will is our peace,'² is one of the

¹ *E.g.*, *Par.* xiv., xix.

² *Ibid.* iii. It will be observed that the expression 'The

most beautiful expressions of this rest in God, but there are many others. In Beatrice's words, God is the 'Highest Good,' the 'Divine Goodness,' the 'burning brightness of Love'; to Dante He is the 'Highest Good,' 'Eternal Joy,' 'Love which rules the Heavens,' 'the Primal fire of Love'; to the spirits God is the 'Highest Good,' 'Infinite Goodness,' 'sweet and sacred Love,' and again 'Love'; till all the varying notes are attuned to this music, and, in the end, Dante, with the blessed spirits in Paradise, feels his own desire and will 'swayed in eternal measure by the Love that moves the sun and all the stars.'³

Will of God,' although it occurs in all three divisions of the poem, is identified in the first with Power, in the second with Wisdom, and in the third with Love.

³ *Ibid.* xxxiii.

The Parables of Zechariah.

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IX.

THE PARABLE OF THE CHARIOTS (CHAP. VI. 1-8).

THIS is the eighth and last of the parables of Zechariah. It is generally supposed that the entire series of visions was presented to the mind of the prophet in a single night. He speaks of being awakened out of sleep to find that a new vision is before his eyes; and probably we are to suppose him falling into a slumber after each, and then waking, refreshed, to face the next; unless, indeed, these transitions be merely the machinery of the literary artist, to frame the successive pictures, and so render them more distinct and arresting.

We do not understand the prophet at all unless we realise what must have been the state of his mind before the series of visions commenced. He was thoroughly absorbed with the condition of his native land. The grandeur of its destiny had taken possession of him; but at the same time he was profoundly and tremulously conscious of all the impediments. The numbers of the returned exiles were slender and their resources small; worse still, there were few among them inspired with any intensity of patriotism or largeness of ideal; and worst of all was the dread arising from the designs of the surrounding tribes, which might

at any moment combine to attack them or, by secret information and whispered insinuations, bring down on their heads the irresistible power of Babylon. These mingled elements of depression and fear, of faith and hope, were struggling in the mind of the young prophet, till, in the silence of an inspired night, when the hour was ripe, God, with a touch, reduced the confusion to peace, and out of the chaotic elements of his thoughts evolved the series of visions, in which the prophet saw how the divine love and wisdom were behind all the disturbed forces of the time, and were able to construct from them a future of glory for his country.

It may be worth while, at this point, to recall the succession of the visions, as this is the best introduction to the final parable.

First, there was the vision of the Horsemen, coming in from all points of the compass, after traversing the earth, on the behest of Jehovah, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the world. Their report was a gloomy one—that the power of the enemies of God's people was strong and stable. This was only the echo of the view entertained by the prophet and his contemporaries of the situa-