Canto 76
Henry Mead, Tallinn University

Canto 76 begins with a vision of the sun, hidden behind but penetrating a cloud bank (76/472). Light images recur through the Canto, through an opening vision of Helios (76/472), effects created by indoor lamps (“trick sunlight” (76/473) and views of clouds over Pisa (76/476), “colour rose-blue before sun-set / and carmine and amber” (76/479), and Venice (479). Later, light, air, liquid and mineral forms seem to merge: “no cloud, but the crystal body” (76/477), and “the sphere moving crystal, fluid.” (76/477). These images provide an “elemental key” to the patterning in the memories and associations that follow, linking them with glimpses of life at the Disciplinary Training Center (DTC) in which Pound was imprisoned. His clustered memories include journeys in France (76/472, 475), time in Paris (76/473), Sirmione (76/476, 478) and Venice (76/476, 480–82). As Peter Makin notes, The Pisan Cantos represent “first, simply a cry of pain and, second, a naming-over of what has been known, sorrowing over the lost and trying to find, in what is left, some hope-worthy meaning and reason to go on.” Pound’s urge to regain personal and historical coherence is set against the violations and losses inflicted by the European conflict. This “naming-over” is both a lament and an incantation. Scattered, his memories are at risk of becoming “junk,” (76/473); but re-integrated, they are presented as shards of divine light. Pound wrote in 1941 that “We find two forces in history: that divides, shatters, and kills, and one that contemplates the unity of the mystery.” Canto 76 merges a call to battle with a battle to remember, to salvage treasures under threat of destruction.

Much has been said about history in The Cantos; to condense some of these readings, we might see two ideas in tension, both modelled on a Neoplatonic pattern of scattering and return. In the first view this process is manifest in human affairs and leads towards a
Paradiso Terrestre; in the second, the public world is irretrievably fallen and a sense of unity cannot be regained or made permanent on earth, only as a subjective vision. Both ideas are present in earlier Cantos; while Pound’s “poem including history” is elegiac and its structure only sketchily progressive, in pursuing a guiding light in history it finds earthly exemplars in past communities and leaders, presenting them as models for a better world to come. Mussolini’s regime then raised Pound’s hopes that history was reaching some kind of fruition, for which the China and Adams Cantos seem to pave the way as an “ideogram of good government.” The Pisan Cantos reflect the loss of this hope, and a turn instead to an internalized faith, a Neoplatonic regathering that occurs inwardly in memory.

The tension is clear in Pound’s stated hope in 1939 to end his poem with a philosophical paradise, a project that faltered as the war ensued. The drafts that followed reveal a struggle for cogency, understandably, as history seemed to be telling another story. The ascent he had detected in Fascism was to be replaced with a longer view of a “guerra eterna/ Fra luce e fango” (72/426) (an “eternal war / between light and mud” [72/432]), as he put it in Canto 72. Mussolini would be absorbed into a canon of martyrs for an eschaton deferred just as it seemed to come into view. This changing perspective can be seen in manuscripts left at Rapallo on Pound’s detention, including drafts in Italian and English drafts that were partially re-worked from memory in the Pisan Cantos, notably in the opening lines of Canto 76. The Canto fights against an “enforced forgetting,” both of his vision and his drafts, to salvage hope somehow from history’s apparent failure and re-gather diffused forces into a renewed intensity.

The poem’s opening, a vision of the “sun high over the horizon” (76/472), owes something to the philosopher John Scotus Eriugena’s description of four stages of divine creation, from “exitus”, the diffusion of light from the Godhead into matter in creative and inanimate forms, to “reditus”, the return to its source. And it owes even more to Guido
Cavalcanti’s “Donna Mi Prega,” a key intertext, as Pound saw it, for a tradition of “light worship.” The allusion is made explicit by the line “dove sta memora,” taken from Cavalcanti’s poem, translated in Canto 36 as “where memory liveth/Love takes its state” (36/177).14 Behind these words lie a complex understanding, drawn from a medieval synthesis of Aristotelean and Neoplatonic thinking, of how divine energy leaves an impression on the human consciousness.15 The phrase will be put into English in Canto 76: “nothing matters but the quality of the affection – in the end – that has carved the trace in the mind” (76/477). In this spirit the Canto plots its course of determined recollection.16

The following lines are etched with a similar firmness: “Will break his political but not his economic system” (76/472): Mussolini’s idea will not die, though his government may fall, words attributed to Olivia Rossetti Agresti, Pound’s fellow propagandist at Rome Radio,17 that link his view of history to Fascist loyalties.18 Agresti ranks among several female images of what must be preserved, most notably in a “visionary troupe” of spirits that had first appeared in manuscripts in Italian in early 1945, echoed in the sun’s fleet of planets moving below the Rapallo cliffs (76/472).19

At first the spirits’ identities seem multiple and compound: amid “flowered branch and leaf moving” (76/472), recalling earlier glimpses of Gods, “the leaves full of voices” in Cantos 3 (3/11), “the air alight with the goddess” in Canto 4 (4/14). This time we see Alcmena, tree nymphs, Dirce, “et Ixotta”, mistress and later wife of Malatesta, to whom he had dedicated his Tempio in Rimini, focus of the Malatestan Cantos, 8–11. “E che fu chiamata Primavera” refers to Cavalcanti’s lady Giovanna, known in La Vita Nuova as “Primavera”: “spring” to Beatrice’s “summer,” a name also recalling Botticelli’s painting (76/472).20 The blurring of female gods and mythic figures recalls Pound’s “Religio” of 1913: “a god is an eternal state of mind” that has “many names” by which it is “handled in the tradition.”21 Naming prompts a kind of Neoplatonic recollection; in “Psychology and
Troubadours” (1912) he paraphrases Richard St. Victor’s words: “by naming-over all the most beautiful things” the mind can “draw back… vestiges of heavenly splendour”: the method of Canto 76 as a whole.22

Pound’s progression of lights continues as Helios “in his great periplum / leads in his fleet here / […] under our craggy cliffs” (76/472). In this manifestation, the term “periplum,” which had in previous Cantos referred to the navigation by “as seen by men sailing” (59/324) now describes a mythic journey in which temporal navigation lies in the hands of the deity, beyond human understanding. Homer’s Odyssey was used by the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus to describe how nous seeks a return to its “beloved Fatherland”, a nostos or homecoming, a reunion of scattered light.23 Though present throughout Pound’s Cantos, the Odyssey comes to the fore again now as an allegory of light returning to its source.24

As the marshalling of light continues, multiple female figures blend into one another and Pound’s report gains a new immediacy: “they suddenly stand in my room here / between me and the olive tree / or nel clivo ed al triedro” (76/472). We are seemingly in Olga Rudge’s house in Sant’Ambrogio, before this location merges with a dream-like zone between three pathways.25 Again Pound recalls core material from his Italian drafts written in 1944–1945 soon after Cantos 72–73.26 The several spirits that had seemed to dance around Pound are now clearly delineated with new identities, a definite triad: “Cunizza, qua al triedro / e la scalza, and she who said: I still have the mould” (76/472). This smaller group includes the figure aligned most closely with Venus, Cunizza da Romana, “la scalza” (the barefoot girl, a figure associated with the moon, with virginity, and with the Madonna), and finally a warrior figure, Caterina Sforza, known for her ruthless defiance of enemies. They are facets of a single energy.
Cunizza da Romana is a key figure in Pound’s “secret history” of Europe.²⁷ Pound places great importance on this noblewoman, once Sordello’s lover; she is a conveyer of the distinctive culture that he sought to trace descending from the Eleusinian mysteries through the Cathars to the troubadours, and thence to Italy.²⁸ In his Guide to Kulchur (1938) she is described as a woman “whose charm and imperial bearing [and] grace” conveyed the Provençal culture, imbued with a mystical current, into Dante’s world, where he met her “white-haired in the House of the Cavalcanti.”²⁹ Her spirit contributes to Dante’s and Cavalcanti’s “sweet new style,” in which beauty is celebrated as a manifestation of the divine. Appearing early in the Paradiso, Cunizza interested Pound as an example of Dante’s blurring of Eros and caritas. Married four times, she has had many loves, but in Dante’s lines (IX.34) says she has “forgiven herself” for her sensual pleasures.³⁰ A fragment of her words from the Commedia, explaining the higher levels of Paradise (“called thrones, balascio or topaz” [36/179]) had followed Pound’s translation of “Donna mi Prega” in Canto 36, together with details from Eriugena’s and Sordello’s lives (36/179–80). A cluster then was clear as early as 1934 of figures and ideas associated with the contact between erotic and divine love. Cunizza is a conduit for this legacy.³¹ A “compassionate, compound ghost”, her love included a call for forgiveness for her brother’s violence, recorded in the Italian drafts.³²

La scalza is a lunar counterpart to Cunizza’s solar radiance. Pound’s manuscripts include an account of his encounter with her so vivid as to suggest a real meeting; at the same time, she represents several facets of the culture he was mourning.³³ The fate of a girl, caught in the chaos of war, recalls the Italian girl who appears in Canto 73, but in contrast to the bold sexuality implied there by Pound’s Cavalcanti, this waif is virginal, even shading at times into the Madonna. Yet the figure is also overlaid with the traditional rites of Italian pagan culture – a figure representing the spirit of Europe, as Pound described it, with Fascistic overtones, in “A European Paideuma” (1940).³⁴ Pagan rites pre-date and merge into
Christianity; the Church is a vehicle for an older idea running from Eleusis through the troubadours, from Plethon and Ficino to Fascism.\(^{35}\)

The third figure is Caterina Sforza (1463–1509), a figure celebrated for her boldness as Countess of Forlì: “she who said I still have the mould”.\(^ {36}\) The words are taken from Machiavelli’s account of the Orsi conspiracy in 1488.\(^ {37}\) Captured, Sforza agreed to enter the besieged Ravaldino fortress, leaving her children behind, to persuade the castellan to surrender. To her enemies’ shock she appeared at the fortress walls. Discounting the danger to her offspring, she exposed her genitals declaring “I still have the mould” to make more (76/472). Her resistance recalls the spirit of the Italian Cantos; indeed, she appears in longer passages in Pound’s Italian drafts from the same period, but here her story is condensed to one line.\(^ {38}\) Her appearance stems from Pound’s reading in the *Corriere della Serra* of reports that local women aided snipers to block the Allied entry into Forlì.\(^ {39}\) The siege in the same streets 450 years earlier constitutes a historical rhyme in which Sforza stands both for Fascist defiance against the Allies and also for Pound’s self-admonition to marshal his forces through remembrance.

Recurring from Canto 74 (74/458), the words “Io son’ la luna” (76/473) (“I am the moon) are here attributed to *la scalza*, the barefoot girl. While these words link her to Diana or Artemis, in the 1944–1945 Italian drafts she appears as a Marian figure, glimpsed beneath a cross and with an infant child, merging pagan and Christian traditions.\(^ {40}\) While the published text of Canto 76 condenses these invocations to a simple affirmation, of her identity, the drafts indicate this compound figure was also inspired by the removal of a statue of the Madonna from the bombed church at Zoagli on the shore below Rapallo.\(^ {41}\) Ejected from her temple home, this mysterious figure reports “they have broken my house.” (76/473). She is referred to in the drafts as both *sfollata* (evacuee) and “L’Assunta.” (Intriguingly,
Pound, writing to a local official regarding his move from Rapallo, called himself a “sfollata” (sic) around the same time.42

The mood of displacement and loss continues in a lament for restaurants and cafes frequented across Europe (76/473). Remembering his Paris life, Pound mentions the homes of Théophile Gautier and Jean Cocteau, both collectors of exotic curiosities (“Teofile’s bricabrac Cocteu’s bricabrac” [76/473]).43 Such personal effects lose coherence when an individual’s narrative ends or fails: “to every man a junk shop” (76/473). This apparent chaos suggests of the poet’s dilemma too, as doubts surround his narrative of history (“will the world ever take up its course again?” [76/473]). He questions his preferred eschatology with the melancholic intimacy of a popular song (“very confidentially I ask you” [76/473]).44 The answer comes in a struggle to regain clarity under the most testing conditions.

Indeed, the Canto recalls how in the DTC, Pound fought against “la pigrizia” (laziness or sloth) induced by his solitary confinement during his “three weeks” in a cage open to the elements – a lassitude that nearly broke him as he fought to maintain mental balance. The poet’s struggle to preserve his sanity in extreme circumstances rhymes with the pursuit of a Neoplatonic ascent. He finds consolation in particulars: “the ground and the dew,” minute details of nature scattered through the Cantos (76/474), an anchoring specificity in matter, where the beginnings of re-gathered energy might be found.45 With his Odyssean “raft” almost overwhelmed on a “sea of air strip” (80/533), he found reassurance in Chung (76/474) and the “doctrine of the mean.” Pound had been translating the Confucian work of that title at the time of his arrest and took his copy of Legge’s *Four Books of Confucius* and a small Chinese dictionary with him to the DTC. His attempts to stay sane and true to his position merge Confucian balance with Neoplatonic regathering.
Against these visions come the voices of the camp: his fellow prisoners, victims and symptoms of a barbaric invasion. He returns, “as the winds veer” to his memories, taking a new motto in recalling the fleeting quality of past moments of illumination: “tout dit que pas ne dure la fortune” (76/476). The phrase punctuates further memories assembled towards the ideogram of light: first, of Joyce’s visit to Lake Garda in June 1920, then of Pound’s early days in Venice in 1908. He again registers his luck and its precariousness; like “the shops at the piazza” in Venice, still there, but “kept up by artificial respiration” (76/476). The sense of ascent gives way to wavering effortful recollection. He focuses in on a city where he arrived as an exile, escaping censure in his homeland and waiting to begin a new life. Beginnings and endings rhyme in Pound’s memories.

In several passages that reprise the Canto’s opening, light appears diffused within matter: “the sphere moving, crystal, fluid” (76/477); notably, in a view from a cliff top to the sea below: “the crystalline, as inverse of water beneath it” (76/477). In Guide to Kulchur, Pound wrote of moments of contact with “the nous, of mind, apart from any man’s individual mind, of the sea crystalline and enduring, of the bright as it were molten glass that envelops us, full of light.” Canto 76 is punctuated by moments resembling such an encounter between the individual and a higher intellect.

The nature of this recollection, however, is then qualified by a recognition that “nor is this yet atasal” (76/478) (a word used in Guide to Kulchur to refer to “arabic ideas about union with the divine”). Pound discusses the term in his commentary on Cavalcanti’s “Donna mi prega,” where he notes the poem’s apparent debt to the 11th century Muslim Aristotelian philosopher Avicenna. But he seems to have confused the meaning of the word “ittişāl”, which Avicenna describes not as a mystical union (“ittiḥâd”), but as an intellectual conjunction linking the individual to the nous. It is the latter which interested Pound and which best describes the intense moments of Canto 76. When Pound identifies his vision as
involving “a tangibility by no means atasal” (76/479), therefore, he means to distinguish it from a pervasive re-integration of energies, a blurring of boundaries in which he has little interest. The kind of recollection that the Canto pursues retains a sense of form, but one cleansed of superficial attributes, revealing a higher individuality that transcends personality (“nor are here souls, nec personae” (76/478)). It represents the memory purged of emotion and so is “without rancor” (76/479), while retaining “tangibility” (76/479). Following this train of thought, the Canto reaches a peak of clarity in the mantra: “nothing matters but the quality of the affection—in the end—that has carved the trace in the mind / dove sta memoria” (76/477).

It is this intensity that the Canto contrasts, recalling the “eternal war / between light and mud” described in Canto 72 (72/432), with the “bilge” of the BBC, prompted perhaps by radio broadcasts now reaching the DTC (76/478). Pound’s kindled anger prompts him to depict himself as “a lone ant from a broken ant-hill / from the wreckage of Europe, ego scriptor” (76/478). And so, his minute attention to the natural world, once suggestive of a great harmony, is now used to evoke the extent of Europe’s historical crisis. All that Pound had fought to bring to focus has become a scene of casual devastation.

However, rediscovering a redeeming microcosm in the works of a wasp and a spider and in the dogged persistence of ant, the Canto finds its way to a renewed optimism and the beginning of a new reeditus, not unmixed with a determination to make the pure, Fascist dream “indestructible.” So the ant’s movement marks a small riscossa of the spirit. Escaping the “broken ant-hill” of Europe, the poet, a self-described “evacuee,” seems ready to depart like Aeneas to found a new city (76/478). The last pages of Canto 76 constitute a catalogue of memories, the focus now clearly on Venice, Pound’s first idle weeks there called to mind by his predicament at the DTC. In
Venice in 1908, an exile from his homeland, he had spent days waiting to begin a new life; contemplating his future, he almost cast the proofs (“le bozze”) of A Lume Spento into the Rio San Vio (76/480). The decision not to do so began the journey towards The Cantos; an interrogation of the choice is implied and answered with a shorthand list of recollected experiences that justify his work. Venice, for Pound as for Ruskin before him, anchors his mission of remembrance. The inimitable marble carvings of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, for example, are emblematic of a culture “a whole age, a congeries and sequences of cause […] impossible to speak of in terms of magnitude.”

In this last stage of the Canto, Pound recalls his own sacred “bricabrac”– a rare edition of Ovid, a work by the Japanese artist Koume, a bas relief of Ixotta – which he had kept at Rudge’s flat in Venice. Together, these items make up his ideogram of light and culture. Recalling the possessions of Gautier and Cocteau glimpsed earlier in the Canto (76/473), we witness more proofs of how “what thou lovest well remains” (81/540), “carved” as a “trace in the mind” (76/477).

The gathering in of treasured items in the face of their threatened dispersal dramatizes not only the action of a displaced mind, struggling to retain a sense of self, but also the poet seeking to re-integrate a divine vision from fragmented empirical detail, driven among other things by a militant impulse to counter-attack. Thus the riscossa that prompted the drafts of 1944–1945 has become a marshalling of memories. Pound, a refugee from the “broken ant-hill” of Europe, carries his memories with him, seeking to re-found a city of the mind.

1 Research for this chapter was supported by a European Research Council Starting Grant (TAU17149) “Between the Times: Embattled Temporalities and Political Imagination in Interwar Europe.”
3 Peter Makin, Pound’s Cantos (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 239.
5 See Peter Liebregts, Ezra Pound and Neoplatonism (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004) and Mark Byron, Ezra Pound’s Eriugena (Bloomsbury Academic 2014) for details of his Neoplatonic historical scheme.

7 Ezra Pound, ABC of Reading (New York: New Directions, 1960 [1934]), 46.


9 Bush, “Quiet, not Scornful,” 171.

10 Mark Byron makes this point in “Between Apocalypse and Extinction: Eschatology in Ezra Pound’s Poetry”.


12 Bush, “Quiet, not Scornful,” 173.

13 See Byron, Pound’s Erigena, 15–50.

14 In fact “memora” is a MS variant, cited by Pound in his Cavalcanti essay, of “memoria”. Ezra Pound, Literary Essays of Ezra Pound, ed. T. S. Eliot (London: Faber & Faber, 1985 [1918]) 164. Both forms are used in the Canto (76/472 and 76/477).


18 Pound no doubt registers Agresti’s membership of the Rossetti family, niece of the Neoplatonic Pre-Raphaelite D. G. Rossetti and grand-daughter of Gabriele Rossetti, whose studies tracing a seditious code in the Commedia were cited in Joseph Peladon’s Le Secret des Troubadours (1906), Pound’s main source for tracing a mystical “conspiracy of intelligence” in Europe. Her Fascist commitment is surely quoted in view of these connections; her name enacts the re-assemblage of cultural items. See Leon Surette, The Birth of Modernism (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 1993), 46–47, 108-142.

19 Bush, “Quiet, not Scornful,” 173. As Bush puts it, “the first page of Canto 76 […] retains a passage every element of which had been sketched out earlier in the year.” Bush, “Quiet, not Scornful,” 188.

20 Dante, Vita Nuova, XXIV 20–23.


25 The Italian translates as “on the slope and at the trihedral corner”; Pound passed a three-way junction every day as he walked from Rapallo up to Olga Rudge’s small house at Sant’Ambrogio. Carroll F. Terrell, A Companion to the Cantos of Ezra Pound (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 391.

26 See Bush, “Quiet Not Scornful,” for an account of these papers, kept at the Beinecke Library at Yale. .

27 Cunizia da Romana appears in Pound’s re-working of Canto 6 (6/22) between 1927 and 1930, in Canto 29 (29/141), briefly in Canto 36 (36/179), prominently in the Italian draft materials and in Canto 74 (74/458).

28 Bush, “Quiet not Scornful”?, 179. The reading of the Cantos as a “secret history” of Europe is suggested by Surette, Birth of Modernism, 37.


31 Two other aspects add to this divine significance. As recounted in the version of Canto 6 published in 1930, on leaving her husband for Sordello she freed her slaves, signaling her own liberty and her magnanimity (6/22–3). Secondly, as noted in Canto 74, she defended her brother Ezzelino, who was also consigned to the Inferno for his ferocity (74/445–46).


Terrell, Companion, 391.


Bush, “‘Quiet Not Scornful’,” 173.


See J. J. Wilhelm, Ezra Pound: The Tragic Years (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) for details of his friendship with Judith Gautier (229, 239) and Jean Cocteau (234, 239–40).

From the 1927 hit “Ain’t She Sweet” by Milton Ager and Jack Yellen.

Bush, “‘Quiet, not Scornful,’” 188.

Bush, Guide to Kulchur, 44.

Bush, Guide to Kulchur, 328.

Pound, Literary Essays, 175. See Bush, “La filosofica famiglia,” 671–5, 695n.7 for details of Pound’s reading of Cavalcanti through Avicenna under the influence of Dino Del Garbo’s commentary on “Donna Mi Prega”.


Stephen Sicari suggests the association with Aeneas in Pound’s Epic Ambition, 133.