

**The Reception of Troubadour Poetry in
sixteenth-Century Italy, from the *Questione
della Lingua* to Giovanni Maria Barbieri's *Arte
del Rimare***



Francesco Feriozzi

St Catherine's College
University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Trinity Term 2023

Acknowledgments

I have managed to get away with writing two theses without including any acknowledgments. This time though, given the size of the work (in terms of time devoted to it, if not in the quality of the results), I have no choice.

In a roughly chronological order, I am indebted to Paola Italia, Stefano Asperti, Emilio Russo, Annalisa Cipollone, who all had a role in shaping this project in its early phases. I am also grateful to Francesca Southerden and Elena Lombardi for reading early versions of chapters One and Two, and Dario Brancato for his suggestions for Chapter Five. I'd also like to thank the personnel of the Taylor Institution, the Weston Library, the Old Bod, and of the Catz library in Oxford; the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence; the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio in Bologna (especially Maria Grazia Bollini and Clara Maldini).

I would also like to thank the organisers of the LaTeX for Humanities course, and all the people maintaining the LaTeX packages and other non-profit open-source resources I have used here, as well as the people who keep the invaluable *Internet Archive* alive despite the shameful attacks it is undergoing. I'd also like to thank the *Arts and Humanities Research Council* and St Catherine's College for supporting my DPhil.

Among the people whose support was both academic and personal, I'd like to mention Matilde, Laura, and Francesco; Martina, Tommaso, Samuele who offered invaluable bibliographical help *de lonh*; Ugo for his help with understanding LaTeX; Fanny, Alessandro, and Peer who helped keep the Italian Research Seminar up, running, and independent.

On a purely personal level, I have met many wonderful people in the last four years, and had the occasion to strengthen many pre-existing ties. In alphabetical order and surely forgetting someone I'd like to mention: Abelardo, Andi, Gennaro, Giulia, Karl, Katie, Lisa, Ludovica, Syd—and everyone at Catz.

Così – per dirla con un copista quattrocentesco – *ritorno alla mia lingua bella* per ringraziare tutta la mia famiglia e in primo luogo i miei genitori, senza i quali niente di tutto questo mi sarebbe stato possibile.

Ma più che a chiunque altro, questa tesi è dedicata alla memoria di zio Ivano e zia Bianca.

Contents

Short Abstract	VII
Long Abstract.....	IX
Note on manuscripts used and abbreviations	1
Introduction.....	4
1. From the age of the troubadours to the <i>questione della lingua</i>	5
2. Cultural distance	17
3. State of the art	20
4. Aims and methodology	23
Chapter One. Angelo Colocci: The troubadours against the Romance background.....	27
1. Early approaches (1500–15)	28
Vaticano Latino 4831: Notes towards a history of poetry.....	31
2. First Steps Into Romance Poetry: The <i>De vulgari eloquentia</i> , chansonnier <i>M</i> , and Casassagia’s translations (1514–15)	37
3. Colocci between the Romance tradition and the <i>lingua comune</i> : MS Vat. Lat. 4817 and chansonnier <i>M</i> ’s marginalia (1529–44).....	41
Vat. Lat. 4817: The <i>lingua comune</i>	42
Vat. Lat. 4817: Colocci’s definition of Occitan	44
Vat. Lat. 4817: A history of rhymed poetry	48
Manuscript <i>M</i> , the <i>questione della lingua</i> , and the Romance world.....	52
4. Colocci’s community	55
Conclusion to Chapter One	59
Chapter Two. Pietro Bembo: Selective philology and the troubadours	60

1. Bembo's philological work towards the Aldines	61
2. The <i>Prose</i> (1508–25).....	68
Bembo's <i>Prose</i> : Chronology and sources	68
Bembo's <i>Prose</i> : The history of Occitan poetry and its influence on Italian	72
Bembo's <i>Prose</i> : An Occitan origin for Italian metrics.....	75
Bembo's <i>Prose</i> : The list of poets	79
Bembo's <i>Prose</i> : The list of words.....	81
3. After the <i>Prose</i> (1529–47)	85
Bembo's Troubadour Edition.....	90
Conclusion to Chapter Two	93
Chapter Three. Mario Equicola: The troubadours and the court.....	94
1. The handwritten <i>Libro de natura de amore</i> and the <i>Institutioni al comporre sopra ogni sorte de rima</i> (1500–15).....	95
2. The <i>Chronica di Mantua</i> (1517–21).....	97
3. The printed <i>Libro de natura de amore</i> (1521–25).....	99
Conclusion to Chapter Three	106
Chapter Four. Lodovico Castelvetro: Polemics and philology	107
1. First steps, the shadow of Delminio and a secretary of the Queen of France (1530–46)	108
2. The <i>Rime sposte</i>	111
Two more Occitan notes	118
3. Rise and fall of an edition (1551–57).....	119
Castelvetro and Barbieri's Provençal edition: The collaborators.....	123

Castelvetro and Barbieri's Provençal edition: Traces	125
Castelvetro and Barbieri's Provençal edition: An Interrupted Effort.....	127
4. The <i>Giunte alle 'Prose' di Messer Pietro Bembo</i> (1550–60)	130
The <i>Giunte</i> : Word derivations.....	133
The <i>Giunte</i> : Literary influence.....	136
5. The <i>Rime provenzali</i> during the exile	137
6. The <i>Correttione d'alcune cose nel 'dialogo delle lingue' di Benedetto</i> <i>Varchi</i> (1570–71)	139
Conclusion to Chapter Four	143
Chapter Five. A Linguist's Eye on the Troubadours: Benedetto Varchi	145
1. <i>Regole della grammatica provenzale</i> (post-1551)	149
The <i>Regole della grammatica provenzale</i> : Sources.....	150
The <i>Regole della grammatica provenzale</i> and Varchi's competence	155
2. The <i>Hercolano</i> (ante 1570).....	160
The <i>Hercolano</i> : Origins of Occitan and its collocation within Varchi's linguistic system.....	162
The <i>Hercolano</i> : Tuscan's debt towards Occitan	166
The <i>Hercolano</i> : Perception and Understanding of Occitan and of its literature	175
Conclusion to Chapter Five.....	178
Chapter Six. Giovanni Maria Barbieri: Italian as Occitan's heir	180
1. More testimonies of the Barbieri-Castelvetro edition	181
2. The poems (1554-58).....	184
<i>Treperuno</i> III.3.....	184

‘Pioggia d’un bel pensier ne l’alma mia’	186
3. Barbieri in the 1560s: <i>La guerra d’Atila</i>	187
4. The <i>Arte del rimare</i> (1572–74)	190
The <i>Arte del rimare</i> : Sources	192
The <i>Arte del rimare</i> : Occitan Literature and the vernacular tradition.....	206
The <i>Arte del rimare</i> : A definition of the Occitan language and of the Romance Middle Ages	210
The <i>Arte del rimare</i> : Troubadour biographies and verse	212
The <i>Arte del rimare</i> : An Occitan canon?	214
The <i>Arte del rimare</i> : Romance languages in the present day and the <i>questione della lingua</i>	217
5. Excursus: Barbieri’s materials after his death.....	220
Conclusion to Chapter Six	222
Conclusion	224
1. Philological and antiquarian interest.....	227
2. The <i>questione della lingua</i> and the troubadours	229
3. The reception of troubadour poetry as transformation.....	232
4. Sources	235
5. Impact	221
Appendix. Giovanni Maria Barbieri’s <i>Arte del rimare</i> . A Critical Edition	239
Bibliography.....	588

The Reception of Troubadour Poetry in sixteenth-Century Italy, from the *Questione della Lingua* to Giammaria Barbieri's *Arte del Rimare*

Francesco Feriozzi (St Catherine's College)

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Trinity Term 2023)

Short Abstract

This thesis discusses the rediscovery of troubadour poetry among Italian intellectuals of the sixteenth century focusing on how such activity connects with the debate on the vernacular known as the *questione della lingua*. It does so by examining the activity of six authors, to each of whom a chapter is dedicated: Angelo Colocci, Pietro Bembo, Mario Equicola, Lodovico Castelvetro, Benedetto Varchi, and Giammaria Barbieri. Their relationship with Occitan poetry is examined chiefly through the study of the manuscript sources they knew and the ways in which they situated the Occitan literary tradition in their own literary and ideological systems.

The thesis demonstrates how the interest for troubadour poetry chiefly stemmed from the study of Petrarch and Dante and was interpreted by applying interpretative schemes developed within the *questione della lingua*. In turn, the thesis shows how the evolving knowledge of Occitan had a role in shaping these linguistic theories and the perceptions of the six authors studied with regard to the Romance literatures of the Middle Ages, as well as providing the authors with cultural and literary authority.

This thesis brings together in a single monographic form the many discoveries made by scholarship after the last major contribution on the matter (published in 1911), and at the same time offers a variety of new findings, including a reconsideration of the use of Occitan by Angelo Colocci, a re-evaluation of Varchi's knowledge and interest for matters of Occitan poetry, and new findings regarding Castelvetro, Varchi, and Barbieri's Occitan sources.

The thesis contains, in the appendix, a critical edition of a fundamental treatise representing one of the major contributions to Occitan studies in the sixteenth century, that is, Barbieri's *Arte del rimare*. The edition draws upon the autograph manuscripts and the 1790 printed edition and follows the principles of authorial philology.

The Reception of Troubadour Poetry in sixteenth-Century Italy, from the *Questione della Lingua* to Giammaria Barbieri's *Arte del Rimare*

Francesco Feriozzi (St Catherine's College)

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Trinity Term 2023)

Long Abstract

This thesis discusses the rediscovery of troubadour poetry among Italian intellectuals throughout the sixteenth century with a special focus on how this activity connects with the contemporary debate on the definition of linguistic and literary standards and norms for the Italian vernacular known as the *questione della lingua*. It does so by focusing on the activity of six authors—Angelo Colocci, Pietro Bembo, Mario Equicola, Lodovico Castelvetro, Benedetto Varchi, and Giammaria Barbieri—whose relationship with Occitan poetry is here examined chiefly through the evaluation of the ways in which they situated the Occitan literary tradition in their ideological systems and of which manuscript sources they knew. Each of these figures is given a separate chapter.

Despite being highly influential on medieval Italian poetry from its origins to Petrarch and Boccaccio's generation, troubadour poetry was mostly forgotten during the fifteenth century, and is rediscovered early in the sixteenth as part of the philological study carried out on Dante and above all on Petrarch. Given its status as the only example of an authoritative tradition in the vernacular, sixteenth-century scholars studied troubadour poetry and its legacy by applying to them the interpretative schemes developed within the *questione della lingua*. The thesis shows, for instance, that authors who believed in the importance of courts in defining linguistic standards such as Angelo Colocci and Mario Equicola would stress the role played by such environments in the development and maintenance of the literary tradition. Similarly, Pietro Bembo, the proponent of a new vernacular classicism, used the fact that troubadour poetry was unable to survive the fall of its socio-cultural *milieu* as evidence of the need to establish literary standards on more solid grounds.

In turn, the dissertation examines how the study of Occitan had a role in shaping these linguistic theories and these authors' perception of the Romance literatures of the Middle Ages. It shows that Angelo Colocci looks for the influence of troubadour poetry on Dante and Petrarch with the intention of proving that the language of these authors was an assemblage of many different elements and cannot be understood as purely Tuscan. It also highlights how in a similar way, but with the intention of celebrating the Florentine tradition, Benedetto Varchi uses Occitan poetry to legitimise and explain Florentine linguistic forms. Giovanni Maria Barbieri instead includes it within his reconstruction of the Romance literary canon as part of a teleological narrative that leads to Dante, and within which the apex of the Italian tradition is identified with authors who had a full and equal command of the three vernaculars of Italy, France and Occitania.

Ultimately, knowledge of Occitan, which was exclusive to few intellectuals, also served to attribute authority to them. This is especially evident in Lodovico Castelvetro, who displays his familiarity with the Occitan tradition to prove the validity of his linguistic studies and Pietro Bembo and Benedetto Varchi's allegedly insufficient knowledge of it as a way to disprove their linguistic theories.

This thesis brings together in a single monographic form the many discoveries made by scholarship after the last major contribution on the matter (by Santorre Debenedetti, 1911), and at the same time offers a variety of new findings. The first chapter deals with Angelo Colocci, whose first contact with Occitan literature is identified (as a long tradition of studies has established) in his conversations with

the poet Benet Gareth in Rome at the beginning of the century. We then discuss Colocci's *Apologia di Serafino Aquilano*, written in those same years, which represents the first public defence of the *lingua cortigiana*, and which stresses the individual author's linguistic freedom on the basis of Dante's example. It is argued that at the time Colocci must have had little to no direct knowledge of Occitan poetry, as proven by his notes in MS Vat. Lat. 4831. However, these same notes clearly show an early curiosity for the Occitan tradition and an attempt to insert it within a wider history of poetry. In 1515, after obtaining a manuscript copy of the *De vulgari eloquentia* and buying the chansonnier *M* from Gareth's widow together with a set of translated poems from this manuscript, Colocci is finally able to look at the Romance tradition with much more confidence, as testified by his marginalia on *M* and by MS Vat. Lat. 4817. This latter manuscript (datable to 1529–44) also shows that the knowledge of this poetic tradition allowed Colocci to develop an ideology that is theoretically more rigorous compared to that of the time of the *Apologia*, and rooted in the composite nature of the medieval Romance tradition. In this way, the chapter shows how Colocci justifies linguistic eclecticism and allows us to reconsider some of his translations of extracts of Occitan lyric carried out in the margins of his manuscript as integral to this program. The last section of the first chapter reconstructs the network of intellectuals—among whom was Pietro Bembo himself—who contributed to Colocci's study of Occitan by providing manuscripts or by sharing their knowledge.

The second chapter focuses on Pietro Bembo. It begins by reconstructing his level of familiarity with Occitan on the basis of the manuscript on which he prepared his Aldine editions of Dante and Petrarch in the very first years of the century, and reaches the conclusion—against some scholarship on the topic—that he was not very familiar with it at the time, although some influence of Colocci and MS *M* cannot be ruled out. Most of the chapter, however, focuses on his major dialogue on language, the *Prose* (1508–25), showing how the way it deals with troubadour poetry re-elaborates contents from Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* and from the troubadour chansonniers *H* and *K* to put them at the service of his linguistic ideology and to show the possibility for authors to adhere to a linguistic standard that does not necessarily coincide with their own. The chapter explores how Bembo establishes a direct derivation of much of Tuscan vocabulary and metrics from Occitan on the basis of the *De vulgari*, and minimises the possibility of any influence of Sicilian poetry on Tuscan on the basis of the aesthetic inferiority of the *scuola siciliana* compared to the troubadours. The chapter ultimately offers an overview of the critical edition of troubadour poetry that Bembo had planned in the 1530s but never produced, using Bembo's marginalia on MS *K* and a passage of Antonfrancesco Doni's dialogue *I Marmi* (1552) as a source.

The third chapter discusses the first author who ever published a complete Occitan poem in print, Mario Equicola. The chapter starts by examining Equicola's earliest references to Occitan poetry in the handwritten *Libro de natura de amore* (1505), clearly written before being directly exposed to Occitan poetry, and also suggests that the vague and erroneous references to Occitan in his *Institutioni al comporre sopra ogni sorte de rima* should be dated to around the same time. This chapter then moves to the *Chronica di Mantua*, published in 1521, in which Equicola is able to include a *tenso* between Sordello da Goito and Peire Guilhem which he accompanies with his own translation. Ultimately, in the printed version of the *Libro de natura de amore* (published in 1525), Equicola accumulates many troubadour quotations, interpreted through the filter of the 'platonic' view of love proposed by Sordello in the aforementioned poem. The *Libro* is also shown to be important since it reveals how, despite being all but convinced of the failure of the *lingua cortigiana*, Equicola still applies his declining linguistic ideology to the Occitan courts to represent the connections between courtly culture and an elevated literary tradition.

The fourth chapter deals with Lodovico Castelvetro, starting with a section discussing how much his early interest for Occitan is due to the influence of Giulio Camillo Delminio and Giovanni Maria

Barbieri. The chapter then moves to examining the references to Occitan within his commentary on Petrarch, which, posthumously published in 1582, assembles materials from different times. These references are extremely scarce and seem to testify to different states of the work, but they show a particular attention for the production of Gaucelm Faidit, which I believe is cited on the basis of the chansonnier *D*. The central section of this chapter focuses on a new attempt to produce a critical edition of the troubadours by Castelvetro and Barbieri, and traces the network of people who offered their support (including Varchi), discusses what materials were available to them and the few traces left of their attempt to edit the troubadours. This section also deals with the gradual dismissal of this project, whose failure can only be partially attributed to Castelvetro's exile. The following section is on the *Giunte alle 'Prose'*, written in the 1550s, and shows how Castelvetro, on the basis of his conviction that Occitan poetry came after the Sicilians and the Tuscans, disproves that Tuscan owes as much to the troubadours as the *Prose* claim, while also depicting Bembo as mostly ignorant of Occitan. In the fifth section we then briefly deal with which manuscripts were available to Castelvetro after he was exiled, and in the final one we show how Castelvetro's last treatise, the *Correttione*, dismantles Varchi's authority by showing the weakness of his knowledge of Occitan.

Chapter Five offers new findings on a mostly overlooked contributor to the sixteenth-century study of the troubadours, Benedetto Varchi. The chapter traces the evolution of Varchi's interests in this domain from a time when, having no direct knowledge of Occitan poetry, he entirely relies on Pietro Bembo's *Prose* (in some of his early production), to his final years when he writes the dialogue *L'Hercolano* in which the troubadours' language is placed within a wider typological definition of world languages and used to celebrate the Florentine tradition founded by Dante. Between these two phases the chapter also studies Varchi's close attention to the Occitan language which we can partly reconstruct through the study of his translation of the *Donatz proensals* and *Razos de trobar* preserved in a Florentine manuscript. The examination of this translation offers new material to gauge Varchi's Occitan competence and to rediscuss, against all the extant scholarship, which manuscript was used as a source.

The sixth chapter, on Giovanni Maria Barbieri, begins by discussing some more manuscripts and marginalia which can be attributed to Barbieri and Castelvetro's attempt to edit the troubadours and then moves to the discussion of some poems that Barbieri wrote in 1554–58, bringing new evidence of an influence of Occitan in this production. It then discusses Barbieri's translation of the Franco-Venetian poem *Attila flagellum dei* (1565), discussing the author's false claim that the poem was written in Occitan. The final section of this chapter, focusing on Barbieri's major treatise *Arte del rimare* (written between 1572 and 1574 and left incomplete) provides some new insights into Barbieri's study of Occitan poetry by re-defining the materials which make up the sources he employed (chiefly the *Libro siciliano* and the *Libro in assicelle*). It does this by comparing the quotations contained in *Arte del rimare* with manuscript *Mh2* which contains content drawn from the lost *Libro di Michele*. The chapter also highlights the influence of the *De vulgari eloquentia* and of Bembo's *Prose* on the *Arte*, and shows how Barbieri's treatise draws a history of rhymed poetry which identifies its origins in the Arab world and traces its spread from Spain and Sicily to the rest of Europe. In this context, troubadour poetry represents a key moment in the development of rhymed poetry by virtue of the social context which allowed it to thrive; the nobility reached by the Occitan language made its literature very influential on the greatest Italian authors, who allowed Italian to 'inherit' much of its quality and ultimately to become the most noble vernacular.

The conclusion brings together the main findings set out in the six chapters of the thesis, underlining key recurrent themes, such as whether Occitan poetry came before or after the poetic oeuvre of the Sicilians, and the debt that the Italian vernaculars owe to the troubadours. It also shows, against the prevailing view of scholarship, that there was a degree of cooperation among these scholars, since

some of them were in contact with one another (Bembo and Colocci; Castelvetro, Varchi, and Barbieri) and with other people, the most recurrent names being those of Giulio Camillo Delminio and Giovan Giorgio Trissino. Furthermore, the conclusion suggests how the model of transformation theory might be applied to the thesis's subject-matter, underlining how the more philological-antiquarian forms of transformation are largely prevalent over the more artistic ones—even if the 'Petrarchan' motivation for many of these studies constitutes a sort of underlying aesthetic background. The conclusion also deals with the legacy of Cinquecento Occitan studies, showing how—despite not creating an immediate tradition and not directly contributing to the development of modern Occitan studies in the nineteenth century—they had an impact on the work of many following authors ranging from Jean de Nostredame in the late Cinquecento, to Alessandro Tassoni in the early Seicento, to even the twentieth-century scholar Giulio Bertoni.

The thesis contains, in the appendix, a critical edition of a fundamental treatise representing one of the major contributions to Occitan studies in the sixteenth century, that is, Barbieri's *Arte del rimare*. The treatise is preserved by two autographs representing two different states of elaboration and which are both heavily mutilated, and by a printed edition edited by Girolamo Tiraboschi in 1790, and which is now the sole testimony of the first four chapters of the text. My edition is based on the reconsideration of the relationship between the two manuscript sources and the Tiraboschi edition, which has been hitherto generally considered as entirely carried out on the fair copy before it was mutilated. Tiraboschi appears to have instead employed both manuscripts to artificially assemble the entirety of the treatise, thus contaminating the two different states. The first three chapters are here edited on the basis of Tiraboschi, which is the only extant witness for them, while the two manuscripts are edited separately and in their entirety on the basis of Barbieri's most advanced corrections, and with an apparatus dealing with earlier versions of the text, as well as with the alterations introduced by a later corrector and by the Tiraboschi edition.

Note on manuscripts used and abbreviations

This thesis adopts the following *sigla* to refer to Occitan chansonniers. While mostly adopting the common identifiers, Arabic numerals in the superscript are avoided to prevent any confusion with footnotes:

A = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5232

A^a = Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera, AG.XIV.49

A^b = fragments Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12474 fol. 269; Ravenna, Biblioteca Comunale Classense, 165; Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, 54

B = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1592

C = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 856

C^m = fragment Castagnolo Minore (Bologna), Archivio Parrocchiale

D = Modena, Biblioteca estense universitaria, α.R.4.4

E = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1749

F = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. L. IV. 106

F^a = Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2981

F^b = Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 990

G = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 71 sup.

H = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3207

I = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 854

J = Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conv. Sopp., F. IV. 776

K = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12473, fols. 1–268

K^a = fragment Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Cod. frag. I, 265

L = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3206

M = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12474

Mh2 = Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 2 MS 6

N = New York, Morgan Library, M. 819

N2 = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1910

O = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3208

P = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 41, 42

Q = Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2909

R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22543

S = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 269

T = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 15211

U = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 41, 43

V = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, App. cod. XI

W = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844

X = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 20050

Y = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 795

Z = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1745

a = Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2814, fols. 1–132 (*a1*) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense
Universitaria, γ.N.8.4 11–13 (*a2*)

aII = Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2814, fols. 133–72

b1 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. 4087, fols. 1–8

b2 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. 4087, fols. 9–53

c = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 90 inf. 26

e = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. 3965

g1 = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3205

g2 = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Univ. 1290

m = fragments Milan, Biblioteca della facoltà di giurisprudenza; Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 135,
f 28

r = fragment Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 294

s = fragment Siena, Archivio di Stato, C 60 (int. 4)

z = fragment Bologna, Archivio di Stato

ψ = fragment Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 23789

ω = fragment Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, 1919

Other abbreviations:

Dve = Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*

Rvf = Petrarch, *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*

TC = Petrarch, *Triumphus Cupidinis*

Introduction

The lyric poetry of the Occitan troubadours was widely enjoyed, adopted, and imitated in medieval Italy from the late twelfth to the late fourteenth century. This tradition and its language were, however, mostly forgotten during the fourteenth century, only to be rediscovered, as the object of philological and linguistic research, by Cinquecento humanists. This thesis examines the connections between this rediscovery and the series of debates on the Italian language that goes under the name of *questione della lingua*. It does so through a close study of the production of six intellectuals—Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), Angelo Colocci (1474–1549), Mario Equicola (1470?–1525), Lodovico Castelvetro (1505–71), Benedetto Varchi (1503–65), and Giovanni Maria Barbieri (1519–74). The phenomenon will be analysed with a variety of methods ranging from the close reading of relevant passages from printed and unedited works to the analysis of manuscript circulation. The dissertation also includes in its appendix an edition of the unfinished treatise *Arte del rimare* by Giovanni Maria Barbieri which represents both the apex and last expression of this phenomenon.

This Introduction is structured in four sections. It opens with a historical presentation dealing with the flourishing of troubadour poetry in Italy, its fortune in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the reasons for its disappearance from Italian culture, and the rise of vernacular humanism and the *questione della lingua*. The second section examines the cultural distance between sixteenth-century Italy and the environment of the troubadours, attempting to identify which elements were common (and thus easily understandable for sixteenth-century readers of troubadour poetry) and which instead marked fundamental differences between the two cultures. In the third section we then briefly summarise the state of the art of the current knowledge of the rediscovery of the troubadours in sixteenth-century Italy and in the final section we set out the aims and methodology of the present thesis, as well as outlining its main chapters and its overall structure.

1. From the age of the troubadours to the *questione della lingua*

Troubadour poetry—as is well known—emerged in the early twelfth century and flourished throughout the following century. This corpus of verse is considered the first example of a European vernacular literature that presents itself as ‘authoritative’. In other words, for the first time in the history of Western vernacular literatures, authors take pride in regularly underscoring their identity and presenting their work as the refined expression of a system of values in which each text was in constant and conscious dialogue with those that came before and after it (De Riquer 1975: 9; Meneghetti 1984: 18–19). This form of poetry was written in Old Occitan, the language that was spoken in the area of modern France between the Atlantic Ocean in the West, the Western Alps in the East, the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean Sea to the South, and an ideal line passing South of the Loire from Poitou to Auvergne to the North (Roncaglia 2010: 10–11; De Riquer 1975: 10; Gaunt-Kay 1999: 2–3).¹ Since the very beginnings of their production, troubadours are both poets by trade and ‘occasional’ writers, and despite the fact that the ideology of troubadour poetry is deeply rooted in that of the feudal nobility, they come from a remarkable variety of social backgrounds, from the royalty and lower nobility to the clergy, from the mercantile class to lower strata of society (De Riquer 1975: 21–25). Despite its geographical and social variety, Old Occitan poetry was characterised by a common vocabulary, and, to some extent, a literary *koiné* characterised by a particular openness to polymorphism (Zufferey 1987: 312; Gaunt-Kay 1999: 3).² Troubadours were often itinerant, and this mobility facilitated the spread of the phenomenon well beyond its area of origin at an early date. Thus, for example, one of the earliest troubadours, Marcabru, is known to have frequented the court of Castile as early as 1140 (Paterson 1993: 94).

The earliest certain traces of troubadour activity in Italy date to the last third of the twelfth century, when the Occitans Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Peire Vidal, and Gaucelm Faidit, came to the

¹ The border between *langue d’oc* and *langue d’oil* was, however, especially to the North and to the area of the Massif Central, not that clear-cut and not constant over time (Pfister 2002: 65–66).

² The modern perception of the troubadour *koiné* is in part due to the linguistic ‘levelling’ operated by the chansonniers (and a general tendency of Occitan to lend itself to little dialectal variation), but it is undeniable that linguistic variation among the poets is relatively limited, and, what is fundamental to our point, that the ideologically-charged courtly vocabulary is shared (Zufferey 1987: 312–13).

Italian courts in search of protection, especially that of Montferrat. However, it is very likely that professional *jongleurs*, that is, those who would mainly perform other people's poems rather than compose their own, were already active in Italy by that time. The earliest troubadours to have crossed the Alps all seem to have come from either the lower nobility or the merchant class, in the hope of bettering their social condition thanks to the Italian lords' prebends. The case of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras is exemplary here. Of lowly birth, he came to the court of Montferrat where he first became the squire of the Marquis Bonifacio and then, after accompanying him in Henry VI's Sicilian campaign, was knighted by the Marquis, with whom he shared many an adventure, as he recalls in the 'Epic letter' (BEdT 392,III) written around 1205 (Bertoni 1915: xv–xvi; Raimbaut de Vaqueiras 1964: 15–16, 33–35).

While Montferrat appears unequalled in the protection offered to the troubadours between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, after Bonifacio died that role is disputed by other courts—chiefly that of the Este (Azzo VI, Aldrovando, and Azzo VII, as well as Azzo VI's daughter Beatrice), and the Malaspina (Conrad the Old and William; De Bartholomaeis 1931: xxxiv), as well as those of the Da Romano and Da Camino. By the 1220s, Occitan *jongleurs* and troubadours are also attested to in Tuscany (Bertoni 1915: 3–5; Resconi 2014: 278–82). The extent to which the troubadours became integrated in the Italian environments is demonstrably evident in the passion troubadours express, in their political poems, for the events of the peninsula, as well as in their displays of gratitude towards their Italian patrons. By the late 1200s, politics will in fact become the principal object of Italian troubadour poetry (Meneghetti 1984: 211–12; IdT).

Members of the Italian élites soon adopted the language and style of the troubadours. Already in the 1170s, a satirical poem by Peire d'Alvernhe (BEdT 323,11, lines 73–78) mentions an old Lombard, possibly called Cossezen, among the twelve troubadours he mocks (Guida 2005). Other than Peire's vague reference, the production of no less than twenty-seven Italian troubadours active c. 1200–50 survives (Bertoni 1915: 22–32). These poets mostly belonged to Northern Italian élites, coming from the feudal nobility (Alberto Malaspina, Sordello da Goito), the notarial class (Simone

Doria, Rambertino Buvailelli), or even the merchant ‘bourgeoisie’ (Calega Panzan, Bartolomeo Zorzi) (Bertoni 1915: 100–1, 112–13; Cabré 1999: 128–29).³

The major ‘international’ powers in Duecento Italy were also connected to the troubadours. Even Frederick II Hohenstaufen, traditionally depicted as indifferent towards troubadour poetry, is widely mentioned or addressed to in troubadour poetry of the thirteenth century. Occitan poets were among his cortège when he was crowned emperor in 1220 (Annunziata 2017; IdT), and when, in the 1260s, Charles of Anjou battles for southern Italy against the empire, Italian troubadours take part on both sides (De Bartholomaeis 1931: xlvii–lxxx). Charles of Anjou himself is subsequently known to have hosted troubadours at his Neapolitan court, although he does not seem to have been interested in fuelling a proper troubadour environment there (Asperti 1995: 216–20). The late twelfth century seems to mark the end of the production of troubadour poetry in Italy, with the exception of an anonymous *planh* for Robert of Anjou, who died in 1343 (De Bartholomaeis 1931: lxxx).

It is also important to note that Occitan enjoyed a special status in Italy as a ‘standardised’ language. While French could easily be hybridised with northern Italian vernaculars producing the variant known as Franco-Italian or Franco-Venetian, the Italians writing in Occitan observed (or strove to observe) its grammar as much as was possible (De Bartholomaeis 1931: xii, lxii; Keller 1995: 295). Connected to such concerns is the development, in the thirteenth century, of what we might term secondary literature, that is, grammatical and stylistic aids aimed at Italians who wished to compose in Occitan. These works include: Uc Faidit’s *Donat proensal* (a grammar commissioned by two Italian lords); Terramagnino da Pisa’s *Doctrina de cort* (a poetic compendium of Raimon Vidal’s treatise *Razos de trobar*); and Joffre de Foixa’s *Regles de trobar*, which, despite being produced by a Catalan author for the Aragonese king of Sicily, is likely to have been written in Italy (Debenedetti 1995: 8–9; Marshall 1972: lxxii–lxxiii). By the mid-thirteenth century, Occitan literature had therefore become an endemic feature in Italian literary culture, and had achieved the status of ‘high’ culture, even making its way into the circuits of the university of Bologna, where it was customary to

³ Something similar happens in Tuscany, where local production in Occitan is definitely minoritarian and socially defined as aristocratic (Viel 2021: 57).

buy Occitan chansonniers (De Bartholomaeis 1931: xii). The literary consideration that Occitan still enjoyed in Italy in the fourteenth century is especially reflected in the figure of Ferrarino da Ferrara, who is probably to be identified with a *doctor grammaticae* active at the courts of the Este and Da Camino (Boutière-Schutz 1973: 580). Ferrarino is best known for the anthology of *coblas* extracted from Occitan poems preserved at fols. 243–60 of MS *D* (*D*^c)—a production fitting for someone who is, as Gianfranco Folena put it, ‘un maestro di scuola e in certo modo un filologo, custode d’una lingua ormai morta’ (1976: 455).⁴

The vitality of the Italian assimilation of, and interest in, Occitan poetry is also reflected in manuscript production. Fifty-two of the ninety-five manuscripts listed by Brunel in 1935 (about fifty of which are full-fledged chansonniers) come from Italy, and of the few new sources that have emerged since then, a good number are Italian (Avalle 1993: 23–24). Among the manuscripts created before 1500, *A, D, G, H, I, K, L, N, O, Q, S, T, U* (as well as the fragments *A^b, C^m, m, z, r, and s*) all come from northern Italy (mostly the Veneto), *P* and *c* are from central Italy (and *J*, despite having been created in Languedoc, was in Florence already in the Duecento), and *M* is Neapolitan, while *F* may be either from the Veneto or Tuscany (Asperti 2002: 530–31; Viel 2021: 48).⁵ The importance of the Italian peninsula for the transmission of Occitan poetry is also confirmed by philological data. If we ‘climb up’ the *stemma codicum* of the extant chansonniers, we find that the most prolific tradition derives from a sub-archetype created in the Veneto that is known as *ε*, and another tradition, called ‘terza tradizione’ by Avalle, was widespread in Tuscany and likely to have its roots in northern Italy (Avalle 1993: 75–102).⁶

Given this background, it is, then, unsurprising that the earliest attested presence of poetry in the Italian vernaculars was heavily influenced by the Occitan tradition. This can be seen in the very first testimony of poetry in Italian, that is, the two compositions contained on the verso of Ravenna,

⁴ Ferrarino might also be the author of the collection of *descortz* found in MS *N*, see Canettieri 1992.

⁵ To these we can add MSS *B, K^a* and *ψ*, whose place of origin is less certain (Asperti 2002: 530).

⁶ The independence of the ‘terza tradizione’ is actually matter of contention—but the fact that the Italian MSS *PSUc* all share important characteristics, at least in terms of the canon they present, is undisputable (Viel 2021: 54).

Archivio storico arcivescovile, MS 11518 ter, which were written between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and use vocabulary, expressions, and metaphors of clear Occitan derivation (Stussi 1999: 25–36; 39–40). Leaving this early and still mysterious testimony aside, the *scuola siciliana*, which was elaborated by functionaries active at Frederick II’s court around 1230, might have been conceived in conscious yet complex opposition to Occitan poetry. It does not engage with contemporary troubadours but rather focuses on ‘classics’ such as Folquet de Marselha and Rigaut de Berbezilh, while also reducing the gamut of possible themes to the love thematic alone. In addition to this, the Sicilians—as is well known—deal with love in a very different manner from troubadour poetry, representing it as a purely psychic phenomenon, at the expense of any ‘realistic’ characterisation of the loved one, as well as of any social aspiration (Meneghetti 1984: 211–23). The different social and ideological background is probably the reason why, despite many generic points of contact in terms of vocabulary and expressions, direct quotation from Occitan is relatively rare among the Sicilians.⁷ A peculiar confirmation of the ideological differences between Sicilian and Occitan poetry is in the activity of the Genoese Percivalle Doria who wrote his love poetry in the language of the *scuola siciliana*, but resorted to Occitan instead when dealing with political issues (Folena 1965: 284–85; Göbbels DBI).

It is possible that the early poetry composed in the Italian vernaculars in the mainland—or at least in Tuscany and Bologna (where it was the expression of the urban bourgeoisie)—also aimed at staking its distance from the Occitan tradition, which was perceived as the voice of a more traditionally aristocratic class (Asperti 1995: 190–96). Nevertheless, a direct influence from Occitan poetry can be found in the compositions preserved by the *memoriali bolognesi*, as well as in the production of the Tuscan poets of the Duecento, who also had access to the texts of the *scuola siciliana* and often hybridised the two traditions (Antonelli-Pedrini 2001: 26–29; Viel 2021: 56).

⁷ The two main exceptions are two full-fledged poetic translations of Occitan poems: Giacomo da Lentini’s ‘Madonna, dir vo voglio’ which is based on Folquet de Marselha’s ‘A vos, midons, voill retrair’ en chantan’ (BEdT 155,4), and Iacopo Mostacci’s ‘Umile core e fino e amoroso’ that is a translation of Rigaut de Berbezilh’s ‘Longa sazón ai estat vas amor’ (BEdT 276,1).

What is more, some Tuscan poets, including Terramagnino da Pisa, Dante da Maiano, and Paolo Lanfranchi da Pistoia, wrote in both languages (Folena 1970: 25–28; Meneghetti 1984: 214).

In the fourteenth century, troubadour poetry remained very influential on Tuscan poetry, as shown by Francesco da Barberino's encyclopaedic *Documenti d'amore* (1313–14). More importantly to our ends, Dante Alighieri flourished around this same time. Echoes of Occitan poetry can be found throughout his lyric poetry, among which his adoption of the sestina is possibly the most evident feature of his close contact with their poetry (Debenedetti 1995: 9). One important source to understand Dante's perception of the troubadour tradition is his unfinished Latin treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* (1303–4). In this work, Dante—despite not knowing that the Romance languages all derive from Latin—clearly separates out from the other vernaculars the three languages of *sì*, *oc* and *oïl*, and sees them as sharing a common origin; he also attributes to them a special dignity derived from the fact that these three languages all have an illustrious poetic tradition. More specifically, the Occitan tradition is defined in the following way:

Pro se vero argumentatur alia, scilicet *oc*, quod vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquela, ut puta Petrus de Alvernia et alii antiquiores doctores. (I, x, 3)⁸

These 'vulgares eloquentes', the troubadours, are quoted repeatedly in the treatise. Other than the aforementioned Peire d'Alvernhe, Dante singles out Bertran de Born as the singer of arms, Arnaut Daniel as the singer of love, and Giraut de Borneil as the singer of morality (II, II, 9). Many of the examples adduced are also from the troubadours—Giraut de Borneil's 'Si per mon Sobretotz no fos' (BEdT 242,73), Folquet de Marselha's 'Tan m'abelis l'amoros pensamens' (BEdT 155,22), Arnaut Daniel's 'Sols sui qui sai lo sobrafan que.m sortz' (BEdT 29,18), Aimeric de Belenoi's 'Nuls hom no pot complir adrechamen' (BEdT 9,14), and Aimeric de Pegulhan's 'Si com l'arbres que per sobrecargar' (BEdT 10,50). In addition to these poets and works, Sordello da Goito is mentioned at I, xv, 2 as an author who intentionally abandoned his natural vernacular for a different language, with

⁸ 'The second part, the language of *oc*, argues in its own favour that eloquent writers in the vernacular first composed poems in this sweeter and more perfect language: they include Peire d'Alvernhe and other ancient masters' (Dante 1996a: 23). The Latin text is from Dante 1996.

strong implications for the possibility for an ‘illustrious’ form of vernacular to spread beyond its area of origin (Barolini 1984: 161–63).⁹

The *Commedia* also includes a variety of references to Occitan literature. Here, we will limit ourselves to the explicit ones, that is, the presence of four troubadours among the souls encountered by Dante in his otherworld journey. The first is Bertran de Born, who, in a stark departure from his celebration in the *De vulgari* (II, II, 9), is condemned as a sower of discord in *Inferno* 28, where he is presented in a macabre fashion, holding aloft his own severed head (*Inf.* 28, 118–42).¹⁰ As Dante knew well, enmity and calls to war are recurrent strands in Bertran’s poetry to the point of becoming proverbial, as is also shown by the depiction of Bertran within the *Ciento novelle antike* (19 and 20: see *Novellino* 2001).¹¹

In the *Purgatorio*, Dante gives more pronounced and explicit attention to Occitan culture. In canto 6, he meets the soul of Sordello, presented as ‘altera e disdegnosa’ (line 62). Sordello accompanies Dante and his guide Virgil in the following two cantos, and presents, in *Purgatorio* 7 (lines 85–136), a ‘gallery’ of souls of political men from all over Europe inspired by a poem written by the historical Sordello, ‘Plaigner voill en Blacatz en aquest leugier so’ (BEdT 437,24). In canto 26, Dante then meets Guido Guinizzelli, whom he hails as a poetic ‘padre’ and who, in turn, shows him a ‘miglior fabbro del parlar materno’, Arnaut Daniel (line 117). During this meeting, and in opposition to what he had claimed in the *De vulgari*, Dante here declares the superiority of Arnaut Daniel to Giraut de Borneil (118–20). *Purgatorio* 26 is also notable as Arnaut speaks to Dante in his own language. The passage is one that received much later treatment and so we will quote it in full here:

⁹ A different interpretation has been given by Marco Boni (ED) according to whom Dante is not referring to Sordello’s choice of writing in Occitan, but to how Mantua’s vernacular absorbed influences from many neighbouring areas.

¹⁰ All citations from the *Commedia* throughout this thesis come from the edition available on *Biblioteca italiana* (Dante 1994).

¹¹ For a discussion of the different appraisal of Bertran in the *Commedia* compared to *Dve*, see Picone 1979 and Barolini 1984: 159–62

El comenciò liberamente a dire:
«Tan m'abellis vostre cortes deman,
qu'ieu no me puesc ni voill a vos cobrire.

Ieu sui Arnaut, que plor e vai cantan;
consiros vei la passada folor,
e vei jausen lo joi qu'esper, denan.

Ara vos prec, per aquella valor
que vos guida al som de l'escalina,
sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor!».

Poi s'ascose nel foco che li affina. (ll. 139–48)

Despite the philological problems of the passage, Dante's Occitan is doubtlessly Italianised, as is shown most evidently by the rhyme-word 'cobrire' instead of the grammatically correct 'cobrir'. Still, the canto shows undeniable evidence of Dante's familiarity with the Occitan corpus (Perugi 1978: 136–43). As well as acknowledging the superiority of Arnaut over Giraut de Borneil, Dante includes more subtle references, such as the expression 'Tan m'abellis', a relatively common incipit also used by Folquet de Marselha (in BEdT 155,22). He also consciously resemanticizes 'jauzir', 'esperar', 'valor', words that troubadour poetry had applied to earthly love and which are now attributed to a spiritual context (Bowra 1952: 469–70). The fourth troubadour found in the *Commedia* is Folquet de Marselha, who is presented, in *Paradiso* 9 (ll. 73–142), purely as a bishop, with no mention of his activity as a poet, in what might be a commentary on the troubadour's failure to fully reconcile love poetry and religious aspirations (Kay 2015: 229–35).

One generation later, Petrarch also displays good familiarity with the Occitan tradition. Its influence can be found throughout the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* in individual concepts, expressions, and rhyme schemes. However, as Petrarch has a general tendency to conceal artfully his debts towards vernacular authors, these influences rarely reach the level of explicit homages (Santagata 1990: 11–12; Pulsoni 1998: 173–229). Arnaut Daniel—often mediated by Dante's *rime petrose*—is the only troubadour that Petrarch imitates openly (Santagata 1990: 206; Pulsoni 1998:

235).¹² Petrarch's special consideration of Arnaut Daniel is especially visible in the *versus cum auctoritate* (*Rvf* 70 'Lasso me, ch'i' non so in qual parte pieghi'), possibly composed in the 1350s (Petarca 1996: 346–47). Each stanza of the poem ends with a direct quotation from a vernacular *auctoritas*. Among these additions is an Occitan quotation at line 10, from poem BEdT 233,4 ('Razon e dreg ai, si.m chant e.m demori', cited by Petrarch as 'Drez et rayson es qu'ieu ciant e.m demori'), which is attributed to an imitator of Arnaut Daniel, Guilhem de Saint Gregori, by the only extant manuscript that gives an attribution (*C*). However, there exists a tradition, perhaps reflected by the lost *chansonnier de Sault*, which attributed it to Arnaut Daniel, and it is extremely likely that this was what Petrarch himself believed as well (Asperti-Pulsoni 1989).¹³ By including in this poem the quotation from 233,4 alongside quotations by Guido Cavalcanti, Dante, Cino da Pistoia, and Petrarch himself, Petrarch was therefore claiming his place in a poetic canon which began with Arnaut.

In the fourth *capitolo* of his allegorical poem, the *Triumph* (1356–74), which he left unfinished, Petrarch presents a cortège of those enslaved by love. Among the figures enumerated we find the troubadours who are characterised by 'portamenti e [...] volgari strani' (line 39).¹⁴ At the head of this cortège, we again meet Arnaut Daniel, celebrated for his elaborate and elegant style (ll. 41–42). After him, follows a list of fourteen more troubadours, described elliptically with allusions to their biographies found in the chansonniers, clearly implying that the reader is expected to already be familiar with these figures (ll. 43–54; Pulsoni 1998: 228–35).

¹² It is likely that until the mid-1300s Petrarch mostly had an indirect knowledge of Arnaut through Dante, and that it is only after coming into contact with northern Italian courts that he obtained a wider knowledge of the poet. In a note to his poem 'Aspro core e selvaggio' that we only know through copies, Petrarch admitted that he imitated a line which 'legi Padue [or 'pridie'] in cantilena Arnaldi Danielis *Aman prian s'afancha cors uffecs*' (BEdT 29,1, line 40). This note is also the only attested case of Petrarch explicitly admitting to imitating a vernacular author. This also tells us that Petrarch experienced Arnaut's poem from a chansonnier, rather than from any form of performances (the source is *T* or a similar manuscript according to Bertoni [1915: 196], followed by Santagata [1990: 209], a manuscript close to *a* for Asperti and Pulsoni [1989:170]; cf. Avalle 1993: 85). Benvenuto da Imola, in commenting *Purg.* 26, says that Petrarch 'fatebatur sponte se accepisse [*scil.* from Arnaut Daniel] modum et stylum cantilenae de quatuor [*sic*] rhythmis et non a Dante' (Benvenuto 1887: IV, 134; Arnaut Daniel 1883: 55–56).

¹³ The earliest known manuscript to contain this attribution is Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Laur. Strozzii 178, which, written in the fourteenth century, also represents one of the earliest exegetical efforts to be carried out on Petrarch's *Fragmenta* (Debenedetti 1910: 98–99).

¹⁴ All quotations of the *Triumph* are from the Pacca edition (Petarca 1996).

In spite of the rich context that we have been sketching, it is notable that, after Petrarch's generation, troubadour poetry and its language completely disappeared from Italian culture. This is due to the fact that the Italian tradition, and Petrarch in particular, had founded a new form of poetry which incorporated much of the form and contents of troubadour lyric, and yet presented what we might call a lower language barrier, without troubadour poetry's reliance on an outmoded ideological system. This development, coupled with the rise of humanism and its disinterest for vernacular poetry, resulted in almost a century (from the late fourteenth to the late fifteenth century) during which knowledge of the language and literature of the troubadours in Italy is virtually non-existent, with a few notable exceptions such as the Occitan chansonnier *c* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plutei 90 Inf. 26, written in a humanistic hand in the fifteenth century) and the anonymous poem *Leandreide*, written *ante* 1425, which contains an entire canto, the eighth, in which Arnaut de Maroill offers a list of his fellow troubadours speaking in Occitan (Rieger 1994: 213; Canettieri 1996).

In the period in which Occitan disappeared from Italian culture—that is, between the second half of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century—, humanist culture began to flourish, bringing with it an intensified focus on Latin and (later) Greek texts, often to the neglect of the vernacular. This disinterest for the vernacular, which had some basis in Petrarch's own judgments on the relative merits of literature in Latin and the vernacular (Coletti 1993: 58), led to a period (c. 1380–c.1480) that has been called the 'crisis of the vernacular' (Migliorini 1994: 230–32).¹⁵ And yet, it is precisely within the humanist movement that some of the earliest manifestations of an interest for the study of the vernacular appeared, with traditional humanists such as Coluccio Salutati and Francesco Filelfo showing appreciation for the *tre corone* (Marazzini 1993: 237–38; Gilson 2019: 87–94). The prejudicial disdain for the vernacular, so richly debated in the early Quattrocento in Leonardo Bruni's *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, found explicit opposition in Leon Battista Alberti's activity, which included the promotion of a poetic competition in the vernacular, the *Certame coronario* (1441). It was, however, from the 1460s, that the use of the vernacular as a literary

¹⁵ Such 'crisis' must obviously be understood as a purely literary phenomenon, and not concerning any other use of the vernacular.

language was promoted programmatically and politically in the Florence of Lorenzo de' Medici (Marazzini 2002: 239–42).

The problem of the legitimation of the vernacular intertwined with a controversy on the linguistic condition of ancient Rome. The key event of this debate is a discussion, testified by Biondo Flavio and Poggio Bracciolini, which took place in Florence in 1435 between Biondo Flavio himself and the aforementioned Leonardo Bruni: Bruni claimed that spoken Latin was different from the literary one and is at the root of the vernacular; Biondo Flavio instead believed in a substantial linguistic unity in classical Rome, interrupted by the 'catastrophe' of the end of the Roman empire and linguistic contamination with the Germanic invaders (Marazzini 1993: 239–40). Bruni's thesis was misinterpreted by most contemporaries as an untenable defence of the existence of the vernacular in classical times, and was thus mostly ignored, although – as we will see in this thesis – it still found supporters in the early sixteenth century (Marazzini 2002: 12–13).

Biondo Flavio's theory won the debate in part because it appealed to the humanistic disdain for the vernacular, but by positing Latin as a natural language, this paved the way for the discussion of vernacular grammar, as Leon Battista Alberti had demonstrated with his early attempt at writing a vernacular grammar (the 'Grammaticetta vaticana'; Marazzini 1993: 240–41). It is however in the late Quattrocento, with the spread of print technology, that the interest in vernacular texts among the *litterati* intensified, and with it came the need to establish clear grammatical rules for the vernacular. This period saw important new experiments in the vernacular and the growth of the practice of vernacularisation in and outside of Florence. In the 'multicentric' reality of Renaissance Italy, this renewed interest for the vernacular also implied deciding which, of the many vernaculars spoken (and written) throughout the peninsula had to be taken as a standard. And in the debate about this topic, the felt need to define the history and genealogy of the vernacular and of its literature continued to play an essential role in substantiating and 'authorising' any linguistic proposal as well as giving prestige to who proposed it. It is precisely this context that helps to explain the rediscovery of Occitan in the Cinquecento (Patota 1993: 93–106).

Out of the different linguistic proposals that emerged during the early sixteenth century, in this thesis we will focus on two in particular. The first is that proposed by Pietro Bembo who based his definition of the vernacular standard on Trecento literary Tuscan. This proposal, already implicit in his dialogue *Gli Asolani*, found its expression in Bembo's celebrated *Prose nelle quali si ragiona della volgar lingua* (first published in 1525). Bembo's brand of vernacular 'classicism' offered a linguistic model that presented itself as universal, insofar as it was detached from any precise social or geographical designation and based on a clearly defined set of texts. Bembo's solution, moreover, appeared to circumvent the problem of Italy's political disunity, and was followed with variations and nuances by many later *litterati* including Benedetto Varchi (Dionisotti DBI; Gilson 2019: 46–48).¹⁶ The other main theory we are going to encounter in this thesis is that known as the *lingua cortigiana*. Defining the exact nature of this proposal is more difficult. One of its fundamental articulations was made by Vincenzo Colli (Calmeta) in his *Libri della volgar poesia*, which is now lost, so that the only extant sources for its content are Bembo's opposition to the theory in *Prose*, I, XIII, and a summary by Castelvetro contained in his *Giunte* (1714: I, 82–84). The *cortigiana* seems to have been first and foremost a praxis which only received theoretical definition after being attacked by the proponents of Tuscan as a linguistic standard (Neri 1951: 5). Scholars have defined the *cortigiana* as a linguistic *koiné* at the root of which was the spoken language used in the Italian courts, and whose literary articulation adopted Dante and Petrarch as its main sources, but also granted authors meaningful linguistic freedom, within a conception that considered literary tradition as constantly evolving and especially valued individual contributions (Mazzacurati 1967: 47–50; 69–74). Two of the six intellectuals studied in this thesis—Mario Equicola and Angelo Colocci—were among the proponents of this linguistic theory, and both defend a standard influenced by the use of the papal court where men of letters from all over Italy convened. Interestingly, in the 1520s, both seem to shift their understanding of the *lingua cortigiana* towards a more literary model, stressing the composite nature of the language of Dante and Petrarch. This evolution has been interpreted as a response to the sack of

¹⁶ As shown by Patota 2016, the title *Prose della volgar lingua*, which was commonly used until a few years ago, does not correspond to the author's will and actually violates a grammatical rule set out within the *Prose* themselves.

Rome (1527) which destroyed the physical ‘seat’ on which this theory relied. While it is likely that the devastation of Rome accelerated this process, the evolution was ongoing well before the event modifications had been made (Equicola himself died two years before the Sack; Mengaldo 1960: 450–51). In fact, the centrality of Dante and Petrarch was already in Calmeta’s definition of the model (Castelvetro 1714: I, 83–84), and it probably later came to the forefront thanks to the production of another proponent of the *cortigiana* theory, Giovanni Giorgio Trissino. In 1513, Trissino rediscovered Dante’s *De vulgari eloquentia*, which he interpreted both as defence of courtly use of Italian and as proof of Dante’s linguistic eclecticism and disdain for pure Tuscan. This led him to theorise a ‘pan-Italian’ vernacular (‘lingua italiana’) which he presented both as a model for the future and as a definition of Dante and Petrarch’s use in his print translation of Dante’s treatise (*De la volgare eloquenzia*, 1529) and in his major intervention in the *questione*, the dialogue *Il Castellano* (1529) (Marazzini 1993: 252–53).

The three authors examined in the second half of this thesis, and especially Lodovico Castelvetro and Giovanni Maria Barbieri, instead represent a different facet of the *questione della lingua*, one which becomes dominant in the late Cinquecento. For these authors, the problem of the standard is less central than that of defining the ancestry of the Italian vernacular and its historical tradition. This problem is firmly rooted in the earlier *questione* (and in which the shadow cast by Bembo again looms large, cf. Patota 1993 263–65), but it moves the debate onto more conspicuously philological and etymological grounds, fundamentally altering its coordinates (Cipollone 2003: 205).¹⁷

2. Cultural distance

Already in mid-Duecento, the existence of a cultural distance between the refined aristocratic culture of Occitania and that of the small Northern Italian nobility was perceived. Evidence of such a distance

¹⁷ Cipollone only employs this definition for the ‘estensi’ (Castelvetro and Barbieri). I think it can be partially extended to Varchi’s *Hercolano* as well, where matters of typological and historical definition of the Romance languages and literatures are more fleshed out than the ‘prescriptive’ aspect.

is found for example in the playful comparison of Occitan and Genoese ethics offered by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras in his bilingual *descort* (BEdT 392,7), as well as in the elaboration of the *razos* and *vidas*, short proses giving legendary accounts of the lives of the troubadours and of the circumstances of their poems also meant to function as models of behaviour of the Occitan nobility (Meneghetti 1984: 242–50; Bampa 2017: 61).¹⁸ These texts will be among the chief objects of interest for sixteenth-century scholars, given that they were written in a language of far less complexity than the poems and offered privileged glimpses into the ideological system and into (what was perceived as) the concrete context of production of the poems.

As for sixteenth-century Italy, its distance from the production of the troubadours is not only chronological, but also rooted in a completely different cultural and political system (Oliva 1978: x). All the same, traces of medieval courtly culture could still be found in the Italian courts. For instance, the pleasant debates ('belle questioni') that Baldassarre Castiglione speaks about in the *Cortegiano* (I, v, see Castiglione 1981), were distant descendants of the Occitan *partimen*, codified as a social practice by the thirteenth-century Occitan *ensenhamen* (cf. Crane 1971: 183). Similarly, the courtly use of extramarital 'love service' also survived, as perhaps did the tendency of poets to practice it—Serafino Aquilano reportedly had a scar on his chin due to a jealous husband's revenge (Vigilante DBI).

The performance of lyric poetry accompanied with music was still very much present in the sixteenth century. Early Cinquecento vernacular poets, such as Benedetto da Cingoli and Serafino Aquilano (see Malato DBI and Vigilante DBI) would still perform their own poems and those by others for the benefit of courts, in the hopes of obtaining protection from various lords (Migliorini 1994: 225). While music gradually became, through the Quattrocento and early Cinquecento, more prominent than lyrics in this kind of performance, the gamut of themes of these poems remained quite close to that of troubadour poetry, encompassing love, faith and moral reproach (De Robertis 1966: 400–4, 411–14).

¹⁸ It should be noted that some of these texts were written by Uc de Saint-Circ, who according to some is to be identified with the Uc Faidit who wrote the *Donatz proensals*.

Among the Italian noble families that had offered protection to the troubadours, the only one to have regularly continued this tradition with modern poets seems to be that of the Este, which successfully perpetuated the old French chivalric tradition while, especially from Leonello d'Este (1441–50) onwards, fully absorbing the new cultural currents in a 'courtly humanism' in conscious dialogue and competition with the contemporary Florentine humanistic culture (Chiappini 1967: 101–18). The figures active in modern courts, with their humanistic background and their frequent role as secretaries or preceptors, represented a new figure of courtly intellectual, quite different from that of the time of the troubadours (Rajna 1901: 297; De Robertis 1966: 570–73; Burke 1972: 62–63).

As for the perception of the Occitan language that Italian Cinquecento intellectuals had, there is no doubt that this was definitely vague and incorrect at the beginning of the century. Just to give two early illustrative examples, we might consider first Antonio da Canal, author of a commentary on Petrarch and active between 1510 and 1517, who refers to Arnaut Daniel as French. And, in a similar vein, one can mention Giovanni Giorgio Trissino who still, as late as 1529, considers Occitan a sub-category of the French language (Camboni 2021: 232; Trissino 1986: 27). As we will see, some of the major figures examined in thesis are not exempt from this kind of imprecisions and uncertainties. There was also a very widespread tendency to overstate the differences between medieval and contemporary Occitan, leading to consider it as a dead language. Jean de Nostredame, an Occitan himself, writing in 1575, claimed that 'nostre langue provensalle s'est tellement avallee et embastardie, que à peine est elle de nous qui sommes du pays entendue' (Debenedetti 1995: 158–59).

Given the general ignorance of both the language and literature, the indirect sources available to our authors were definitely insufficient. Medieval Occitan grammar books were devised for more advanced readers and offered very little support to the sixteenth-century reader. The *De vulgari eloquentia*, which could shed some limited light on the medieval Romance tradition, was only rediscovered in 1514 by Giovanni Giorgio Trissino and remained unknown to most before Trissino's 1529 print translation. The *Commedia* and *Triumphs* had other purposes than elucidating the reader on the troubadours, and indeed—as we have suggested in the opening section—expected them to have already a good familiarity with the tradition. Early commentaries to Dante and Petrarch also often

display a limited understanding and awareness of the Occitan tradition (Canettieri 1996: 184–85). As for the manuscripts themselves, many remained in Italy, but they probably lay dormant in the libraries that held them—for instance, at the beginning of the century *E* was in the Este library in Ferrara, *D* in the hands of a Giovanni Malipiero, *O* in those of the Badoer family. Such manuscripts might have circulated to some extent, but were probably more prized because of their economic value or beauty than because they elicited any interest for their contents. The only manuscript that we know for certain was being actively read in the late fifteenth century is the Neapolitan manuscript *M*—and this exceptionality is related to the fact that it was in the hands of the poet Benet Gareth, also known as Cariteo, who was one of the many Catalan courtiers who came to Naples after the Aragonese had taken the city from the Angevins in 1443. Because of the linguistic similarity between Catalan and Occitan, Catalans perceived the troubadours as an integral part of their literary culture, and Cariteo—who grew up in Catalonia and only arrived to Naples in 1467–68—, bought and used the manuscript to sprinkle the occasional quotation from Folquet de Marselha in his Italian love poetry (De Robertis 1966: 648, 706–7; Barbiellini Amidei 1999: 132, 149).¹⁹ As we will point out in Chapter One, Cariteo will also play a role in the rediscovery of Occitan in Italy.

3. State of the art

The phenomenon of the rediscovery of Occitan in the sixteenth century first became the object of focused academic study in the late nineteenth century. Early works often focused on identifying which extant or lost chansonniers were known to Cinquecento intellectuals, and on looking for the traces they left on them. This subject was studied by Adolf Mussafia (1867, 1874), Pierre De Nolhac (1884),

¹⁹ In a way, this ‘absorption’ of the Occitan tradition by Catalonia in the fourteenth and fifteenth century is reflected by the fact that late Occitan literature (e.g. the works connected to the *Consistori del Gay Saber* founded in 1323) is often found in Catalan manuscripts, while the Catalan polygraph Ramon Llull’s works are testified by Occitan manuscripts (Asperti 2002: 527). Even in more modern times, the Catalans have presented themselves as the continuators of the Occitan tradition: for instance, Antonio Bastero, an eighteenth-century Catalan who published a vocabulary of Italian words derived from Occitan (*Crusca provenzale*, 1724), claimed that ‘la lingua provenzale è la stessa appunto che la mia materna catalana’ (Cremonesi 1955: 225 [Cremonesi reads ‘moderna’ instead of ‘materna’: but see Bastero 1724: I, 5]).

Cesare De Lollis (1889), and even emerges in Louis Gauchat and Heinrich Kehrl's edition of *MS H* (1891: 344–48).

At the same time, studies dedicated to sixteenth-century intellectuals brought to light their interest for Occitan. This is apparent from works such as those by Attilio Ploncher (1879) on Lodovico Castelvetro, Erasmo Percopo (Cariteo 1879) on Benet Gareth, and Vincenzo Crescini (1892) on Jacopo Corbinelli. In the following century, key contributions were published by Giulio Bertoni on Bembo's manuscripts (1903, 1907) and on Giovanni Maria Barbieri and Lodovico Castelvetro's production (1905 and 1905a), as well as by Santorre Debenedetti on Benedetto Varchi (1902)—a study which actually touches upon many other authors—and on Luigi Onorato Drago (1911). Major early contributions also regarded the discovery and analysis of two Occitan manuscripts created in the sixteenth century, *N2* (Pillet 1898–99) and *a* (Bertoni 1911 and 1911a).

The turning point in scholarship on the rediscovery of Occitan was, however, Debenedetti's seminal 1911 monograph (1911a), which even today remains the fundamental work in the field.²⁰ Debenedetti's work summarizes the state of knowledge at that time, and it offers a wealth of new information, giving an appraisal of the whole phenomenon. Three points in particular are worth emphasising here. First, he established that the Occitan studies of the Cinquecento had a double origin in Benet Gareth's conversations with Angelo Colocci and in the widespread interest for Petrarch. Second, he showed that, save for a few exceptions, the interest for troubadour poetry was entirely devoid of any aesthetic considerations and mostly hinged on linguistic research, collations and 'censuses' of the manuscripts' content. And third, he signalled a conspicuous lack of cooperation between the intellectuals that prevented their studies from having any significant impact on their contemporaries and posterity.

Debenedetti's book, the product of years of elaboration dating back to the author's university years (Debenedetti 1995: 3), was received with reverence and enthusiasm—'La critica deve salutarlo con gioia' (Bertoni 1911b: 335), 'après lui, il n'y aura plus qu'à glaner' (Jeanroy 1911: 509). Despite

²⁰ Note that this thesis will consistently refer to the 1995 edition which contains Debenedetti 1911a and 1930.

Jeanroy's remark, our knowledge of the phenomenon has significantly evolved during the past century and in multiple ways. One might signal a number of new discoveries, including: the finding of the autograph manuscripts of Giovanni Maria Barbieri's *Arte del rimare* (De Bartholomaeis 1927, Debenedetti 1930) and of Barbieri's annotated copy of the *De vulgari eloquentia* (Trovato 1986, Pulsoni 1997); the attribution of *N2* to Giulio Camillo Delminio (Bologna 1987); and the detailed study of the lost *Libro di Michele* employed by Giovanni Maria Barbieri by Maria Careri (1996). There have also been fundamental reconsiderations of the activity of individual authors. Amongst the most important, one should signal Bernardi (2008a) on Angelo Colocci, Careri (2018) on Colocci and Mario Equicola, and Pulsoni (2010) on Lodovico Castelvetro. Many fundamental advances have also resulted from the study of manuscripts in the frame of the so-called 'material philology' (Ferrari 1979; Antonelli 2011: 200–1), which has resulted in the identification of further traces of their use and circulation during the sixteenth century (Careri 1990 and 2019, Pulsoni 1994 and 1997, Menichetti 2015, Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020, Barsotti 2020 and 2022). Similarly, important studies and editions of Renaissance works have allowed us to better understand the authors' culture and ideologies (just to name a few, Marazzini 1993; Castelvetro 1999 and 2004; Afribo 2001; Bembo 2001 and 2002; Bologna 2008).

Debenedetti's monograph remains, as already noted, the single most important contribution on the history of the rediscovery of the troubadours in Cinquecento Italy. However, its structure, possibly on account of its lengthy gestation, is far from being uniform or easy to follow, as signalled in reviews of the time (Bertoni 1911: 336; Jeanroy 1911b: 509–10). This stems from the multiplicity of perspectives it adopts, and the author's decision to opt for a thematic, rather than a chronological, organisation of the material. After a *Presentazione* identifying the figures interested in troubadour poetry, follows the first part of the book, dealing with the authors' philological activity and the translations they produced. There follows an excursus disproving that troubadour poetry was ever printed during the sixteenth century, and then a second section discussing how Occitan was perceived in the Romance context and the different theories of the relationship between Occitan and Italian literature. Ultimately, in the third part of the book, Debenedetti offers an analysis of the manuscripts

available to each of the main figures involved in the phenomenon. As a result of this arrangement, the author is obliged constantly to ‘jump’ backwards and forwards in time, and this makes it extremely complicated for the reader to apprehend clearly the chronology of the events. Another limit of Debenedetti’s monograph was clearly pointed out by Giulio Bertoni in his review, and is a tendency to understate the importance of the diachronic study of the vernacular in the *questione della lingua* for the rediscovery of Occitan (1911b: 337)

In the light of these shortcomings, and of the many developments brought by scholarship since 1911, then, the present dissertation aims to ‘update’—albeit with respect primarily to six authors—Debenedetti’s work and—more significantly—to integrate into a new monographic treatment the wider context of the *questione della lingua*, thereby highlighting how the *questione* might be considered a thread connecting these scholars’ researches.

4. Aims and methodology

This study aims to discuss the phenomenon of the rediscovery of troubadour poetry in sixteenth-century Italy in its connections to the debate on the Italian language known as the *questione della lingua*. The reason for this focus is based on the striking fact that some of the most important names connected to the *questione* are also the very ones involved in the rediscovery of the Occitan language. The thesis investigates how the Occitan research carried out by these scholars had an impact on the determination of their linguistic ideology and how, in turn, they collocated the Occitan language and its literary tradition within their systems, how they defined it as a language and their attempts to reconstruct the sociocultural environments within which it was produced. The importance of the *questione* to understanding the phenomenon of the reception of Occitan was already pointed out by Santorre Debenedetti himself (1902: 114), although, as we said, it is not the main focus of his major monograph.

As mentioned, compared to Debenedetti, we have adopted a significantly narrower focus, only looking at six figures—Bembo, Colocci, Equicola, Varchi, Castelvetro, and Barbieri. The choice

was guided by their shared interest in Occitan poetry *and* in theoretical debates on the language, although each author's importance to either phenomenon can vary. For instance, Equicola is a relatively minor figure in the *questione* but the first to ever print an Occitan poem—complete with translation—, while Varchi, essential to the *questione*, engages relatively little with Occitan compared to other intellectuals. This choice necessarily implies the exclusion of many illustrious names of the Italian tradition of Occitan studies who did not write extensively on the language, including Piero del Nero, Gianvincenzo Pinelli, and Fulvio Orsini. Although Giovan Giorgio Trissino at some point borrowed an Occitan chansonnier from the Gonzaga family, no trace of this interest is left in his production and he is therefore excluded from the list; Giulio Camillo Delminio is likewise missing, since he provides no extended discussions of the vernacular, although his name will often resurface as a fundamental influence on many of these authors. Similarly, I am not going to discuss authors such as Marcantonio Nicoletti and Bernardino Daniello who merely repeated what other sixteenth-century writers said on Occitan, without any direct engagement with troubadour texts.

These six authors are understood, as noted, in relation to the historical development of the *questione della lingua* and can thus be divided in two 'generations'. The first one, belonging to a time when the 'normative' *questione* is still dominant, is represented by Pietro Bembo and two exponents of the *lingua cortigiana/comune* (Angelo Colocci and Mario Equicola). The second generation is the more linguistically and philologically-minded one, and this includes the works of: Benedetto Varchi, who was instrumental in disseminating Bembo's theory but also attempted an original definition of the different categories of languages; Lodovico Castelvetro, who developed his very personal theory of the origins of the vernacular; and finally Giovanni Maria Barbieri, a refined scholar who in his major treatise *Arte del rimare* explicitly displays disinterest for prescriptive matters but gives perhaps the most significant contribution to knowledge of the troubadours in the sixteenth century.

To underline the evolution of the *questione* throughout the century, we will therefore attempt to maintain a focus both on individual authors, and on the chronological sequence of events. The first chapter will begin, then, with Angelo Colocci, who first encountered the troubadours when he met Benet Gareth in 1501–3, but only started actively working on them after obtaining chansonnier *M* in

1515. The chapter traces the trajectory of Colocci's work on his manuscripts attempting to reconstruct his linguistic ideology and conception of Romance medieval literature, and how Occitan forms part of this reconstruction. The second chapter will discuss Pietro Bembo, starting with his activity on the Aldines and then focusing on how the theory put forth in his major work *Prose* relates to his study of Occitan. Chapter three turns to Mario Equicola, delineating the evolution of his knowledge of Occitan from near total ignorance in the first decade of the century to his growing competence in being able to publish a whole poem in 1517 and to discuss the troubadours' conception of love in the 1520s within his *Libro de natura de amore*. Chapter Four examines Lodovico Castelvetro, exploring his use of the troubadours within his commentary of Petrarch, the *Rime sposte*, and then his ambitious project of editing the troubadours with Giovanni Maria Barbieri in the 1550s. The chapter also considers Castelvetro's sustained polemics against Bembo and Varchi, in which knowledge of Occitan is used to discredit his adversaries. Chapter Five gives an account of Benedetto Varchi's developing interests in Occitan, from his early translation of two Occitan grammar books for his own use, onto the use of Occitan within his major theoretical work *L'Hercolano*. The final chapter—Chapter Six—focuses upon Giovanni Maria Barbieri and his *Arte del rimare*, exploring more fully the critical edition of the troubadours that he prepared with Castelvetro to then move to his later activity, and chiefly to his major treatise, the *Arte del rimare*, of which we offer a critical edition in the Appendix.²¹

While the sources that we have of these intellectuals' scholarly activity on Occitan are relatively few and heterogeneous, and this will force us to adapt our method to each object studied, we have adopted two key approaches. First, in defining each scholar's perception of the Occitan language and of troubadour poetry, we provide close readings of relevant passages from their production, trying to find the points of contact between their Occitan studies and their linguistic beliefs. A second approach instead focuses on manuscript circulation, showing the importance and employment of specific medieval manuscripts as well as discussing the purpose and contents of some which were created in the sixteenth century. Wherever we will deal with works existing in multiple redactions, we

²¹ The appendix will only present the text with a very essential introduction. I plan to publish a more thorough discussion of the *Arte's* text and fortune in the future.

will also make use of the methods of authorial philology and of ‘variantistica’ to define the implications of these data in terms of ideological evolution and of the availability of sources to the scholars. The principles of authorial philology also guide the edition of the *Arte del rimare* presented in the Appendix.

Chapter One

Angelo Colocci: The troubadours against the Romance background

Angelo Colocci, born in 1474, belonged to the environments of the most traditional humanism, having studied under Giorgio Valla, and being to some extent the successor of Pomponio Leto. Despite this classicist background, Colocci was also, as we noted in the Introduction, very strongly invested in the *questione della lingua*. He is, in fact, one of the chief proponents of the ‘lingua cortigiana’, as well as one of the first scholars to show an interest for the history of the Romance literatures.

With the exception of the *Apologia nell'opere de Seraphino*, published in 1503, Colocci's work only exists in the form of manuscript notes which were meant for personal use, and as such are often very elliptical in content and written in a cursive hand. However, careful examination of these notes and of the manuscripts containing them has allowed scholars to reconstruct at least in part their cultural significance and, crucially, to understand how they relate to the linguistic ideals of Colocci and of his circle. Key contributions here include Debenedetti 1904 (now in Debenedetti 1986, 169–210) and 1911a, Avesani 1972, Pérez Barcala 2000 and 2008, Colocci 2008, Cannata (2008 and Colocci 2012). Given the wealth of material and the many existing studies, this chapter does not aim to give a full list of the many references to Occitan poetry found in Colocci's work, but rather to look at the most meaningful testimonies from the perspective of the *questione della lingua* and in light of Colocci's linguistic theory. At the same time, the chapter traces the evolution in time of Colocci's position in the *questione* and of his understanding of the Occitan language and literature.

This chapter is divided in four sections. The first discusses Colocci's activity between 1500 and 1515 and the earliest articulation of his linguistic ideology in the *Apologia*, as well as Colocci's first attempts to approach Occitan poetry through the mediation of Petrarch's *Triumphs* in MS Vat. Lat. 4831. The second section focuses on the years around 1515, when Colocci obtained his first chansonnier (*M*) and began studying (and annotating) it with the help of translations provided to him by the Catalan intellectual, Bartolomeo Casassagia. In the third section, we will then turn to what Colocci wrote on his autograph ‘notebook’ Vat. Lat. 4817, in order to understand some of the more

ideologically charged notes of manuscript *M*. Finally, in the last section we will look at Colocci's Occitan studies within the context of his relationship with other contemporary intellectuals to examine the extent to which his early study of the troubadours can be understood as a collaborative effort.

1. Early approaches (1500–15)

As it is well-known, Colocci's first exposure to Occitan poetry occurred when he met the Catalan poet Benet Gareth (better known by his *nom de plume* Cariteo), who, after being exiled from Naples between 1501 and 1503, found refuge in Rome. Cariteo was the owner of the Occitan manuscript *M* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12474), and had some knowledge of troubadour poetry, as can be seen in his poetic production (Barbiellini Amidei 1999: 132, 149). As proven by a later letter by Pietro Summonte that we are going to discuss later, Colocci and Cariteo discussed Occitan literature when they met, and on that occasion, Cariteo even allegedly showed him his translations of Folquet de Marselha (Debenedetti 1995: 20–21; 32–33).¹ However, Cariteo then returned to Naples along with any manuscripts he might have brought with himself, so that Colocci was, for the time being at least, unable to gain first-hand knowledge of these texts.

Around the same time as his meeting with Cariteo, Colocci curated an edition of the works of Serafino Aquilano, a poet who was close to the circles of the *lingua cortigiana*, and who had died in 1500 (Vigilante DBI). The volume was titled *Opere dello elegante poeta Seraphino Aquilano finite et emendate con la loro apologia et vita desso poeta* and published by Johann Besicken in Rome in 1503.² As the title claims, the poems are preceded by an *Apologia nell'opere de Seraphino* that Colocci himself produced, and followed by a biography of the author written by Vincenzo Calmeta (*Vita del facundo poeta vulgare Seraphyno Aquilano*; Serafino 2002: 354–56). The whole edition can

¹ It is possible, although not proven, that Cariteo actually brought the original manuscript with him to Rome (Colocci 2012: 55).

² Cannata (Colocci 2012: 55) thinks that this edition's structure (the poems are ordered by genre and subdivided on the basis of stylistic and lexical similarities) might have been influenced by the order in Gareth's Occitan manuscript. However, as the author herself admits, it is too tenuous a connection to be taken into serious consideration. As for Colocci's curatorship, he mostly reproduces the 1500 *editio princeps* with some additions, amendments, and—interestingly—adaptations of the language to the Tuscan standard (Rossi 2008: 475–78).

then be understood as ‘militant’, given the involvement of two key theorists of the *lingua cortigiana*, and the fact that it contains a kind of poetry that the more orthodox *petrarchisti* condemned. Despite being the oldest known public definition of the ideals of the *lingua cortigiana*, then, this book has to be understood as an intervention within a debate on Italian language and literature which was already ongoing at the time.

A close reading of Colocci’s *Apologia* will give us important insight into Colocci’s linguistic ideology at the beginning of the century. In taking up the defence of Serafino against the critics of his style and language, Colocci constructs a veritable pantheon of Latin, neo-Latin, and Italian poetic sources while at the same time touching on multiple themes related to rhetoric, poetics, and grammar (Rossi 2008: 474–81). Colocci opens his defence by summarising the two key points he is defending Serafino against:

Questi che ’l nodo nel gionco cercano, la prima cosa li obiectano non aver in tucto familiare la toscana lingua, come che poche rime da singular poeti sian state scripte, ch’alla materna lingua de’ toscani non l’abbino accommodate. E che non ha molto imitato F[rancesco] Petrarca né Dante Allegheri, fuor che l’uno de questi nella simplicità e l’altro nella rotondità del verso. (Serafino 2002: 290–91)

Colocci replies that, although both Petrarch and Dante are ‘*optimi duci*’, it is not ‘*seculo*’, nor ‘*laudabile insistere sempre nelli alieni vestigi*’ (2002: 291). At the same time, the accusers claim that Serafino has stolen *sententiae* from poets and writers as varied as Leon Battista Alberti, Lorenzo de’ Medici, Cecco d’Ascoli, Ovid, Pliny, and from other Latin and vernacular sources. To this charge Colocci replies—with the support of Latin *auctoritates*—that many classics themselves ‘*non dai racemi d’un solo poeta hanno facta la loro vendemia copiosa*’, and in this way they have achieved variety through imitation of multiple models (2002: 295).

Colocci also defends Serafino against the ‘grammatical’ accusations made against him, and uses his early studies of the vernacular tradition to this end, as can be seen in his discussion of the use of *u* where Tuscan would have *o* (Rossi 2008: 482–83):

E non manca una secta di puerili ingegni, che solo alle syllabe intendano, con dir che queste due vocali U e O in confuso dal Seraphin sian state usate, come in quello “chi l’alma sua col cor franco vi dona” pro “dona”, e quello “fa che l’error d’amor per tucto el mustri” pro “monstri”, e nelle egloghe “ove non posi appunere” per “apponere”, et altri simili, né sanno con la loro infantia che per la vicinità del suono indifferentemente da’ poeti del vulgare ydioma è stato preso. E senza ch’io né Petrarca né Dante vi adduca, legasi quella canzone di miser Cino, *La dolce vista e ’l bel guardo soave* nel fine; e Guido Cavalcanti, in una canzonetta da noi novamente ritrovata così scripse [the first four stanzas of ‘era in penser d’amor quand’ i’ trovai’ follow] (2002: 296)

Colocci uses his knowledge of the vernacular tradition, including rare and newly discovered compositions by pre-Petrarchan poets, to reverse the accusations moved to Serafino. These ‘childish minds’ accuse Serafino of not knowing his Petrarch well enough, but they themselves have an imperfect knowledge of their source, and especially of the larger vernacular tradition. In the final section of the *Apologia*, Colocci moves to a wider perspective:

Ma pongasi da un lato l’auctorità de’ toscani, e dicamo ch’egli abbi usato el suo materno ydioma, che ben era iusto che in tante carte da lui vergate e scripte qualche segno della sua propria ve rimanesse. E lassamo star che Dante, secondo che lui dice, con ogni industria sforzavasi ampliar la sua vernacula lingua, e pur nell’alta *Comedia* più tosto dicer volse la nostra “pica” che la sua “ghiandaia” et altri nostri vocabuli infiniti, in ciò scusandolo se alle volte non è stato verecundo nella novità delli vocabuli. Benché nisuno edicto ne prohibisce proferir quelle parole (sì sono ingenue) che la nostra nutrice con le canzon della cuna e con lacte n’ha insegnato; senza che essendo el S[eraphino] subdito e propinquo al Regno di Napoli, non è fuor d’onestà ch’a Sicilia, matre delle rime, se sia alle volte conformato, ché, come scrive el Petrarca ad Socrate in una epistola, pochi seculi avanti a.llui le rime che da’ Romani erano perse in Sicilia, fertile provintia d’ingegni, furono ritrovate, e tanto più quanto la memoria di Pontio e di Coletta era ancor fresca. (2002: 297)

The focus of the discussion thus moves to the very roots of the literary vernacular. By using a language that was influenced by his native vernacular—Colocci argues—Serafino did what Dante himself had done when he adopted words from multiple Italian vernaculars into his literary language. Serafino also occasionally let some Sicilian words into his poetry, which is not only allowed by the example of Dante, but also by the fact that Petrarch (*Familiars* I, 1, 6) identified Sicily as the birthplace of vernacular rhymed poetry. Colocci thus argues that there are no prohibitions on the use of one’s own native language, while at the same time directing a jibe against the Tuscan purists by showing them that a correct reading of Dante and Petrarch shows that the language of vernacular literature is not pure Tuscan.³

The viewpoint here expressed is in accord with contemporary theories regarding the *lingua cortigiana*. More specifically, it is very close to the formulation found in Castelvetro’s summary of Calmeta’s lost *Libri della volgar poesia* (probably written in 1507–8; Calmeta 1959: xxxviii), which gives a special importance to the imitation of Dante and Petrarch alongside courtly use (Rossi 2008:

³ It is tempting to connect the reference to mother’s milk with the *De vulgari eloquentia* (I, 1, 2: ‘vulgarem locutionem asserimus, quam sine omni regola, nutricem imitantes, accipimus’), but it is extremely unlikely that the work was known to Colocci at the time (Pulsoni 2008: 451, *pace* Neri 1951: 3). It should however be noted that Nadia Cannata points out a reference in MS Vat. Lat. 3450, fol. 90v, which seems to suggest that at some point Colocci had some form of indirect knowledge of the Dantean treatise: ‘Nota ch(e) Dante scripse d(e) num(er)o syllabarum et versuum’ (2008: 171).

485–86). The close analogy with Calmeta’s theory is unsurprising not only in the light of Colocci’s personal relations with him, but also because Calmeta, as mentioned, contributed to this edition. The context of the linguistic and literary discussion that we are thus reconstructing is that of a group of people with common interests and who shared the same linguistic ideal, possibly developed through a collective effort (Debenedetti 1986: 187). The literary canon that appears from the *Apologia* is equally meaningful. Moving beyond the self-evident and obligatory presence of Dante and Petrarch, Colocci brings the Sicilians into play, although he is unlikely to have read their works yet. This is symptomatic of a conception that we will find repeatedly in Colocci’s writings, a ‘holistic’ approach to literature as a mode of history rather than as a set of canonical authors (Cannata 2008: 194).

Vaticano Latino 4831: Notes towards a history of poetry

With this background in mind, then, we can turn to the first documents relevant to Colocci’s interest in Occitan poetry, namely, the notes found in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4831. This a miscellaneous codex containing originally independent fascicles of various kinds which were perhaps bound together at the request of the author himself (Colocci 2008: 111; Bernardi 2008a: 123–24, 130). Among these, the fourth and fifth interest us most.⁴

The fourth fascicle (spanning from fol. 31 to an unnumbered folio following 93), datable *post* 1506–*ante* 1515 (Colocci 2008: 119),⁵ contains biographical materials regarding poets from the middle ages to Colocci’s generation. Its content can be divided into three sections: the first (fols. 31–61), contains the poets from the troubadours to Boccaccio; the next (fols. 68v–76v)⁶ is a single long biography of Robert of Anjou; and the third (beginning at fol 77r to the end of the fascicle) contains poets of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century (Colocci 2008: 77–80). The first section is of course the one we will focus on here, but it should be noted—as we will discuss later—that the whole of the

⁴ I am here using Bernardi’s fascicle count (from Colocci 2008), rather than Cannata 2008’s (who counts six instead of five).

⁵ Nadia Cannata (2008: 185–91) proposes the possibility that the entirety of the codex dates to the period 1503–8. Even if we were to accept her dating, our conclusions would stand.

⁶ Fols. 61v–68r are left blank.

fascicle seems to be part of one single project. This list was conceived as something that could be supplemented and expanded. For, Colocci would first write the name of a poet and leave the whole recto (and often also the verso) empty to enable him to then add progressively the material he could find about the author. Since the fascicle was originally unbound, it appears that Colocci intentionally worked in such a way so as to allow for the insertion of additional bifolia should the amount of information exceed the two façades (Colocci 2008: 20–21). The authors discussed here are based on the canon of *Triumphus Cupidinis* IV, with some additions including Boccaccio and Petrarch himself, significantly placed at the end of the section. All of the additions to Petrarch’s canon obviously only concern the Italian part of the list, while the one on the troubadours unsurprisingly reproduces the *TC*’s canon, following even the precise order of the names: ‘Folco’, ‘Arnaldo men famoso’, ‘Pietro primo’, ‘Pietro secondo’, ‘Raimbaldo primo’, ‘Raimbaldo secondo’, ‘Pier d’Alverna el vechio’, ‘Girardo’, ‘Gianfrè Rudel’, ‘Guillelmo del Tino’ (or ‘de Cunio’, as he notes later), ‘Amerigo’, ‘Bernardo’, ‘Ugo’, ‘Anselmo’. There are two noticeable differences from Petrarch’s list—the absence of Arnaut Daniel and the reordering of Folquet and Arnaut de Mareuil at the head of the list—, but these are likely to be due to the later vicissitudes of the fascicle rather than the author’s will (Colocci 2008: 83).⁷ Of the fourteen troubadours listed,⁸ only six present any information, and even in those cases what is provided is very sparse. Folquet’s description is nothing more than an autoschediasm based on Petrarch (*TC* IV, 51) and Dante (*Par.* IX) ‘[Colocci wants to explain] p(er)ch(é) desse folchecto el nome | ad marseglia p(er)ch(é)⁹ fusse | de genua se chiamò folche|tto da marsilia et no(n) decte | fama ad marsilia ch(e) è assai | famosa p(er) se stessa’ (fol. 31r).¹⁰ Petrarch’s wording leads Colocci to mistakenly think that Folquet was born in Genua, and he even provides his own theory as

⁷ Of course, the possibility that Colocci had ‘promoted’ Folquet to at least the second place after Arnaut thanks to what he had heard from Cariteo remains very much a possibility (Bernardi 2008a: 141).

⁸ According to Debenedetti, this list is titled ‘Amanti’ on fol. 30v (1995: 211–12), while Cannata reads ‘Amantes’ (2008: 176). More recently, Bernardi (Colocci 2008: 17) has interpreted that same note as ‘Amanti(*um*)’ (and as written by one of Colocci’s copyists rather than by himself), and—more importantly—has shown that, being on a verso and belonging to a different fascicle, it is unlikely to be meant to as the title of the list. He still considers the possibility that it was originally the recto of a bifolium that was reversed and moved to another fascicle when the *zibaldone* was collected.

⁹ Bernardi (Colocci 2008: 243) is unable to explain this ‘perché’ where we would expect a ‘benché’. The GDLI (s.v. ‘perché’) actually reports occurrences of the word with a concessive meaning in (among others) Petrarch, Lorenzo de’ Medici, and Bembo.

¹⁰ All transcriptions from 4831 are from Colocci 2008, double-checked on the digitised manuscript.

to why Folquet left Italy: ‘Vedendo Folco la i(n)felicità della sua li(n)gua et tirato dalla corte parti fanciullo’ (fol. 31r). This latter consideration must be understood within Colocci’s linguistic ideal. Folquet found the Italian language inadequate for the expression of poetry and thus resorted to a foreign language. After his time, however, poets have enriched the language with new additions, making the Italian vernacular more suitable for literature than it was back then. The reference to the court here is also interesting, and might suggest that—much like, as we will see, Mario Equicola does with the court of Provence—the existence of a culturally influential court in Marseille is seen as strictly connected with the emergence of a noble language. He then adds that ‘delle più acute cose ch(e) siano tra Lemosini sono di folcho’ (fol. 31r), which might have been inspired by the conversation he had with Cariteo, and which is further proof that when authors are at liberty to select the language they prefer, they can produce excellent works.

The other notes are even thinner, consisting in humorous anecdotes (*facetiae*) or in vague autoschediasms based on the *Triumphs*. The only note of some interest is in the section on Peire d’Alvernhe, where Colocci refers that ‘fu frate’, and interestingly adds a note to self to check his poems: ‘vide in q(ue)l ch(e) lui co(m)pose | nelli lema(n)ti mei’. If ‘lemanti’ is to be interpreted as ‘lamenti’, it might be that Colocci had access to some Occitan poems already at the time (Colocci 2008: 247–48; Cannata [Colocci 2012: 54–55] instead reads ‘lemmati’)—although again this would be the only proof of any such manuscript in Colocci’s hands at this moment in time.

From these notes, it is clear that Colocci is pursuing a twofold objective: first that of identifying these troubadours and collecting biographical information about them, and second that of attributing amusing anecdotes to them. The nature of these notes has led Marco Bernardi (Colocci 2008: 101–8) to argue—cautiously but convincingly—that these are the foundations of a future book dealing with curious facts about great men (chiefly poets). Cannata (2008: 178) reached very similar conclusions, speaking of ‘una storia della poesia fatta in larga parte di curiosità aneddotiche’. While Colocci’s intention might then have been unrelated to language and *stricto sensu* literature, the fact itself that he is here proposing Occitans and ‘nostri’ (and the contemporary authors of the second list)

as a *continuum* is meaningful against the context of his perception of a Romance tradition which will emerge more explicitly in Colocci's later production.

The theoretical justification for this collection of information is in a note found in this same manuscript, part of which is extremely important for our reconstruction:

Cesar fu celebrato da Ovidio in lingua schytica. Perché non dunque io debbo celebrare voi in quella lingua che ne accompagna dal dì che usciamo in questa luce infino all'extreme tenebre? Questa ne porge el lacte con le canzon della cuna, questa ne dà li exempli della vita [...] Voglio per questo inferire che italiani in quale se voglia lingua che habbino scritto sempre hanno facto opera degna de laude. Scripse Ovidio [in lingua scitica],¹¹ scripse Eliano romano in lingua greca, scripse Marullo greco in lingua latina, scripse Josepo hebreo in greco, scripse Ennio greco in latino, scripse Folchecto italiano in lingua lemosina. (fol. 61rv [originally 59, see Colocci 2008: 185], given in an interpretative transcription)¹²

This is an extension of the freedom granted to the poet in the *Apologia* and a celebration of authors who adopted other languages with excellent results. Among these is the Italian Folquet who wrote in 'lingua lemosina', which, as we saw, was a decision guided by the insufficiency of the Italian language in his time, but also led him to write some of the best works in Occitan.¹³ Here, and in the pages on Folquet, Colocci is thus giving historical examples of detachment between a language 'of culture' and native language, with the intention of showing the contingency of such a situation (Cannata 2008: 181).¹⁴ As it is not an inevitable condition, this can be reversed, however. And Colocci indeed continues by stressing the point that 'i(n) qual se voglia li(n)gua se | possono le hystorie vere nude et expresse narrare', as well as 'le passion d'amore exprimer et i(n)primerle'. Because of this it is equally possible to write in 'la materna li(n)|gua. alle cui parole no(n) i(n)terpreti bisognano | no(n) chiose no(n) comenti no(n) ambiguità' (fol. 59v). Much like in the *Apologia*, then, Colocci is using his erudite studies to substantiate his linguistic ideal.

¹¹ The sentence is left incomplete but the meaning is clear (Colocci 2008: 287)

¹² This note was somewhat 'unforeseen' by Colocci: he wrote it under notes on some 'portenta' and ends up extending it to the verso. Once the space of the verso was taken up by this reflection, Colocci, rather than extending it to the following folio which was meant to contain information on Petrarch, uses the second half of the same bifolium (Colocci 2008: 22).

¹³ A similar concept is found, this time applied to Latin, in the later MS Vat. Lat. 4817, where Colocci mentions 'coloni et romani che daveno lustro alla lingua' (fol. 67r; Colocci 2012: 180).

¹⁴ As we will point out later, Colocci held 'Brunian' or 'pseudo-Brunian' views on the origins of the vernacular, believing in a form of dyglossia already at the time of the Romans (Cannata 2005: 908). We can thus also surmise that he saw Folquet's case as a form of extension of this condition to more recent times.

The fifth fascicle is very likely to have been written around the same time as the fourth (Colocci 2008: 124). It is made up of twelve folios which have now been almost completely ripped out (numbered by Bernardi I–XII), and fols. 94–107, and it seems to be entirely focused on poetry (Colocci 2008: 108–9). Fols. 102r–104r contain lists of names, many of which are of poets.¹⁵ At fol. 102r we find a list of medieval poets: ‘Celio’, ‘Guitton Frate d’arezzo’, ‘Arnaldo’, ‘Guido Guinicelli’, ‘Guido cavalcanti’, ‘Danti’, ‘folco’, only partially corresponding to Petrarch’s canon and to that of the fourth fascicle. After an empty space, the list begins again on fol. 104r with contemporary poets (this part is entitled ‘hoggi’), which also includes the note ‘et q(ui) raco(n)ta la n(ost)ra academia’, hinting at an intention to write a book containing information about all these poets. Such a project is further alluded to by the sentence, at fol. 107r, ‘Fa iuditiio [*sic*] d’ogni vita. I(d est). dello | stilo ad una p(er) una | poni d’ognuno di q(ue)sti qualche rima | o sonecto o capitolo’. We witness here the embryonic conception of a book on the history of poetry, which was probably going to begin with Cielo d’Alcamo and extend to the contemporaries. This list also includes, other than Folquet, Cariteo (a Catalan who wrote in Italian), the Spanish poet Juan del Encina, ‘et altri spagnoli’, as well as possibly the Old French *Roman de la rose* (all on fol. 104r; Cannata 2008, 190, for the identification of the *Roman*), and the Catalan poet Francesc de Moner (fol. 91v).¹⁶ Whether this work is part of the same project mentioned in the other fascicle or a different ‘history of literature’, what is essential here is that there is an intention to discuss the history of modern poetry as a whole, including multiple different languages, without any concern for selection. Beyond placing Cielo as the first poet, Colocci seems intent on accumulating authors rather than on building a canon or defining the nature of the historical continuity he is proposing (Cannata 2008: 194–95).¹⁷

There is one last fascicle within Vat. Lat. 4831 that might also be of interest to us, and that is the second, whose paper has a late-fifteenth century watermark (Colocci 2008: 113). This fascicle

¹⁵ More names are found on 107v, but this might be a list of books unrelated with the rest of the names (Colocci 2008: 383–84).

¹⁶ Colocci translated into Italian two works by Moner (one in Spanish and the other in Catalan) at an unspecified date. It is possible that he discovered Moner’s work thanks to Cariteo (Scudieri Ruggeri 1972).

¹⁷ Note that Cannata’s conclusions apply to both the lists of the fourth and of the fifth fascicle, which she discusses as parts of a single project.

contains an excerpt from a vernacularisation of Andreas Capellanus's *De amore*, a late-twelfth century treatise that attempts a theoretical systematisation of courtly love. Capellanus's work was known to the poets of the *scuola siciliana* and to the Tuscans up to Boccaccio, but was mostly forgotten in the following centuries. This excerpt covers passages from the first two books of the treatise. There are a few Petrarchan references in the margins ('et | nota p(er) Petrarca', 10r; and 'pinsier in grembo', 11v, cf. *TC* IV, 115). It might be, then, as cautiously suggested by Bernardi (Colocci 2008: 61–64), that Colocci realised the usefulness of Andreas's treatise for the understanding of vernacular love poetry. If this is the case, then, it illustrates how his interest for these texts went beyond a purely linguistic dimension. While this connection remains somewhat conjectural, we will see in our analysis of MS Vat. Lat. 4817 that Colocci had a special interest for the threads connecting Romance literatures, and thus this interpretation is quite convincing.

The zibaldone Vat. Lat. 4831 thus shows a clear interest in the history of Romance literatures and of love poetry, but also a conspicuous lack of direct sources for what concerns the troubadours. Still, despite its serious shortcomings, it can be considered the first attempt to discuss the history of vernacular literature since the *De vulgari eloquentia* (Cannata 2008: 170), and testifies to the intention to build an image of the Romance literary tradition as a continuum encompassing poets from the Middle Ages to Colocci's own time (Cannata 2008: 181).

Such a stance is again symptomatic of Colocci's 'holistic' approach to literature as a mode of history rather than as a set of canonical authors, as we noted with regard to the list found in Vat. lat. 4831 (Cannata 2008: 194). In this sense, he stood in opposition to Bembo's selectivity, which by the time of the *Apologia* was probably already partly elaborated (see Chapter Two) and was centred on discontinuity with the linguistic and literary heritage of the Quattrocento. Colocci's philology is encyclopaedic, rather than selective (Mazzacurati 1985: 116).

2. First Steps Into Romance Poetry: The *De vulgari eloquentia*, chansonnier *M*, and Casassagia's translations (1514–15)

If so far Colocci showed more curiosity than familiarity with the Romance tradition, things began changing in the 1510s. Some time before 1513, the Paduan intellectual Giovan Giorgio Trissino entered in possession of the manuscript now known as Trivulziano 1088, which contains Dante's linguistic treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* (Colocci 2012: 51). Trissino visited Rome on multiple occasions, and it is probably on one of these (perhaps in 1514, Cannata 2008: 188) that Colocci saw it (Pulsoni 1997: 632). Like Bembo, Colocci probably had the full text of the *De vulgari eloquentia* transcribed, although only an excerpt survives within MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4817 (fol. 284rv). To both Trissino and Colocci, the *De vulgari eloquentia*, with its call for the foundation of a noble form of Italian worthy of the courts and its devaluation of pure Florentine, appeared as a useful authority in defence of their 'courtesan' linguistic ideal. This ideological function, which as mentioned in the Introduction informed Trissino's translation, is evident in the ways Colocci refers to Dante's treatise in the 1520s within MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4817: 'de communi aulico (fol. 62r) and 'de materno eloquio' (fol. 196r; Pulsoni 2008: 451).

To this addition, and more importantly for our purposes, we should add that, after Cariteo died in 1514, Colocci bought the chansonnier *M* he had owned from his widow. This manuscript, produced in the fourteenth century in Italy (possibly in Naples) by French copyists (Lamur-Baudreu 1988; Asperti 1995: 43–48), is the same codex which, as we have already noted, he either heard about or personally saw when he met with Cariteo in Rome.

Although we have already seen Colocci manifesting an interest for works written in languages other than Italian, he certainly had little or no knowledge of Occitan at the time when he received Gareth's manuscript. He thus solicited Pietro Summonte, a mutual friend of his and Cariteo, to look in the deceased poet's library for a notebook which purportedly contained Cariteo's Italian translation of Folquet de Marselha's poems and which Cariteo had allegedly shown him in Rome. Summonte was

unable to find this translation—which, he suspected, never existed—, but found a few loose papers where Cariteo had transcribed all of Arnaut Daniel’s poems and some by Folquet de Marselha from manuscript *M*. Still, wanting to satisfy Colocci’s request, Summonte asks Bartolomeo Casassagia, nephew of Cariteo (and, judging by the extremely apologetic words used to describe him, a friend in need of protection), to produce a translation of the poems found in the aforementioned loose papers (Summonte’s letter is edited in Debenedetti 1995: 299–301). The manuscript produced by Casassagia and sent to Colocci is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4796.¹⁸ It contains three poems by Arnaut Daniel—BEdT 29,17 (fols. 1r–3r), 29,14 (fols. 3r–4v), 29,8 (fols. 4v–6v)—, one by Guiraud lo Ros mistakenly attributed to Arnaut Daniel, 240,4 (fols. 6v–8v), and nine by Folquet de Marselha—BEdT 155,16 (fols. 10r–12r), 155,5 (fols. 12r–14v), 155,1 (fols. 14v–16v), 155,10 (16v–18v), 155,14 (fols. 18v–20v), 155,3 (fols. 21r–22v), 155,18 (fols. 22v–25v), 155,27 (fols. 25v–28r), 155,22 (fols. 28r–30r).¹⁹

Casassagia transcribes the Occitan texts by adding modern punctuation and accompanying them with his interlinear translation in an Italian with clear Neapolitan characteristics. These translations were carried out with care and with the knowledge of Colocci’s position as a ‘beginner’. Casassagia offers explanations for expressions that might be unclear (e.g. BEdT 155,18, line 24 ‘pos conoissets qe ia non recreirai’ is translated as ‘Poi conoscite che gia non mi rincrescera, overo | chio no(n) recrederò’, fol. 24r) and admits where he cannot understand the text (BEdT 29,8 line 14 ‘Mil ves lo iorn em badailli em nestendi’, where only ‘mille volte lo di’ is actually translated, fol. 5v) or its meaning (BEdT 29,17 line 44 ‘estrainh cavall e marc | io non so che si voglia dire ne ho trovato homo qui chel sappia: pero le parole | dicono stranio cavallo et magro’, fol. 2v). Colocci read Casassagia’s manuscript thoroughly (and had his copyists replicate its content on MS Vat. Lat. 7182, see Debenedetti 1995: 124), annotating it with *maniculae* and notes relating to grammar and lexicon, or

¹⁸ The fact that *M* is the source is clear from the misattribution of BEdT 240,4 to Arnaut Daniel in Vat. Lat. 4796 (Brea-Campo 1998: 347).

¹⁹ Summonte’s letter notoriously also mentions that many Neapolitans were unhappy with the manuscript leaving the city. As a result of this, Giovan Vincenzo Carafa, marquis of Montesarchio, tasked Casassagia with producing a partial copy of the manuscript, which is now MS g2 (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Univ. 1290; Careri 1993: 745–47).

correcting some excessively Neapolitan forms employed by Casassagia (these notes were transcribed and studied by Corral Diaz-Campo 2000). Among these, it is notable that at fol. 14v he notices that Casassagia translated Folquet's 'vos sui hom' as 'vi sono vaxallo' and annotates 'homo .i. vaxallo | huo(m) ligio'. With his translation, Casassagia shows his awareness of the connections between the troubadours' representation of love and feudal culture, and this terminology must have caught Colocci's attention (Corral Diaz-Campo 2000: 741–42).

As we will see in the following sections, a desire for identifying Petrarch's possible sources will be one of Colocci's main aims when reading troubadour poetry. The guiding principle of this interest is that of literary language as composite, a notion which we have already seen in the *Apologia*. But it might be that the validity of this research was suggested to him by Casassagia himself, who, before his uncle's manuscript had been sold, had written a note on MS *M* on Peirol, 'Mainta gens me malrazona' (BEdT 355,19) identifying lines 39–40 of the poem—which on *M* read 'qel mon no(n) ha nuill plazer. Qaisest mieu maltrach uailha'—as the source for line 98 of *Rvf* 207 by writing 'ben non é al | mondo che al | mio mal pa-|reggi' (fol. 178r; Careri 1993: 748). Colocci probably began this research quite early on, considering that, when annotating Vat. Lat. 4796 (fol. 24r), he writes 'ha forza i(n) noi', noticing the similarity between the expression 'a nuill poder en vos' in Folquet de Marselha's 'S'al cor plagues, be for'oimais sazoz' (BEdT 155,18) and Petrarch, *Rvf* 174, line 1. I am inclined to think that this note belongs to Colocci's earliest direct study of the troubadours, since rather than underlining the corresponding passage in the Occitan original, he does so in the translation ('ha nullo potere in voi'). Another interesting note is on fol. 4v, and reads 'si p(er) b(en) amar elciel sacquista', commenting on lines 35–36 of Arnaut Daniel's sestina. This has been generically interpreted by Corral Diaz-Campo 2000 (747) as a reminiscence from Dante and Petrarch, but I could not find a precise correspondence. However, it should be noted that an extremely similar line ('Ma se per ben amar merce s'acquista') is found in a sonnet by Lodovico Dolce ('STELLA, che degna ben vi dimostrate') in the Giolito collection of *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori*, first published in 1545 (*Rime* 2001: 306). It might then be that Colocci knew Dolce's poem, or that Dolce and Colocci are both drawing the line from a common source that I am unable to identify: the key point remains

that Colocci is here identifying a thread connecting poetry written in Occitan and in the Italian vernacular.

Chansonnier *M* was thoroughly studied by Colocci, who, despite having it copied on MS *gI* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3205), thickly annotated the medieval manuscript. There is an extensive bibliography dealing with these notes. After a brief discussion by De Lollis (1899: 454–55), they were examined more into detail by Debenedetti (1995: 71–77) and in more recent times by Pérez Barcala (Gutiérrez Garcia-Pérez Barcala 1999; Pérez Barcala 2000, 2011, and 2011a). We will therefore limit ourselves to a few considerations. First of all, we will note that they were certainly written in different moments in time, as the variety of inks, pens, and *ductus* employed confirms. Unfortunately, the only ones that we can date with some confidence are the ones where manuscript *N* (New York, Morgan Library, 819) comes into play, which are necessarily from the time when Colocci had access to it (December 1525–July 1526; Debenedetti 1995: 104; Schizzerotto 1977: 11–12).

It should however be noted that some marginalia added by Colocci to Arnaut Daniel’s poems on *M* concern extremely common words and often depart significantly from Casassagia’s translation. This leads me to think—with the due caution—that at least some of these notes may date to before Colocci had Vat. Lat. 4796, and thus testify to an early attempt at understanding Arnaut. Here are some examples, compared with Casassagia’s translations:

<i>M</i>	Colocci ²⁰	Casassagia
esper (fol. 143r)	spes	dimora (fol. 1r)
met (fol. 143r)	messo	mostro (fol. 2r)
ia (fol. 144r)	gia	gia (fol. 4v)
critz (fol. 144r)	Grido	gridi (fol. 4v)
son (fol. 144r)	suo	suo (fol. 5r)

²⁰ Colocci’s notes are always on the same folio as the text being annotated.

sui (fol. 145r)

sim²¹

son (fol. 7v)

Folquet de Marselha might equally have been among Colocci's earliest Occitan reading material, as is suggested by the presence of annotations for basic vocabulary—'sine' for 'ses' (fol. 26v), 'molto' for 'mout', and 'danno' for 'dans' (fol. 27r).²² Some of the notes on Folquet show Colocci openly challenging Casassagia's translations, as with the word 'puiatz', found at fols. 28v and 29r of *M*, and translated by Casassagia both times as 'sagliuto' (fols. 23v, 25v), where Colocci instead proposes 'poggiato', and underlines his departure from the other translation by accompanying both occurrences with 'ego'.

Other notes contained in manuscript *M* give us key insights into Colocci's linguistic ideology and into his perception of the Romance literatures. Before looking at these, it will however be useful to discuss Colocci's theoretical stance on these matters as expressed in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4817. This manuscript will give us the ideological background against which we can better understand most of Colocci's notes on *M*.

3. Colocci between the Romance tradition and the *lingua comune*: MS Vat.

Lat. 4817 and chansonnier *M*'s marginalia (1529–44)

Vat. lat. 4817 is, like 4831, an authorial *zibaldone* that was almost entirely written by Colocci himself, and contains a wide variety of linguistic and literary notes, all of which belong to the period 1529–44 (Avesani 1972: 128–29; Colocci 2012: 39, 45).²³ At a later time, two more fascicles were added, containing a list of words from Italian poems based on MS Vat. Lat. 4823 (fols. 77–78; see Colocci 2012: 47), and an excerpt from the *De vulgari eloquentia* (fols. 284rv). In general, then, this

²¹ It is equally possible that Colocci is misreading 'sui' as 'sim', an error justified by the handwriting of the manuscript. Since 4796 also contains the Occitan texts, this would not have any effect on our reasoning. Also note that another 'sui' is translated by Colocci as 'sim' at fol. 25v (also repeated at the top of the page), on a poem by Folquet de Marselha.

²² These notes are compatible with Casassagia's translation (17r 'senza', 18v, 19r of Vat. Lat. 4796), but it is impossible to claim whether they are based on his translation.

²³ While, as a whole, most of the content of Vat. Lat. 4817 is more recent than that of Vat. Lat. 4831, it should be noted that some of the notes it contains are very likely to have been written before some in 4817 (Colocci 2008: 115).

manuscript appears as a strongly coherent collection of materials of literary-linguistic interest produced within a specific timeframe, possibly with the aim of producing an encyclopaedic work on the Romance languages and their poetry (Fidalgo Francisco 2008: 364).

At the time of writing this manuscript, Colocci's collection of Romance poetry had notably expanded: other than *M*, Colocci knew one of the most important collections of medieval Italian poetry, Vat. Lat. 3793, the *De vulgari eloquentia*, and the two Galician-Portuguese chansonniers Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 10991 ('Colocci-Brancuti') and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4803 (Colocci 2012: 57–58).²⁴ This wealth of witnesses of the Romance literary tradition had a fundamental impact on Colocci's linguistic ideology.

This manuscript also bears witness to Colocci's study of the translations provided by Casassagia, from which Colocci drew two glossaries, found at fols. 222r–249r (Folquet) and 251r–269r (Arnaut). The Occitan words are all accompanied by the page number referring to the places at which they appear in Vat. lat. 4796 and paired with either the Italian definition, a Latin one provided by Colocci himself or, at times, both. By the time of these glossaries, Colocci had developed the ability to often propose his own independent translations, which he marks with 'ego' 'atresi cusi ego altresì' (222r), 'grazitz regratiato ego gradito' (257r) (Brea-Campo 1998: 341–43).

Vat. Lat. 4817: The *lingua comune*

The essence of Colocci's linguistic theory is presented in two fundamental passages of this manuscript:

La lingua è comune ma quanto ben in Italia non sia lingua comune certo quella che Petrarca di tanta lingua ha facto per imitatione è comune (1r)²⁵

Tanti mostri di parole che sono in dante e non poche in petrarcha di tutto la cagion è stata la imitatione di poche parole vi sono che non siano o de gli antiqui siculi o de lemosini o di vicini allemosini chiamo siculi tutti quelli che scripsero oltra el faro [probably the Strait of Messina: see Colocci 2012: 56] et di qua chiamo lemosin tutti francesi provenza et catalogna. (39rv)

²⁴ On the basis of the imprecise references to the *Dve*, Debenedetti (1986: 187) dated Colocci's earliest use of Vat. Lat. 3793 to around 1514.

²⁵ Transcriptions from Colocci 2012, double-checked on the digitised manuscript.

This concept is an extension of what we have already found in the *Apologia*, where Dante is depicted as the author who enriched the vernacular by picking words of a different origin from his native Tuscan. Here the same idea is meaningfully extended to Petrarch, who in the absence of a common model, created ‘monster words’ (here Colocci is perhaps adopting the vocabulary of the opposers of the *cortigiana*, much like Bembo would in the *Prose* censor some loans in Dante) by imitating the pre-existing poetic traditions, the Sicilian and the Occitan. This language, formed ‘per imitatione’ and devoid of any localistic nature, takes the name of ‘comune’, as it belongs to the whole of Italy.

The problem of the existence of a ‘common’ language for all Italians was absent from the *Apologia*, where the key concept was the individual’s freedom to adopt words from different vernaculars. By the time of these notes, however, it had become essential for the defenders of the *lingua cortigiana* to demonstrate that Dante and Petrarch’s language, far from being pure Tuscan, is composite and ‘national’ (Colocci 2012: 109). With a slightly different focus, the same idea is expressed in these same years by Trissino in the *Castellano* (1529), a dialogue that was certainly influenced by Colocci (Pulsoni 2008: 468):

E se egli anchora dicesse, come Philippo pensa ch’el voglia dire, che la lingua di Dante e del Petrarca e di molt’altri antichi dicatori si dee chiamare “italiana”, direbbe cosa verissima. Anzi, se la nominasse “toscana”, oltre che direbbe bugia le attribuirebbe anchora un nome col quale mai da gli antiqui non fu nominata. E se pur alcuno la volesse per altro nome che per “italiana” chiamare egli lo converrebbe dal nostro regno pigliare e chiamarla “siciliana” come facevano gli antichi; il qual nome, però, più per l’antica ufanza che per la verità le darebbe. (Trissino 1986: 82)

As we have mentioned, both Trissino and Colocci employed Dante’s *De vulgari eloquentia* to legitimise this conception of the Italian linguistic tradition. Dante had indeed notoriously defined his linguistic ideal as the language of an Italian court which does not exist as a unitary whole but rather corresponds to the community of learned men throughout the peninsula (I, XVIII, 5). In another note, Colocci reminds himself to use this passage in defence of his linguistic ideology:

Dante de comuni aulico. Dicas quod hodie magis apparet quid sit illud comune qui est curia romana et dico illud esse comune totius Siciliae quod in aula Ferdinandi frequentaret et Federici. [Colocci then mentions the ‘courtly’ vernaculars of Veneto, Ferrara, and Mantua] Sed illud commune quod Rome ex istis omnibus componitur ubi est universalis curia vel si magis placet ex dictis aulis singulis sit unum universale inter doctos quorum consensus facta est communis loquela. (fol. 62r)

Colocci claims that nowadays the *curia*, whose absence Dante lamented, exists in Rome, under the humanist pope Leo X, which attracts men of letters of different provenance who speak a language that is effectively ‘communis’ (Debenedetti 1986: 196–201; Pulsoni 2008: 454).

At this point in time, Colocci’s understanding of the vernacular is much more nuanced than at the time of the *Apologia*, and going beyond the earlier generic claim of each author’s linguistic freedom he celebrates a refined vernacular, enriched by the influx of many languages and of the poetic tradition, called ‘lingua comune’, and which exists both as a literary language and in the spoken usage of the papal court (Colocci 2012: 113). The definition of the *lingua comune* is the chief innovation of 4817 with regard to the *questione*, and it brings with itself a clear rejection of forms perceived as too ‘localistic’ or foreign: ‘Ferute eo è siciliano et francese, non è lingua comune’ (62v).

The *lingua comune*, therefore, is a supra-regional form of Italian in which certain elements must be avoided, regardless of whether in the past they were acceptable or not—the evolution of language is, unlike in Bembo’s theory, a factor to consider in the definition of the linguistic rule. These notes then testify to the shift of the *lingua cortigiana* towards a more literary model, as also attested by the differences between the manuscript and printed versions of Mario Equicola’s *Libro de natura de amore*.

Vat. Lat. 4817: Colocci’s definition of Occitan

In the note we quoted above, Colocci uses the term ‘lemosini’ to refer to ‘tutti francesi provenza et catalogna’. The exact meaning of these words is unclear, but it is evident that there is an attempt to understand to what extent this language overlaps with French and Catalan. One of Colocci’s primary purposes in Vat. Lat. 4817 seems to be to define the many languages that contribute in some form to the *lingua comune*, as testified by fols. 46–68, which collect, under headings such as ‘lingua sicula’, ‘lingua toscana’, etc., information on all these languages and their relationship with Colocci’s linguistic ideal (Colocci 2012: 78–79). The page dedicated to Occitan is worth discussing here:

Lingua lemosina
In poca piazza fe’ mirabil cose

Portamenti et volgari strani
 DRAPPELLO GIAMAI lombardi
 ARNESE
 INUN CAL
 DEMORARI DEMOROR
 TENZON Dante nel X purgatorio
 MANTA lemosin et una [*scil.* volta] sicilian
 NOMA 'nomina' Petrarca
 'Sovente' Vercelli et Casal tutti dicono SOVENZE ET SOVENTZ
 FORSENNATO TRALIGNER FORLIGNER
 Raynaldo diphthongo
 Usano meglio li circumflexi in desinentia
 CHEVALIER CAVALIER in sicil. GIOCO francese (fol. 51r)

Despite their disorder, these notes can in part be deciphered with some confidence. Colocci is here defining some of the characteristics of Occitan in itself such as the use of 'circumflexi'—that is oxytone words (see Colocci 2012: 136)—at the end of lines,²⁶ or the presence of the dyphthong 'ai' in 'Rainaut' as opposed to the Italian 'Rinaldo'. He is also operating within the wider frame of the Romance languages and literatures; thus Colocci perceives 'drappello' and 'giamai' to be Occitan, but also used by Lombards, while the Occitan 'soven' is also used in Piemonte in Vercelli and 'Casale'.²⁷ As for the word 'arnese', he sees this as being derived from Occitan (see also Colocci's note on MS *M* fol. 79v and 116r and Bembo, *Prose* I, x).

Crucially, he also attempts to define the nature and extent of the debt owed by Italian literature to its Occitan counterpart, with Dante using 'tenzon' in *Purgatorio* X (line 117, see Dante 1966–67: II, 168, *pace* Colocci 2012: 171), Petrarch using 'noma' (*Rvf* 27, l. 24), and 'manta' being found in Sicilian poetry.²⁸ Petrarch's relationship to Occitan is more specifically the object of the first four annotations, which deserve some discussion. The first, 'in poca piazza fe' mirabil cose' refers to Petrarch's *Triumphus Famae* II, 24, and the expression 'piazza', as is evident by a note in the Occitan glossary of fols. 251–69 in this same manuscript: 'plaza piacza et nota | c(he) qui [*scil.* in Arnaut's sestina] no(n) vol dir locho | come i(n) poca piazza fa [*sic*] | mirabil cosa [*sic*]' (fol. 264r).²⁹ The second annotation alludes to the representation of the troubadours in the *Triumph*, as a 'drappello di portamenti e di volgari strani' (*TC* IV, 38). One of the following notes, 'demorari demoror' seems to

²⁶ Also see fol. 273r where he defines Occitan 'lingua tagliata'

²⁷ There are many towns named Casale in Italy: by the context I am assuming he is referring to Casale Monferrato, not far from Vercelli.

²⁸ At fol. 53r of this same *zibaldone*, 'manta' is indicated as a form typical of Rome and the Marche.

²⁹ Brea and Campo's transcription of the glossary explicitly omits the Petrarchan quotation (1998: 342).

reference the line from BEdT 233,4 in *Rvf* 70, line 10 ('Drez et rayson es qu'ieu ciant e.m demori').³⁰ Colocci is perhaps considering the possibility that the reflexive use of 'demori' in Petrarch's line may have some relationship with the Latin 'demoror' since this is a deponent verb.³¹ Ultimately, the note 'inun cal', which Cannata (Colocci 2012: 171) reads as 'in un cal', is probably to be understood as another Petrarchan reference, to be interpreted as 'in non cal'. This expression attracted Colocci's attention multiple times on MS *M* (just to name a few occurrences: fols. 132r, 132v, 139v, 143r, 162v), and is probably to be understood as a reference to *Rvf* 360, line 34 ('in non cale ogni pensero').

It is also possible that Colocci is trying to define Occitan in opposition to French. This would justify the presence of the word 'chevalier' here. The reason for 'traligner' and 'forligner' is more difficult to explain. Both seem to be French infinitives,³² but while 'forlinhar' is attested to in Old French, I was unable to find examples of 'traligner' in *Champion*. One should note that Colocci manifests an interest for the Occitan 'forlinhar' in other occasions: 'forlinhat' is included in the glossary at fol. 274v of this same manuscript, and twice on *M* Colocci refers to this verb: first, at fol. 2r, he replicates 'forlignat' from the text of Giraut de Borneil's 'Los aplegz | ab qu'eu soill' (BEdT 232,47); and again at fol. 139v, with reference to the word 'linha', he notes that it is the etymology of 'forlinhar': 'ligna linea in forligna'.

Ultimately, the presence of 'forsennato' within the list of 4817 is particularly interesting, as the same word is discussed at fol. 115r of *M* where Colocci claims that Tuscan lacks a word to express this concept and thus Dante,³³ rather than adapting the Latin 'amens', opted for 'fuorsennato', which is defined both as 'francioso' and 'provenzale' (also note the presence of 'forsennato' in Bembo's list of Provençalisms in *Prose* I, x; Pérez Barcala 2000: 975–76).

³⁰ Obviously, it is extremely unlikely that Colocci, who did not have access to MSS *C* or *K*, knew the Occitan poem. Various notes on MS *M* hint that he looked for the source of Petrarch's line within it (see for instance fols. 137r and 144v).

³¹ Although—as we said—Colocci does not accept the derivation of Romance languages from Latin, he does contemplate the possibility of individual loans and derivations (Colocci 2012: 136). At fol. 65r Colocci also connects the French (*sic*) form 'demorar' to Lat. DEMOROR.

³² At fol. 63r the desinence -er for the infinitive is defined as typically French.

³³ At fol. 41v of Vat. Lat. 2748 (a Latin-French vocabulary), Colocci notes the word 'forsener' (Bernardi 2008: 29).

This concern for the definition of Occitan within the Romance context also guides Colocci in the two aforementioned glossaries based on Casassaglia's translations. Among Colocci's personal additions (studied by Brea-Campo 1998), there are cases where he uses a Latin or dialectal word that is more similar to the Occitan in comparison with its Italian equivalent (see for instance for Latin 'cuia pensa cogitat', fol. 225r; 'er sara erit', fol. 229v; for the dialects 'pausatz posto. ci è posto lo cor meo 26. | marchiani pusato',³⁴ fol. 242r; 'partam partiamo picentes lo | partamo 29 spartiamo',³⁵ fol. 242r). In this same glossary—and in line with his practice in MS *M*—Colocci seeks words that Petrarch might have taken from Occitan, e.g. 'repen repente 30 petrarca no(n) ben si repen' (fol. 244); 'voler fermo petrarca' (fol. 269r).³⁶ These notes demonstrate that Colocci not only works on the meaning of what he reads, but also attempts to find connections with Petrarch in terms of lexicon, concepts and even constructions. He is, in short, looking for what Bologna in another context has called the 'sfondo romanzo', the Romance background, behind the Italian literary and linguistic tradition (1999: 343–49).

As further proof of Colocci's research of possible sources for Petrarch, I will here report a note that has not previously, to my knowledge, been examined. It belongs to a collection of 'frasi e [...] modi di dire' (Debenedetti 1995: 75) drawn, once again, from the poems translated by Casassaglia, and which contains some original considerations by Colocci³⁷—found at fols. 271r–273v, and not edited within Colocci 2012. At fol. 272r we indeed read: 'De leis nos³⁸ parti. dalei no(n) si parta. no(n) [unreadable word] costui | petrarca qu(i) dixit ch(e) mai da lei no(n) parta. 4 | et nota ch(e) dice da lei non parta non di'. The reference is to the thirtieth line of Arnaut's sestina and to *Rvf* 127, line 91: 'a ciò che mai da lei non mi diparta'. Colocci is comparing these expressions to both show the influence of Arnaut on Petrarch, and to reflect on the use of 'di' and 'da' in the *lingua comune* and in

³⁴ 'Meo' is missing from Brea-Campo's transcription, and they read 'marchiano' instead of 'marchiani' (1998: 342).

³⁵ At fol. 29r of Vat. Lat. 4796, Colocci added a *manicula* by the word 'partes'. Colocci thus seems to have replaced the second person plural with a first plural. The same line is copied at fol. 273r, accompanied by Casassaglia's translation.

³⁶ In both cases, Brea-Campo 1998 (341) read 'petrarca' instead.

³⁷ One of these notes has been reported by Pulsoni 2008 (469) as proof of an early use of the word 'sestina'.

³⁸ I believe it originally was no(n)s but the *titulus* was crossed out.

other Romance languages (cf. MS *M*, fol. 204v, where, noticing the use of ‘de’ in Occitan, Colocci notes ‘no(n) da ut co(mun)es. no(n) di ut flore(n)ti(ni)’; see also Debenedetti [1995: 73]).

Vat. Lat. 4817: A history of rhymed poetry

The other domain explored by Colocci in Vat. Lat. 4817 that is relevant to our enquiry is that of a reconstruction of the history of rhymed poetry from its ‘antiquità remote’ (fol. 8r) to the vernacular tradition. This study, scattered among many notes, has been reconstructed by Cannata (Colocci 2012), whose interpretation we will mostly follow here, though we will offer a different view of Colocci’s overall programme here. *Pace* Cannata, I indeed argue that rather than tracing decisively a unitary history, his research must be understood against the background of his belief in dyglossia in ancient Rome, as he himself declares in this manuscript:

È mia opinion che sempre fu el vulgare [...] Non così come Tulio parlava el piceno avo mio: né.llo umbro. Né li toscani se deveno accostare alla lingua romana che né prima né poi erano simile. Sempre furono diferente (fol. 115r, Colocci 2012: 65)³⁹

Just as there were different languages used by different parts of the population in ancient Rome, so too Colocci theorises the existence of a less ‘official’ poetic tradition in classical times, possibly composed in a less prestigious language than classical Greek, whose diffusion was chiefly oral and nowadays only survives in Pindar’s poems (‘pindarici dityrambi et [...] altre sparse canzoni che più nelle bocche degli huomini che negli libri erano celebrate’, fol. 8r). This tradition has its roots in early religious celebrations and in the oracles’ responses, which were in a kind of hexameter that was also rhymed to facilitate memorisation. At some point, however, the most elevated and ‘official’ forms of poetry stopped using rhymes, while the less prestigious tradition, the one of dithyrambs, maintained rhyme (fols. 75r–76v).⁴⁰ Latin poetry also maintained this distinction, and had a

³⁹ Cannata’s reconstruction actually exaggerates this point by claiming that, for Colocci, Romance languages had no common origin, and only shared their nature of ‘lingue degli incolti’ (Colocci 2012: 60). But not only is Colocci very much aware of the similarities among these languages, but he also knows by this time the *De vulgari eloquentia*, which claims that ‘quod unum fuerit [*scil.* the tripharium ydioma] a principio confusionis [...] apparet, quia convenimus in vocabulis multis’ (*Dve* I, IX, 2).

⁴⁰ Colocci clearly says that Pindar wrote ‘in dithyrambi et rime’. While it is true that Pindar adopted the dithyramb, his poems do not, to my knowledge, have rhymes. Colocci might have been aware of this problem when, elsewhere in the manuscript, he wrote: ‘Son certo che voi potresti dire né apresso di greci né apresso di

minoritarian tradition of rhymed poetry that only occasionally emerges within ‘official’ literature, and which was then adopted by the Christians (fols. 165rv). This state of affairs is compared by Colocci to a young laurel tree (rhymed poetry) that is unable to grow because of the shadow cast on it by an oak tree (classical poetry) (fols. 8r–9r). With the fall of the Roman Empire, however, this tradition, originally disordered, was allowed to grow, and to receive properly ‘artistic’ rules thanks to Christian poets:

Et la natura delle cose innovatrice volendo pur aiutare i singolari ingegni, questi—mancando l’imperio romano, et la fede christiana surgendo, et pigliando forza li poeti che in Christo credevano—furono li primi che alle sparse rhyme cominciassero a dar forma et latino et vulgare con li santissimi hymni, con le preci, et con le canzoni morali. Et per l’horma di costoro li nobili cavalieri et done amorse exercitandosi hano dato tal principio che in breve si spera di posser superare et greci et latini. (fols. 9rv)

Vernacular rhymed poetry in the modern sense was probably born in Sicily, where the memory of Greek poetry was still alive in the time of the *scuola siciliana*:

Il principio de’ siculi fu di canzone octonarie, nonarie, quinarie, septenarie come in Pindaro, imitando li sui greci (fol. 42r)

Circa a questi tempi li Siculi che poco avanti greco parlavano come alli tempi delli imperatori neapolitani et come hoggi infiniti in terra d’Otronto et in Grecia Magna, imparata da loro la lingua italiana et recordatisi delle ode grece et seguitando i nostri latini nelle rhyme cominciarono a fare ode pur così senza forma elegante [...] Et io non trovo alcuno se non Cielo d’Alcamo che tanto avanti scrivesse quale noi chiamaremo Celio. 1164. (fol. 171r)

Modern lyric poetry is thus perceived as born out of the contamination of the poetic tradition of Magna Graecia with that of Latin rhymed distichs, whose earliest known example is Cielo d’Alcamo (the ‘1164’ possibly being the date of Cielo’s activity according to Colocci [2012: 89–91]). The fact that Occitan is not mentioned here probably implies that Colocci is following Petrarch (*Familiars*, I, I, 6) in considering Sicilian poetry as the earliest form of vernacular rhyme. In addition to this—but more cautiously—we can consider the fact that in the original order of the manuscript, the aforementioned section on the ‘Lingua lemosina’ at fol. 51r came after that on the ‘sicula’ and the ‘toscana’, possibly suggesting that he considered it more recent (Colocci 2012: 102–3). While the Occitans were not the first to produce rhymed poetry, their socio-political background was particularly fertile for poetry:

latini simili sorte di canzoni giamai non esser state in uso di poche syllabe un verso et in consonantia univoca’, bringing examples from the 2nd–3rd-century rhetorician Athenaeus (fol. 145r).

La piacevolezza delle donne di Provenza et Francia et lo accarezzar dei principi et in Italia la lascivia di Federico la gentilezza delli conti provenzali fecero utile grandissimo alle rhyme. Nutriva l'ingegni di quei tempi Re di Castella il conte di Tolosa, marchese di Monferrato Beltran del Bornio. Piero cardinale (fol. 132v)

This reconstruction might have been influenced by a passage of Giovanni Villani's *Nuova chronica* VII, XC, where it is said that Occitan poetry was appreciated at Ramon Berenguer V's court, and that the count himself wrote 'molte cobbole e canzoni provenzali' (Villani 1990: 400). Colocci lists names of people who were connected to Occitan poetry and also held positions of power, who he perceives as the 'institutional' support that allowed for the diffusion of Occitan poetry. All of these names are found in *M* and mostly correspond to Colocci's marginalia on that manuscript (e.g. mentions of Castile are underlined and annotated by Colocci on fols. 35v and 134v, and the words 'conte Tolosan', found in a sirventes by Guillem Figuera (BEdT 217,1), were annotated by Colocci at fol. 238v).

The role of Occitania as a place for the development and expansion of rhymed poetry, rather than its origin, is repeated in another version of the history of rhyme—which I believe can be understood as alternative to the one we have followed so far—at fol. 129r:

Questa adunque rhyma peregrinata li arabi, el levante, la Spagna, l'Inghilterra, la Francia et poi Sicilia et Provenza et alla fine venuta in Italia et havendo molte guise et infinite maniere alla fine qui ha pigliato forma et quiete.

In this version, it looks like rhymed poetry came from outside Europe, and after being adopted by the Arabs, who brought it to Spain, it reached Europe—first France, then Sicily, Occitania, and ultimately Italy, where it found its most accomplished expression.⁴¹

The key concept underlying both theories is that of a clear separation between classic poetry on the one hand, and the whole of rhymed poetry, which has found expression in the Romance vernaculars, on the other. This bipartition also justifies the existence of common literary forms across the Romance vernaculars, which legitimises Colocci's use of Occitan terms for poems written in other

⁴¹ A third version of the history of rhymed poetry is proposed at fols. 141rv, and is declaredly derived from Leon Battista Alberti (possibly *De re aedificatoria*, VIII, 150a, 16, see Colocci 2012: 229), but it does not seem to have any bearing on Colocci's perception of medieval Romance literatures.

languages (e.g. Vat. Lat. 4817, fol. 284r: ‘Sextina | Discort [...] et Rosa fresca [...] Disc.’).⁴² This conception of the Romance literary tradition underlies many of the marginal notes added by Colocci to the manuscripts he owned—for instance, in the Galician-Portuguese MS Colocci-Brancuti, he consistently uses ‘epodo’ to refer to *tornadas* and refrains, adopting a term derived from Pindaric odes, and whose adoption in the context of Romance poetry can only be justified by the theoretical frame we have been delineating (Pérez Barcala 2008: 329–30). In this same vein, Colocci identifies certain forms of Romance poetry as typically Occitan. At fol. 1r of the same Portuguese chansonnier, he notes down ‘discort et om(n)i sta(n)za fa sel dissi’, with a ‘10’ that seems to suggest that the reference here is the tenth poem of MS *M* (Giraut de Borneil, ‘Gen | m’ aten’ [BEdT 242,34]). As for the ‘sel dissi’, this expression, improperly referring to Petrarch’s ‘s’i’ ’l dissi mai, ch’i’ vegna in odio a quella’ (*Rvf* 206), is often used by Colocci on his Italian and Portuguese chansonniers to refer to *coblas unissonans*. In this context, then, Colocci underlines how this technique belongs to the troubadours, to Portuguese poets, and also to Petrarch (Pérez Barcala 2008: 338). Similarly, in the margins of fol. 203v of the Italian chansonnier Vat. Lat. 4823, Colocci notes: ‘Artificiosa repetita alla lemosina | come sel dissi mai’. The poem he refers to, ‘S’esser potesse ch’io il potesse avere’ by Chiaro Davanzati, is indeed entirely built around *coblas unissonans* always employing the same rhyme-words, a technique that again Colocci associates with the Occitans and with *Rvf* 206 (Davanzati 1965: 84; Pérez Barcala 2008: 337).

Ultimately then, Colocci seems to be in pursuit of multiple objectives. He attempts to define what makes up the Italian vernacular, as well as its relationship with other languages. At the same time, he is engaged in understanding the nature of the literary Italian vernacular as an assemblage of different linguistic sources in order to turn this into a linguistic proposal. And additionally he is intent on reconstructing the history of rhymed poetry from its distant origins to its modern adoption thanks

⁴² Debenedetti (1986: 180) believes that the employment of the Occitan word *descort* by Colocci to define poems contained in the Italian chansonnier Vat. Lat. 3793 and the Colocci-Brancuti Portuguese chansonnier hints at the fact that he believes that Occitan came first. I believe what I have said so far shows that Colocci is more likely to think that Occitan literature is more recent than that of the Sicilians, and thus the use of the Occitan word only proves the unity of the vernacular Romance tradition.

to Cielo d'Alcamo. We will now look for traces of these interlocking ambitions in his study of Occitan on manuscript *M*.

Manuscript M, the *questione della lingua*, and the Romance world

Our examination of MS Vat. Lat. 4817 has given us an ideological background without which we would be unable to understand some of *M*'s notes which are essential to understanding Colocci's linguistic theory. Of course, in discussing these notes after the *zibaldone* we are not implying that they were written after 4817; what is relevant is the fact that, as the analysis above has shown, they need to be understood as part of a single process.

Some of the most interesting notes, already highlighted by Debenedetti (1995: 75), focus on Petrarch. While they are often very elliptic, their overall sense is quite clear. For instance, at fol. 22v Colocci notices the expression 'vera valor' by Peire Bremon Ricas novas (BEdT 330,2, line 50) and comments 'vera valor co(n)vien chuo(m) poggi', in a clear allusion to *Rvf* 25 'Amor piangeva, et io con lui talvolta', whose line 14 reads 'onde al vero valor conven ch' uom poggi'. At fol. 133v, he underlines 'fruch de bona semensa' in the sixth line of Guillem Figueira's 'Totz hom qui be comens'e be fenis' (BEdT 217,7), annotating it with 'di bon seme mal frutto' (*Rvf* 360, line 108). At times, the references to Petrarch seem to be connected to specific features of morphology, such as at fol. 260v where he notes 'attendre. cosi fan da(n)te et petr'. These are just some examples of the many references to Petrarch's poems in Colocci's notes on *M*, and very similar occurrences can be seen on the Portuguese poems contained in the Colocci-Brancuti Portuguese chansonnier (see Brea-Campo 1998). Far from being simple comparisons, then, these notes have a key function in pinpointing likely sources of Petrarch's poems from literary allusions to the more granular aspects of language, which, being 'commune' and built 'per imitatione' from many sources, must be understood through the identification of its sources (Pérez Barcala 2000: 980).

Dante is only occasionally the object of a similar inquiry into the origins of his language (e.g. fol. 41r 'ploia dante', fol. 232r 'croia dante'). But he is more often employed a source of information on the authors in the *De vulgari eloquentia* and—more rarely—the *Commedia* or *Convivio*. Thus,

Colocci recognises the poems cited in the *De vulgari* and notes this down with sentences such as ‘Dante cita questa’ or ‘Dante citat hanc’ (fols. 143r, 149v, 232v).⁴³ With the same aim, Dante is sometimes used alongside other authors: his son Pietro Alighieri (Giraut de Borneil: ‘cantò de rectitudine dice Dante. | Petrus, filius Danti, vocat | eu(m) Girardu(m) de Biernel i(n) | cap(itu)lo .26. Purgatorii’, fol. 1r of the table), or Petrarch (Arnaut Daniel: ‘Dante lo chiama poeta damore et Petrarca | gran maest(ro) damor’, fol. 5r of the table; Bertran de Born ‘canto darne dice Dante (et) pero no(n) va nel dra[ppello?] | del petrarca’, fol. 8r). These notes have a twofold purpose: on the one hand, they allow for a better understanding of Petrarch and Dante’s texts by underlining the presence of their sources on *M*; on the other, Dante also provides some information on the poems and their authors that enable Colocci to gain a better understanding of troubadour poetry itself.

We need to include in a separate category the notes referring to Sicilian poetry, e.g. ‘siciliani usan tal exemplo’ (fol. 12v), ‘aire due sillabe siculi’ (fol. 14v), ‘megliura s(upra) siciliani’ (fol. 159r). In such instances, Colocci establishes a relationship between Occitan and Sicilian poetry on multiple levels, covering imagery, metric and even lexicon. However, as we saw above, Colocci believed Sicilian poetry to be older than that of the troubadours, so that these should be understood as a study of possible sources for the troubadours rather than revealing traces of their influence. Among such references to the Sicilians, I would signal two notes that have not received sufficient critical attention. These notes are found at fol. 77r (‘occhi messaggi damor(e)’) and 112v (‘occhi del cor messaggi’). This consideration, inspired by BEdT 167,30 and 392,27 respectively, identifies references to the eyes carrying the image to the beloved to the heart, which are quite common in Romance lyric (and see Landino’s commentary on *Purg.* 25, 113–14, *Dartmouth Dante Project*). However, the wording—which also translates literally the second occurrence—suggests that Colocci is thinking of a specific occurrence of this *topos*, that in Guido delle Colonne’s ‘Amor, che lungiamente m’ài menato’ (line 59: ‘gli ochi a lo core sono gli messaggi’, see Guido delle Colonne 2008: 89). It is likely then that Colocci perceived Guido delle Colonne’s use of the image (which he could find at fol. 305r of Vat.

⁴³ ‘Dante cita questa’ is also a recurring annotation in the Italian chansonnier Vat. Lat. 3793 (Pulsoni 2008: 445–56).

Lat. 3793) as the earliest occurrence and sought to gauge its influence on the troubadours. We will then have to understand in a similar way the many notes that read ‘vostro hom/homo’ scattered through *M* (e.g. fols. 162r, 171r, 172v). Indeed, the first time Colocci notes down these words, in the *tornada* of BEdT 375,10 ‘Humils e francs e fis sopei vas vos’, he also adds ‘siculi donna vi vodi(r) como | io mi tengo v(ost)ro homo no(n) come Re Ioanni’ (fol. 161r). The line cited here is the second of the poem ‘Donna audite como’ by Re Giovanni (see 2008: 114). As we have already seen with Casassagia’s translations, Colocci seems interested in the feudal imagery connected with this expression (at fol. 172v he meaningfully writes ‘vostro ho(m) s(upra) .i. vassallo’). Colocci catches a glimpse of the ‘feudal metaphor’ at the root of Occitan poetry: however, his skewed perception of the Romance tradition leads him to consider the Sicilian occurrence as the original, which influenced the Occitans’ lyric vocabulary.

Finally, there is a last group of notes which, despite being less *stricto sensu* erudite in nature, are essential to understand one of the main purposes of Colocci’s research. Occasionally, when reading *M*’s poems, Colocci is indeed struck by passages which he feels compelled to translate. Among these short translations, some are hendecasyllables, or close to being such. Here are some examples: fol. 131r ‘Sequo el mio senno et sequo mia voglia’; fol. 133v ‘quel di ch(e) mor si dolceme(n)te nasce’; fol. 146r ‘cha tanto t(em)po un sol vestir portato | et e piu secco c(he) legno ardente’.⁴⁴ These notes, already discussed by Debenedetti (1995: 127–30), are symptomatic of the connections between this erudite research and Petrarchist poetry (cf. Bologna 1993: 536). In Vat. Lat. 4817, fol. 115r, he claims that ‘Nui che componemo nella comune lingua de Italia non la latina ma la comune cercamo imitare’. In translating the troubadours, Colocci therefore wanted to absorb part of their poetics and their language, thereby applying to Italian what they did with the Sicilian tradition, and what Petrarch in turn did with troubadour poetry.

Let us now summarise our reconstruction of Colocci’s perception and use of Occitan in his activity from from the 1520s to the 1540s. The first point to note is that we can clearly identify an

⁴⁴ The second line is a hendecasyllable if ‘legno ardente’ is understood as a dialepha.

effort on his part to define the nature and limits of the Occitan language in opposition to the other Romance languages. This effort involves Colocci locating the Occitan tradition within a much wider Romance context, by attempting to define its ancestry (from Pindaric—or Arab—poetry to the Sicilians) as well as its impact on the following traditions (Dante and Petrarch). What is significant, too, is that Colocci does this within the frame of the *lingua comune*. For Colocci, Petrarch and Dante did not write in Tuscan, but rather in a ‘common’ form of Italian influenced by a wealth of sources, among which was also Occitan. To read the troubadours, then, meant to understand better the process of formation of this literary language. Colocci’s studies cannot then be understood as purely motivated by antiquarian and historicising concerns, as solely directed at gaining a better understanding of Occitan poetry or even as a tool to assist his own translations. Rather, Colocci actively demonstrated how the process of linguistic enrichment that allowed Dante and Petrarch to develop their language could be perpetuated by contemporary poets through the reading of the Romance tradition.

4. Colocci’s community

As we saw, manuscript *M* was undeniably Colocci’s main instrument for accessing and understanding the Occitan tradition. However, throughout his life he came into direct or indirect contact with other chansonniers, and it will be useful to give a more detailed account here, both to gain a fuller understanding of the materials available to Colocci and to nuance Debenedetti’s well-known claim of the isolation of Cinquecento Provençalists from one another by showing forms of circulation of Occitan knowledge among these intellectuals.

Important traces of a collaboration on the troubadours between Colocci and other intellectuals can be found in a letter written on 4 December 1525 by the Marquis of Mantua Federico II to the Mantuan ambassador in Rome (published by Debenedetti 1995: 303). In this letter, written a few months after Mario Equicola’s death, Federico attempts to find some Occitan books which belonged to him and which, before Equicola’s death, had been lent to Trissino. Before getting them back, however, Federico would like the ambassador to lend them ‘al S.r Benedetto Porto per compiacerne

M. Angelo Collocchio che li faccia transcrivere, consignandoli ditti libri ad uno ad uno, cioè quando ve ne restituisca uno li ne dareti un altro'. A later letter written in July 1526 informs us that, by that time, Colocci had returned the last manuscript. This document, then, demonstrates that several Occitan manuscripts coming from Equicola's collection and the Gonzaga library passed in Colocci's hands between late 1525 and early 1526. While we do not know the exact number of these manuscripts, one is consistently referred to as 'Equicola' or 'Liber Equicoli' on the notes of collation added by Colocci to manuscript *M*. These notes, edited by Pérez Barcala (2011a), signal variant readings and different attributions found on this other manuscript. The level of detail in these notes has allowed Debenedetti (1995: 252) to identify it with MS *N* (67r), on which, as demonstrated by Careri (2017: 90), Colocci also took one note.

A second manuscript is mentioned on Vat. Lat. 4817, fols 39v and 40v, where Colocci writes of a 'Libro di Equicola | Chanson d'amors' (39v) with an ownership note reading 'GuillheM. Feraut caualher senhor q(ue) fo de | Garda de Teunes | Mil. e ccc liij.' (40v).⁴⁵ Maria Careri, in a study of these notes (2018), identified this manuscript with the one dubbed 'Liber Marii' on *M* (e.g. fol. 81v 'in L(ibr)o Marij dicit peyrol', for BEdT 167,37, attributed by *M* to Gaucelm Faidit). The information we have about this manuscript from these two sources does not correspond to any of the known ones, but Careri noted that an excerpt from an unknown source found in MS Vat. Lat. 7182, fols. 281–86 (also known as *n*) contains a text which is linguistically compatible with it.

Not only does this information allow us to arrive at a more detailed knowledge of the manuscripts used by Colocci, but it also carries important implications for what concerns forms of collaboration among scholars with an interest for Occitan in sixteenth-century Italy. Mario Equicola, a proponent of the *lingua cortigiana*, was evidently in contact with Trissino, who, despite not being directly engaged in the study of Occitan, perhaps wanted to get some knowledge of the troubadours and thus borrowed Equicola's books. As we have seen, through Trissino and a certain 'Benedetto

⁴⁵ The transcription of the second note is drawn from Careri 2018 (164).

Porto' these manuscripts then also reached the hand of another advocate of the *cortigiana*, Angelo Colocci.

Two further notes on MS *M* seem to mention another manuscript. At fol. IVv we read, by the name 'Gui figera' 'Iulio Camillo Guill(elm)o Figera'—to mark the differences in the poet's name between MS *M* and this other manuscript—, and at fol. 19r, by the poem BEdT 242,72 (Giraut de Borneil, 'Si.m sentis fizels amics'), 'Iulio Camillo'. Both notes evidently refer to a manuscript in the possession of the Friulan humanist, Giulio Camillo Delminio. When Corrado Bologna identified the chansonnier *N2* as written by Giulio Camillo himself between 1521 and 1523, he also discussed these notes. Bologna's conclusion is that we have no way of ascertaining whether Colocci saw *N2* itself, a copy of it, or the manuscript (or manuscripts) upon which it is based (1987: 92). Susanna Barsotti recently re-examined this question, underlining the absence of Guillem Figuera from *N2*, and thus suggesting that it is impossible that Colocci saw that very manuscript (2022: 35).⁴⁶ Regardless of the precise manuscript used, Giulio Camillo is known to have provided the Petrarchan commentator Alessandro Vellutello, as well as Mario Equicola and Lodovico Castelvetro, with Occitan materials. Although very little is known about Camillo's own studies of the troubadours, we do know that he owned Occitan materials which he neatly organised in a canon based on Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis* in his manuscript *N2*, and which he was willing to share with similarly-minded intellectuals.

A letter contained in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4104 (fol. 81r) and edited by Debenedetti (1995: 299–301) allows us to add one further name to the list of people who provided Colocci with Occitan materials. The letter, addressed to Colocci, was written by the humanist Benedetto Lampridio, and, returning to a previous but now lost communication, informs Colocci that he has 'visto el libro [...] Sono canzone de diversi authori dalli quali se vede manifestamente che 'l Petrarca li lesse et pigliava delle cose'. Lampridio then promises to seek a

⁴⁶ After Barsotti, the matter was re-examined once again by Fabio Barberini (2022). While his agile reconstruction of the existing bibliography was useful to me here, the interpretation he proposes of Colocci's notes is to be rejected, as it is based on a mistaken understanding of the page numbering in Roman numerals (probably made by Colocci himself) on the top right of the recto of some of *M*'s folios.

French copyist who might be able to copy the table of contents of the manuscript for him. Colocci was then invited, if the table was indeed of interest, to ask for reproductions of one or more of the poems there contained. The manuscript that Lampridio alludes to is a copy of MS A now known as A^a (Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera, AG.XIV.49), and the table drawn from it, titled ‘Lemosin per alphabeto’ in Colocci’s hand, is certainly that on fols. 81r–104r of MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 4820 (D’Heur 1964; Bologna 1987: 93).⁴⁷ Lampridio’s letter is not only important in allowing us to understand manuscript circulation, but also, in referring to the influence of the troubadours on Petrarch, shows that the objective pursued by Colocci in his private notes was shared by other contemporary intellectuals known to him or in his circle.

The last figure worthy of mention in documenting these exchanges of manuscripts is, of course, Pietro Bembo. As we argued in the Introduction, Bembo was a theorist openly opposed to Colocci’s theory. However, despite their different theoretical stances, the two were friends and occasionally cooperated in their study of vernacular literature. This is evident, for instance, from the fact that Colocci altered the order of contents on the manuscript of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* that he inherited from his father to match the one found in Petrarch’s autograph and idiograph manuscript bought by Bembo who presumably showed it to him (Bologna 2008: 16). There are, moreover, some interesting points of contact between claims made by the two scholars about Occitan. We have already mentioned the fact that both perceive the Tuscan ‘arnese’ and ‘forsennato’ as a Provençalism, and we can also add the fact that both discuss the prosthetic *i-* in words such as ‘ischifare’ as influenced by Occitan *es-* (*M* fol. 144r ‘escampa tusci iscampa’, cf. Prose I, XI; Pérez Barcala 2000: 961). The fact that the two effectively shared their knowledge of Occitan literature is further confirmed by a letter by the collector Fulvio Orsini, who towards the end of the century bought many of the books that had belonged to Bembo and Colocci. In this letter, sent to another

⁴⁷ Manuscript A^a was identified as the source for the table of contents contained in Vat. Lat. 4820 by Lorenza Lupo in a work I could not see (‘Il canzoniere provenzale A (Vat. lat. 5232), e la sua copia Aa (Braidense AG. XIV.49) e la tavola di Angelo Colocci (Vat. lat. 4820, cc. 81r–104r)’, *Quaderni di Filologia Romanza*, 9 (1992), 27–56. I am thus using Barsotti (2020: 162–64) as a source. Barsotti also pointed out similarities in structure and intentionality between A^a and N2, possibly suggesting further connections between Camillo and other humanists (2020: 165–69).

collector, his friend Gianvincenzo Pinelli, he claims to have seen ‘un foglio con una lettere del car(dina)le B(emb)o al Colotio, dove li manda li nomi de tutti poeti provenzali, et li principii di ciascuna cosa, che si contiene in detto libro’ (Debenedetti 1995: 94). Lamentably, the letter is now lost, but Debenedetti (1995: 94) identified the contents of the table sent to Colocci with those of manuscript *K*.

Conclusion to Chapter One

This chapter has attempted to signal the key elements of Colocci’s study of the troubadours. First, we can detect a clear ‘militant’ focus, a strongly programmatic inflection, to his study of the troubadours, one aimed at showing the composite nature of Petrarch and Dante’s language in defence of the *lingua comune*. Second, we have seen how Colocci’s approach is supported by a perception of rhymed poetry as a unity in opposition to classical ‘metric’ poetry, and this background enables Colocci to explore many aspects related to the circulation of words, expressions, and concepts, from one Romance language to the other.

From a historical point of view, we were able to reconstruct Colocci’s approach to the Occitan tradition as a gradual process, starting from some mere snatches of second-hand knowledge at the beginning of the century, to the marked progress shown after he acquired manuscript *M*, Bartolomeo Casassagia’s translations, and the *De vulgari eloquentia* in the years around 1515. His studies between the 1520s and the 1540s make ample usage of these materials together with many other sources of Romance poetry in order to support his ideal of the language and of the poetic tradition.

A final point to note is that we have highlighted the ways in which Colocci’s activities were connected to the work of his contemporaries—he was able to use Equicola’s manuscripts through Trissino, he received further material from Giulio Camillo, and Benedetto Lampridio allowed him to access the contents of MS *A*.

Chapter Two

Pietro Bembo: Selective philology and the troubadours

Pietro Bembo, one of the most important figures of the *questione della lingua*, was also among the first Italians to rediscover troubadour poetry. The two activities were strictly connected, since the *Prose* included troubadour poetry in a history of vernacular poetry that justified Bembo's linguistic proposal. What is more, over the three decades that cover the period between the earliest known drafts of the *Prose* (1512) and his death (1547), Bembo continued working on his Occitan chansonniers, developing a very advanced understanding of the language and of the troubadours' production that even led to his envisaging a critical edition of troubadour poetry.

Against this background, and with a focus on his earlier editorial work (1501–2), on the *Prose*, and on the unfinished edition of troubadours (1530s–40s), this chapter assesses the historical evolution of Bembo's Occitan knowledge, while at the same time examining the function of the troubadours in his idea of vernacular literature as presented in the *Prose*. The chapter is made up of four sections. The first discusses the possibility of Bembo already having some troubadour knowledge in the years 1498–1505. To this end, we will look at the manuscripts to which he could possibly have had access and focus on Bembo's edition of Dante and Petrarch in Vat. Lat. 3197 and the Aldines to re-discuss the arguments made for his having undertaken Occitan studies at an early stage. The second section is the core of this chapter and it discusses the *Prose* with a particular focus on the ideological function of troubadour poetry within the dialogue. In the third section, we will then consider Bembo's project of editing the troubadours, attempting to reconstruct in part the likely shape of this projected but unrealized edition by using the marginalia that Bembo left on his manuscripts and the sample of the edition that Anton Francesco Doni seems to have included in his *Marmi* (1552).

1. Bembo's philological work towards the Aldines

The inception of Pietro Bembo's interest for the troubadours is extremely difficult to identify. Owing to the fact that between 9 June 1582 and 11 February 1584 the bibliophile Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600, Matteini DBI) bought multiple chansonniers that belonged to Pietro (Debenedetti 1995: 276–90), we know for sure that by the end of his life he was in possession of four manuscripts, namely:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3207 (*H*)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 12473 (*K*)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3206 (*L*)

Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3208 (*O*)

To these, one can add Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α R.4.4 (*D*), which undeniably contains Bembo's autograph *marginalia* and is referred to as 'secondo' in *K*, strongly hinting that he owned—or borrowed—it for a time (Bertoni 1917: 315). We do not know when Bembo obtained any of these manuscripts. According to Clough (1984: 310), his father Bernardo bought them in Gascony during a diplomatic mission in France in 1472. As demonstrated by Careri (1990: 48), *H* is actually to be excluded from this list, since we have no reason to believe it ever was in France; and, it has also been shown that *K* never belonged to Bernardo (Meliga 2001: 141), and as we will argue, Bembo does not seem to have used it before the *Prose*. As for the remaining two manuscripts, *O* was in the possession of the Badoer family of Venice at the beginning of the century, while *L*, produced in Northern Italy, is unlikely to have ever been in France (Pulsoni 1994: 185–87; Careri-Lombardi 1998: 185; Marinetti 2016). Some *marginalia* discussed later also suggest some use of MS *A* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5232), which was in Venice in the late Quattrocento (Pulsoni 2000: 38). While, then, Bernardo cannot have bought any of these in France, it is very much possible that his bibliophile interests led him to acquire some of these manuscripts; and it is equally possible that at some point, and before buying them, Bembo was able to see these manuscripts while in the hands of Venetian owners (Pulsoni 2000: 38).

Other than these manuscripts, he might have had access to *E* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 1749) at an early date, which was in the Este library until 1513, when it was allegedly bought by his friend Luigi da Porto (Debenedetti 1995: 247–50; Pulsoni 1992), and *M* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 12474), which, since 1515, was in Angelo Colocci's hands.¹ For *M*, the fact that there was to some extent an exchange of Occitan knowledge between Bembo and Colocci is testified to by a letter that Fulvio Orsini sent Gianvincenzo Pinelli on 19 November 1582, where he claims to have seen in the Vaticana three leaves, bound with *M*, containing a list of 'più di cento poeti' from Bembo's manuscripts that Bembo himself sent to Colocci, along with a letter (Debenedetti 1995: 94–95).

Bembo could potentially have come into contact with Occitan poetry either during his first stay in Ferrara (1498–1505), or even before that, when he used to follow his father on his missions (Meliga 2001: 141). Given the state of the knowledge of Occitan in France in the sixteenth century, and the fact that, as mentioned, Bernardo does not seem to have bought any chansonniers in France, the second possibility is extremely unlikely. As for the first, the Este, at whose court troubadour poetry had flourished between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, owned manuscript *E*, a chansonnier created in Languedoc between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, which entered their library before 1436 and appears in the 1488 catalogue as *Liber Fulconis de Marsilia* (Pulsoni 1992: 323–24). In the past, scholars have advanced the hypothesis that at the beginning of the century the Este were also in possession of manuscripts *D* (a collection of heterogeneous French and Occitan lyric materials made in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in the Marca Trevigiana; see Bertoni 1907: 240–41), and *K*. *D* was actually in Venice, in the possession of one 'Zuan Malipiero Cataneus'² while Bembo was in Ferrara, as a late-fifteenth-century note on the *verso* of the final paper guard declares.³ It is likely to have entered the Este library after

¹ Debenedetti (1995: 249) believes that two corrections Bembo makes on *K* are proof that he also used *A*. Pulsoni (1992: 336–37) convincingly argues that one is based on *E*, and the other is conjectural.

² Giovanni Malipiero was husband to Marin Sanudo the younger's sister and the owner of a rich library (Bertoni 1907: 242). Bertoni hypothesizes (*ibid.*) that Bembo borrowed *D* from Sanudo in 1502, but the nature of the marginalia he put on it (see Section 3) makes it much more likely that he obtained it later.

³ The paper guards are not included in the digitised version available on the Biblioteca Estense website.

his death (Bertoni 1907: 242–43).⁴ The first testimony that *D* belonged to the Este is indeed in Barbieri's *Arte del rimare* (Meliga 2001: 140). As for *K*, the fact that it ever belonged to them is only suggested by the fact that Bembo often noted down the names of the Este princesses mentioned in the poems, which is not necessarily proof that he read it at their court (Meliga 2001: 141). Therefore, the only one he could potentially have seen was *E*.⁵ In the absence of clear evidence of any earlier and sustained contact with and interest in the troubadours, we might look at Bembo's work towards the Aldine editions of the *Rerum vulgariū fragmenta* (1501) and the *Commedia* (1502) for indications of how familiar he was with the troubadours at the beginning of the century.

The manuscript on which Bembo prepared both Aldine editions still survives. MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3197 is indeed a complete copy of the *Fragmenta* and of most of the *Commedia* in Bembo's hand. In both cases, Bembo acted, at least for a time, as what we would now call a 'philologist of the copy' who attempts to establish a reliable text. For our purposes, this is relevant as both works present, as we noted in the Introduction, passages written in Occitan. Looking at the texts in Vat. Lat. 3197 therefore should give us a good idea of his knowledge of Occitan. We will examine them in chronological order, starting from the *Fragmenta*.⁶

Bembo's work on Petrarch can be divided in two phases, the first, in which he collated at least two manuscripts, and the second, in which he began using Petrarch's idiograph/autograph⁷ manuscript (MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3195). In this second phase, which begins after the transcription of *Rvf* 337, Bembo began transcribing from Vat. Lat. 3195 until the end of the collection, after which he went back and altered the already-written texts to adapt them to Vat. Lat.

⁴ A few paper fascicles (known as *d*) containing extracts from *K* written by a sixteenth-century hand are bound together with *D*. In his notes for a new edition of his book (Debenedetti 1995: 401), Debenedetti puts forth the possibility that there was a time when Bembo already had *D* but not yet *K*. This cannot be ruled out *a priori*, but nothing supports this possibility, and the hand seems to be from the second half of the century.

⁵ Meneghetti (2001: 28–30) identifies troubadour references in Bembo's love letters to Maria Savorgnan (1500–1). This however implies a very advanced understanding of the language and ideology of the troubadours on Bembo's part, conflicting with what we read in MS Vat. Lat. 3197.

⁶ Antonio Sorella (2021: 108–27) has quite convincingly argued that part of the philological work on Dante pre-dates that on Petrarch; however, since the manuscript containing this earlier work on the *Commedia* is lost, I found it more prudent to look at Petrarch first.

⁷ For the concept of *idiograph*, which belongs more to the Italian than the Anglo-Saxon philological tradition, see *LexiconSE*.

3195's readings (Richardson 1994: 49, 203). *Rvf* 70, written at fol. 30v of Vat. Lat. 3197, thus belongs to the first phase. The line from BEdT 233,4 contained in this poem was rewritten by Bembo multiple times. Here is the chronological order of the revisions as reconstructed by Camboni (2021: 233–34, *pace* Pulsoni 1993: 287–90 and 2000: 42):

1. Droit e raison es que ciantan demori
2. Droit e raison es que ciantan de mori
3. Drez et raison es quieu ciant onde mori
4. Raison et drez es quieu ciant emdemori
5. Drez et raison es quieu ciant emdemori

These readings were then effaced and reading 5 was rewritten at the top of the page.

Let us look for clues regarding how much Bembo understood of the line. In the first version, although 'droit' is a French form, the text makes sense: 'It is rightful and reasonable that singing I rejoice'. Bembo later attempts a different segmentation of the words: 'de mori' (2). It would seem as if he is attempting to turn the sentence into something that might mean 'I sing of love'.⁸ Dissatisfied with this version, too, he comes up with 'onde mori' (3), which, while meaningless, is a clear attempt to make sense of the second half of the line as 'of that because of which I died'.⁹ Version 4 is extremely interesting as it restores a version of the line that is more in line with what is generally believed to 233,4's authentic reading, against Petrarch's likely alteration (Pulsoni 1993: 284), and might theoretically hint towards Bembo's reading an Occitan chansonnier. However, Guillem de Saint Gregori's poem is only found in manuscripts *C* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 856) and *K* (BEdT).¹⁰ *C* was never in Italy (León Gomez 2012: 24). As for *K*, the version of the poem it contains is perhaps a *rémaniement* intentionally made to reference Petrarch, and the incipit appears as 'Dreg erazos es cheu chant em demori' (Pulsoni 1993: 292). Therefore, unless we imagine that Bembo saw another unknown chansonnier, it is more reasonable to assume that he was in possession

⁸ 'D'amor' for 'demori' dates back to Filelfo (Pulsoni 1993: 285). It was later adopted in Alessandro Vellutello's 1525 Petrarchan commentary, where he claims that 'demori' is a Petrarchan innovation, with the original line being 'Drez e raison es que ie cante d'amor' (Debenedetti 1995: 114; Pulsoni 1993: 283–84). The pirated versions of the Aldine Petrarch likewise read 'damor' (Trovato 1991: 138).

⁹ Note that the Occitan use of *on* and its impact on the use of the Tuscan *onde* are pointed out in the *Prose* (see Section 2).

¹⁰ It probably was also in the lost *chansonnier de Sault*, but that manuscript never reached Italy (Pulsoni 1993: 285).

of a Petrarchan manuscript that restores a reading closer to Guillem’s (‘Raison et drez’), possibly the work of an erudite copyist who knew the Occitan poem (Pulsoni 1993: 289).¹¹ The final reading corresponds (except for the replacement of ‘y’ in ‘rayson’ with ‘i’, which was Bembo’s norm) to that of Vat. Lat. 3195, fol. 15r. This reading must therefore have stemmed directly from it. The Aldine edition (fol. d 6v) then carries the same reading, with the exception that (unless of course it is an error on part of the typesetter) Bembo separates ‘quieu’ in ‘qui’ and ‘eu’. While this could theoretically hint that he recognised the form ‘eu’ as a first-person pronoun, ‘qui’ is not acceptable in a noun clause (Jensen 1986: 365–68). In conclusion, it seems extremely unlikely that Bembo at the time of this edition had any familiarity with Occitan, and even though reading 4 is interestingly accurate, a variety of reasons leads us to exclude any first-hand knowledge of BEdT 233,4 or of Occitan grammar.

Things are perhaps slightly different with Arnaut’s speech in the *Commedia*. The transcription of the *Commedia* found in Vat. Lat. 3197 (July 1501–July 1502) has very few corrections in comparison with *Rvf*, perhaps because it is based on an edition that Bembo had already completed before working on the *Fragmenta* (Sorella 2021: 158–65). His sources here are MS Vat. Lat. 3199 and a copy of the 1481 printed edition with Landino’s commentary, both of which had belonged to his father—and, notably, on neither of which Bembo made annotations relating to Arnaut’s speech (Pulsoni 2000: 39–41). It is likely that a third source came into play, although its identity is not certain. Pirovano (in Sorella 2021: 107) has argued that this might have been Martino Paolo Nidobeato’s 1477–78 printed edition of the *Commedia* with his own commentary and that of Jacomo della Lana, a text that, as we will see, fits well with Bembo’s treatment of Arnaut’s speech (Richardson 1994: 49, 52–53).¹²

Here is Bembo’s transcription of the Occitan lines of *Purgatorio* 26, 140–47:

Tan m’abbelis uostre cortois deman;
Chi eu non puous, ne ueuil a uos cobrire.

¹¹ The only Petrarchan manuscript known to contain this alteration is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Strozzi 178 (fol. 28v). Note that the Strozzi MS reads ‘en demori’, rather than ‘em’, which corresponds to Petrarch’s earlier readings (Pulsoni 1993: 289–90).

¹² One other possibility, that advanced by Mecca (2013: 22) is that it is a ‘twin’ of Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ital. 1513; however, Bertelli (2018) proved that it actually is a nineteenth-century forgery.

Ieu sui Arnaut; che plor e uai cantan
Con si tost uei la spassada folor;
E uei giâu sen le ior, che sper denan.
Ara uus preu pera chella ualor,
Che uus ghida al som de le scalina,
Souegna uus a temps de ma dolor:

The text is essentially a reproduction of Vat. Lat. 3199, down to the italianizing ‘ch’ for the unvoiced velar. The only emendation that Bembo perhaps does on the basis of the 1481 print is ‘de le scalina’ (the print has ‘della scalina’, fol. kk6v, while the manuscript had ‘dolescalina’, fol. 46v; Nidobeato instead has ‘deles scalina’, see II, fol. i3r). This does not seem to suggest any particular familiarity with the language that he was transcribing. However, it is important to point out that he did have some support in allowing him to better understand the text in Landino’s translation included in the 1481 print and Nidobeato’s paraphrase. One can surmise that the correct segmentation of ‘m’abbelis’ comes from the knowledge that there must be a dative pronoun, as in Landino’s ‘mi piace’, leading him to its correct identification in the proclitic ‘m’.¹³ Beyond that, none of Bembo’s initiatives suggest any knowledge of Occitan grammar and lexicon: the words are segmented in the wrong way and very common forms are not recognized. Evidently, he is also unfamiliar with the most common articles (and with grammatical genders), as ‘le scalina’ proves. The segmentation of ‘che sper’ also hints that at this juncture he is unable to recognize the prosthetic *e-*, which in the *Prose* he will identify as one of the features that Tuscan derived from Occitan.

All the evidence presented so far thus serves to confirm, as we suspected, and as already argued by Pulsoni (2000: 45), that, in the first few years of the sixteenth century, Bembo had no knowledge whatsoever of Occitan. There is, however, an interesting detail in this same passage which could perhaps challenge this conviction: his antigraphs have as the opening word of Arnaut’s monologue the following: ‘tam’ (the manuscript), ‘tant’ (the 1481 print), and ‘tan’ (Nidobeato). Bembo opts for the third reading, the farthest form from both Latin and Italian, and this choice, which also favours the source that he uses the least in establishing the *Commedia*’s text, needs an explanation, and this can perhaps be found in the chansonniers. Indeed, at least four different

¹³ It is worth mentioning however that there are very few instances of ‘abbellisce’ in this meaning in early Italian texts (Guittone d’Arezzo and Filippo da Santa Croce, see *Gattoweb*).

troubadour poems begin with ‘tan m’abellis’ (see BEdT), among which is Folquet’s ‘Tan m’abellis l’amoros pensamens’ (BEdT 155,22), a poem found in four manuscripts we have already mentioned: *D*, *E*, *K*, and *M*.¹⁴ Given this premise, I believe that there are essentially two ways by which Bembo, himself still ignorant of the language, might have found out about the expression ‘tan m’abellis’. The first one is that, while at the Este court, Bembo browsed through *E*, and, in reading the first line of Folquet’s poem (easily identifiable by the illuminated initial) on fol. 1r, he realised that it was the same expression that Dante used, so that in editing he opted for the one that corresponded to it. In support of this hypothesis, one might add the fact that, as already mentioned, Luigi da Porto would later buy *E* from the Este: it is therefore possible that Luigi learned of the existence of this book from Bembo himself (Meneghetti 2001: 31).

The second option instead is connected to Bembo’s trip to Rome in May 1502 (Dionisotti DBI). I recognize this is the ‘riskier’ one, but there is evidence that might support this. Indeed, at the time, both Benet Gareth, owner of manuscript *M*, and Angelo Colocci were in the city, and as we saw they discussed troubadour poetry (see Chapter One). Knowing that Bembo was in Rome in 1502 and was working on Dante, Colocci and/or Gareth might have therefore told him of that incipit, whose similarity to *Purgatorio* 26, 140 was definitely not lost on them. There are two letters that Bembo wrote to Colocci much later that support this hypothesis. In one, dated 10 September 1530, Bembo claimed that the two had been friends ‘insino dalla giovanezza nostra’, while in another, dated 11 March 1539, Bembo claims: ‘ricordo a V. S. che io di 40 anni son suo’. Mentioning this second letter, Danzi (2008: 104) deduces that Bembo and Colocci must have been friends since the late Quattrocento. The only moment when the two could plausibly have met before the sixteenth century would have been in 1487–88, when the eighteen-year-old Bembo followed his father to Rome (Dionisotti DBI), while Colocci was back in Rome from his Neapolitan exile (Ubal dini 1969: 19). Danzi’s reconstruction carries two serious flaws, however. First, Colocci was only thirteen at the time, and second, and perhaps more importantly, between 1487 and 1539 there are more than fifty years, and Bembo would have had no reason to underestimate the time that had elapsed since their first

¹⁴ The incipit is underlined in *K*.

meeting—problems which the hypothesis we just presented would solve. The two scenarios I have proposed—this and the use of MS *E*—do not necessarily exclude one another. We can therefore conclude that by July 1502 Bembo had no knowledge of Occitan grammar, but he might have seen (and/or heard about) at the very least the opening line of BEdT 155,22.

2. The *Prose* (1508–25)

As previously mentioned, the *Prose* represent a watershed moment for both principal themes of this thesis, the *questione della lingua* and the revival of Occitan studies. For the *questione*, they represent a paradigm that anyone who wanted to write literature would have to either adopt or openly challenge; and for Occitan studies, while it was not the first time a wealth of reliable information on the troubadours had been printed (Mario Equicola had provided more material in the *De natura de amore* a few months earlier), they represent the first time that a genetic relationship between Occitan and Italian poetry is proposed and discussed in a printed book.

In this section, I will first analyse the general chronology of the *Prose*, attempting to narrow down the specific dating of their Occitan contents. We will also look at MS Reg. Lat. 1370, Bembo's copy of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, whose marginalia—in Bembo's own hand—might help us better understand the *Prose*. I will then examine Bembo's reconstruction of the history of Occitan poetry, analysing both its sources and its ideological implications. In the following section, I will then look at which elements of poetic metre Bembo identified as derived from Occitan and his aesthetic judgment upon them. In the final two sections, I will discuss the two lists—of poets and of words—that Bembo includes in his treatment of Occitan language and literature, identifying their sources and implications.

Bembo's *Prose*: Chronology and sources

With special attention to what concerns the parts of the dialogue that refer to Occitan, I will here summarise what is known of the chronology of Bembo's *Prose*. Bembo's earliest mention of 'notationi sulla lingua' dates to 1500. While some of the content of the first two books may well

derive from these ‘notationi’, we know that only in 1512 did Bembo send Ramusio and Trifon Gabriele the first two books for a first set of revisions. This version does not survive either, but we know that he received Ramusio’s corrections in July 1512 (Bembo 2001: xvii–xxi; Bembo 2002: 19). In a 1525 letter to Fregoso (Travi 519; see Bembo 1987) Bembo defines the *Prose* as ‘quella composition (...) la quale io avea cominciata in Urbino, e tuttavia seguiva in Roma in casa vostra’, framing this phase of the composition between 1506 (the year Bembo moved to Urbino) and 1512. It is likely that the 1512 text was not radically different from the final one, at least in terms of overall literary and stylistic ideology, which are close to those found in the *Epistola de imitatione* published in January 1513 (Bembo 1966: 34–35). From the aforementioned letter we also learn that the work on the *Prose* continued until ‘la creazion di Leone me ne levò’. This implies that in March 1513 Bembo was forced to interrupt his work and is consistent with the fact that Leo X was crowned on 19 March 1513, and appointed Bembo as his Latin secretary in that same month (see Bembo 1966: 31, Bembo 2001: xvii–xviii).

By looking at the events in Bembo’s life, this chronology can be refined further, highlighting important implications for the development of Bembo’s understanding of Occitan. From 1508 onwards, we know that Federigo Fregoso, grandson of Federico da Montefeltro, resided in Urbino, too (Brunelli DBI). Fregoso grew up in Provence,¹⁵ and he was in possession of one or more Occitan manuscripts, as proven by a 1529 letter that we will discuss later. Additionally, an inventory of Castelvetro’s books (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Q.117.sup) which mentions ‘Rime provenzali con le vite de’ poeti, con una grammatica e una poetica provenzale, cosa rara, le quali furono di monsignor Federigo Fregoso’ confirms such ownership (Pulsoni 1997: 641). Coupled with the fact that in the *Prose* Federigo acts as Bembo’s mouthpiece for all of his knowledge of Occitan and ancient Italian literature, this evidence suggests that he had quite an important role in developing Bembo’s Occitan skills, at least at this early stage. Fregoso’s importance for the content of the *Prose* is also evident from II, XX, where Carlo Bembo says that everyone would agree on vernacular poetry

¹⁵ This is actually only attested in the *Prose* themselves, but there is no reason to doubt Bembo’s word on this. (Bembo 1966: 89).

‘se gli huomini con le regole del Bembo *et di messer Federigo* esaminassero gli scrittori’ (italics mine).

It may well be that Bembo was unable to come back to his work on the dialogue before 1521, that is after he had left Rome and recovered from an illness (Bembo 2001: xviii; Bembo 2002: 43). A new phase of drafting and corrections was then carried out between 1521 and 1523–24, as is shown by the use of a manuscript of medieval Italian poetry sent to him by Giulio Camillo in November 1523 (Bembo 2002: 21–40; Camboni 2021). The earliest text of the *Prose* that we possess is in the older stratum (what Tavosanis calls the ‘form-A’) of MS Vat. Lat. 3210, which is the copy of a pre-existing version of the text that cannot be older than 1515 and not more recent than November 1523 (Bembo 2002: 21–40). The transcription was not carried out in the order of the text, and it is possible that the two final quires were finished before the first two books had been completed (Bembo 2001: xxxvi–xlviii; Bembo 2002: 42). And yet, however this may be, it is undeniable that at some point a work of ‘restructuring’ of contents between the first and third book was carried out, and this partially affected the organisation of the passages on the Occitan language.

Vat. Lat. 3210’s text presents a wealth of information on Occitan poetry and language, most of which will remain unchanged in the *princeps*. As we saw, this content is unlikely to be datable to before Bembo met Fregoso. Dionisotti (Bembo 1931: xlvii–xlix) claims that it must be the final result of years of work on Occitan, while Kohler (1934: 254–55) believes it is based on research carried out while working on the Aldine editions in the very early years of the sixteenth century. Even though an influence from the time of the Aldines cannot be excluded, Kohler’s conclusions are based on quite an anachronistic analysis of the list of words. In addition to this, the use of manuscript *K*—which Bembo is unlikely to have known at the time of the Aldines—in the dialogue provides evidence that Bembo’s Occitan interests were not as episodic and distant in time as Kohler claims.

Indeed, the troubadours’ biographical information contained in the *Prose* can only have come from manuscript *K*, a late-thirteenth century collection created in a *scriptorium* between Padua and Venice which belonged to the doge Marco Barbarigo, who died in 1486 (Meliga 2001: 139–41). The date when it came into Bembo’s possession is unknown, but, as we have seen, it must have been after

the work for the Aldines. Similarly, the list of Italian words derived from Occitan denounces his use of manuscript *H*, another late-thirteenth century chansonnier from the Paduan environment.¹⁶

Alongside such manuscript collections of verse, Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* is the basis for many key elements of the historical reconstruction of the history of Occitan poetry and its connection with the Italian one within the *Prose*. Bembo was probably able to see the manuscript discovered by Trissino during the latter's trip to Rome in 1514 (Pulsoni 2008: 460, 463; Gallo DBI). This of course implies that these passages cannot be dated to before the 1513–21 hiatus.¹⁷ Since the copy of the *De vulgari eloquentia* that Bembo had had made from Trissino's manuscript still survives (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1370), it will be useful, before examining the *Prose*, to look at his marginalia, which testify to research carried out in the same years when he was drafting the text that would lead to the A-form. Most of these notes are simply transcriptions of names or incipits mentioned in the treatise, and are probably designed to assist Bembo in finding key passages when reading. I am therefore inclined to believe that they date to Bembo's earliest usage of the manuscript. These notes, as already pointed out by Pulsoni (1997: 638–39), show very little familiarity with Occitan names, even repeating the corrupted forms used by the copyist (e.g. fol. 43r 'Nazericus de Bebiui' for Aimeric de Belenoi). This passivity on his part might either mean that he had no Occitan manuscripts, or, if he did, he was not familiar enough with them to recognise the authors' names. Aside from these, one other note, discussed by Pulsoni (2008: 460), is of interest to us. It is found at fol. 26r, and is a stylised *manicula* at the bottom right corner of I, x, 3 ('Pro se vero argumentatur alia scilicet OC quod vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquela'), accompanied by the note 'Provenzali | primi po- | eti. | Petr(us) deal- | vernia'—a statement that justifies the *Prose*'s claim of Occitan poetry as the oldest attested kind of rhymed poetry.

¹⁶ Careri (1990: 48) claims that Bembo might have obtained manuscript *H* around 1510, but does not elaborate. One should also note that according to Clough (1984: 316) he is unlikely to have ever had the economic means to buy a manuscript before becoming a cardinal in 1539. It cannot however be excluded that his father or one of his protectors might have contributed to the expense.

¹⁷ I agree with Tavosanis's chronology that dates Vat. Lat. 3210's earliest layer to 1515–16 and therefore believe that Trissino must have allowed Bembo to copy the *De vulgari eloquentia* in 1514. Others (Bembo 2001: xxiv; Pulsoni 2008: 463) instead date Vat. Lat. 3210 to 1521–22 and thus accept the possibility that Bembo obtained the *De vulgari* during Trissino's second trip in Rome in 1517 instead. At any rate, because the work of the *Prose* was on hold, the exact year is irrelevant in this context.

Bembo's *Prose*: The history of Occitan poetry and its influence on Italian

Federigo first mentions Occitan in *Prose* I, VII, when he discusses whether rhymed poetry was an Occitan or a Sicilian invention. The doubt was due to the fact that while Dante, as mentioned, believed the Occitans to be the first to have written rhymed poetry, Petrarch considered Sicilian poetry as older (*Familiars* I, I, 6). Bembo sides with Dante, in line with the aforementioned *manicula* in Reg. Lat. 1370 (Pulsoni 2000: 48). But this stance is also symptomatic of Bembo's thought, in that he never separates philology and grammar from a strong aesthetic perspective. Here is how he elaborates on this:

Tuttavolta de' Ciciliani poco altro testimonio ci ha, che a noi rimaso sia, se none il grido; ché poeti antichi, che che se ne sia la cagione, essi non possono gran fatto mostrarci, se non sono cotali cose sciocche e di niun prezzo, che oggimai poco si leggono. Il qual grido nacque perciò, che trovandosi la corte de' napoletani re a quelli tempi in Sicilia, il volgare, nel quale si scriveva, quantunque italiano fosse, e italiani altresì fossero per la maggior parte quelli scrittori, esso nondimeno si chiamava ciciliano, e ciciliano scrivere era detto a quella stagione lo scrivere volgarmente, e così infino al tempo di Dante si disse. De' Provenzali non si può dire così; anzi se ne leggono, per chi vuole, molti, da' quali si vede che hanno apparate e tolte molte cose gli antichi Toscani, che fra tutti gl'italiani popoli a dare opera alle rime sono senza dubbio stati primieri (I, VII)¹⁸

It is on these grounds—the lack of worthy examples—that Bembo denies any Sicilian influence on Tuscan poetry. This is symptomatic of Bembo's 'filologia della distinzione' (Mazzacurati 1985: 116), an approach to the past which is constantly geared towards the separation of what is to be accepted and what should be rejected on aesthetic grounds. The sentence 'se non cotali [...] poco si leggono' was added by Bembo at a later time, to remark upon the fact that Sicilian poetry disappeared not because of time itself, but because it lacked the qualities to stand the test of time (Bembo 2002: 184). The logic behind this is explained more clearly later, at I, VIII: 'ogni lingua alcuna qualità ha in sé, per la quale essa è lingua o povera o abondevole o tersa [...] il che dimostrare con altro testimonio non si può che di coloro che hanno in quella lingua scritto'; and at I, XIV: 'tanto sono le lingue belle e buone più e meno l'una dell'altra, quanto elle più o meno hanno illustri e onorati scrittori'. In other words, since Bembo is attempting to reconstruct the historical derivation of one

¹⁸ All quotations from the *Prose* come from the digitised version of Bembo 1966 on *Biblioteca italiana*.

literary tradition from another, and since his understanding of literature is strictly imitative, literary quality is a valid argument in the matter.

These claims on Provençal's precedence are substantiated by Fregoso's authority, who grew up in Provence, although, as he points out, he has not been there for a long time (I, VII). In Bembo's fictional frame, the pretence that mistakes are due to his long absence from Provence served to protect both Federigo himself and Bembo from potential attacks from that point of view. The fact that Bembo is the first to discuss Occitan matters at length is repeated a few lines later through Ercole Strozzi, the character who acts as a 'pupil' within the dialogue's fiction. As such, he has to be taught the basis of Tuscan grammar, and, to some extent, works as a representation of, and filter for, the reader. Strozzi has never heard of Occitan, and this gives Fregoso the occasion to discuss troubadour poetry in detail. Here is how he opens his description of Occitan literary culture:

Era per tutto il Ponente la favella provenzale ne' tempi, ne' quali ella fiorì, in prezzo e in istima molta, e tra tutti gli altri idiomi di quelle parti di gran lunga primiera; con ciò sia cosa che ciascuno, o Francese o Fiamingo o Guascone o Borgognone o altramente di quelle nazioni che egli si fosse, il quale bene scrivere e specialmente verseggiar volesse, quantunque egli Provenzale non fosse, lo faceva provenzalmente (I, VIII)

The inclusion of this excursus in the *Prose* is organic to Bembo's ideological prospect: by showing that a vernacular language has historically been able to build a highly refined literary tradition, it challenges the humanist prejudice (embodied in the dialogue by Strozzi) according to which the vernacular is by its nature unable to reach any forms of authority (Patota 1993: 106). Secondly, it shows how such an authoritative status can only be reached when authors of different linguistic origins recognise the 'prezzo' of one single variety of the language, thus legitimising Bembo's cultural operation.

The excellence itself of Tuscan poetry was in part derived from the selective imitation of the best examples of the Occitans. Similarly, the ideal literature proposed by Bembo was entirely based on the imitation of a few models (Bembo 1931).¹⁹ This is, once again, Bembo's personal 'take' on the

¹⁹ Dionisotti (Bembo 1931: xlix) also believes that, at the time of the *Prose*, Bembo considered troubadour poetry in itself inferior to Tuscan poetry, and lacking any great names, and that he would have changed his mind later in his life. However, I believe that this view needs revising given what this section shows about Bembo's judgment on Folquet de Marselha and on Arnaut Daniel's sestina. If Bembo really wanted to underline his

passage cited earlier from *Dve* I, x, 3 where it was simply stated that the *lingua oc* was the first to have developed a literature in a ‘perfectiori dulciorique loquela’ (Reg. Lat. 1370, fol. 26r).²⁰

Interestingly, apart from the limited comment found in the *De vulgari*, this reconstruction is not directly derived from any specific source. Rather, it seems to be the result of Bembo’s own enquiries into the names and lives of non-Occitan poets that he could find in his manuscripts, perhaps being led by Dante’s mention in *De vulgari eloquentia* II, XII, 3 and its reference to ‘hispanos qui poetati sunt in vulgari oc’ (fol. 51r), and I, xv, 2 (30v–31r), wherein the fact that Sordello adopted a different language from his native one is underlined (see below), with possibly also an influence from Villani, *Nuova cronica*, VII, LXXXIV.²¹ The historical reconstruction is later expanded with an attempt to explain how the Occitans developed their literary culture to such a level of refinement, one unparalleled by any other modern civilisation:

perciò che non patendo quelle genti molti discorrimenti d'altre nazioni, e per lo più lunga e tranquilla pace godendo e allegra vita menando, come fanno tutte naturalmente, avendovi oltre acciò molti signori più che non v'ha ora e molte corti, agevole cosa fu che tra esse in ispazio di lungo tempo lo scrivere venisse in prezzo, e che vi si trovasse primieramente il rimare, sì come io stimo (I, VIII)

This is undeniably the interpretation of a literary intellectual of the sixteenth century and a *petrarchista*: to achieve great literature, an appropriate level of well-being must be granted to the poet, so that he can fully dedicate himself to literary *otia* (Bembo 1955: 19).²² The excursus then concludes with a short summary of the demise of Occitan. Bembo says that, as the quality of Tuscan verse improved, Provence began its decline, so that nowadays literary Occitan is a dead language and ‘di poco grido’ even in its original region. Because of this, in present times ‘molta cura et diligenza et fatica’ (I, XI) are required of anyone who wants to understand Occitan. This is again to be understood

dislike for Occitan poetry, he could easily have treated it the same way he treats the Sicilians in I, VII. He does say that the Tuscan language is ‘più regolata (...) più vaga, più pura che la Provenzale’ (I, XIV), but his intention here is to show the importance of Petrarch and Boccaccio that ‘tale fatta l’hanno’, and not to express a judgment on the whole *corpus*.

²⁰ Unless otherwise stated, all references from the *De vulgari eloquentia* in this chapter come from Reg. Lat. 1370.

²¹ If Bembo really had the Nidobeato commentary on the *Commedia*, he could read there that ‘Sordello (...) fu da mantoua et fu homo di corte e dicitore in lingua prouenzale’ (II, fol. c3v) which might have influenced his perception of the ‘internationality’ of literary Occitan.

²² Notably, the importance of *otia* in allowing authors to produce excellent poetry had been claimed by Leonardo Bruni in his life of Petrarch (1987: 57–58).

within Bembo's ideological frame (with a possible influence from the opening epistle of the *Raccolta aragonese*): literary traditions have a lifespan during which they can experience a golden age and subsequently decline. When Occitania's peace was disrupted, the literature that relied on it declined as well, and for this reason, the only way to ensure to Tuscan the same vitality enjoyed by the classical languages is to detach it from any place and time by building it on the authority of the Tuscan classics (Marazzini 1993: 246; Camboni 2021).

Tuscans were influenced by the troubadours on all aspects of *inventio* and *dispositio*. Of course, as is to be expected in Bembo, the fact that the Tuscans imitated the Occitans does not reduce any author's quality:

molte figure del parlare, molte sentenze, molti argomenti di canzoni, molti versi medesimi le furarono, e più ne furaron quelli, che maggiori stati sono e miglior poeti riputati. Il che agevolmente vederà chiunque le provenzali rime piglierà fatica di leggere (I, XI)

The debt can therefore be appraised also in terms of poetic forms, which the best Tuscan poets 'stole' abundantly. *De facto*, out of these four categories ('figure del parlare', 'sentenze', 'argomenti di canzoni', 'versi'), Bembo only speaks extensively of the first and the last one, the other two probably requiring a familiarity with the literature and the language that he did not have as yet.

Bembo's Prose: An Occitan origin for Italian metrics

Despite acknowledging the existence of a rhymed tradition in medieval Latin poetry, Bembo attributes the actual origin of rhymed poetry to the Occitans. Indeed, as we will see with the list of Occitan loanwords, Bembo has no interest in 'historical linguistics', but rather looks at the significance of these loanwords within the literary tradition (which also explains his stance towards the Sicilians). The passage in question is once again an echo of *De vulgari eloquentia* I, x, 3 and 'Provenzali primi poeti', but Bembo develops it in a very personal way:

Non sarà da dubitare che la fiorentina lingua da' provenzali poeti, più che da altri, le rime pigliate s'abbia, et essi avuti per maestri; quando medesimamente si vede che al presente più antiche rime delle toscane altra lingua gran fatto non ha, levatone la provenzale (I, VIII)

This allows him to theorise a ‘genetic’ relationship through imitation, one which Dante never explicitly mentioned (Pulsoni 1997: 633). Such relation extends to metrics, as Bembo claims in multiple passages throughout the first and second book:

molte cose [...] hanno i suoi [*scil.* of Tuscany] poeti prese da quelli, sì come sogliono far sempre i discepoli da’ loro maestri, che possono essere di ciò che io dico argomento, tra le quali sono primieramente molte maniere di canzoni, che hanno i Fiorentini, dalla Provenza pigliandole, recate in Toscana: sì come si può dire delle sestine, delle quali mostra che fosse il ritrovatore Arnaldo Daniello, che una ne fe’, senza più; o come sono dell’altre canzoni, che hanno le rime tutte delle medesime voci [...] il quale uso infino da Pietro Ruggiero incominciò; o come sono ancora quelle canzoni, nelle quali le rime solamente di stanza in stanza si rispondono, e tante volte ha luogo ciascuna rima, quante sono le stanze, né più né meno: nella qual maniera il medesimo Arnaldo tutte le sue canzoni compose (I, IX)

This passage owes much to the *De vulgari*. Its dependency on Dante’s treatise is evident from two inaccuracies on Bembo’s part. First, the mention of Peire Rogier as the inventor of poems with repeating rhyme-words seems to be due to the wrong identification of him with Peire d’Alvernhe, to whom *K* attributes BEdT 323,1, the very first poem of the manuscript (Pulsoni 2000: 50). In addition to this, Bembo had annotated on the margins of his *De vulgari* that Peire was one of the earliest vernacular poets, and this probably led him to think that he invented this kind of poem. The cause for the conflation of Peire Rogier with Peire d’Alvernhe can similarly be found in manuscript *K*, at fol. 2v in which, immediately after Peire d’Alvernhe’s poems, the *vida* of Peire Rogier is found, which begins with ‘Peire rogiers si fo dalverne’ (Pulsoni 2000: 50).²³

The other mistake derives from Bembo’s copy of Dante’s treatise, where the adverb ‘fere’ was mistakenly omitted from ‘et huiusmodi stantie usus est fere in omnibus cantionibus suis Arnaldus Danielis, et nos eum secuti sumus cum diximus, *Al poco giorno et al gran cerchio d’ombra*’ (II, x, 2; cf. Reg. Lat. 1370, fol. 48rv).²⁴ The lack of the adverb significantly altered the meaning of the passage, leading Bembo to the wrong impression that all of Arnaut’s poems are written in *coblas dissolutas*, although looking at MS *K* could have proven the opposite (Pulsoni 2000: 49). Bembo passively repeats the error in his source without checking its accuracy against the chansonniers. In contrast, he shows a good level of independence and direct reading of Occitan poetry, as we see with

²³ Pulsoni (1997: 461) also suggests that this might be due to Ferrarino da Ferrara’s collection contained in *D* calling him ‘Peire Rogiers d’Alvergne’, which would be the only proof of Bembo knowing *D* at this point in time. As for why Dante claims that Peire was the first, see Pulsoni 1997: 634.

²⁴ The correct text comes from Dante 1996. The underlined word is of course mine.

his identification of the sestina as Arnaut's invention (which I believe is entirely Bembo's deduction),²⁵ as well as the recognition of *coblas unissonans* as a common rhyme scheme ('quelle canzoni [...] nelle quali le rime solamente di stanza in stanza si rispondono', see above). This implies that he had read enough troubadours to notice its frequency.

As we might expect with Bembo, aesthetic theory is once again applied to the history of literature. Indeed, metres generate a harmony that can result in two possible outcomes, *gravitas* and *levitas*, thus defined:

due parti sono quelle che fanno bella ogni scrittura, la gravità e la piacevolezza; e le cose poi, che empiono e compiono queste due parti, son tre, il suono, il numero, la variazione, [...] sotto la gravità ripongo l'onestà, la dignità, la maestà, la magnificenza, la grandezza, e le loro somiglianti; sotto la piacevolezza restringo la grazia, la soavità, la vaghezza, la dolcezza, gli scherzi, i giuochi, e se altro è di questa maniera. Perciò che egli può molto bene alcuna composizione essere piacevole e non grave, e allo 'ncontro alcuna altra potrà grave essere, senza piacevolezza (II, IX)

Among the rhyme schemes, the aforementioned sestina, defined as 'ingenioso ritrovamento de' provenzali compositori' (II, XI), is the highest example of *gravitas*, thanks to the repetition of rhyme-words. To further enrich this effect, 'colui che primieramente a questa maniera di versi diede forma' (i.e. Arnaut) added rhyming couplets in the final stanza, displaying how *varietas* can enhance style, avoiding monotony and thus creating a 'piacevolezza [...] grave' (II, XII). The *Asolani*, XXIII (Bembo 2003), already seem to associate the genre with *gravezza*, suggesting that this idea pre-dates Bembo's encounter with Occitan poetry. The *Prose* however historicise the genre, showing how all of its main characteristics can already be attributed to Arnaut (Pulsoni 2008: 470).

Coblas unissonans are similarly 'gravi'. Petrarch imitated this in *Rvf* 29 ('Verdi panni, sanguigni, oscuri o persi'), wherein a 'dangerously' long distance of seven lines separates rhyming words (cf. *Dve* II, XIII, 2 'stantia sine rithmos', Reg. Lat. 1370, fol. 52r). For Bembo, this scheme is *grave* to the point of 'strepito', and only works within *Rvf* as it is included among poems adopting different rhyme schemes.

²⁵ The only author that says this before him seems to be a commentator of Dante, Benvenuto de' Rambaldi da Imola (Arnaut Daniel 1883: 56). However, his reference to the sestina is so vague and corrupt in the extant witnesses ('cantilenae de quatuor rhymis', Benvenuto 1887: IV, 134) that I think it cannot be considered a source for Bembo. A further hint that Bembo is deducing, rather than using a source, might be in the 'mostra che' of the aforementioned I, IX, which might be a confession of uncertainty (Arnaut Daniel 1883: 66).

Bembo then identifies an Occitan origin for more minute metric elements such as the *rimalmezzo*, which is however criticised on aesthetic grounds:

come che egli [*scil.* Arnaut Daniel] in alcuna canzone traonesse eziandio le rime ne' mezzi versi, il che fecero assai sovente ancora degli altri poeti di quella lingua, e sopra tutti Giraldo Brunello, e imitarono, con più diligenza che mestiero non era loro, i Toscani. (I, IX)

The reason why Bembo perceives *rimalmezzo* as particularly common in Occitan is unclear, but it is likely that here he is thinking of rhyming couplets that together form a single oxytone *décasyllabe*, which corresponds to an Italian hendecasyllable with a *rimalmezzo* (the application of the same rule to Occitan and French poetry was vouchsafed by *Dve* II, v, 4; Dionisotti 1966: 23).

Rimalmezzo is discussed again at II, XIII to show how under specific circumstances, despite 'naturally' belonging to the *levitas* end of the spectrum, it can generate *gravitas* rather than levity. Guido Cavalcanti did so with 'Donna me prega', which contains *rimealmezzo*, 'il qual modo e maniera di rime prese Guido e presero gli altri Toschi da' Provenzali' (II, XIII). However, Bembo repeats how he does not appreciate it, and brings as an example Petrarch, who 'fuggilla del tutto'. This interest for the Occitan *rimalmezzo* could be a further hint of a collaboration between Bembo and Colocci: indeed, in writing notes on Occitan language and literature on fol. 1r of MS Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 10991, Colocci noted that MS *M*'s first poem (BEdT 242,1) 'acco(r)da i(n) mezo lo primo verso' (Ferrari 1979: 55–58).²⁶

The imitation of the troubadours led Italians to use specific metres as well:

Ultra che ritrovamento provenzale è stato lo usare i versi rotti; la quale usanza, perciò che molto varia in quelli poeti fu, che alcuna volta di tre sillabe gli fecero, alcuna altra di quattro e ora di cinque e d'otto e molto spesso di nove, oltre quelle di sette e d'undici, avvenne che i più antichi Toscani più maniere di versi rotti usarono ne' loro poemi ancora essi, che loro più vicini erano e più nuovi nella imitazione, e meno i meno antichi; i quali da questa usanza si discostarono, secondo che eglino si vennero da loro lontanando, in tanto che il Petrarca verso rotto niuno altro che di sette sillabe non fece. (I, IX)

This passage is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it shows how, from Bembo's 'Italian' point of view, the *versi rotti* (shorter than hendecasyllables) are deviations from the norm. Such an opinion was justified by *Dve* II, v, 4, which uses the first line of BEdT 242,17 as an example of an

²⁶ I am using Ferrari 1979's transcriptions. The first half of the first line of each stanza of Giraut's poem actually ends in 'ar', whereas the line itself ends in 'ars', however Colocci believes that the 's' is not pronounced ('nello i(n)finito no(n) fa nulla amar amars').

oxytone hendecasyllable. Secondly, one can notice here yet another aesthetic judgment in a dissimulated form: Petrarch never used any *verso rotto* except for the heptasyllable—and since Petrarch is the most accomplished vernacular poet, it goes without saying that his solution is preferable. In addition to this, we should note that the Occitan derivation of Tuscan poetry is further substantiated by the fact that the older Tuscans are more similar to the troubadours compared to more recent poets.

Bembo's *Prose*: The list of poets

Immediately after introducing the Occitan *koiné* in the aforementioned passage (I, VIII), Federigo gives a list of poets who were not native speakers of Occitan: 'Re Alfonso d'Aragona, figliuolo di Ramondo Beringhieri', 'Lanfranco Cicala', 'Bonifazio Calvo', 'Folchetto', 'Bartolomeo Giorgio', 'Alberto Malaspina' (I, VIII). The sources for all of these poets can be identified in manuscript *K*, the only one of the manuscripts that Bembo had in his lifetime to include these authors' *vidas*.

The name of 'Re Alfonso' unequivocally comes from fol. 94r, where, although the rubric to the poem (BEdT 23,1) laconically says 'lo reis daragon', a *vida* is included, which says that 'lo reis daragon aquel que trobet. si ac nom amfos. Efo lo premiers reis q(ui) fo en aragon', and as the son of the count of Barcelona and conqueror of Aragon Raimon Berenguer. For Lanfranc Cigala, it is again *K*, fol. 75r, which carries the information that he was 'de la ciutat de genoa'. It is also interesting to note how Bembo did not just translate the poet's first name, but also Tuscanised his surname into 'Cicala' (also note 'Bartolomeo *Giorgio*'). As for Bonifazi Calvo and Bertolome Zorzi, the latter's *vida* (*K*, fol. 82r) explicitly says that he was a Venetian, and, from the fact that he wrote poems defending Venice against Bonifazi's defence of Genoa, Bembo could easily deduce that Bonifazi was Genoese. Folquet's connection to Genoa was of course known to Bembo—as to many others—from the *Triumphs*'s reference (*TC* IV, 49–51), but it is undeniably from the *vida* (*K*, fol. 46r) that Bembo draws the information that despite being 'de Marselha', Folquet 'fu di padre Genovese figliuolo', cf. 'Si fo fillz dun merzadier que fo de genoa'. For Sordello's Mantuan origins, there was a wealth of sources instead. Other than *Purgatorio* 6, 73–75 (and the Nidobeato commentary), Bembo could read

about it in *De vulgari eloquentia* I, xv, 2, and find confirmation once again in *K* ('Lo sordels si fo de mantoana', fol. 109r, and the rubric 'lo sordels de mantoana' at fol. 109v). Ultimately, for 'Albertz Marques', the connection with the Lunigiana region is not made explicit by the *vida* that *K* reports at fol.141v—but the fact that it says that 'si fo dels marques malespina' led Bembo to infer his provenance. As we can see, then, but Bembo is not entirely passive towards his source, and his deductions about Alberto Malaspina and Bonifacio Calvo show some reflection over the *vidas*.

Once more it may well be the mention of 'hispanos' in *De vulgari eloquentia* II, XII, 3 (fol. 50rv) that provided inspiration for this attention to non-native troubadours. Bembo's deployment of these mentions is, however, also ideologically charged. Indeed, the fact that Fregoso stresses that Lanfranc Cigala, Bonifaci Calvo and Folquet were from Genoa like himself, and that Bertolome Zorzi was a Venetian like Carlo Bembo, is not just a way to further underline the connection between Italian and Occitan poetry, but also substantiates how past poets from their same areas have already used a language that was foreign but similar to their native one. Thus, once again, his overall linguistic proposal is shown implicitly to be far from peregrine and unheard-of. At the root of this idea, there might be the *De vulgari eloquentia*, where Sordello is praised because 'non solum in poetando sed quomodocunque loquendo patrium vulgare deseruit' (I, xv, 2; fol. 31r).

Our account of Bembo's tendency to unite history and aesthetics inevitably leads us to question whether this propensity also lies behind his list of Occitan poets. Debenedetti (1995: 224, followed by Bembo 1966: 90) claims that Bembo intentionally only mentions the Italian troubadours that he prefers, thereby creating a sort of canon. However, out of the list of troubadours with a strong connection to Italy found in manuscript *K*, the only one he omits among those with a *vida* is Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (fol. 60r).²⁷ Rather than making a selection, Bembo was therefore listing almost all the Italian troubadours he knew. Nevertheless, an aesthetic judgment is still found here, and it is perhaps the earliest judgment on the quality of a troubadour's poems written in the century: 'quello che dolcissimo poeta fu e forse non meno che alcuno degli altri di quella lingua piacevolissimo, Folchetto'

²⁷ Peire de la Cavarana's *sirventes* (BEdT 334,1) is also in *K* (181r).

(I, VIII). Bembo owned multiple manuscripts with Folquet's poems, and, as we have seen, may have known some from the time of his editing of the 1502 Dante. The words he employs here are ideologically charged (see also Afribo 2001: 13–20). This remark indeed effectively frames Folquet's poetry within Bembo's ideological system by placing him on the *levitas* end of the spectrum that we discussed earlier. This represents a judgment that is undeniably personal, since the *De vulgari eloquentia*, despite praising Folquet (II, VI, 6; fol. 43r), makes no mention of levity. However, such 'bravery' in judging the stylistic qualities of a medieval poet should not surprise us—a key element of Bembo's approach to the literary tradition is the rejection of pure accumulation in favour of aesthetic judgment (see Bembo 2002: 111).

Bembo's *Prose*: The list of words

The list of Occitan loanwords begins right after the catalogue of Italian troubadours which Bembo prefaces with a fundamental remark: 'Presero [...] molte voci i fiorentini uomini da questi, e la loro lingua, ancora e rozza e povera, iscaltrirano e arricchirano dell'altrui' (I, X). This claim brings Bembo's ideology surprisingly close to that of Colocci and Trissino (both of whom, as we saw, Bembo knew), and shows how their differences chiefly lie in how they think literary language should be shaped in the future. The list is partially based on Vat. Lat. 3207 (ms. *H*), and as such it demonstrates that he had access to this source at this time. *H* is indeed a collection made by a learned copyist, who also annotated various poems, mainly Arnaut Daniel's, explaining words and expressions and giving context to references to people and places mentioned in the poems (Careri 1990: 247–48). Many of these notes are glosses providing Occitan synonyms or Latin and vernacular translations of words and idioms. Bembo—as Lodovico Castelvetro already noticed (Debenedetti 1995: 141)—draws on it for his own list in the *Prose*. Here are some of these correspondences:

Prose I, X: 'Sono anchora Provenzali (...) Arringo'
H, fol. 10r text: 'arencs' gloss: 'arencs. de arengar id est in ordinem ponere'
*H, fol. 11v text: 'renc'; gloss: 'Rengar o arengar. zo es ssatare per ordinem. modo dicitur Uns rencs de cavaliers'*²⁸

*Prose I, X: 'Si come è da credere che si pigliasse Chero; quantunque egli Latina voce sia (...) molto prima da Provenzali fu questa voce ad usar presa, che da Toscani'*²⁹
H, fol. 10r text: 'queri'; gloss: 'id est quero'

Prose I, X: '...et Bozzo, che è bastardo et non legittimo'
H, fol. 10v text: 'bortz'; gloss: 'aqi apella. bortz campis et Autros so es. de adulterio natos. qui dicitur bastardo me par. (et)c.'

Beyond these individual findings, *H* must have been invaluable for Bembo as an instrument to understand Occitan and its literature: not only do the glosses help with the lexicon, but they also give verb forms (e.g. fol. 9r 'lagrim' 'id est lacrimetur'; 'etz id est estis'), and synonyms (fol. 11v 'Estruso es fiers et embroncs qe no parli neque rideo'), as well as information on versification (e.g. fol. 10r 'esforcet la rima', fol. 10v 'aiqi forset la rima').

The rest of the list does not derive directly from the glosses and is probably the result of Bembo's independent research. My intention here is not to examine how many of Bembo's intuitions are correct (for which see Kohler 1934), but rather to use this list to assess his level of knowledge of the language and, mainly, to discuss how it fits within the dialogue's ideological system. In this perspective, then, it is interesting to find some common words of the troubadour vocabulary in the list (e.g. *donneare, guiderdone, orgoglio*). This provides a good indication that Bembo had at least a decent familiarity with the *corpus*. As mentioned in the first chapter, this list also presents points of contact with Colocci's notes, possibly suggesting that the two discussed these loanwords.

Among these words, the passage on *uopo* is of particular interest, as it shows that Bembo, while recognizing its Latin origin, connects its usage to the troubadours instead:

– Come *Uopo*? – disse messer Ercole – non è egli *Uopo* voce latina? – È, – rispose messer Federigo – tuttavolta molto prima da' Provenzali usata, che si sappia, che da' Toscani, perché da loro si dee credere che si pigliasse; e tanto più ancora maggiormente, quanto avendo i Toscani in uso quest'altra voce *Bisogno*, che quello stesso può, di questo *Uopo* non facea loro uopo altramente (I, X)

At one point, Bembo even ventures into the field of morphology and identifies the suffix -*anza* as derived from Occitan: 'fine che amato era molto dalla Provenza, il qual fine piacendo per

²⁸ Here and in the rest of the chapter I am using Careri's transcriptions (1990: 253–87), double checked on the digitised manuscript on *DigiVatLib*.

²⁹ Note how the reference to Latin proves Bembo's lack of interest for the etymology itself.

imitazione altresì a' toscani, e *Pietanza* e *Pesanza* (...) e molte altre voci di questa maniera in Guido Guinicelli si leggono, in Guido Cavalcanti, in messer Cino, in messer Onesto, in Buonagiunta, in messer Piero dalle Vigne, e in altri e poeti e prosatori di quella età', and from them it passed to the *tre corone*, but is 'oggi mai stanco' (I, x). Many Provençalisms are directly attributed to Dante, who is said to be 'molto vago (...) di portare nella Toscana le provenzali voci' (I, x). As is to be expected with Bembo, aesthetics come into play even in this context: for instance, speaking of *affannare*, he says that, though this was often adopted by Dante, 'al Petrarca parve dura' (I, x). Bembo's understanding of these loanwords is thus not too different from that of Colocci, in that Dante and Petrarch are celebrated for enriching their language by drawing from Occitan: but unlike him, Bembo also perceives this phenomenon as concluded, so much so that Petrarch is celebrated for being much more moderate than Dante in accepting Gallicisms. As a consequence of this, Bembo does not derive from this state of things that authors should be free to enrich languages as they see fit (also see Morgana 1994: 683–84).

After writing a first draft of this list, Bembo kept working on it, as he added some words (including *forsegnato*, which as we saw also caught Colocci's interest), made the meaning of *riparare* clearer, and added two folios (19 *bis* and *ter*, paragraphs I, XI, 1–28 of Bembo 2001) of extra information (see also Bembo 2002: 53–54). Among these is the extension of *on* (Ital. *onde*) to other meanings, that Petrarch widely used and Bembo considers 'con molta grazia detto'.³⁰ Another important addition is the discussion regarding the prosthetic *i-*, interpreted as an Italian adaptation of the Occitan *e-*, which as we have already seen Bembo was unable to recognize it when working on Dante in 1502. Here, it is unclear to what extent Bembo realizes that this is a linguistic characteristic of Occitan and not a purely stylistic choice. However, he does find a place for it in the *gravità/dolcezza* spectrum by saying that the addition of a vowel is meant to 'ischifare (...) l'asprezza' (I, XI), adducing a wealth of examples from the *tre corone*. This expansion, perhaps the largest addition within Vat. Lat. 3210, might be motivated by new research conducted by Bembo on

³⁰ Kohler 1934 (246–47) thinks that Bembo only approves of these usages when they conform to Latin—which is definitely not what happens with *onde*.

his manuscripts. It is also clearly meant to clarify the influence of Occitan on literary Tuscan, not just in terms of lexicon, but also with regard to word usage, and to once again show the essentially aesthetic motivation behind their adoption.

In the third book, not much room is dedicated to Occitan. However, it will be interesting to note that it does resurface once: when discussing apocopes (III, IV), Giuliano defines them as a poetic license. Federigo interrupts him to say that ‘niuna licenza [...] che nuova fosse, si presero i vostri poeti, Giuliano [...] perciò che vie di lor prima i Provenzali così facevano, che *Gioia Noia* essi senza la vocale ultima scriveano, e d'una sillaba essere la ne facevano’. The example ‘gioia’ is interesting, as Colocci had noted the same at fol. 2r (of the table) and 28r of *M* (‘Ioia non ioi’; see Pérez Barcala 2000: 960) and, with a meaningful reference to Petrarch, at 237v: ‘ioi gioia et di qui nasce | pistoi’ (cf. *TC* IV, 32):³¹ it might therefore be further proof of an exchange of knowledge among the two intellectuals. As for *noi*, as pointed out by Kohler (1934: 247), it is an extremely rare form, so perhaps Bembo ‘created’ it from analogy with *joi*.

By way of conclusion to this section, we have seen that the *Prose* devote much of the first two books to reflections on Occitan and its impact on Tuscan poetry. In identifying the debt owed by the Tuscans towards the troubadours, Bembo, despite some naivety that reveals an imperfect knowledge of the language, does not passively accumulate information. Rather, he fits what he finds in the chansonniers and in the *De vulgari* into his ideological system. The only two manuscripts that he undoubtedly used for the *Prose* are *K* and *H*, the first offering him biographical information on troubadours, and the second containing many precious glosses that he reported or ‘imitated’. Some of the information, mainly lexical and metric, instead comes from Bembo’s independent deductions, as does the paragraph on the Occitan literary environment.

³¹ Although the manuscript tradition unanimously reads ‘Pistoia’, the final *a* must be silent to preserve the hendecasyllable (Petarca 1897: 553), and see also Giovanni Maria Barbieri’s *Arte del rimare* (*BC* 11v and *Min* 17v; see Appendix).

3. After the *Prose* (1529–47)

In the years after the *Prose*, Bembo kept working on the troubadours, and expanded his collection of manuscripts. The *Prose* only show that he used *H* and *K*, so it might well be that he obtained all the other Occitan manuscripts he owned (*D*, *L*, and *O*) after publishing the dialogue. The increase of his Occitan collection might also be connected to greater prosperity due to his appointment as cardinal in 1539 (Clough 1984: 316).

Proof of a continued work on the troubadours after finishing the *Prose* can be found in a letter to Fregoso dated 22 December 1529: ‘Intesi a Ferrara questi di voi haver la Canzone d’Arnaldo Daniello, della quale fa mentione il Petrarca, che comincia Droit et raison etc. Se così è il vero, vi priego ad esser contento di mandarmene uno essemplio’ (Travi 1037). Bembo is, of course, talking about BEdT 233,4. It is interesting to note that, probably citing by heart, he uses the French form ‘droit’, which, as we have already seen, is also in the earliest stratum of Vat. Lat. 3197. Bembo requests a poem found in a manuscript that he had known for a long time, where it appears on the very last page and in different handwriting. This suggests that he either was dissatisfied with *K*’s text, or that he wanted more sources to establish a text for the troubadour edition that he would announce in the letter to Tebaldeo in the following year. Fregoso’s reply is lost. However, we do have Bembo’s following letter, which is dated 7 January 1530: ‘Io sapea bene, che voi eravate in altri studii, che da dover tener conto della Canzon d’Arnaldo. Ma havendomi detto questi di in Ferrara M. Bernardo Tasso, che voi l’havevate, non mi seppi tener di richiederlavi’ (Travi 1041). While Fregoso was unable to help Bembo here, the letter is perhaps also symptomatic of a sudden spark of a wider interest in Occitan literature following the almost contemporary publication of the *Prose* and of Equicola’s *Libro de natura de amore*, as suggested by this reference to Bernardo Tasso, who does not otherwise show a particular interest in the theme.³² A few other contemporary testimonies can be listed: the annotations to a copy of the *editio princeps* of the *Prose* (Madrid, Biblioteca Complutense,

³² Bernardo Tasso might have actually had some passing interest in Occitan poetry, since in the ‘Lettera alla Malatesta’ he clearly distinguishes a Romance ‘closed’ model of poetry from the more ‘open’ classical one (Ferroni 2012: 141–43).

BH FLL 28809) by a reader showing a clear interest for Occitan (Pulsoni 2019); and the fact that Gesualdo's commentary on Petrarch reports information received from Pietro Summonte about the content of an unspecified 'Libro limosino' (Gesualdo 1541: xcii; Debenedetti 1995: 114).

It is perhaps this situation that led Bembo to think of making the troubadours' poetry available for a wider audience. This plan is first attested to in 1530, when Antonio Tebaldeo, who probably had second-hand knowledge of the troubadours from Angelo Colocci (Colocci 2012: 18), asked Bembo for *vidas*. By then, the contents of multiple *vidas* had been spread by the *Prose* themselves and Equicola's *De natura de amore*. The fact that however neither declares the existence of the *vidas* as texts might once again hint at the existence of some debate among learned circles, with the few people that had access to the chansonniers sharing information and creating curiosity around the matter. Tebaldeo's letter is lost, but Bembo's reply (12 November 1530) survives:

Mandovi, Sig. M. Antonio mio, la vita provenzale di M. Bartholomeo Giorgio gentile huomo Vinitiano, che mi chiedete, il quale M. Bartholomeo scrisse alcune Canzoni in quella lingua, che io ho. Le vite degli altri scrittor provenzali, delle quali mi fate richiesta in generale, io non vi mando, perciò che io certo sono che non per voi le vogliate, ma per alcuno altro, che richieste ve le ha. Che perciò che io fo pensiero di fare imprimere un di tutte le rime de' poeti provenzali insieme con le lor vite, non vorrei che le une andassero fuori per mano degli huomini senza le altre (Travi 1174)

It seems that Tebaldeo had explicitly asked for Bertolome Zorzi's *vida*, as well as all the others, and that Bembo is only willing to give him one, because he is planning in the long run ('un di') an edition. Bembo does not want any of the contents to be circulated before the edition is ready—and once again, the supposed existence of someone trying to 'steal' the *vidas* from him might hint that the interest in Occitan literature was more widespread than we might have previously believed. There is another testimony by Ludovico Castelvetro, who in the *Corretione d'alcune cose nel 'Dialogo delle lingue' di Benedetto Varchi* claims that he, too, had asked Bembo 'per mezzana persona' for troubadour poems and that he had received a similar response. However, it must be noted that Castelvetro knew the letter to Summonte and is actively trying to discredit Bembo (Castelvetro 1999: 145–46).

Bembo's edition is probably also to be understood as part of the same rediscovery of medieval lyric that led to critical editions of early Italian poetry such as the 1527 'Giuntina di rime antiche', which presented no less than 289 early poems, all edited with notable philological care by Bardo

Segni (Richardson 1994: 61–62, 86–87; Decaria 2020: 27–28). Pre-Dantean poetry therefore had, to some extent, its audience, and such an extensive edition was far from inconceivable.

Bembo's edition never came to fruition, but we can partially reconstruct some of its physiognomy. This was going to be a 'critical edition', in the sense that Bembo was going to critically establish each text, rather than reproduce a single witness (Debenedetti 1995: 141). This can be surmised from the work Bembo carried out on his chansonniers, as well as from a very peculiar and opaque testimony found in Anton Francesco Doni's *Marmi*. In the remainder of this section, we will therefore look at the marginalia first, and then, briefly, at the testimony found in the *Marmi*.

These marginalia, which are widely studied (De Lollis 1889, Bertoni 1903, 1911b [337–39] and 1913, Debenedetti 1995 [219–23; 247–49], Careri 2019), allow us to gauge how well Bembo knew the material after the *Prose*. None of these bear dates, so they could be from any time in Bembo's life, and are of course very likely to have been written over an extended period of time. All the same, these notes often show a familiarity with the language and corpus of troubadour poetry that is much superior to what can be surmised from the *Prose*. Towards the later dating, there is also the relatively frequent references to manuscript *D*, which is not used in the *Prose*. In his marginalia, Bembo mentions his main four manuscripts as *liber primus (K)*, *secundus (D)*, *tertius (O)*, *parvus (H)*, as his collations show (Debenedetti 1995: 247–49). Out of these four, he wrote page numbers on *K*, *D*, and *H* (Bertoni 1903: 22; Careri 2019: 102), but *K* and *D* are the only ones which he annotated, and the first one much more heavily than the second. *H* simply has one *manicula* on fol. 9v (Careri 1990: 50), while *O*, despite being referenced in the other manuscripts, is left untouched. We will first examine some of the marginalia, and we will then move to the corrections that testify to his philological work.

It should be noted that *H*'s medieval marginalia might to some extent have served as a 'guide' to Bembo, as some of them signal the re-use of rhyme schemes (e.g. between BEdT 332,2 Peire de Bussignac's 'Sirventes e chansos lais' and BEdT 242,36 Peire de Maensac 'Ges aissi del tot no.m lais' at fol. 41v). Bembo similarly identifies connections between poems in *K*. One might consider, for instance, fol. 121v, where he writes by BEdT 305,16 'Pos Peire d'Alvernh'a chantat' the note 'Poetae.

181’ which effectively hints at the presence, within the same manuscript, of BEdT 323,11 ‘Chantaraï d’aquestz trobadors’ (fol. 181r), with which 305,16 shares metric structure and theme. Another case—also interesting because of Bembo’s awareness that Arnaut Daniel’s sestina was the first—is that of Bertolome Zorzi’s sestina ‘En tal dezir mos cors intra’ (fol. 83v, BEdT 74,4), that Bembo annotates as ‘Tolta da Arnaldo Daniello, 51.3’, indicating the folio where one can find Arnaut’s poem (Bertoni 1903: 17).

H also explains the names of people and places mentioned in the poems (e.g. at fol. 10r ‘doma’ is explained as ‘us mons fort autz on es | solame(n) una maissos domes spirituals fo(r)ts’) and to whom the poems are sent (at fol. 12r the senhal ‘desirat’ in Arnaut Daniel is explained as ‘(id est) An Bertra(n) d(e) Born. ab cui | se clamava desirat’). Bembo does something similar in writing down the names of historical characters (e.g. *K* fol. 40r ‘Biatriz dest’, ‘Ioanna dest’,³³ fol. 18r ‘Raimon berengier’), and in notes such as *K* fol. 86r ‘Della morte di costui (*scil.* Uc Brunet) | fa canzona Deo de | prades. In sec(un)do 58’. The medieval notes might have made Bembo aware of mechanisms of reuse of metrical schemes and mentioning other poets and noblemen.

But more importantly, Bembo carries out philological work on the texts. He sometimes notes when a poem also appeared in another manuscript he owned and on what page, in a sort of ‘census’ of the poems’ witnesses, probably to facilitate collations, with notes such as ‘Tert(io) 7.’ (*K* fol. 16v). There is also a quite extensive ongoing work of textual establishment. This work was still at an early stage (he does not intervene on more than just a few poems more than once), yet the fact that he directly alters the texts, instead of simply noting down variants on the margin, is both a sign of a high confidence in his understanding of the language and possibly of a plan to edit the texts. This operation was carried out on *K* with the help of *D* and *H* (and possibly also MS *A*)³⁴ and normally affects individual words (e.g. fol. 3r ‘donme’ turned into ‘domne’), but is occasionally carried out on whole lines (e.g. fol. 52v ‘Puois trolalais lo agre’ turned into *A* and *D*’s reading ‘Mor, tro leial lo sagre’). If

³³ The frequency of the references to members of the Este family has led Bertoni (1903: 14–15) to suppose that Bembo annotated *K* while in Ferrara, which would not however fit the chronology we have reconstructed here.

³⁴ Only two variants appear to come from *A* (see Bertoni 1903, 25, annotations 12 and 13). Considering that Lampridio used *A*’s copy *A*^a in Venice in 1526, it might be that Bembo knew this manuscript as well.

we look at which poets undergo this process, listed by Bertoni (1903: 23–29), it is unsurprising to mostly find names that connect to the *Triumphus Cupidinis*: Giraut de Borneil, Peire Rogier, Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire Vidal, Arnaut de Mareuil, Aimeric de Pegulhan, Folquet de Marselha, Arnaut Daniel, Guilhem de Saint Leidier.

In general, *K* was clearly Bembo's 'base' manuscript. Here are a few examples (Bembo's additions are in italics, the words he effaced are struck through):

fol. 12r, Girautz de borneill 'Conseill vos quier bella miga lamanda' (BEdT 242,69), line 18: '~~It~~ tot siatz vos donzella e belle blonda'; line 50 (originally missing): '*car ben sabes com mi fo convenguda*'; line 55: 'que ben ~~vos~~ ~~die~~ *sapzatz*' (the source for both amendments is *H*, fols. 37v–38r. In the second case, Bembo rejects *H*'s use 'saphatz')

fol. 51r, Arnautz daniels, 'Lo ferm voler quel cor mintra', line 8 (BEdT 29,14): 'on a mon dan sai que nuls *hom* non intra'; line 10: 'non ai membre nom fremisca ~~neis longla~~ *ni on gla*' (out of Bembo's MSS, *hom* in this specific form is only in *E*, as well as in Colocci's *M*, and *A*; *ni on gla* is in *EH* as well as in *M* and *A*)

For a few of Bembo's corrections, no source has been identified. These include the restoration of the rhyme of 70,10 at fol. 15v of *K*, and 'fatz' replaced by 'fals' at fol. 3v of *K*. These cases have been identified as *ope ingenii* corrections (Debenedetti 1995: 107), and I tend to agree, although, as we will note in examining the testimony contained in Anton Francesco Doni's *Marmi*, there might have been another manuscript in Bembo's hands, and we cannot rule out that these corrections also come from that source. While it cannot be assumed that each and every corrected poem was going to be featured in the edition, the marginalia show some attempts to categorise the poems which might reflect an intention to give the edition a thematic structure. Many *tensos*' themes are noted down, e.g.:

K, fol. 143r, Guillems de lator et ensordels 'Uns amics et una mia' (BEdT 236,12) – 'vivere o morire | morta la amata'

Ibid., Raimons de miraval, 'Bertran si fosses tant gignos' (BEdT 406,16) – 'Lombardi o Provenzali | piu da prezzare'

K, fol. 146r, la tenço de cadenet. e de guionet., 'Cadenet pro do(m)na egaia' (BEdT 238,1) – 'Ex duobus repulsis ama(n)tibus. moerens an audax | amantior'³⁵

Even more significantly, it looks like he is also grouping non-erotic poems within categories, e.g. crusade poems ('pel sepolchro', see 13r, 25r, 49r) or *planhs* ('di morte', 14r, 183r, 183v).

Bembo's continued attention for the troubadours in the 1530s can also be seen in part in his revisions

³⁵ Bertoni 1903 (16) omits 'repulsis' in transcribing the note.

of the *Prose* for the 1538 Marcolini edition, where he expands the passage on *uopo* at I, x. This is the addition, found at fol. 11v of the print:

Quantunque Huopo s'è alcuna volta anchora piu Provenzalmente detta: Che si fe Huo, in vece di Huopo, recandola in voce d'una sillaba: Si come la reco Dante: ilquale nel suo inferno disse, Più non t'è huo, ch'apirmi il tu talento. (Bembo 2018: 35–36)³⁶

With this revision, Bembo extends the influence of Occitan on the usage of *uopo* to the form of the word itself, which can be reduced to 'uo' to make it monosyllabic like the Occitan *ops* (Bembo 2018: 37).³⁷

Bembo's Troubadour Edition

There exists a posthumous document of a later stage of Bembo's work towards the edition in Anton Francesco Doni's *Marmi* (1552): Doni's book indeed contains a dialogue titled *Lo Spedato e il Viandante academici Peregrini*, wherein Doni imagines a conversation between two members of the *Accademia dei Peregrini*. In it, il Viandante tells lo Spedato of 'un libretto francese' that belonged to Bembo and was then donated to Ludovico Beccadelli, and which includes '*Le vite antiche de' poeti provenzali*, quelli che furon da Dante tanto lodati e dal Petrarca; e ci sono ancora le rime loro amorose'.³⁸ This 'libretto' is likely to have been, rather than a medieval manuscript, a collection made by Bembo as part of his work towards the troubadour edition, and it might have passed into the hands of Castelvetro and Barbieri when they planned their own edition (Doni 2017: 542). As for the 'novelletta', it cannot be identified, and owing to its contents I am inclined to believe that it was written in French rather than in Occitan. Indeed, the Viandante later says 'O, e' ci sono i versi e francesi e italiani?', which leads me to think that this was a private collection of heterogeneous contents that also included the Occitan poems that Bembo wanted to publish.

³⁶ Interestingly, this reading is different from that of Vat. Lat. 3197, that had 'uopo' (Bembo 2018: 37).

³⁷ When Bembo made a further revision to the *Prose* on an exemplar of the *princeps* known as *PI* (Bembo 2018: 10), he also replaced the claim that Arnaut Daniel made one sestina 'et non più' with 'senza più'. This was interpreted by Bertolo et al. as evidence of Bembo's better knowledge of Occitan literature, but I am inclined to interpret it as a purely formal revision (Bembo 2018: 34–35; see also 1966: 92).

³⁸ All citations are from Doni 2017, 540–46.

With regard to this book, the Spedato promises that ‘stamperassi subito’, probably not hinting at the project to print the ‘libretto’ itself, but rather at the upcoming edition by Castelvetro and Barbieri (Debenedetti 1995: 149). Although no trace is left of this manuscript, Doni included some of its contents: a full translation of Arnaut’s *vida*, allegedly carried out by Bembo, and the text of the sestina both in the original language and in a translation. Since Pulsoni (1992) has discussed these materials at length, I will here only add a few considerations. Here is the *vida*:

La vita d’Arnaldo Daniello

SPEDATO Arnaldo Daniello si fu di quella contrada donde fu Arnaldo di Marueill, del vescovado di Peiregors, d’un castello che ha nome Ribairac; e fu gentiluomo e apparò ben lettere e fecesi giocolari, e prese una maniera di trovare in care rime; il perché sue canzoni non sono leggere ad intendere né ad apprendere. E amò una alta donna di Guascogna, moglie di Gulielmo di Bouvila; ma non fu creduto che la donna mai gli facesse piacere in dritto d’amore. Là onde egli disse: ‘Io sono Arnaldo che amasso Laura, e caccio la lepre col bue e nuoto contra vento tempestoso’. E qui sono delle sue canzoni, sì come voi udirete.

The text, a faithful translation of the *vida*, presents some extremely interesting characteristics. Unlike the ones in the *Prose*, it does not seem to be entirely based on *K* (fol. 50r): as shown by Pulsoni (1992: 331–36) the base manuscript seems to instead be *E*, with which this text shares multiple similarities (mainly the presence of the final sentence and of the reference to Arnaut becoming a jongleur), while a few readings are from *K* (*K* ‘peiregors’, Bembo: ‘Peiregors’; *K*: ‘amparet’, Bembo: ‘apparò’). Pulsoni’s excellent reconstruction, however, carries one major flaw: both witnesses present, between ‘amparet las letras’ and ‘fez se ioglar’, the sentences ‘e deletet se en trobar . et abandonet las letras’,³⁹ which MSS *A*, *B* and *a* (which, although it was copied only in 1588–89, is based on a medieval manuscript that belonged to Leone Strozzi, Bertoni 1911: ix) are also missing. Pulsoni explains this as a polygenetic omission due here to the repetition of ‘letras’, which Bembo would have consciously wanted to avoid. This explanation remains very problematic, as it is based on an unlikely coincidence—and in addition to this, it sees Bembo intentionally omitting important information about Arnaut Daniel. I suspect that instead another manuscript came into play here, one that, like *ABa*, is missing the two sentences. The use of another unidentified manuscript is also suggested by the edition of the sestina which follows.

³⁹ I am using *K*’s readings for convenience.

The text of the sestina, indeed, as already pointed out by Debenedetti (1995: 147) contains readings from an unknown source. Here is the text as it appears in the *Marmi*:

Lo ferm voler qu'el cor m'intra
non pot ges becx escoissendre ni on gla
de lantengier sitot de maldir s'arma;
e pos non l'aus batr'ab ram ni ab verga,
sivals a frau lai on non aurai onde
iauzirai ioi en vergier o dins cambra.

Can mi sove de la cambra
on a mon dan sai que nuills om non intra,
ans mi son tug plus que fraire ni onde,
non ai membre nom fremisca ni on gla,
plus que no fai l'enfans denan la verga,
tal paor ai queill sia trop de m'arma.

Del cors li fos, non de l'arma,
em consentis a selat dins sa cambra
que plus me ra fra 'l cor que colp de verga;
car lo siens sers lai on ill es non intra,
de leis serai aisi com carns et on gla,
e non creirai caiticx d'amic ni d'oncle.

Although most readings found here are attested in manuscripts that Bembo knew, especially *H* and *E*, Pulsoni judged it to be derived from *DEHKM* (1992: 338–51).⁴⁰ The presence of readings from *M* is interesting, as it implies collaboration with Colocci—as perhaps the presence of an apostrophe between ‘m’ and ‘arma’ on Colocci’s manuscript suggests (the modern use of the apostrophe for the vernacular was notoriously introduced by Bembo, see Demartini EI; Pulsoni 1992: 340).

Pulsoni’s explanation of this text resorts to almost all of Bembo’s known manuscripts, and implies imagining an almost word-by-word patchwork on his part. While this is not impossible, it should be noted that since for the *vida* we suspect the presence of another manuscript, it cannot be ruled out that this other source came into play here, too (Debenedetti 1995, 146–47, despite not using *A* and *M*, came to the same conclusion).⁴¹

⁴⁰ A few alterations are due to the typesetter (l. 3 ‘lantengier’, l. 5 ‘sivals’, ll. 5, 8 ‘onde’, l. 15 ‘rafra’). ‘Caiticx’ is clearly due to the misreading of a *f*, which seems to be more likely in a gothic script than in sixteenth-century handwriting. Yet, for the reasons we have explained, it is unlikely that this ‘libretto’ was a medieval manuscript. It might be that the transcription error was already in the ‘libretto’.

⁴¹ Note that Debenedetti’s passage is, ironically enough, corrupt in both editions of the book: as pointed out by Meliga 1998 (604), what in the text appears as *Crasmm* is actually meant to be a list of manuscripts: *CRaSMM*^a.

Bembo never managed to publish this edition. According to Debenedetti (1995: 36), this was due to the fact that after his appointment as cardinal it was inappropriate for him to publish love poems. I am instead inclined to believe that it was either the difficulty of the operation, or the attention required of him from the ongoing ferments in the church that led him to give up, along with his preference in the final years of his life for revising his existing works rather than producing new ones (Bembo 1966: 53).⁴² One might equally conjecture that his work was interrupted by his death. However, as Doni's testimony confirms, at least part of his philological endeavour was known to the scholars that succeeded him, and this incomplete project would later be taken up by Ludovico Castelvetro and the young Giovanni Maria Barbieri.

Conclusion to Chapter Two

This chapter has shown that Pietro Bembo's Occitan research can be reconstructed with a notable level of detail. As I have argued, Bembo might have used an Occitan manuscript (*E*) for the first time in the Aldine edition of the *Commedia*, but no understanding of the language can be incontrovertibly proven before the *Prose*. When annotating the *De vulgari* (post 1514) Bembo is likely to have had a further important manuscript (*K*). At the time of the *Prose* he also had in his possession yet another manuscript (*H*), and, probably thanks to both the notes in *H* and Fregoso's counsel, he shows very good command of the language and of the *corpus*. In the *Prose*, what is most notable and significant is how he attempts to fit Occitan within his linguistic theory, giving it a role within a reconstruction of the history of vernacular poetry. This was mainly based on an imitative conception of literature and on the importance of a shared linguistic model. In the following years, his Occitan studies are testified to by many marginalia. These marginalia may well pay witness to his work towards his own planned critical edition of troubadour poetry. This edition was destined to never see the light of day, even if decades later, Anton Francesco Doni's *Marmi* included a sample of what it would have looked like.

⁴² Poetry in general does not seem to be among Bembo's chief interests in his final years: in a letter written in 1546 to Fracastoro he claims that he has forgotten it to the point that he barely remembers ever writing poems (Bembo 1966: 56).

Chapter Three

Mario Equicola: The troubadours and the court

At a first glance, it may appear that Mario Equicola's contribution to the history which we are reconstructing here is purely anecdotal, and that he is no more than a compiler of information with not much of a theoretical mindset, one who happened to come into contact with Occitan manuscripts, and thus only indirectly relevant to the present thesis. Despite having been part of the *Accademia pontaniana* in the late fifteenth century, Equicola was not a 'professional' humanist. Instead he earned his living as a preceptor and secretary—a far cry from the much more scholarly-minded Bembo and Colocci. However, as we will see, behind the courtesan and the compiler, one can find a far-from-obvious understanding of Occitan language and of troubadour poetry with theoretical implications connected with the *cortigiana* ideal. Even without this theoretical element, Equicola cannot be ignored within this thesis for at least four main reasons. First, his Occitan manuscripts ended up in the hands of Angelo Colocci shortly after his death. Second, the *Libro de natura de amore* later provided material to Giammaria Barbieri's *Arte del rimare*. And third, Equicola's importance rests in the fact that he was the only person to publish in print a full Occitan poem during the century, complete with an Italian translation. Ultimately, the *Libro de natura de amore* represents the most complete discussion of troubadour poetry within a wider history of literature to be printed in the sixteenth century.

This chapter, divided into three main sections, will proceed chronologically, connecting Equicola's literary production to the events of his life with the help of Stephen Kolsky's work (1991). The first section will look at the scarce and imprecise references to Occitan in his production of the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century. In the second section we will look at his activity between 1517 and 1521, discussing the use of a *tenso* between Sordello and Peire Guilhem in the *Chronica di Mantua*; ultimately, in the third, we will focus on the representation of Occitan and of the troubadours given in the printed *Libro de natura de amore* (1525).

1. The handwritten *Libro de natura de amore* and the *Institutioni al comporre sopra ogni sorte de rima* (1500–15)

The first work by Equicola that is of interest to us is the earliest redaction of the *Libro de natura de amore*, which he produced towards the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century. The *Libro de natura de amore* is a treatise on the nature and manifestations of love, characterized by a form of hybrid ‘naturalist’ Platonism and by a tendency to expound the opinions of an array of philosophical and literary sources, mostly without offering any kind of original conclusion (Aurigemma 1977: 96). The earliest version of this text, which is preserved by MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, N.III.10, is demonstrably written in Equicola’s hand, and yet it passes itself off as an Italian translation of a Latin treatise written by Equicola himself around 1495. This falsification may be due to Equicola’s unwillingness to admit to having written a book on love at the age of thirty-five, a time when one was expected to write on less ‘frivolous’ themes (Equicola 1999: 20).

Compared to the version of the text that would be printed in 1525, the early redaction is significantly bolder in defining the language standard that inspires it. The dedication to Isabella d’Este, written under the name of Francesco Prudenzius who is presented as the translator of the work, makes reference to the language of the court of Rome (‘cortesiana romana’) as the most elevated linguistic model; however, he claims that this work has been written in a vernacular brought as close as possible to Latin, with also ‘non solo di tucte regioni de Italia vocabuli electi [...] ma alcuni (benché rarissimi) dal’hispano et gallico idioma non alieni, ià per nostri recepti’. A jibe against those who defend the pure imitation of Dante and Boccaccio follows, as they fail to understand that ‘nella lingua patria scripsero quelli’ (fols. 3r–4r). With its double focus on the court and the author’s freedom to draw from multiple vernaculars, this account shows some similarity to that presented by Colocci in Vat. Lat. 4831, albeit with a much more ‘localistic’ definition of Dante and Petrarch’s language. This is mixed with a form of ‘classicist’ attitude. For, paradoxically, by moulding the

vernacular onto Latin, something of the ‘incorrup̄ta purità’ that it had lost in the Middle Ages can be retrieved (fol. 3r).

The handwritten *Libro* is, then, of considerable interest for its linguistic theory; with regard to the troubadours, however, the interest is rather less marked. After saying that ‘anchor la lite pende’ on whether they or the Sicilians came first (fol. 20v), Equicola mentions them twice. The first passage is quite succinct:

Di Arnaldo et Folcecto, acutissimi francesi, non facemo mentione, per essere stato emulo di [essi] Petrarca et in suo usu qualche loro bel loco transferito. (fol. 17r)

The claim that Arnaut and Folquet are ‘francesi’ demonstrates that Equicola did not even have a clear idea of what language they wrote in, and this suggests the absence of any first-hand knowledge of their texts. As regards the assertion that Petrarch imitated them, this might well have come from *Rvf* 70 and the *TC*, without implying any personal research on Equicola’s part.

Nor is the second reference more encouraging. It follows a summary of Petrarch’s *Triumph* and reads:

Nel quarto capitolo, essendo Petrarca uno di triumphati, vide [...] Arnaldo Daniello, doi Petri, un altro Arnaldo, Raimbaldo, Girardo, Folco, Gianfré Rudel, Guilliemo, Americo, Bernardo, Ugo, Anselmo [...] (fol. 28v)

The list does nothing but reproduce Petrarch’s canon. Nothing shows here any familiarity with Occitan texts, nor any attempt to define the specificity of the Occitan language or its relationship with Equicola’s linguistic ideal.

Starting from 1508, Equicola officially became the preceptor of Isabella d’Este (Kolsky 1991: 103). This gave him access to the Gonzaga library in Mantua, opening up the possibility that he may have read some Occitan manuscripts at this time. While the catalogue of their library closest to his time (the one for 1407) does not mention any being present there, it is likely that manuscript *N*, which as we have seen in Chapter One was dubbed by Colocci ‘Liber Equicoli’, entered the Gonzaga library when its owner Andrea Painelli was executed in 1383–84, and it is possible that manuscripts obtained through repossession were not officially considered part of the Ducal library (Frasso 1974: 196; Meneghetti 2001: 26). We know for sure that in the early 1510s, Equicola had an active interest for

vernacular poetry, as proven by the fact that he had Isabella d'Este borrow on his behalf the *Raccolta aragonese*, a fundamental collection of early Tuscan poetry compiled by Angelo Poliziano in 1467 (Bologna 1993: 217).¹

I believe around this same time, Equicola began writing his manual of vernacular versification, the *Institutioni al comporre sopra ogni sorte de rima*. Traditionally, the *terminus ante quem* for the *Institutioni* is considered to be 1521, as the *Chronica di Mantua*, published in that year, mentions some 'institutioni' that Equicola had already written. This dating has been challenged by Paolo Cherchi (1986: 211–12) on the basis of the presence in the *Institutioni* of a reference to Girolamo Claricio's *Osservationi di volgare grammatica sopra lo Ameto*, published in 1520, which then has to be the *terminus post quem*. However, I think that the fact that all the references to Occitan here contained are second-hand citations from Dante (*Vita nuova*, *Convivio*, and *Purgatorio* 26)—the last of which even conflates Arnaut Daniel and Giraut de Borneil by calling the first 'Arnaldo di Lemosi Provenzale'—, and that he mistakenly attributes Petrarch the belief that the Occitans are older than the Sicilians (fols. c 1r–2r), suggests that at least the references to Romance poetry pre-date his interest for the troubadours. However, the *Institutioni* are a clearly unfinished work, so that it is possible that Equicola added the reference to Claricio later but did not amend these references.

2. The *Chronica di Mantua* (1517–21)

A letter by Pietro Summonte sent to Colocci on 28 July 1515, and which we have already mentioned in the first chapter, is likely to contain the earliest proof of an active interest for the troubadours on Equicola's part. Indeed, Summonte, having already sent manuscript *M* to Colocci, claims: 'tanta è la sete, che adesso è cresciuta, di questo libro di poeti limosini, che da ogni banda mi biasmano, come quello che ho facto uscire da questa città una cosa sì rara [...] La Marchesana di Mantua, essendo qua, sollicitata non so per qual via, fe' instantia per tal libro. Piacemi in gran maniera che tucti resteno

¹ Isabella d'Este certainly borrowed the *Raccolta* from Isabella del Balzo; the role of Equicola has been conjectured by Debenedetti, and has been accepted by most scholars since (Bologna 1993: 217).

delusi' (Debenedetti 1995: 300; Schizzerotto 1977: 26). Erasmo Percopo was the first to suggest that the person who according to Summonte urged Isabella to try to obtain the manuscript was Equicola himself, and this theory is accepted by most scholars (Cariteo 1892: cxx). By that time, however, the manuscript had already left Naples. For the time being, Equicola's curiosity for Occitan thus had to remain unsatisfied.

However, in 1517, Equicola visited Provence, again following Isabella (Kolsky 1991: 161). The matter of whether Equicola had his first contact with Occitan literature as a result of this trip is debated (Debenedetti 1995: 33; Pérez Barcala 2008: 97, *contra* Borghi Cedrini 2002: 545). While this is very much a possibility, it must be treated with some caution. The *Iter in Narbonensem Galliam*, which Equicola wrote as a record of this trip, does not mention the troubadours at all. Equicola might however have bought there the 'Chansons d'amor' manuscript mentioned by Colocci, although this cannot be proven (Careri 2018: 172; see Chapter One). It should also be mentioned that the wording he uses in the *princeps* of the *De natura de amore* when he discusses the Occitan language might suggest that he had been in contact with French and Provençal people who could read the poems: 'al presente quel parlare in Francia, in Catalogna e in Provenza è perduto, né vi si intende; ma, da pratici, in dicte tre provincie, non è di quella difficoltà che altri existima' (2018: 621).

Since 1516, Equicola had also been working on a history of the city of Mantua with a strong encomiastic focus on the Gonzagas, the *Chronica di Mantua* (Debenedetti 1995: 350; Kolsky 1991: 165). This work, published on 15 July 1521 (Rhodes 1957: 137), is the first testimony of direct knowledge of Occitan on Equicola's part. The *Chronica* indeed includes a discussion of the figure of Sordello da Goito, on whom Equicola gives some contextual information drawn from Benvenuto da Imola's Latin commentary on the *Commedia* (1378–82) and from the fifteenth-century poem *Aliprandina* by Bonamente Aliprandi (Equicola 1521: 5r–7v). What is more interesting to us is that he includes here the text of a *tenso* between Sordello and Peire Guilhem (BEdT 344,3a 'En Sordel, que vos es semblan') which he draws from a lost source whose morphology and *scripta* point towards Western Languedoc and might thus be identified with the chansonnier mentioned in Colocci's manuscript Vat. Lat. 1817 as 'Libro di Equicola | Chanson d'amors' (fols. 39r–40v) (Careri 2018:

171). Equicola accompanies the poem with his own facing-page translation. While in the absence of the original manuscript it is difficult to judge the quality of the transcription, overall it appears to be quite correct, with a few mistakes that have perhaps to be attributed to the printer ('por' instead of 'per', 'pius' instead of 'plus', 'niens' twice transcribed as 'mens' despite being correctly translated as 'niente'). The translation shows a decent familiarity with the Occitan vocabulary and structures, although not without some understandable mistakes (e.g. 'En' is confused with a vocative form, and 'Bla(n)catz' [*sic*] is translated as 'bianco' and 'canuto').

3. The printed *Libro de natura de amore* (1521–25)

The Occitan excursus of the *Chronica* is entirely justified by the Mantuan provenance of Sordello and does not offer Equicola the chance to show any more knowledge of Occitan literature. Matters are instead rather different for the printed version of the *De natura de amore*, which Equicola must have finished revising around the same time when he was working on the *Chronica*, having been mostly completed by late 1521. This revision reflects, among other things, Equicola's renewed interest for medieval Romance literatures, and has as such been dated *post* 1512, after he gained access to the *Raccolta aragonese* (Equicola 1999: 32). He sends Giovan Giorgio Trissino, who, as mentioned, was like Equicola a proponent of the *lingua cortigiana*, a copy of his *Libro* (or at least of the fifth book, the one most relevant to this thesis) for a linguistic revision, and receives it back on 12 September 1521. By 8 October of the same year, everything was ready for print, and the intense efforts required are tangible, as testified by the letter sent to Isabella d'Este on that day: 'Vostra Excellentia mi faccia gratia che mi possa transferire in Venetia [...] ad far stampare il mio peso gravissimo, quel fastidioso *Libro de Amore*, perché, se non lo stampo questa vernata, non è più libro di questa età' (Kolsky 1991: 208). Equicola seems conscious that the *De natura*, with its humanistic accumulation of citations, was already outdated before being printed. Yet, the printing would have to wait a while more, as health problems, together with his role as secretary of Federico Gonzaga who was Captain of the Church during the Four Years' War, pushed back the printing (Equicola 1999: 29–31).

Only in 1524 could Equicola go back to his project of publishing the book. Due to his many worries and declining health, the work is unlikely to have seen any significant changes from the time of Trissino's revision to the *princeps* published in 1525 (and, specifically for its Occitan content, we should keep in mind that before dying, Equicola lent his manuscripts to Trissino, making it unlikely that he was able to work on these references during the very last years of his life).

It is likely that, in writing the *Libro*, Equicola realised that he was in possession of some uncommon literary knowledge, and already in the first book he takes some pride in including a summary of the *Roman de la rose* together with Martin Le Franc's *Champion des dames*, the *Debat des deux soeurs*, and other Old French texts,² situating them in a history of ideas on love in vernacular literature from Guittone to Equicola's contemporary Gian Giacomo Calandra (Equicola 2018: 27–28, 77).

Before dealing in detail with the use of Occitan within the treatise, it will be useful to point out how Equicola's linguistic ideology changed since the time of the manuscript version: now relegated to an appendix 'al lectore' and influenced by Trissino's condemnation of his excess of Latinisms, Equicola does not mention the court of Rome as a source anymore, rather resorting to a 'commune lingua':

Dell'altrui favellare quello avemo imitato che più imitabile ne è parso e più tra eruditi trovamo usitato, togliendo lo exempio de docti greci, li quali hanno la commune lingua, origine e fundamento de le altre, con quattro differenze de idiomi de li quali per più eleganzia si servono. (751–52)

This ideal, entirely based on the construction of a common language through the selection of words ('diligenzia in elezione delle parole', 751) has elements of similarity with the one expressed by Colocci in Vat. Lat. 4817 and with Trissino's theory, although it is significantly lacking the diachronic perspective that allowed the other two intellectuals to apply this model to describe Dante and Petrarch's language.

² An in-depth study of Equicola's knowledge of French literature is in Merlino 1929.

In the context of this thesis, our interest for the *Libro de natura de amore* lies primarily with the fifth book, which was heavily reworked compared to the manuscript version.³ In the printed edition, the book opens with a commemoration of Ercole Cantelmo and then moves to its subject-matter, the first chapter being a brief explanation of what love and hate are, and the second one a discussion of how one can win love through the practice of virtues and elegant behaviour and conversation. The third chapter is the main addition. It is entitled ‘Como latini e greci poeti, ioculari provenzali, rimanti francesi, dicitori toscani e trovatori spagnoli abiano loro amate lodate, e le passioni di loro stessi descritte’, and is legitimised by the fact that poetry is a form of discourse on love aimed at persuading the loved woman to grant her amorous affection to the poet by celebrating her and by depicting one’s emotional condition in such a way as to create empathy (606–7).

In this chapter, Equicola essentially accumulates multiple *sententiae* from different works, mostly without clearly signalling where one citation ends and another one begins, or where it comes from. One example is that concerning Horace where Equicola writes ‘Orazio innamorato “non pò scrivere versi, perché “amore più lui che tutti li altri tormenta”’ (607). His intention is to create a didactic-philosophical discourse that fuses quotations to give the reader a clear idea of the author’s perception of love with a methodology that the author calls ‘endelechia’ and which essentially consists in tying together many quotations from multiple sources in a single discourse (Equicola 2018: 627–28). First, he explores Latin literature, then Greek epigrams from the *Anthologia Graeca*, and ultimately moves towards Occitan literature, which, by virtue of its obscurity, requires a more substantial introduction compared to the first two sections. This consists in a socio-historical premise citing Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, VII, XL (Debenedetti 1995: 224):

Negli anni del parto de la Vergene, circa mille e docento poco più, in Provenza era signore “il Conte R. Berglengieri, de la notabil famiglia e gente de Aragona per eredità; fu sua la Provenza di qua dal Rodano”, e “in sua corte conversarno molti gentilomeni e virtuose persone de Francia, de Provenza, de Catalogna” e Italia (del paese di Genua). Tra quali molti trovatori e giocolari ivi se radunavano componendo e recitando ‘canson’, ‘servientes’, ‘cobles’ e ‘letres’ e ballate d’amore. (621)

Villani’s text is enriched with the reference to Genoa, coming from the *vulgata* on Folquet de Marselha, and—more importantly—with the names of Occitan literary genres. Equicola notably

³ All references to the printed *De natura* are to Equicola 2018.

singles out the early thirteenth century as the time of Occitan's highest flowering. It seems to me that this is not due to a mistaken perception of the chronology of the phenomenon (cf. the next quotation, *pace* Debenedetti 1995: 225), but rather to an intention to show the importance of Raimon Berenguer's court in founding and protecting the Occitan literary culture, and this connects to his entirely original description of the Occitan language: 'Lo loro idioma si chiamava provenzale, perciò che in Provenza era più che altrove exercitato, benché de la francese, catalana e provenzali lingue fosse composto, con alcuni vocaboli genuesi, ma rari' (621). Equicola looks at the linguistic situation of Occitania through the 'filter' of the linguistic environment that he had known in Rome, that of a *koiné* whose centre is in one specific court and which absorbed elements from the many languages of the courtesans (Debenedetti 1995: 164). Therefore, with requisite caution due to the fact that it is impossible to know how much time passed between the addition of the troubadour content and that of the 'al lectore' appendix, we can see some *nostalgerie* in how Equicola projects into the Middle Ages a linguistic ideal that was strictly connected with a conception of courtly culture that belonged to the previous century and which, in the time of Giovan Francesco Fortunio's *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua* (1516) and Niccolò Liburnio's *Vulgari elegantie* (1521), was already perceived as incapable of producing a literary language (Quondam 2000: 465).

It is also very interesting to note that Equicola seems aware of the distinction between Provençal in the wider meaning of Occitan and *stricto sensu* Provençal as in the language of Provence, and that, despite giving the language its name, the language of Provence does not appear to be the most prominent ingredient of this *koiné*.

Subsequently, he discusses the decline of troubadour poetry, significantly tying it with the existence itself of the courts:

Tanto durarno quelli gentili spiriti, quanto la corte fu in Provenza. Ma poi che 'I predicto conte Berlingieri maritò le figliole, Margarita a Loys Sancto, re di Francia, la secunda al re inglese, e la terza a Carlo conte di Angiò, fratel di Loys predicto, mancò quella nobile pianta, perciò che Carlo di Angiò essendo restato erede per la moglie de la Provenza, e ne li anni de la nostra Redempzione milledocentosexantacinque, avendo avuta del inimico intera victoria, facto re di Napoli, quivi abitò. E questa io existimo fosse la causa che non si ampliò più oltra il dire provenzale, il quale era stato in fiore anni circa cento. (622)

This reconstruction is again based on Giovanni Villani's *Nuova cronica*, VII, LXXXIX (Equicola 2018: 622; Villani 1990: 397–99), but has an element of originality in the way the facts are

connected in order to account for the end of the courtly culture which had given birth and protection to the literature.

With the historical context out of the way, Equicola moves to sketching the troubadours' conception of love in comparison with the Latins:

Il modo de descrivere loro [*scil.* the troubadours'] amore fu novo e diverso da quel de antichi latini. Questi senza respecto, senza reverenzia, senza timore de infamare sua donna, apertamente scrivevano quel loro pareo, e dove il desio li spengea. Provenzali, gentilmente, con dissimulazione, nascondevano ogni lascivia de affecti. E, ne le loro carte, disio de onorare, più che altro, mostravano, dicendo: "Amor vol castità", e per castità ben ole [...] e "se me dà saver de Amor, è per mercé non per dovere" [...]
Loro amore era in persone grandi degne di onore, non como quelle de poeti nostri antichi, li quali da essi medesmi sono como avare, como ad altrui voluntà exposte e quasi meretrici, notate. (623)

With the help of citations from Guilhem de Montanhagol and from Sordello and Peire's aforementioned *tenso* (respectively BEdT 225,2, line 18, and BEdT 344,3a lines 21–22), troubadour love is explicitly opposed to that of Latin poetry, as it is (according to Equicola) more elegant, chaste and dissimulated. This definition of love can be applied to part of the troubadour *corpus*, but even from a cursory examination of the poems contained in manuscript *N* (the only extant manuscript that Equicola undoubtedly knew), it is clear that much of that poetry is far from being as chaste as he makes it out to be. It has been argued that this might be due to the author's Platonism which leads him to look for a tradition of purely platonic love (Meneghetti 1985: 100; also see Aurigemma 1977: 88–91 for the dialogue between ancient and modern ideas on love in the *Libro*). Such an explanation seems, however, problematic, since the treatise actually accepts carnal desire as natural. I think that the root of Equicola's Platonist filter should rather be found in his work on Sordello for the *Chronica*. In BEdT 344,3a, Sordello defends a conception of love as pure service devoid of any hope for erotic fulfilment, in a way that some commentators have considered a precursor of *stilnovismo* (Borghi Cedrini 2002: 559–60). Equicola is probably using that poem as a filter through which he looks at troubadour ideology, which inevitably appeared opaque to someone with only a partial knowledge of the *corpus* and of the language. In addition to this, it is likely that he had an insufficient understanding of much of the cultural subtext of troubadour poetry, so that the erotic meanings behind much of the troubadour vocabulary might have been entirely lost on him.

A gallery of biographies then follows, and this is presented in a sort of ‘abridged’ version, with some parts translated *ad verbum* and others summarised. This includes in order Bernart de Ventadorn, Arnaut de Mareuil, Arnaut Daniel, Raimbaut d’Aurenga, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (both of whom he recognises as the two ‘Raymbaldi’ from the *Triumph*), Peire Roger, Folquet de Marselha, Bernart del Cornilh, Aimeric de Pegulhan, Giraut de Borneil, then Jaufre Rudel, who, once again in the history of his reception, elicits a philosophical discussion, based on classical authorities, on the possibility of love from afar.⁴ Three more troubadours are only mentioned as authors of ‘coblas’, ‘servientes’ and ‘tengos’ (626–27): Guilhem del Baus, Alberto Malaspina, and Sordello. Ultimately, Equicola briefly mentions Peire d’Alvernhe and Peire Vidal’s *vidas*.

The criterion for this choice is mostly easy to identify, the chief model being Petrarch’s *Triumph* (Borghi Cedrini 2002: 550). To that, Equicola adds Sordello, who was in Dante’s canon (and had achieved the status of a ‘local glory’ of Mantua), while Alberto Malaspina and Guilhem del Baus both belonged to important noble families connected with Italy.⁵ The one choice that remains unexplained is that of Bernart del Cornilh, a character who is known to us only for a mention in an obscene *tenso* (BEdT 447,1) and a *vida* connected to it (that of Raimon de Durfort and Turc Malec), in a stark departure from Equicola’s definition of troubadour love as chaste (Equicola 2018: 625; Borghi Cedrini 2002: 550). In terms of sources, these *vidas* have been interpreted as derived from *N2*. However, considering that the printed *Libro* appears to have been completed by 1521, and that 1521 is *N2*’s *terminus ante quem*, it is perhaps more prudent to think that Equicola saw *N2*’s source (Barsotti 2022: 21–22). It should also be noted that Camillo and Equicola can only have met in Mantua in early 1525, too late for Camillo to have provided materials for the book (Barsotti 2022: 22).

⁴ Of the wide bibliography on the reception of Jaufre’s legend and its impact on readers, see at least Meneghetti 1980 and Bec 2009. This passage is also an example of how Equicola uses ancient authorities to confirm or disprove what the moderns say (Aurigemma 1977: 89).

⁵ Rogeri de Piacenza’s encomiastic poem *Lo Balzino*, cited by Kolsky (1991: 48–49), preserves the memory of a direct contact of Equicola with the del Baus (del Balzo) family, recording that, when Isabella del Balzo, wife of Federico d’Aragona, came to Barletta in 1498, Equicola dedicated to her a poetic dialogue.

To highlight the passage from biographical matters to the contents of Occitan poetry, Equicola uses a metaphor which reveals his idea of the relationship between the Occitan and Italian traditions:

E così noi, intrati in nave, sciogliamola, e, date le vele al vento, per le spiage de Provenza e porti diportandone, quelli percorramo donde nostri vulgari dicitori de ricche merci carchi sono felicemente ritornati. (627)

The way troubadour poetry (which is defined at the beginning of the book as older than Sicilian poetry, 35–36) connects to Italian lyric is the opposite of the way it is connected to (or rather disconnected from) classical lyric. The troubadours introduced a new, nobler, way to express love that did not belong to the Latins and Greeks and in no way derived from them, and which influenced Italian poets. Equicola then proceeds to enumerate a series of poetic quotations translated into Italian, fused together to construct a single discourse that can exemplify the troubadours' conception of love, without naming the authors cited, possibly with an awareness that these names would be meaningless to the reader.⁶

While Equicola is trying to show how love is depicted by the troubadours, he also has a clear preference for linguistically and conceptually simple texts, so that he might have done no more than select the passages whose meanings were clear to him—although it should also be noted that he shows a general preference for a simple and clear style in poetry, and this might also have guided his choice (Aurigemma 1977: 92–93). The translations, while commendable, are indeed not without errors, as has been shown by Borghi Cedrini (2002). Such imprecisions indicate the inevitable limits of Equicola's otherwise good understanding of Occitan. These citations have been recognised as notably more literal compared to those from the other languages, and this is likely to be again a consequence of the fact that Equicola was aware that the reader was unlikely to have any access to the

⁶ Meneghetti (1985: 98) connects this way of citing without mentioning the author to the strategy of the *Cort d'amor* (BEdT 461,c, which is only preserved by manuscript *N*). This is, however, unlikely for a variety of reasons (see Equicola 2018: 627–29): first, Equicola needed to be able to identify the poetic quotations of the *Cort* as such; then, for that literary game to work, he needed a public similarly able to recognise the cited works; and, ultimately, there is no reason for him to include what amounts to an intellectual game within a work that is meant to be didactic.

originals, and thus felt compelled to offer the texts in a form that was as similar as possible to the originals.

To summarise, then, we can say that the Occitan section of the chapter has a clear structure. First, it gives a general overview that projects the *lingua cortigiana* into medieval Occitania; then, it collects *vidas* in order to give the reader information on the poets; and ultimately, the contents of troubadour lyric are aggregated within a discourse in which, through the exegetical lens of Sordello's pre-stilnovistic conception of love, a first attempt is made to depict the troubadour movement as a whole, underlining its impact on early Italian lyric.

Conclusion to Chapter Three

Mario Equicola shows a clear progression in his knowledge of Occitan, starting from a time when he had no knowledge of troubadour poetry and was not even able to distinguish Occitan from French. The first major breakthrough is represented by the *Chronica di Mantua*, which includes a commendable translation of Sordello and Peire Guilhem's *tenso*. In these same years, Equicola improved his understanding of the Romance literary tradition thanks to acquisitions such as the *Raccolta aragonese* and also obtaining multiple Occitan manuscripts which he is able to employ in the *Libro de natura de amore*, where he also attempts a representation of the Occitan culture built around the courtesan literary culture with which he is familiar.

Chapter Four

Lodovico Castelvetro: Polemics and philology

Lodovico Castelvetro was a multifaceted intellectual, with interests in the fields of classical and vernacular literatures, languages, and philosophy. During the law studies he undertook in his youth, he came into contact with many different centres of culture, from the University of Bologna to the *Accademia degl'Intronati* in Siena (Marchetti DBI). This chapter will consider Castelvetro's Occitan studies, which were for a time strictly intertwined with those of his friend and collaborator Giovanni Maria Barbieri. For this reason, although the main focus of this chapter will be Castelvetro himself, we will also attempt to reconstruct at least in part Barbieri's activities before Lodovico's exile, and we will then return to Barbieri in the final chapter (Chapter Six). At the outset, it is also important to acknowledge that Castelvetro's life and activity as a scholar is effectively split into two parts following accusations of of heresy and murder (also found in the *Apologia degli accademici de' Banchi* written by Annibal Caro against him in 1554–55 and published in print in 1558). As a result, from 1557, Castelvetro found himself all but confined in his villa della Verdeda and, after being condemned by the Inquisition in 1560 and having sought in vain admission to the Council of Trent to defend himself in the following year, he found himself forced to leave for Switzerland (Castelvetro 1727: 43; 2004: x).¹ Castelvetro's activity in the first half of the 1550s is particularly interesting in the context of this thesis as it represents a moment in history in which it appears that many individuals (Castelvetro and Barbieri, Lodovico Beccadelli, Benedetto Varchi, Antonio Giganti, Antonio Anselmi) are bringing together their knowledge and manuscript resources towards a better understanding of troubadour poetry.

¹ Notably, in 1563 Lodovico Beccadelli, who had been involved in the Occitan edition, received a letter from Egidio Foscarari calling for some leniency for Castelvetro from the inquisition, but appears to have never answered (Marchetti DBI).

This chapter—as with others in this monograph—attempts to maintain, as much as possible, the events’ chronological order. This task is made especially complicated in Castelvetro’s case by the difficulty in dating most of his works and by the need to also account for Barbieri’s early activities. We thus opted for structuring the chapter in the following six sections: in the first, we will discuss Castelvetro and Barbieri’s earliest contact with Occitan, proposing for Castelvetro the possibility of an influence of Giulio Camillo Delminio in his earliest interest for Occitan. Section two will cover Castelvetro’s commentary to Petrarch which appears to accumulate materials dating from the 1530s up to 1567. The third section is then devoted to the critical edition devised by him and Barbieri in the 1550s, while the fourth covers his glosses to the *Novellino* and the *Giunte alle ‘Prose’*, whose roots appear to be in 1550s but which cannot be dated with absolute certainty either. The last two sections focus on the years of his exile: the fifth discusses the possibility that Castelvetro brought some Occitan manuscripts into his exile, and the final one will focus on Castelvetro’s last work, the *Correttione*, to which he dedicated the very final years of his life in the early 1570s.

Castelvetro’s Occitan activity has been recently rediscussed by Carlo Pulsoni (2010). While also drawing from Pulsoni’s study, this chapter aims to supplement his account by adopting a stronger focus on literary ideology and by accounting for some materials Pulsoni does not engage with such as parts of his commentary on Petrarch and his glosses to the *Novellino*.

1. First steps, the shadow of Delminio and a secretary of the Queen of France
(1530–46)

We do not have documents about Castelvetro’s earliest contact with Occitan literature. It is, however, important to note that, especially thanks to the work of Valentina Grohovaz (1993), we know with certainty that he was, from a quite young age, in some form of contact with Giulio Camillo Delminio, who, as mentioned in the Chapters One and Two, already in 1521–23 displayed sufficient knowledge of Occitan to read and copy the work of Petrarch’s troubadours in MS *N2* (Poe 2005, Barsotti 2022), the manuscript that he shared with Colocci and Trissino.

Proof of familiarity with Delminio from an early date is found in a letter from Castelvetro to Filippo Valentini dated to 1536–37, in which he ‘debunks’ Camillo’s claim to descend from a noble Croatian family.² In this letter, Castelvetro specifies that the information he has on Delminio ‘a mia notizia pervenne già dodici anni passati’ (Castelvetro 2015: 95), hinting that Castelvetro knew him—personally or because of his popularity among northern Italian humanist circles—at least since 1524–25, when Castelvetro first frequented the intellectual circles of Veneto as a student (Grohovaz 1993: 519–20).³ Although he had no sympathy for Delminio’s alchemical and ‘mystical’ interests, nor for the more ‘picaresque’ side of his character (see Castelvetro 2015: 15, 94–95, 99–100), a reference in a letter sent to Antonio Modona in 1536 to some form of conversation between the two (‘esso M. Camillo ne diceva molto bene’, Castelvetro 2015: 84–85) suggests the existence of a relationship between them around 1536, when Camillo repeatedly visited Modena and Bologna (Grohovaz 1993: 519–20). In addition to this, Camillo was—according to Castelvetro’s son and biographer Lodovico Jr.—the inspirator of Lodovico’s project of commenting Petrarch (Castelvetro Jr. 1786: 61).⁴

Despite obtaining the *imprimatur* for ‘li artifici di D. Julio Camillo sopra le cose del Petrarca’ in 1533, Camillo’s commentary on Petrarch was never published in print during his life, with the exception of a few *avvertimenti* in a 1553–54 edition curated by Lodovico Dolce (Petrarca 1553–54; PERI). His work on Petrarch did, however, circulate among his pupils and admirers in the form of *postillati*, of which six exemplars have been identified (Camillo 2009: xv). Castelvetro himself produced a copy of this commentary with significant differences from the printed version, and this demonstrates that he had access to materials coming from Camillo, potentially even to an

² Camillo’s nickname ‘Delminio’ seems to derive from the Croatian city of *Delminium* which is probably proof of a Croatian origin, but the whole story about his nobility is unconfirmed (Stabile DBI).

³ Also note that a letter sent by Domenico Venier to Bartolomeo Melchiori includes the remark that Castelvetro had heard of Vellutello’s plagiarism of Bembo ‘in Padova infino dall’anno MDXXVII ad Antonio Brocardo e a Giulio Camillo Delminio’ (Grohovaz 1993: 521).

⁴ ‘In questi tempi [presumably at the time of his informal accademia, the 1530s] scrisse un Commento molto ampio e pieno di nuovi intelletti sopra il Canzoniero & i Capitoli di Francesco Petrarca, e lo finì, ma non vi pose l’ultima mano, se non sopra i tre primi Sonetti, e ciò per concorrere con Giulio Camillo Delminio, il quale gli haveva comentati prima di lui’ (Castelvetro Jr. 1786: 65). Castelvetro gave public lectures on Petrarch already before 1529 at the *Accademia degl’Intronati* (Castelvetro Jr. 1786: 61; Ghirlanda 2007: 116–17).

autograph (Grohovaz 1993: 530).⁵ Considering that the use of troubadour poetry in commenting Petrarch is among the most notable features of Camillo's commentary (Camillo 2009: 86), it is then possible that Castelvetro was inspired to investigate it specifically by his example. Despite openly challenging Camillo's interpretations in many instances, Castelvetro's Petrarchan commentary indeed has many elements of similarity with that of Camillo (see Trovato 1999: 267–70). However, I have not found any points of contact between the two in their use of Occitan language or troubadour quotations, and in general Camillo's commentary, especially in its 'alpha-form', is incomparably richer in these references than the one produced by Castelvetro, a point already noted by Pulsoni (2010: 131).⁶

Around the same time when Castelvetro was working on this early commentary on Petrarch, Giovanni Maria Barbieri was in France, where he accompanied Ludovico II Pico, son of the count of Mirandola and Concordia Galeotto II who had been sent to France as a hostage to the king on 4 September 1538 (Ceretti 1890: 230; Bertoni 1905: 8). According to Barbieri's biography written by his son Lodovico,⁷ his first exposure to Occitan language would have taken place there thanks to a secretary of the queen consort Eleanor of Castile. This claim contrasts with the fact that in the *Arte del rimare* Barbieri himself says that he actually learned it 'con l'aiuto d'altre lingue e per forza di rincontri' (BC fol. 21r). Like Cavazzoni Pederzini, editor of the 1843 edition of Barbieri's *Guerra d'Attila*, and Debenedetti, I am inclined to trust Giammaria himself more than his son, who perhaps confused Old French and Occitan (Barbieri 1843: xiii; Debenedetti 1995: 32).⁸ Giulio Camillo might also have had a role in this early interest for Occitan, as he visited Modena multiple times in the 1530s, during Barbieri's childhood and early adolescence, was close to the Rangoni family that

⁵ Item 9 of the inventory published by Frasso (1991) is: 'Le Rime del Petrarca della stampa d'Aldo del 1514 [...] segnate di numeri e di chiose di Giulio Camillo del Minio e d'altre mie' (474). It is difficult to tell whether the 'mie' is to be attributed to the author of the inventory or to Castelvetro himself. Believing it to be Castelvetro's work, Trovato hypothesises that this *postillato* was written around 1536 (1999: 255), which would therefore be further proof of Camillo's influence on Castelvetro.

⁶ Zaja identified three 'forms' of the commentary, alpha, beta, and gamma (see the edition of the 'Chiose provenzali di A' within Camillo 2009: 377–85).

⁷ The dating of the trip to 1538 is Debenedetti's deduction: Lodovico Barbieri only claims that he was in France 'circa VIII anni' (Barbieri 1843: xii).

⁸ Still, it should be noted that a few decades before Barbieri, Equicola is said to have learned Occitan at the French court, and that Antonio Giganti had at some point a French teacher of Occitan, thereby hinting perhaps at a 'submerged' oral tradition whose existence cannot regrettably be proven.

Barbieri would later serve, and resided at the court of France for some time in 1539 (Gherardo 1544: fol. 85v; Grohovaz 1993: 519–20).⁹

2. The *Rime sposte*

Barbieri's son says that his father stayed in Paris for a time of 'circa VIII. anni' (Barbieri 1843: xii), reduced to 'sei o sette anni' by Folena (DBI). His return is thus to be dated to 1544–46.¹⁰ After this time, he returned to Modena, and, at some point, began working on Occitan poetry together with Castelvetro, whom he might have met through Claudio Rangoni (Folena DBI). According to Lodovico Castelvetro Jr. (1786: 63–64), Barbieri also used to attend the lectures that Castelvetro gave on the classics and on 'diversi libri' in an informal 'accademia' that he established since the 1530s. Lodovico Barbieri informs us that Castelvetro in turn learned Occitan from him ('la quale [*scil.* lingua provenzale] ritornato a casa insegnò [*scil.* Barbieri] a vari suoi amici [...] e tra tutti gli altri assai si diletto di ben intenderla Ludovico Castelvetro' (Barbieri 1843: xiii). Early traces of Castelvetro's interest for Occitan can be found in his commentary on Petrarch, known with the title of its posthumous edition (1582) as the *Rime del Petrarca brevemente sposte per Lodovico Castelvetro*. Giving an exact date to the content of the commentary is impossible, since it is a collection of notes which Castelvetro likely accumulated over a long time and either meant as an early draft of a written commentary or as a support to his teaching. The version that we know of the commentary was published posthumously by Giacomo di Giovan Maria Castelvetro in 1582 in a three-volume edition of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* and *Triumpho* whose base text was the 1514 Aldine

⁹ One potential proof of a contact with Camillo could be the fact that the two scholars share the same peculiar citational system (Bologna 1987: 91; and see the edition of the *Arte* in the Appendix). However, this same system is also found in marginalia and printed books unrelated to Camillo (Careri 1989: 175). At any rate, if Bologna (1987) is correct in theorising that this system was Camillo's invention, then it would be proof of some form of contact; otherwise, it could still hint at a common background.

¹⁰ I believe that the reason why 1545 is so often indicated as the exact year of Barbieri's return is the date that Muratori attributed to the Petrarchan commentary, but, as I will point out later, that date cannot be accepted for the content of the commentary.

(Muratori 1727: 69; Raimondi 1965: 74–75).¹¹ This commentary on Petrarch cannot coincide with the one that Lodovico Jr. says was written in the 1530s, nor can it be dated to 1545, as the eighteenth-century scholar Ludovico Antonio Muratori argued (1727: 69).¹² Indeed, some of the notes—including the ones mentioning Barbieri and those that openly refer to the *Giunta alle Prose* which Castelvetro wrote later—can only be dated to a later time, possibly not before the 1560s (Raimondi 1965: 76–81). Probably, Castelvetro will have written a first version of this commentary in the 1530s, and expanded upon it over the years (Raimondi 1965: 75; Ghirlanda 2007: 133).¹³

The scarcity and simplicity of the references to Occitan found within this commentary led Ezio Raimondi to express his disappointment in comparison with the ‘pagine ghiotte e pungenti’ that one would expect from Castelvetro (Raimondi 1965: 104–5). While it is true that these references are not as rich as one would hope, examining them in detail will be useful given the objectives of this thesis.¹⁴ We will here discuss the three parts of the commentary separately, given that the references to Occitan poetry and language are more frequent and more detailed in the first book compared to the other two.

The most striking characteristic of the few references to Occitan poetry found in the first book is a particular preference for Gaucelm Faidit, cited explicitly in three instances:

DOLCE MIA GUERRERA.) Che muove guerra. Bellatrix, adversaria. I provenzali usano guerrero per nemico. Ganselmo Faidit, nella canzone *Canto, & diporto. Quando l'hebbe essaltato da suoi guerreri piggiori* (I, 39 [Rvf 21])

PUR LI MEDESIMO.) Nota nuova cosa, che non si dice ne Qui, ne Ivi medesimo, ne cosa tale. Ne è notata dal Bembo. i Provenzali dicono, *a qui eis* Vedi la canzone di Gausel Faidit (I, 256 [Rvf 129])

¹¹ This Giacomo was the son of Giovanni Maria and the cousin of the more famous Giacomo di Niccolò, see Trovato (1999: 254–55). Among the exemplars of the 1582 edition of the commentary I have used, is the one that belonged to Paget Toynbee (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Toynbee 284), which has been annotated by a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Italian reader who appears especially concerned with finding proof of Castelvetro’s religious orthodoxy.

¹² Muratori claimed to have seen the manuscript that the 1582 edition is based on, and that it was dated ‘MDXLV. il di 8. d’ottobre nella Staggia’. Either Muratori saw an earlier version of the same commentary, or Castelvetro added new notes to the manuscript after writing the date.

¹³ Further proof of a much later origin for parts of the Petrarchan commentary can be found in Castelvetro 1992, especially at pp. 140–47.

¹⁴ Some of the notes I am going to analyse have already been studied by Pulsoni 2010 (129–31), who however only focused on *Rvf* 70 and *Triumph* IV.

Chi troppo il crede [...] nota Credere col quarto caso significare Honorare, & Riputare. Anzi pure credere. & è uso provenzale. Gausel Faidit, | Lo rosignioletto selvaggio. | Ne falso lusinghier non creda di me. (I, 443 [Rvf 264])

The poems cited here are, respectively, ‘Chant e deport, joi, dompnei e solatz’ (BEdT 167,15, l. 50), ‘Mon cor e mi e mas bonas chanssos’ (BEdT 167,37, l. 46), and ‘Lo rossignolet salvatge’ (BEdT 167,34, l. 43; cf. Gaucelm Faidit 1965). It is surprising to find such an attention to a poet absent from the Dantean canon and only mentioned allusively in Petrarch’s *Triumphs* (TC IV, 55: ‘Amerigo; Bernardo; Ugo, & Anselmo’, in the Aldine used in the 1582 edition of the commentary). A couple of other references to Occitan linguistic usage within this commentary are likely to have been inspired by reading Gaucelm Faidit:

LUNGA STAGION.) Per lungo tempo, modo di dire usato da Provenzali. (I, 52 [Rvf 23])

ET FE' GRAN SENNO. Modo di parlare usato, tutto preso¹⁵ da Provenzali, Far senno, & Far non senno, in vece di Far buona opera, & Far non buona opera (I, 414 [Rvf 243])

As for the first example, ‘longa sazo(n)’ is found six times in the COM, making it a relatively rare but attested expression.¹⁶ Among its occurrences is also a poem by Gaucelm, BEdT 167,39 (‘Mout a poignat amors en mi delir’).

With regard to the second one, ‘faire sen’, though attested, is actually far from a common expression in troubadour poetry, and ‘faire nonsen’ even less so. Notably, among the three instances of the negative form registered in the COM, one is a *partimen* in which Gaucelm Faidit competed with Savaric de Mauleon and Uc de la Bacalaria, ‘Gaucelm, tres jocs enamoratz’ (BEdT 167,26=432,2=449,1a), where we find the lines ‘e qui.l tener de la man pren | per major amor fai nonsen’ (48–49, Gaucelm Faidit 1965: 427), and the other is a *cobla* by Gaucelm himself (BEdT 167,3a) only found on *D^a*, whose fifth line reads ‘No(n) qar parlet d(e) gruiassa fez no sen’ (fol. 210v).

These signs of an attentive reading of Gaucelm Faidit are, as already mentioned, surprising. It might be that Castelvetro and Barbieri were investigating the possibility of identifying Gaucelm, as

¹⁵ The text actually reads ‘tutto pieno’, which seemed out of place to Ludovico Antonio Muratori, who, when he edited the commentary in 1756, amended to ‘preso’ (Castelvetro 1756: I, 508), which I accept here.

¹⁶ It is probably coincidental, but still worth noting, that in copying *N2*, Giulio Camillo, for unknown reasons, breaks the *razo* of BEdT 242,36 (Giraut de Bornell, ‘Ges aissi del tot no.m lais’) into two parts. The first is at fol. 20r and the second at 22v, with the second section beginning precisely with the expression ‘Longa Sason’ (Barsotti 2022: 42).

modern scholars do—and as Giulio Camillo probably did (Barsotti 2022: 44)—with the Anselmo of the *Triumphs*, and therefore focused on his production. And yet, when the reader gets to the third section of the *Rime sposte*, which contains the *Triumphs*, Castelvetro leaves that name unexplained, and so this hypothesis must be treated with some caution.

There are more occurrences of Occitan not necessarily connected with Gaucelm:

CHI TUA RAGION.) Ragione per continenza, o argome(n)to alla provenzale (I, 219 [Rvf 119])

The word ‘razo’ is occasionally used in that meaning within poems, and one of the occurrences is at the beginning of a poem by Gaucelm Faidit, 167,18: ‘De faire chonso | ai estat gran sazo, | per atendre razo’ (Gaucelm Faidit 1965: 510; cf. Poe 2000: 39).¹⁷

One has then to wonder what source Castelvetro was using for these references. In the case of the three explicit quotations, the poems quoted are, as we mentioned, 167,15, 167,37, and 167,34. All three enjoyed large manuscript transmission. Among the manuscripts containing all three (*CDIKMNQRUVa*, plus *N2* only containing the *incipits*, see BEdT), the chief suspect would be *D*, which Bembo might have lent to the Este earlier in the century, and which the Este probably bought at his death (Spetia 1997: 57)—although as we will point out in Chapter Six, Barbieri had seen *M* by the time when he wrote the *Arte* in the 1570s.¹⁸ If we then add the poems Castelvetro might be alluding to (BEdT 167,18, 167,26 and/or 167,3a, and 167,39), we again find all in *D* (and in *N2* as *incipits*). I am therefore inclined to think that Castelvetro is using *D* here, although obviously he might be using more than one manuscript.¹⁹ It is unlikely that he had *K* at this time, as the incipit of BEdT 233,4 cited within *Rvf* 70 does not demonstrate knowledge of the poem on Castelvetro’s part:

¹⁷ Jacques Teissier de Tarascon, the scribe who made *a* in 1588–89, also occasionally refers to *vidas* as ‘argumenti’ (see Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 82).

¹⁸ On the basis of the *Arte*, Castelvetro 1999 (147) and Castelvetro 2004 (xii) include *M* among the manuscripts known to Castelvetro.

¹⁹ There is perhaps one detail that leads us in that direction, albeit not in a conclusive manner, and this is the fact that the quotation from 167,15 is the fiftieth line of the modern edition of the poem, where it appears as ‘qan l’ac estort de sos guerriers pejors’. Castelvetro translates this as ‘Quando l’hebbe essaltato da suoi guerrieri piggiori’. Castelvetro interestingly employs the past participle ‘essaltato’, presumably used in the meaning of ‘salvare, liberare’ (GDLI *s.v.* ‘esaltare’, V, 284; also see TLIO *s.v.* ‘esaltare’), a meaning that was still in use in Cinquecento Italy, albeit rarely (see *Biblioteca italiana* and GDLI). ‘Estort’, the reading adopted by the critical

DREZ ET RAISON ES QUI EU CIANT EMDEMORI.) Questo è il principio d'una canzone d'Arnaldo Daniello, secondo che afferma il Bembo, & viene a dire, *Dritto & ragione è, che io canti, & mi trastulli* (I, 137 [Rvf 70])

The attribution of the poem to Arnaut Daniel, unconfirmed by the two manuscripts containing the poem, has a long history, and was accepted by Camillo too (Pulsoni 2010: 131).²⁰ Castelvetro's interpretation instead is—at least in that exact wording—original, and might have been influenced by Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo, whose commentary, first printed in 1533 and with multiple subsequent reprints, reported a translation of the line as 'dritto e ragion è ch'io cantando dimori', attributing this interpretation—probably wrongly—to Pietro Summonte (Debenedetti 1995: 114; PERI).²¹ The poem is only carried by *C* and *K*, and thus Castelvetro is extremely unlikely to have had access to the original text. Bembo's *Prose* might also be behind the two references that Castelvetro makes to the Occitan origin of *coblas unissonans* (I, 67 [Rvf 29]; I, 352 [Rvf 206]). In theory, Castelvetro could have read Bembo's source, the *De vulgari eloquentia*, in its 1529 translation by Giovanni Giorgio Trissino. Although Castelvetro never mentions the *De vulgari* within his production, we know for certain that Barbieri knew it, and possibly from a quite early date (Trovato 1986: 424; Pulsoni 1997: 648–49).²²

edition, is only found in MSS *I* ('estort') and *K* ('estors'), while the majority of the manuscripts (*GNUCND^aS*), all report some form of 'guerit' (Gaucelm Faidit 1965: 448). Considering the rarity of 'essaltare' in that meaning, it would have been more reasonable for Castelvetro to adopt a synonym, such as 'salvato'. Castelvetro might then have chosen it in an attempt to stay closer to the reading of the manuscript that he had. It is possible that he identified EXTOLLERE as *estors*'s etymology, which would fit his claim in the *Giunte alle 'Prose'* according to which the Occitan *arma* derives from the Latin ANIMA, 'mutato N in L, & poi mutato L in R' (italics mine), suggesting that he believed a mutation from 'l' to 'r' to be possible in Occitan phonetics (see also the explanation of *fis* as derived from *fiers* in the lost MS Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, B3467 4, edited in De Bartholomaeis 1927: 127–36). MS *K*, which had belonged to Bembo (see Chapter Two) and could therefore have been in Castelvetro and Barbieri's hands at some point, would be the most likely candidate of the two. It should also be noted that Domenico Venier, who provided Barbieri and Castelvetro with a copy of the *Donatz*, knew *K* (Debenedetti 1995: 265). Pakscher 1886 (238) was sure that Barbieri knew *K* and promised to discuss this in detail in a work which he never wrote, while Debenedetti (1995: 271) denies this. Considering that other clues suggest that Castelvetro and Barbieri did not know *K*, it might be that they had an indirect knowledge of *K*, possibly through Venier. We cannot obviously fully rule out the possibility that Castelvetro saw another, now lost, manuscript, with a similar reading as *IK*. Unfortunately, we cannot go beyond these conjectures.

²⁰ For the attribution to Arnaut Daniel and Bembo's opinion, see Chapter Two.

²¹ According to Pulsoni (2010: 131), Castelvetro attributes this translation to Bembo. I do not think that Castelvetro's wording justifies this, also considering how in the anecdote *Come Pietro Bembo voleva* etc. he depicts Bembo as absolutely unwilling to share his interpretation of this line.

²² Some of Barbieri's notes were copied on another exemplar (Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Capponi III.75), which according to Careri (1996: 280) was written by Lodovico Castelvetro. This possibility, considered 'ragionevole' by Pulsoni (1997: 647), was however not accepted by ALI.

The second section of Castelvetro's Petrarch commentary has fewer references to Occitan and mostly repeats what is in the first. There is however a notable reference to 'ben per un cento' as an Occitan expression with the claim that 'gli essempli sono ne' poeti tutto pieno' (II, 42), which suggests a broad reading of Occitan poetry. Interestingly, the relatively common expression 'per un cen' can also be found in two poems by Gaucelm Faidit, 167,32 and 167,35, both of which are in *D*.

The third section, that on the *Triumphs*, has surprisingly few references. However, when at the opening of the list of troubadours Petrarch says 'fra tutti il primo Arnaldo Daniello, | gran maestro d'amor, ch'a la sua terra | ancor fa onor col suo dir strano e bello' (lines 41–42), Castelvetro provides a justification for his succinctness:

IL PRIMO ARNALDO DANIELLO.) D'Arnaldo Daniello, & degli altri, parleremo distesamente con l'aiuto di M. Gio. Barbiero

[...]

COL SUO DIR NOVO.) Che Dante disse, *Parlar materno*. Quasi sia maraviglia che con la lingua materna faccia honore alla sua terra, con ciò sia cosa che, nel Triumpho della fama presupponga il P. che fama non possa essere, se non per lingua greca et latina durevole. Et per questo disse, *anchor*, quasi non sia per durare. Ma durerà se M. Gio. Maria mio durerà la fatica impresa intorno a questi poeti provenzali (III, 232).

After these references to an ongoing project, Castelvetro has very little to add on the troubadours, leaving most of the names unexplained. The explanations provided are likewise unremarkable, possibly having remained unedited from an earlier version. When explaining Arnaut Daniel's title of 'gran maestro d'amor' (l. 41), he only excludes that Arnaut ever wrote an *ars amandi*, which might suggest some familiarity with his work, but the only 'biographical' piece of information he proffers about him comes from Dante's *Purgatorio* 26: 'No(n) come Ovid. – ego sum praeceptor amoris Che egli, che io mi sappia, non insegnò d'amare. ma di, Gran maestro d'amor, cio è di comporre d'amore. & pon mente, che Dante il fa purgare come sodomita' (III, 232). The explanations given for the other troubadours of the *Trionfo* equally seem to point towards no direct knowledge of the texts.

Perhaps the discussion of Jaufrè Rudel who 'usò la vela e 'l remo | a cercar sua morte' is slightly more interesting: 'Anchora che fosse historia, nondimeno è detto proverbialmente' (218). The reference to the fact that Jaufrè's legend is 'historia' might imply a knowledge of Jaufrè's *vida*

contained in *K* and possibly in the *Libro di Michele* (cf. *BC* fol. 8r [Appendix], and see Chapter Six). However, here too we should exercise circumspection, since the legend made its way into multiple works printed in the 1500s, beginning with Vellutello's Petrarchan commentary and Equicola's *De natura de amore* (both published in 1525), which influenced Agostino Nifo's *De amore* (1529), Giuseppe Betussi's *Raverta* (1544), and Girolamo Muzio's letters (1551; Bec 2009). Thus, there is no need to postulate first-hand knowledge of the *vida* (Debenedetti 1995: 49–50).

On the linguistic side, the references found in the *Triumphs* are similarly scarce and vague. About 'questa mia cara', Castelvetro says that 'credo senta del provenzale' (200), although it is unclear to what Occitan expression he refers, and he himself seems uncertain of it. His explanation of 'ch'amor si leve [afferra]' as a Provençalism is more solid ('per levemente, alla Provenzale', cf. Occitan *leu*), as is the Occitan origin of *Lunga stagion*, repeated here (this time without quoting Gaucelm) at III, 232. Significantly, in discussing the characters that *di fole empion le carte*, Castelvetro then mistakenly identifies Arthur, Lancelot and Guinevere, whose stories reached Italy mainly through Old French narratives, as 'favole de' Provenzali' (232). All of this, and especially this last reference, might hint towards an earlier date for these claims compared with those in the *Rvf* commentary.²³

In general, due to the unfinished state of the commentary, and the fact that we have no way of dating most notes, it is difficult to draw from it conclusions for what regards Castelvetro's knowledge of the language and literature at any point in time. All the same, one can say that a good number of these observations are at least partially correct, and the special attention that is paid to Gaucelm Faidit might possibly be a vestige of the edition that Castelvetro and Barbieri attempted to produce in the 1550s. At the same time, we should note that the scarcity of references to the troubadours in the *Triumphs* seems to be a leftover from an earlier form of the commentary or might reflect contingent conditions of writing. The situation is made even more problematic by the fact that in the *Giunte*

²³ Raimondi (1965: 80) mentions this lack of an update specifically as proof of the accumulation of notes from different times within the *Rime sposte*.

Castelvetro almost entirely denies the possibility of an influence of the troubadours over Tuscan poetry, possibly suggesting that these notes were written at a different time.²⁴

Two more Occitan notes

For the sake of completeness, we will here also mention two short notes found among the autograph material, pertaining to different points in time and often undatable, of the ‘zibaldone estense’ MS Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.S.5.1 (It. 284) (see ALI). At fols. 97v–98r, Castelvetro discusses the fact that all mentions of nightingales in *Rvf* are associated with mirth and love, rather than sadness as in the Latin tradition. The explanation for this difference from the classics is simple: ‘il P. non seguì i latini, ma i provenzali poeti, li quali per cosa di diletto prendono il canto del lusignuolo’, clearly referencing the many *Natureingänge* featuring nightingales found in troubadour poetry, especially among the earliest poets.²⁵ This constitutes one of the very few cases in which Castelvetro explicitly accepts an influence of Occitan poetry over Tuscan literature.

Another such note (fol. 97v) implies an attentive reading of ‘Lo ferm voler’. In this note, Castelvetro discusses an opinion that he recognises as first expressed by Claudio Tolomei and then plagiarised by a ‘Giovan Battista Castiglione fiorentino’ and Lodovico Dolce. According to this view, line 12 in Petrarch’s sestina ‘Giovene donna sotto un verde lauro’ cannot be ‘sì ch’alla morte in un punto s’arriva’ and must be amended to ‘in un punto s’ha riva’ (‘s’è a riva’ in Dolce’s version) in order to keep the rhyme-word ‘riva’ intact. Castelvetro objects that there is no problem whatsoever with ‘arriva’, ‘concio sia cosa che Arnaldo Daniello che fu secondo che [si] stima il primo ritrovatore della sestina di cui se ne truova una sola a nostri di facesse simile cosa’. Castelvetro is correct in

²⁴ In the *Considerazioni sopra le rime del Petrarca* by Alessandro Tassoni (1609) many of the Provençalisms pointed out by Castelvetro are repeated: ‘per un cento’, ‘trar guai’, ‘guerrera’ (see the transcription in Vincenti 1963: xxxvi). These might have come to Tassoni either from the reading of Castelvetro’s commentary, or from some notes, by Castelvetro himself or by Giovanni Maria Barbieri, that Tassoni could have seen when Giovanni Maria’s son Lodovico made Barbieri’s manuscripts available to him.

²⁵ Nightingales are widely present in troubadour poetry. Their presence is discussed in detail by Pfeffer (1985: 73–144, especially 86–87 for the nightingale as a symbol of happiness vs the poet). Moreover, it will be useful to mention that in Gaucelm Faidit the nightingale is often associated with the idea of rejoicing, being joyful, and courting (Pfeffer 1985: 97).

claiming that the first line of the sixth stanza of this poem reads ‘c’aissi s’empren e s’enongla’, inserting the rhyme-word ‘ongla’ within the verb ‘en-ongla’. This note must necessarily have been written after the first publication of Dolce’s *Petrarca coretto* in 1548–49. While the metrical observation can only derive from a direct reading of the sestina, the rest of the passage clearly relies on the *Prose*, as the word ‘ritrovatore’ demonstrates (cf. the passage quoted here with *Prose* I, 9: ‘sestine, delle quali mostra che fosse il *ritrovatore* Arnaldo Daniello, che una ne fé, senza più’—italics are mine). The same point about the use of ‘s’arriva’ in the sestina was made by Castelvetro in his Petrarchan commentary (I, 74), although there no reference is made to Arnaut Daniel. Ghirlanda (2007: 122) calls the version included in the *Rime sposte* ‘depurata di qualsiasi riferimento alle circostanze e agli attori di quella polemica’, but the lack of references to Arnaut in the *Rime sposte* might suggest that the handwritten note is actually more recent than the one in the commentary.

3. Rise and fall of an edition (1551–57)

We have already mentioned Castelvetro’s reference, within his Petrarchan commentary, to an in-depth planned work on the troubadours in which ‘Giovanni Maria mio’ was probably doing most of the ‘fatica’. Starting from that note, we will here attempt to reconstruct the nature of this work and the traces it left, and then examine the reasons for its being abandoned.

Trovato (1999: 274) claims that the note in the *Rime sposte* cannot be older than the early 1550s, since we know for sure that at the beginning of that decade Barbieri and Castelvetro were working on an edition of troubadour poetry. I believe the argument does not hold fully. While we know that, in 1551–52, the two were undeniably working on the edition, we have no documentation that tells us precisely when this work began, so that, in theory, the note could be dated to any time between Barbieri’s return from France in 1544–46 and 1557, when the project is recognised as suspended by one of its key supporters, Lodovico Beccadelli. However, Pulsoni (2010: 132) correctly argues that, since we know that by December 1551 the edition was already under way, it is perhaps

more likely for the note to have been written between Barbieri's return and the end of the decade, when the work had recently started.

To choose between the two chronological extremes is, however, not without its implications. It would be problematic to assign the note to before Bembo's death (1547), insofar as it is difficult to believe that he would delegate the editorial work on the troubadours to anyone, let alone someone with whom he does not appear to have had any direct contact,²⁶ and who did not have much respect for him.²⁷ On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that Castelvetro and Barbieri were already planning an edition before Bembo's death, or even that the 'parleremo distesamente' refers not to an edition but to a more 'discursive' kind of work, possibly akin to what would later be the *Arte del rimare*. These two last possibilities require us to accept that *D* was already in the Este library while Bembo was alive, or that the two scholars were in possession of other manuscript sources not connected to Bembo.

This early dislike for Bembo on Castelvetro's part is attested to by an anecdote which was probably circulated in manuscript form by Castelvetro, and the only extant witness of which is the aforementioned 'zibaldone estense' (fols. 75v–76r). The text would later be re-used with minor changes in the *Correttione d'alcune cose del 'Dialogo delle lingue' di Benedetto Varchi*.

Come Pietro Bembo voleva dare ad intendere di sapere et d'havere quello che non sapeva et che non haveva

²⁶ The DBI entry for Antonio Anselmi (Quattrucci) uses an ambiguous wording which seems to suggest that the author believes that Bembo was alive when the edition was entrusted to Castelvetro. Elizabeth Poe (2000: 261) similarly says that Bembo let the manuscript out 'perhaps with some reluctance'. In truth, the only possible reference to a direct contact between the two scholars is in the 1714 *Giunte*, where Castelvetro claims that he informed Bembo that the *Historia destructionis Troiae* was originally in Latin and not in the vernacular: 'primachè morisse, di molti anni con discreta maniera gli feci Io intendere l'errore, che in ciò prendeva' (I, 148). Such an exchange—if true—could however have happened through the mediation of a common acquaintance. Bembo did, however, revise his sonnet to Varchi in 1537 and 1542 on the basis of a *Parere* that Castelvetro had expressed, and—if Castelvetro is to be trusted—he expressed his approval for some poems written by Castelvetro without knowing the author's identity (Castelvetro 1999: 116–17; Petteruti Pellegrino 2007: 163), but again none of these comments necessarily implies direct contact.

²⁷ While it is sometimes said that Castelvetro slowly moved away from orthodox 'Bembism' through the 1550s, in a 1536 letter to Filippo Valentini he already accuses him of insufficient knowledge of the vernacular (Castelvetro 2015: 84–85), and an anecdote found in the *Giunte* (Castelvetro 1572: 174) testifies—if true—to his having very low estimation of Bembo's understanding of Romance literatures in 1540. Also note that Lazzaro Fenucci's dialogue *Ragionamenti* is necessarily set before 1551 (probably around 1549) and Castelvetro, who appears as a character, is shown as strongly critical of Bembo's thought (Roncaccia 2006: 60–81).

È commendato Pietro Bembo di cortesia et di candore d'animo cioè che non dicesse una cosa per un'altra per apparire, et forse non era tale.

Lodovico Castelvetro gli fece domandare per mezzana persona cara a lui che per cortesia non gli dovesse negare di dire se egli credeva che il verso provenzale che è nella canzone del Petrarca *Lasso me, ch'io non so in qual parte pieghi*, “Drez et raison es qui eu ciant e m demori”,²⁸ fosse principio d'una canzone d'Arnaldo Daniello, et appresso se lo 'ntendeva, di sponergliele, et ultimamente se egli haveva quella canzone, di permettere che ne potesse trarre uno essemplio. A cui egli rispose, che non credeva che quel verso fosse principio di canzone d'Arnaldo Daniello, ma lo sapeva certo havendo l'essemplio della canzone appo se in un volume di canzoni provenzali, della quale non voleva permettere che sene trahesse essemplio si come non voleva sporre il verso allhora dovendo egli in breve pubblicare quella canzone con tutte le altre provenzali accompagnate da certe sue spositioni, dalle quali esso Lodovico potrebbe imparare quello che volesse dir quel verso et gli altri si come anchora per la publicatione havrebbe l'essemplio di quella canzone et dell'altre. Hora il Castelvetro fece di nuovo dire al Bembo che egli sapeva certo che esso Bembo non sapeva che quel verso fosse più d'una canzone d'Arnaldo Daniello, che d'una d'un altro poeta, et appresso che non intendeva quel verso, et ultimamente che non haveva l'essemplio di quella canzone, non che fosse per publicarla con l'altre provenzali accompagnate da spositione niuna. Et accio dire diceva il Castelvetro d'essere indotto per forza conoscendo che esso Bembo non havrebbe negato ne la spositione di quel verso se l'havesse saputa, ne l'essemplio di quella canzone se l'havesse havuta esso non meno vago d'apparere di sapere et spialmente delle cose del Petrarca che d'essere tenuto cortese.²⁹

This tale is confusing not only for the unjustified aggressivity of Castelvetro's answer, but also for the fact that, as already noticed by Debenedetti (1995: 141–42), it is suspiciously similar to a letter included in Bembo's letters published in 1548 in which the cardinal gives a very similar answer to Antonio Tebaldeo who had asked him for a *vida* (see Chapter Two). Castelvetro should, however, be granted the benefit of the doubt, since it would have made sense for Bembo to give the same answer to two different people asking for two things that were going to be contained in his edition. We should nevertheless mention that our suspicion of Castelvetro's dishonesty is perhaps supported by the finding by Matteo Motolese (2000: 542) of an autograph transcription of that very letter in one of the paper guards of an exemplar of the 1548 edition of the *Prose* that Castelvetro annotated between 1549 and 1559 in preparation for the *Giunte*. This is proof that Castelvetro knew that letter and possibly planned to use it against Bembo.³⁰

The anecdote also features an epilogue in which Castelvetro claims to have had 'posthumous' proof of Bembo's mystification:

²⁸ It is difficult to tell whether Castelvetro wrote 'demori' or 'dimori', although the first reading is perhaps more likely.

²⁹ Carlo Pulsoni (1993: 296) connects Bembo's refusal to elaborate on the authorship of the poem with the fact that his source for this claim was not a chansonnier, but the Petrarchan MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laurenziano Strozzi 176.

³⁰ According to Grohovaz (Castelvetro 1999: 12), who believes in the authenticity of the anecdote, this slight might have been at the root of Castelvetro's distancing from Bembo's theory. This does not, however, fit with the chronology (the exchange must necessarily have happened before Bembo's death in 1547, while Castelvetro's most Bemboist work, the *Ragione*, was written in the 1550s).

Hora poiche fu morto si trovò la cosa star così, e per le lettere sue che furono stampate dopo la morte sua, percioche scrivendo a Federico Fregoso confessa di non haver ne mai haver veduta quella canzone, e per gli libri provenzali trovati appo lui, che pervennero tutti in mano del Castelvetro, ne quali non era questa canzone. Hora quel verso non ha molto dello stile d'Arnaldo Daniello. Anzi è composto di due mezzi versi cioè di

Drez et raison es et di

Qui eu ciant e m demor Li quali due mezzi versi si truovano spesso nelle canzoni provenzali, et significa, em demori, nella qual voce consiste la difficoltà, et mi demori, cioè Et mi riposi et tranquilli, nel qual significato anchora l'usarono le novelle antiche. *Or dimoraro e diceano molto bene di loro singniore*, cioè 'menavano vita lieta et tranquilla'.

In this second part, Castelvetro claims to know the printed edition of Bembo's letters, allowing us to date this text to *post* 1548, the year the first book of Bembo's letters (containing the letter to Fregoso) was first published, and reinforcing our suspicion that he wrote this anecdote thinking of the letter to Tebaldeo, first published in the 1552 edition of the letters (Edit 16). Interestingly, Castelvetro also claims to have been in possession of all of Bembo's Provençal manuscripts. As it is well known, Castelvetro and Barbieri were effectively in possession of some of Bembo's materials for a time. However, if Castelvetro really had access to each and every one of Bembo's Occitan manuscripts, he would have known that 'Dreg et razo' is found on MS *K*, although it is not attributed to Arnaut. From this, there follow three possibilities, all with some degree of conjecture: either Castelvetro never had *K* and was unaware of its existence, believing that he had all of Bembo's manuscripts; or he did see *K* but missed the presence of the poem, as perhaps Bembo himself did; or else, he received *K*, saw the poem, but was intentionally mendacious so as to discredit Bembo.³¹

Regardless of which of these options we accept, it is quite interesting to see Castelvetro challenge the authorship of the poem. Castelvetro's denial is based on allegedly stylistic reasons, but the lack of any discussion prevents us from understanding what he means by 'stile d'Arnaldo Daniello' and suggests that he may instead be using a pretext to attack Bembo, especially considering that the poem itself is a conscious imitation of Arnaut Daniel (Debenedetti 1995: 116).

³¹ In Chapter Six we will discuss the fact that Barbieri knew the *razo* 80.B.D, only found in MSS *FIK*, which could theoretically hint that Castelvetro could have seen *K*. However, as I will argue, the text has some differences from all three, which might imply a different source. It should also be noted that, when Tassoni used Barbieri's manuscripts in the first half of the seventeenth century, he was unable to find this poem (Debenedetti 1995: 399).

Castelvetro and Barbieri's Provençal edition: The collaborators

Regardless of whether the two Modenese scholars set out on their editorial effort independently or following in the footsteps of Bembo, they were provided with various Occitan materials, much of which came from Bembo's collection through his 'famigliare', Antonio Anselmi, who seems to have been to some extent the main promoter of the undertaking (Quattrucci DBI). Here, we will try to reconstruct, within the limits of the available material, the early history of this editorial project.

We know that the project was already underway in late 1551, when Castelvetro went to Florence, where he drew attention to the undertaking and discussed it with Benedetto Varchi. He also informed Varchi that this project involved Giammaria Barbieri, a young man with a very good command of the Occitan language. During this conversation, the two scholars agreed that Varchi would send MS *c*, which at the time was probably in his possession (see Chapter Five), to Modena, while Castelvetro and Barbieri would send him a translation of the *sestina*. This is demonstrated by a famous letter by Castelvetro dated 15 December 1551:

Vi mando non solamente la *sestina* et la *tralatatione* stretta et non *traviante* dalle orme, come si suol dire, del *tralatato*, di quel nostro giovane commendatovi da me per intendente del provenzale, sì come v'havea promesso di fare, ma una *tralatatione* mia anchora alquanto più larga et allontanantesi in tanto dai vestigi della stretta, che si può chiamare anzi che no *spositione*. Hora, quantunque esso, peroché non è meno modesto che intendente, deliberando messer Antonio Anselmo pure di publicare un volumetto di queste canzoni provenzali, le quali a sua istanzia ha *tralatate* nella guisa predetta, non addomandi gloria della sua fatica, né voglia per niun partito esser nominato, intenderebbe non di meno volentieri inanzi tratto qual sia il giudizio vostro, ciò è se pensate che le canzoni et le *tralationi* così fatte debbano essere gratiosamente ricevute et prezzate dagli amatori della lingua nostra o pure sprezzate e poco havute care. (Bramanti 2012: 280–81; also in Castelvetro 2015: 161–62)

We will only point out four key elements of this well-known letter: Varchi's request for the *sestina* along with its translation; the centrality of Barbieri within the project, who seems to be the sole translator of the text (this point corresponds to what Castelvetro seems to imply in the *Rime sposte*); the addition of a *spositione* by Castelvetro;³² and, ultimately, the involvement of Antonio

³² The distinction between 'tralatatione' and 'espositione' should be understood against the context of Castelvetro's theory of translation as expressed in his 1543 letter to Guasparro Calori titled 'Del traslatare', which advocated for the maintenance of both meaning and content when translating a text (Rossignoli 2013: 322; Castelvetro 2015: 161). Arnaut's *sestina* is characterised by a particular interplay between form and meaning (Beltrami 1996; Canettieri 1996a: 45–77), and Castelvetro might have felt that a literal translation was insufficient to convey this.

Anselmi.³³ The letter is also important in revealing that, before obtaining Bembo and Varchi's manuscripts, Castelvetro and Barbieri already had one Occitan manuscript which included the sestina. This description would once again fit perfectly with the aforementioned MS *D*. The letter also seems to also suggest that, at this point, the work on the troubadours (or at the very least on the sestina) was advanced enough for the two Modenese scholars to be already able to send part of it to a reviewer, and to be preoccupied by purely stylistic problems. Unfortunately, the text of the sestina with the two translations is now lost, and the one found in the *Marmi* appears to be, for the reasons we have explained in Chapter Two, Bembo's work (also see Pulsoni 1992).

On 1 February 1552, Castelvetro continued his hunt for sources, soliciting *c* again from Varchi on the very first day of the month (Bramanti 2012: 283; Castelvetro 2015: 181), and travelling to Venice, where he met Lodovico Beccadelli, apostolic nuncio to that city. Beccadelli, an appreciator of Petrarch (Alberigo DBI, Debenedetti 1995: 26–27),³⁴ must have been enthusiastic to share some Occitan materials, namely, two books that were in his possession, some of the manuscripts that had belonged to Bembo (ones which had been lent to Beccadelli by Torquato Bembo), and in all likelihood a copy of the *Donatz proensals* that the Petrarchist poet Domenico Venier provided, possibly with the explicit request to translate it (Gresti 2019: 327–29).³⁵ Although Venier's copy of the *Donatz* was probably returned to its owner in 1558, the inventory of Castelvetro's books of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Frasso 1991) notes the presence of another copy of the *Donatz*, perhaps accompanied by the *Razos de trobar* ('poetica'), which had belonged to Federigo Fregoso (see below).

Among Bembo's manuscripts was certainly MS *H*, which is used in Castelvetro's *Giunte* and also carries Barbieri's handwriting (Careri 1990: 51). Paolo Gresti's recent work (2019) allows us to

³³ It is tempting to interpret the word 'pure' in Castelvetro's letter as a hint to a separate edition carried out by Anselmi with Barbieri's translations, but nothing else seems to support this possibility.

³⁴ The *Vita di Mons. Lodovico Beccadelli* written by Antonio Giganti lists Giulio Camillo Delminio and Federigo Fregoso among Beccadelli's 'precessori': both of them might have influenced the cardinal's interest for troubadour poetry, who later even wrote a 'Spiegazione d'alcuni vocaboli provenzali' (*Monumenti* 1797: 63, 75)

³⁵ The aforementioned discussion of 's' arriva' in Petrarch's sestina found in the zibaldone estense, fol.97v, is presented as the report of a discussion that happened in Venice in the presence of Venier, which—if true—is likely to have taken place during this sojourn. Venier is known to have had an interest for medieval Romance lyric poetry (see Bianco 2008).

add that, amongst the two books given by Beccadelli,³⁶ one is likely to have been the *libretto* mentioned in Antonfrancesco Doni's *Marmi*, which contained the edition of Arnaut's sestina prepared by Bembo (Chapter Two). The other book has not been identified, but it should be noted that an inventory of the books owned by the Castelvetro family before 1577 features 'una vacchetta di versi provenzali a penna'—although that same inventory clearly shows uncertainty about what 'provenzale' means. In addition to this, we should note that Jacopo Corbinelli saw among the items Castelvetro left in Lyon a 'bellissimo e singular libro di rime provenzali', which would suggest that he owned at least two other manuscripts (Debenedetti 1995: 267; Frasso 1991: 472).

In March 1552, manuscript *c* reaches Castelvetro, although he comments that both he and Barbieri were already in possession of all the poems there contained: 'pure pensiamo di guadagnare assai per la diversa lettura, ché in lingua tanto lontana dall'uso presente, fa di mestiero di varii testi' (Bramanti 2012: 283–84; Castelvetro 2015: 182).³⁷ This was probably the last item to enter their collection.

Castelvetro and Barbieri's Provençal edition: Traces

We do not know for how long Barbieri and Castelvetro worked at the edition. If Castelvetro Jr. (1786: 75) is to be believed, a good amount of material was produced during this time:

In compagnia del quale [*scil.* Barbieri] tradusse molte canzoni d'Arnaldo Daniele, e di molt'altri Poeti Provenzali, & havevano trovata una grammatica di questa Lingua, e l'havevano trasportata in Lingua Italiana con molte altre cose degne d'essere vedute per utilità di coloro, che si dilettono della lingua volgare

³⁶ Years later, in 1565 or 1566, Beccadelli would obtain another Occitan manuscript, when, while in Florence, he had his secretary copy *F*, which at the time belonged to Giambattista Adriani Marcellino, creating *F^b*. *F^b*'s index informs us that it originally also contained a 'Trattato sopra la lingua provenzale', probably the *Donatz*, which was separated from the rest of the MS before 1797 (*Monumenti* 1797: II, 235–36; Debenedetti 1995: 261; also see Gresti 2019: 332–33 for confirmation of the date of the copy against some twentieth-century scholarship). This *Trattato* is perhaps the antigraph of the copy of the *Donatz* in its original language contained within D 465 Inf., which is, in all likelihood, a copy of the *Donatz* known to Castelvetro and Barbieri (Gresti 2019: 334).

³⁷ I do not think Castelvetro's words have to be taken at face value, since the manuscript actually contains a few *unica*, among which are Dante da Maiano's two Occitan poems (BEdT). However, the fact that these two poems are separated from the rest of the manuscript by 47 empty and unnumbered folios might have led them to be overlooked, at least at the time of Barbieri and Castelvetro's first reading.

Unfortunately, only a precious but small vestige of this work survives. We know that Barbieri and Castelvetro indeed sent Venier a copy of their translation of the *Donatz*, as confirmed by a note on a later miscellaneous codex (MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 465 Inf.) made up of materials that belonged to Gianvincenzo Pinelli. At fol. 70r of this manuscript, Pinelli notes that Domenico Venier ‘ha un ditt[ionari]o latino provenzale et e contra, item *le regole della detta lingua*, le quali già comunicò a messer Corn.o [sic] Barbiero segretario di Modona, per stamparle con gl’autori’ (italics mine; Gresti 2019: 332).³⁸ Lodovico Barbieri says, in the biography of his father, that Pinelli showed him the autograph of this translation, which he had acquired from Venier himself (Barbieri 1843: xvi; Gresti 2019: 329). Unlike Varchi’s grammar, unfortunately, the autograph manuscript of this translation is lost.

MS D 465 Inf. however contains two Italian translations of the *Donatz*, at fols. 245–57 (*d1*) and 326–35 (*d2*), and there are reasons to believe that *d2*, the more accurate and elegant of the two, is precisely a copy of Barbieri and Castelvetro’s translation (Tiraboschi 1781–86: VI, 166; Gresti 2004: 223; 2016a: 206–7).³⁹ I will here refrain from examining this translation in detail, both because its authorship is not incontrovertibly proven, and because Gresti’s multiple studies on these translations (2004, 2014, 2016, 2016a, 2019) have sufficiently analysed the text. I will, however, point out that the *d1* translation occasionally calls the plural ‘numero del più’, while the other one (*d2*, which is more likely to be Barbieri and Castelvetro’s work) consistently uses ‘plurale’, a form which Castelvetro seems to prefer.

Lodovico Barbieri also claims to have ‘di certo inteso a dire’ that while working on the edition, the two scholars also made an Occitan-Italian dictionary, about which he asked Pinelli, but which the scholar did not have (Barbieri 1843: xiii–xiv).⁴⁰ Pinelli himself is the writer of the only other trace of this dictionary’s existence, on the same D 465 Inf: ‘Il Giganti ha: in lingua provenz.

³⁸ Further proof is in the fact that after Pinelli sent Alvise Mocenigo’s copy of the grammar and of its translation to Fulvio Orsini in 1583, Orsini replied by asking for information about ‘un tale, Barbiero cognominato’ (Gresti 2014: 87; 2019: 324–25).

³⁹ The author of the translation testified by *d2* knew *d1* but was probably a different person, see Gresti 2016.

⁴⁰ This, of course, begs the question whether it is the same as the ‘dittionario latino provenzale’ that Pinelli knew Venier had, or whether it is something different, perhaps inspired or influenced by Venier.

gramm.ca, ditionario di ... modanese', the absence of the name being a plausible indicator that the omitted name is that of Castelvetro (Gresti 2019: 332).

Other traces of this work can be found on the chansonniers used by Barbieri and Castelvetro. This is the case of the note by Barbieri 'Dreiz e raizon quieu chant em demori. | Dritto e ragonchio canti e mi soggiorni' at fol. 1r of *H*. Barbieri probably jotted down the incipit of the poem he and Castelvetro hoped to find, and which they certainly wanted to include in their edition. Regardless of whether we believe Castelvetro's anecdote on 'Razon e dreg' or not, this note shows that the two scholars did in effect search for the text when he came into possession of Bembo's manuscripts. *H* is indeed a particularly precious source for Arnaut Daniel, the troubadour to whom, as we have seen, Bembo attributed the poem (Careri 1989: 50–51). The other manuscript to bear a sign of the scholarly work is MS *c*, fol. 16r, where Barbieri fills two *lacunae* on Folquet de Marselha's 'Ja no.s cug hom qu'ieu camje mas chansos' (BEdT 155,11) left by the Quattrocento scribe. Here Barbieri adds the words 'qe mapoderera' and 'ire', both of which he is likely to have derived from MS *D*.⁴¹

The traces discussed here are the only ones that can be dated to a time in which the project of editing the troubadours was effectively under way, although it is reasonable to think that at least part of the *LibSic* and *LibAsc*, and perhaps of *b2*, as well as some other Occitan copies that Barbieri had in the 1570s (see Chapter Six), were produced around this time.

Castelvetro and Barbieri's Provençal edition: An Interrupted Effort

By 3 November 1557, the project had been put on hold if not given up altogether.⁴² The principal evidence here is a letter written by Lodovico Beccadelli to Lodovico Martelli on that day, requesting

⁴¹ I will discuss the finding in detail in Feriozzi 2023 (forthcoming). For now, suffice it to say that the other manuscript carrying this reading that could theoretically have been in Castelvetro's and Barbieri's hands (but which would have left no traces) is *O*.

⁴² Debenedetti hints at the possibility that the edition was originally projected for publishing in 1552, probably on the basis of Doni's 'stamperassi subito', and although Debenedetti himself recognises that this conjecture is 'alquanto vaga' (1995: 144), Folena (DBI) accepts it.

Martelli to ask back from Castelvetro ‘quel libro et scritture provenzali, che già li diedi in Vinetia, quando lo volevamo far stampare, ché poi la cosa non s’è effettuata sino a qui’ (Debenedetti 1995: 308–9). Beccadelli claims he needs the manuscript in order to give it to Antonio Giganti so as to assist him in reading the troubadours with the help of a Frenchman who is a guest in Beccadelli’s house. To this end, Beccadelli would also like to borrow from Castelvetro ‘quella grammatica antica c’hebbe in Vinetia, la quale è come un Donatello di detta lingua’ (309).

The ‘Donatello’ is naturally the *Donatz*. Castelvetro may still have had Venier’s copy of this work, since on 27 January 1558 he sent from his Villa della Verdeda to Barbieri in Modena a ‘libro di m. Domenico Veniero’, perhaps in order to return it to its owner (Castelvetro 2015: 258–59). At any rate, Beccadelli receives the *Donatz* by 11 June 1558 (Debenedetti 1995: 309).

The ‘libro et scritture’ are less easy to identify. Beccadelli is undoubtedly referring to multiple volumes when he confirms that he has received them on 13 April 1558, and refers to them again as ‘il libro provenzale et l’altre scritture’ (Debenedetti 1995: 308–9). One of these two (probably the *scritture*) is likely to be the *libretto* where Bembo had transcribed his edition, while nothing can be said about the second manuscript, apart from the fact that it must be the one referred to in the 1561 letter as ‘quel mio’ (see Debenedetti 1995: 310).

In 1561, Beccadelli writes again to Francesco Martelli (edited in Debenedetti 1995: 310), and this letter represents the final act of this story. Martelli is asked to find ‘l’amico nostro, che mi mandò a Ragusa quei libri provenzali’ (a periphrasis no doubt required by the problematic status of Castelvetro after he had been accused of heresy) and to get from him ‘alcuni pezzi de’ libri c’hebbe pur in Vinetia in casa nostra con quel mio, et sono di lingua provenzale et francese, di versi et di prosa, et pertengono a Mons. Torquato, herede del reverendissimo Bembo’. Debenedetti (1995: 260), Careri (1990), and Pulsoni (2010: 128) all agree in considering *H* one of these books. While it is very likely that *H* was *among* the material belonging to Torquato that Castelvetro gave back to Beccadelli, the expression ‘pezzi de libri’ calls for careful analysis. The expression was indeed interpreted by Debenedetti (1995: 260) as a reference to *H*, which was ‘slegato e frammentario’, although he notes that the presence of ‘francese’ in the description is odd, since *H* does not contain any Old French

texts. Against this reading, we should note that, in sixteenth-century Italian, the expression *pezzo di libro* is used to generically describe a ‘libro, volume, esemplare stampato o manoscritto’ (GDLI *s.v.* ‘pezzo’). Fulvio Orsini would, for instance, use it in 1583 to describe the *Donatz*, while Castelvetro Jr. called ‘pezzi di libri’ the valuable books left in Lyon by Castelvetro (1786: 71). For this reason, I think that this letter does also refer to other manuscripts, some of which were perhaps in French (already Pulsoni [2010: 328] significantly speaks about ‘altri codici’).

Beccadelli’s request for the books does not seem to be dictated by a break in his friendship with Castelvetro, since, despite being unable to write out his name, Beccadelli still refers to him as his ‘amico’. However, the timing of the letter is suspicious. It might well be that Beccadelli, who was participating in the Council of Trent (Alberigo DBI), realised that Castelvetro’s case was beyond saving and decided to get the manuscripts back before it was too late. Given what we have said so far, then, we can say that Castelvetro Jr.’s claim, according to which the edition was rendered impossible by Castelvetro’s persecution, is only partially correct. For, we know that the two scholars kept a collection of Occitan manuscripts for five to nine years, and by 1557 the project was already perceived, at least by Beccadelli, as inactive. The prolonged process of manuscript restitution that we have delineated followed, and as it did Castelvetro’s fortunes worsened (cf. Debenedetti 1995: 150).

We will now draw together the discussion so far, and set out what we can say about which Occitan manuscripts Castelvetro and Barbieri owned before exile. Amongst the extant ones, we signal *D* (in the Este library at least since Bembo’s death, possibly earlier); *H* (received in 1551, probably returned in 1561); *c* (received in 1552, likely to have been returned but at an unknown date), and possibly *M*. The two scholars also had Venier’s *Donatz*, which today survives in a copy (MS Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 465 Inf., fols. 308–25). There are also some manuscripts which remain unidentified: one lent by Beccadelli; ‘scritture provenzali’ (among which was probably Bembo’s

libretto); possibly one or more Old French books; the book seen by Corbinelli; perhaps other MSS that had belonged to Bembo.⁴³

4. The *Giunte alle 'Prose' di Messer Pietro Bembo* (1550–60)

Around the same time when he was working on the troubadour edition, Castelvetro began writing a series of critical contestations on Pietro Bembo's *Prose*. The work in question is the *Giunte alle 'Prose' di Messer Pietro Bembo*, which divides the *Prose* into individual sections ('particelle') to each of which Castelvetro offers a heavily critical 'giunta' (Castelvetro 2004: xiv, xxv–xxvii). It should be kept in mind that while we have good reason to think that some of the material of the *Giunte* was elaborated in the 1550s and 1560s, some of it is very likely to have been written later in Castelvetro's life, possibly after his exile (Motolese 2000: 515–16; 2007: 43–44).

One very important ground on which Castelvetro aimed to attack Bembo was that of the knowledge of the Romance tradition. Some annotations on the *Ciento novelle antike* by Castelvetro, with important points of contact to the *Giunte*, testify to a specific intention to gather medieval Romance materials to use against Bembo. These glosses, also mentioned by Castelvetro Jr. as written before 1567 (1786: 76), were first identified by Debenedetti (1995: 174) in the exemplar of the 1572 Giunti edition of the *Novellino* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Postillati 54 [Castelvetro 2015a: 2]), to which a sixteenth-century hand (possibly Lodovico Barbieri) added 'chiose [...] di M. Lodovico Castelvetro' (edited by Bianchi 2003). Giuseppe Noto (Castelvetro 2015a) later identified and edited a non-autograph manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Redi 26) containing a 'discursive' version of the same content. It is likely that the annotated *Novellino* is an adaptation of this version of the text, rather than the other way around (Castelvetro 2015a: 7). While the initial enquiry seems to have been limited to the origin of a few specific terms, Castelvetro responds expansively, reporting entire passages of the *Prose* in order to disprove them (Castelvetro 2015a: 7;

⁴³ To these we might have to add the ones Castelvetro left in Lyon that we listed in the section '*The Rime provenzali during the exile*'.

Frasso 1991: 463). For our interests, it is important to note that the glosses consistently disprove the derivation of Tuscan words from Occitan that Bembo had theorised, and thus prefigure Castelvetro's attack as it would later appear in the *Giunte*.

Being in a way a 'point of arrival' of the work carried out by Castelvetro on the *Novellino*, the *Giunte* offer us the theoretical background and the motivation for this tendency to disprove Bembo's Provençalisms.⁴⁴ Castelvetro indeed conceived—in a sort of compromise between Brunì and Biondo's theories—the Romance vernaculars as parallel languages born out of the linguistic mixture of vulgar Latin with the language of the Germanic invaders (Marazzini 1993: 265). This brings with itself the consequence that, not deriving from one another, Romance languages cannot have influenced one another, and leads him to almost invariably look for alternative explanations within Latin or Tuscan itself.

Not only did Castelvetro deny linguistic derivation, but he also believed that Sicilian and Italian poetry were older than the Occitan, making literary derivations equally unlikely. This argument is based on Petrarch (*Familiars* I, 1, 6) and suggests that the Occitans either took rhymed poetry from the Italians or developed it independently from them. In this way, Castelvetro denies the possibility of a literary transmission of words, which is instead a key concept in the way Bembo represented the debt owed by the Tuscan language to Occitan. Castelvetro explicitly sets up Petrarch's opinion in opposition to that of Bembo in the *Giunte*:

Hora ragionando della questione proposta cio è quale, tra le due nationi ciciliana & provenzale, sia stata la prima inventrice della rima dico, che Francesco Petrarca, la cui testimonianza dee valere vie piu che alcune leggerissime pruove del Bembo [...] afferma nel prolago delle sue epistole, che egli appella famigliari, che a suoi di era opinione, che il rimare non molti secoli avanti fosse rinato appresso i ciciliani, & poi in breve si fosse sparto per Italia tutta, & ultimamente più lontano, anchora d'eterminando apertamente con le predette parole, che i provenzali non solamente non erano stati i primi trovatori della rima, o pure i trovatori, che non sarebbe miracolo due in diverse contrade in

⁴⁴ Only the *giunte* to the second and third book of the *Prose* survive in an autograph copy of pre-existing materials within the 'zibaldone estense' (Castelvetro 2004: x; ALI). What is more, the fact that the *giunte* to the second book are based on the 1549 print of the *Prose*, and those to the third on a partially updated 1538 print (probably to be identified with New Haven, Beinecke Library, Rosenthal 14) hints at a prolonged and perhaps discontinuous process of writing and revising them, possibly started in Modena and then continued in his exile (Motolese 2000: 515–16; 2007: 43–44). The remaining *giunte* are scattered among a 1563 print (containing only the *Giunte* to the parts of the third book dedicated to verbs and articles), the appendix of a 1572 print of the *Correttione* containing *Giunte* to the first book, and a 1714 edition of the *Prose* which includes the content of the previous editions plus unedited notes to the third book and part of the second in the form of footnotes to Bembo's text.

quel medesimo tempo, o anchora in diverso trovassono alcuna cosa non piu veduta senza apparare l'uno dall'altro, anzi l'havevano essi presa da gl'italiani, li quali l'havevano presa da ciciliani. Il che io reputo verissimo non solamente per l'autorita di tanto huomo, che non havrebbe scritto il falso in diminuiamento della gloria di Provenza, nella quale egli visse lungamente, & amolla oltre a misura, si come patria di Laura sua donna, ma per le ragione steste [*sic*] del Bembo anchora rivolgendole contra a lui in questa guisa. Se piu non si truovano rime de ciciliani [*sic*], la dove de provenzali molte sene truovano anchora, & non dimeno molte ne furono composte da ciciliani, come testimonia il grido approvato dal Bembo, è pruova certissima che le rime de ciciliani sieno piu antiche, che quelle de provenzali havendo noi per costante, che le cose prima fatte sono anchora prima disfatte che le fatte poi dal consumamento del tempo, quando sieno l'une & l'altre d'uguale fortezza. (Castelvetro 1572: 169–70)

This remarkable contestation is exemplary of the anti-Bembist strategy adopted by Castelvetro throughout the *Giunte* and glosses, as he reveals the inadequacy of the *Prose* to explain linguistic and literary matters. Castelvetro does this by both identifying flaws in Bembo's reasoning and—most significantly for our purposes—proving that he had an incomplete knowledge and understanding of Romance languages and literatures. As we discussed in Chapter Two, Bembo had indeed firmly denied the possibility that Tuscans derived vernacular poetry from the Sicilians on aesthetic grounds. What little is left of Sicilian poetry is so insignificant, Bembo had argued, that it is impossible that they had any role in fashioning Tuscan poetry. Castelvetro's resolute reply to this view is based on three points. First, he argues that Bembo's logic is flawed, since the scarcity of testimonies that he mentions should suggest that the Sicilians are more likely to be older. Second, Bembo speaks of a 'piato' between the Sicilians and Occitans with regard to the invention of rhymed poetry, but fails to refer to Petrarch, suggesting that he did not know his principal model well enough or failed to acknowledge his authority.⁴⁵ And third, Bembo's understanding and critical appraisal of the Sicilian tradition is severely questioned, since he says that Sicilian poetry has only left aesthetically insignificant poems, and yet 'egli stesso nel prolago del secondo libro di questo volume racconta & commenda molti scrittori in questa lingua vulgare, & nel terzo usa molte fiato la loro testimonianza, li quali furono avanti Dante, ne son pochi, ne sciocchi, ne di niun prezzo secondo il giudicio di lui medesimo' (Castelvetro 1572: 173).

This inconsistency leads Castelvetro to question whether Bembo was even able to recognise medieval Sicilian poetry at all:

⁴⁵ Interestingly enough, the Petrarchan claims on the antiquity of Sicilian poetry were mostly ignored by intellectuals until the *De vulgari eloquentia* was translated and published by Trissino in 1529 (Cipollone 2003: 207).

Ma io dubito assai, che il Bembo non estimasse, che la lingua ciciliana, onde si credono havere origine le rime italiane non fosse quella di messer Guido giudice da Messina, & degli altri di que tempi, o simile, ma quella nella quale sono scritti alcuni versi, li quali in Roma dell'anno MDXL mi furono mostrati per antichi, & come fossero della primiera lingua ciciliana, & reputati per tali da messer Pietro Bembo, secondo che mi fu detto, di cui erano gli originali, ma io mene feci beffe, & so conoscendo chiaramente che erano scritti in lingua ciciliana moderna di contado, & in iscrittura moderna. (1572: 174).⁴⁶

Denying the existence of any strict connection in terms of language has the fundamental consequence that the Tuscan lexicon cannot derive in any significant way from that of Occitania. Even if we accepted a literary connection, this would not justify the presence of loanwords in everyday language:

Laonde quantunque la lingua nostra habia le parole communi con quella della Provenza quanto è al corpo non n'ha percio presa niuna da quella, con tutto che il Bembo ne registri qui molte come prese da provenzali havendole ella sempre possedute & usate anticamente per sue, le quali se veramente fossero proprie della Provenza perche alcun poeta italiano le havesse seminate una, o due fiate pergli colti de suoi poemi, non sarebbe vero, che fossero potuto trapassare nella commune usanza de popoli italiani, & fermarevisi. Conciosia cosa che i popoli che non prendano i vocaboli da poeti, & spetialmente da simili a Dante & dal Petrarca, & a tali quali ha poeti la lingua nostra, che a pena sono letti, & intesi degli [*sic*] 'ntendenti huomini con molto studio. (1572: 175)

These passages in Castelvetro provide a framework upon which we can articulate our analysis of the glosses and the *Giunte*. Castelvetro's concern to remove Bembo's authority is carried out by highlighting the limits of his logic and identifying deficiencies in his knowledge and understanding of Romance literatures and languages *tout court*. To Bembo, Castelvetro opposes his own theory, which is based on the priority of Sicilian and Tuscan poetry and on the lack of significant influence of the troubadours on the Tuscans.

The *Giunte*: Word derivations

Castelvetro engages in a sustained confutation of Bembo's Provençalisms that occupies thirty-one pages of the 1572 *Giunte*, from 175 to 206*.⁴⁷ The discussion of *uopo* (which consistently appears in sixteenth-century editions of the *Prose* as 'huopo', see Bembo 2001: 22; 2018: 229) within the *Giunte* is a good starting point to examine more closely the way Castelvetro treats Bembo's Provençalisms. Of what Bembo says, Castelvetro only accepts the fact that Occitan poets used it before the Tuscans:

⁴⁶ I am not going to discuss what this manuscript actually was. It might be a book of the dialectal poems known as *canzuni* (such as those by Antonio Veneziano), or possibly a collection of poetry from the Sicilian school in an un-Tuscanised (or re-Sicilianised) form (Cipollone 2003: 214–5 *contra* Debenedetti 1986: 30–31).

⁴⁷ After page 184, Castelvetro 1572 mistakenly starts numbering pages from 179 onwards again. Following Castelvetro 2004's use, I will signal all pages after 184 using their number in the print followed by an asterisk.

‘HUOPO è latina voce, tutta volta è molto prima usata da Provenzali, che si sappia, che da Toscani’ (1572: 182; cf. *Prose* I, x). According to Bembo, however, ‘uopo’ is what modern linguists call a luxury loanword (that is, a linguistic loan not justified by the lack of a word with that same meaning in the destination language), and is sometimes found in the form ‘uo’ in a sort of homage to its Occitan etymon. Castelvetro replies with this argument:

Hora io dico che Uopo è voce latina, come confessa il Bembo, ne so perche egli v’aggiunga H, se nol fa perche altri non prenda errore leggendo V per consonante dove si dee leggere per vocale. Ma perche non s’ha havuto questo riguardo in Uovo, & in Uosa? Ne credo che Uopo vaglia quello che vale Bisogno, ne quali il valesse, che perciò non potesse esser toscano, ne che Dante habbia usato Uo in luogo d’Uopo, ne che Uo sia piu provenzale che Uopo [...] (1572: 182)

As he did with Sicilian poetry, Castelvetro denies Bembo’s competence in all the fields of knowledge here discussed, not the least of which is Occitan. He points out that Bembo was ostensibly aware of the word’s Latin origin and still came up with a complex discourse for no other reason than to connect the word with Occitan. He even insinuates doubts on Bembo’s own knowledge of Latin, since Bembo writes it as *huopo*, adding a letter that is not in the etymon (*opus*). In addition to this, Castelvetro argues that Bembo does not even know the Tuscan word well enough, since he inaccurately attributes it the same meaning as *bisogno* (Castelvetro unfortunately does not elaborate on how the two words differ in his opinion). As for the reference to Dante, Bembo, as editor of the *Commedia*, is accused of misquoting the passage he himself adduces in the *Prose* as an example, since in the 1502 Aldine edition of Dante we do indeed find ‘uopo’. In addition to this, Bembo’s supposed apocope has no real connection with Occitan, since ‘i provenzali scrivono non Uo, ma Ops in luogo d’Uopo’ (Castelvetro 1572: 179*).

On a couple occasions, the disapproval of Bembo’s competence brings into the discussion manuscript *H*:

Ne credo io che Bozzo sia voce provenzale o usata da poeti prove(n)zali, come che l’affermi il Bembo, il quale havendo trovato in quella canzone d’Arnaldo Daniello, che incomincia Sols soi qui sai lo sopra fam quim sortz, che una chiosa scritta di mano antica spone l’ultima voce di questo verso, Iois e solatz autram par fols e bortz, per no(n) legittimo & bastardo s’ha pensato che Bortz & Bozzo sia una voce, & significhi una cosa stessa, o almeno s’è imaginato di farlo credere altrui, essendo voci molte diverse di lettere, & come io mi credo, anchora di significato. Ne molto mi piace la spositione di quella chiosa intorno a Bortz, percioche è voce presa da Abortus, o da Abortivus latino, che no(n) Bastardo, & non legittimo, ma Sconciatura propriamente, & per traslatione Imperfetto significa. Laonde quel verso era da interpretare cosi Gioia & solazzo d’altra mi par vano & imperfetto. (182*–83*)

Manuscript *H* was certainly in Castelvetro's hands at the time of the edition, and here Castelvetro shows familiarity with its contents: as we have seen in Chapter Two, among *H*'s glosses, one explaining *bortz* as 'bastardo' can indeed be found (fol. 10v). Thus, Castelvetro here accuses Bembo of borrowing from this manuscript without declaring it, and of making erroneous arguments based upon it, since he mistakenly associates 'bortz' with the Tuscan 'bozzo'. Ultimately, Castelvetro claims his superiority by adopting the etymological method to disprove the views of both Bembo and the medieval commentator. *H*'s glosses are also referred to in the discussion of *scoscendere*:

Io dico che Scoscendere non haveva bisogno d'interpretatione essendo questa voce manifestissima per l'origine latina evidente che è Conscindere, onde è tolta. Anchora che il Bembo non habbia da se trovata così fatta interpretatione ma presa da alcune chiose antiche scritte a mano, che si truovano intorno alla Sestina d'Arnaldo Daniello. (184*)

Here, Castelvetro, as well as indicating Bembo's source, questions his ability to understand it in context. He accepts the correctness of the origin from CONSCINDERE, but claims that Bembo misinterprets the gloss, unnecessarily deriving from this that the Occitan must be the etymological root of the Italian *scoscendere*, and he thereby fails to realise that the two words merely share the same Latin origin.

Castelvetro also questions Bembo's competence, often in a specious way, on morphological grounds. For instance, he questions the Occitan origin of the suffix *-anza*, saying that Occitan uses *-ansa* instead (1572: 179*–181*), he says that *alma* is not Occitan, as that language has *arma* (1572: 188*), nor can the prefix *is-* derive from Occitan, as it uses *es-* instead (1572: 197*). Among these we do however occasionally find intelligent insight into the language, such as the argument against 'joi' as an apocopated form of 'joia', since the earlier is masculine and the latter is feminine (MS Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.S.5.1,197v). The ultimate end of all these claims is once again to show Bembo's reasoning as flawed and his knowledge as insufficient.

Elsewhere in the glosses, Castelvetro makes explicit his assertion that Bembo showed a fundamental inadequacy with regard to Occitan:

Perche messer Federigo Fregoso sia commendato in questa particella d'havere usata diligenza & posta fatica ne gli scritti provenzali non creda perciò alcuno che esso o messer Pietro Bembo inte(n)desse i poeti provenzali, perciòche io ne presi una volta esperienza, & trovàgli del tutto nuovi & ignoranti, ne per le cose dette infino a qui si può comprendere che essi ne fossero intendenti. (1572: 208*)

To reaffirm this harsh judgment of Bembo as Provençalist, we should note here that in these same *Giunte* (1572: 121–22), Castelvetro had claimed that the dialogue was unlikely to have ever happened. Thus, to question Federigo Fregoso’s competence in Provençal within the *Prose* is tantamount to directing the same charge at Bembo, as is underlined by Castelvetro’s claim that he found them both ignorant of the language.⁴⁸

There are cases in the *Giunte* where an Occitan form is discussed to explain the Tuscan one, with the probable intention of showing parallel evolutions rather than derivation. This is the case of the disjunctive *né* (cf. his commentary to *Rvf* 268 [II, 8]). Its Occitan equivalent *ni* is explained, adopting the etymological method, as derived from *o + ne*, ‘tramutata *e* in *i*’, as one can see ‘appresso i provenzali per tutto’ (Castelvetro 2004: 110). In a similar fashion, Castelvetro discusses the third person plural forms of the indicative imperfect ending in *-iéno*, for which Bembo had considered the *-é*- a ‘licentia’ where regular grammar would require an *-a*,⁴⁹ explaining this with a specific derivation of the Latin desinence *-EBANT*, which is proper of the ‘uso provenzale et italiano’ (Castelvetro 2004: 136–37).

The *Giunte*: Literary influence

As we have noted in Chapter Two, Bembo claimed in the *Prose* that many Italian ‘maniere di canzoni’ came from Provençal. Castelvetro, as already mentioned, instead believes that Occitan poetry arose after its Italian counterpart, and denies any structural influences of troubadour poetry on Italian verses. His argument runs as follows:

Ne veggio per guatare sottilmente che io mi faccia le maniere delle canzoni de provenzali, & de nostri italiani accostarsi insieme, & esser simili. Il che quando pur fosse, affermerei i provenzali haverle apparate piu tosto da noi che noi da loro. Co(n)ciosia cosa che noi habbiamo la nostra principal maniera di canzone, che è chiamata il Sonetto, che è antichissima & propria nostra, & habbiamo quelle, che sono chiamate il Capitolo, & l’Ottava rima, le quali parimente sono proprie nostre, & molte altre, le quali se fossero state trovamento de prove(n)zali pure appo loro sene vedrebbe, poi che si trovano i loro, poeti, alcun vestigio. (1572: 174–75)

⁴⁸ Castelvetro similarly denounces the fictionality of the *Hercolano* and even of Plato’s *Republic* (Castelvetro 1999: 82, 40).

⁴⁹ Bembo also mistakenly believed in the existence of forms of the third person singular in *-é*, see Castelvetro 2004: 138.

There are however two specific rhyme schemes that Tuscans owe to the Occitans:

Ma io non niego pero che Dante & il Petrarca non habbiano presa da loro [*scil.* the Occitans] quegli la maniera della sua canzone Amor tu vedi ben che questa don(n)a. & la Sestina, & questi & la Sestina, & le maniere delle sue canzoni Verdi panni sanguigni, oscuri, & persi, & S'io 'l dissi mai, ch'io venga in odio a quella. (1572: 175)

These are, respectively, the *sestina* and the *coblas unissonans*. Both of these derivations are unoriginal: the invention of the *sestina* was attributed by a long-standing tradition to Arnaut Daniel, while the concept of ‘canzone alla maniera de’ provenzali’ was well-established, even among non-Provençalists, in the Cinquecento (Debenedetti 1995: 191; Corral Diaz 2008: 438). Castelvetro, however, minimises this debt by pointing out that both genres were imitated by the Italians ‘non come discipoli & apparanti, ma come aversari, & gareggianti’ (1572: 176). In the *sestina*, Dante and Petrarch established their superiority, the first in the *Petrose* and the latter with the six (plus a double one) contained in *RVF*. In the *coblas unissonans*, the superiority of Italians is instead, so to speak, structural. This is due to the fact, Castelvetro maintains, that Occitan has a wealth of words for each ending, and thus creating a poem in this style is incomparably easier than it is in Italian. For this same reason, Occitan uses ‘versi rotti’ (in Bembian terms, lines shorter than the hendecasyllable) much more frequently than Italian, where it is not to be followed, although ‘i nostri più moderni’ did not refrain from using them, drawing them not from the troubadours but from the ancient Tuscans. It is possible that this certainty in declaring the richness of Occitan’s rhymes is connected with the *Donatz* translated by Castelvetro and Barbieri. Indeed, the same manuscript containing the two translations (*d1* and *d2*) also contains the original text of the grammar followed by a list of 674 rhyme-words divided among 37 endings (fols. 321r–23r), and this might have led Castelvetro to make such a claim (Gresti 2014).

5. The *Rime provenzali* during the exile

As we noted in the introduction to this chapter, Castelvetro was sent into exile at the end of the 1550s. He brought many books with him, including ‘più di 400. pezzi di libri stampati de’ più belli e de’ migliori che si trovassero’ (Castelvetro Jr. 1786: 71). We will here discuss which Occitan materials he

brought into his exile. Although I cannot offer any new findings, I will here discuss some possible identifications.

An inventory published by Giuseppe Frasso and which belonged to Gianvincenzo Pinelli (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Q 117 Sup.) offers some indication of the size and nature of the collection that he had in Lyon and which he left behind when he was forced to leave the city in 1567.⁵⁰ Among the books there listed are two manuscripts of ‘rime provenzali’, the first of which is claimed to have been ‘di Luigi Alamano’ (died 1556), while the second is accompanied by ‘una grammatica e una poetica provenzale, cosa rara’ and had belonged to Federigo Fregoso, who had died in 1541.⁵¹

In Frasso’s words, with regard to Luigi Alamanni’s MS ‘è impossibile fare proposte (salvo ricordare che [...] *H* [...] è stato visto dal Castelvetro, e che [...] *E* ha note di mano cinquecentesca italiana)’ (Frasso 1991: 475–76). *H* is problematic since it is not known to have ever belonged to Luigi Alamanni, and we believe Castelvetro returned it in 1561. What is more, it would have been odd of the compiler to take care to mention a former owner (in the past tense) but not the current one, Torquato Bembo.⁵² *E* is perhaps a slightly more likely candidate for this manuscript: the ‘mano cinquecentesca italiana’ that annotated *E* was identified, one year after Frasso’s article, by Carlo Pulsoni (1992) with the hand of Luigi da Porto. Given that Alamanni is not known to have been interested in Occitan poetry, it might well be that the compiler actually confused him with da Porto. In this case, the manuscript would be *E*, which Bembo bought from Luigi da Porto (and which then passed on to Torquato Bembo on his death) and would therefore have entered Castelvetro and Barbieri’s collection at the time of the edition. The manuscript was in France by the mid-seventeenth century (Menichetti 2015: 26), and this might hint that it crossed the Alps with Castelvetro.

⁵⁰ The only possible date is *post* 1564, but this is uncertain (see Frasso 1991: 470–71).

⁵¹ Another inventory, signalled by Debenedetti (1995: 267), registers the books in the possession of the Castelvetro family *ante* 1577, and also lists books that Castelvetro had left in Italy. This inventory lists two presumed Occitan books: ‘Sebastiano Brand poemi provenzali’ and ‘Savio Sidracho provenzale’. However, since Brand’s *Ship of Fools* is extremely unlikely to have ever been translated into literary Occitan, and the Occitan translation of the *Book of Sydrac* has enjoyed a very limited transmission, it is more likely that the compiler—as it was not uncommon at the time—was not able to distinguish French from Occitan.

⁵² *H* was undoubtedly in Torquato Bembo’s possession when Gianvincenzo Pinelli went hunting for Bembo’s Occitan manuscripts on Fulvio Orsini’s behalf in 1582 (Debenedetti 1995: 283–90).

As for the other manuscript, that is, the one which is said to have belonged to Federigo Fregoso, ‘qualora la “grammatica e [...] poetica provenzale” corrispondano rispettivamente a *Donatz e Razos*, si potrebbero avanzare le candidature del ms. [...] *P* [...] e, forse, del ms. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 831’ (Frasso 1991: 476).⁵³ While we do not have much ground to decide between the two, it will be useful to remember that *P* is not known to have circulated in sixteenth century Italy before coming into Federigo Ubaldini’s ownership in the seventeenth century (Debenedetti 1995: 366).

6. The *Correttione d’alcune cose nel ‘dialogo delle lingue’ di Benedetto Varchi*
(1570–71)

1570 saw the posthumous publication of the *Hercolano*, a dialogue on language by Benedetto Varchi presented as a defence of Caro’s canzone against Castelvetro’s oppositions. Around that time, after his flight from Lyon and other travels through Switzerland and modern-day Austria, Castelvetro took up a new place of exile in Chiavenna. Here, he spent the very last months of his life—from late 1570 to his death on 21 February 1571—drafting a reply to Varchi. Although death prevented him from giving greater cohesion to the work, this reply was published posthumously under the supervision of his brother, together with the *Giunta* to the first book of the *Prose*, with the title *Correttione d’alcune cose nel ‘dialogo delle lingue’ di Benedetto Varchi*. The aim of the *Correttione* is twofold. On the one hand, Castelvetro defends himself from the few direct attacks made against him in the *Hercolano* (to which he devotes the first three sections of the *Correttione*); and, on the other, he counterattacks by pointing out mistakes found within the *Hercolano* itself (in the last section; Castelvetro 1999: 3, 31). In a way, Castelvetro’s attack actually goes beyond merely a polemic against Varchi as an individual, and targets his entire ideological system, with special regard for his main source, Pietro Bembo, and

⁵³ The Pierpont Morgan MS is not the manuscript *N* (Morgan 816, which does not include any grammars) as it has been mistakenly identified. Manuscript Pierpont MS 831 would satisfy the definition as ‘grammatica e [...] poetica’, since it contains a fragment of a dictionary of rhymes, the *Donatz proensals*, and the *Razos de trobar* (Donatz 1969: 8).

the person who motivated Varchi's own incursion into the debate in the first place, that is, Annibale Caro. We will here look at the relatively few but extremely meaningful references to the troubadours and their language found within this pamphlet.

In the first section, Occitan only appears once in an attack on Bembo through the reproduction of the aforementioned anecdote on 'Razon e dreg', here presented with minimal variations from the manuscript form. The main changes are to move from the third to the first person, but what is most important and unchanged is Castelvetro's preoccupation to substantiate his claim that Bembo was not as cultured and well-mannered as people were led to believe. The pretext for its inclusion here is the claim that Varchi defends Bembo 'di nascoso [...] et oscuramente' in the *Hercolano* (Castelvetro 1999: 145–49). While the independent origin of the anecdote is evident from its structural difference from the rest of the *Correttione*, its inclusion is clearly meant as a way to deprive Varchi of the structural foundation of his thought by undermining the authority of Pietro Bembo.

The second reference to Occitan, one which is much more organic, is found within the section *Errori commessi dal Varco ne' luoghi degli autori o perché non gli ha intesi o perché non gli ha citati a tempo*. Here, the polemical objective is the passage where Varchi claims that Arnaut Daniel's speech from *Purgatorio* 26 is irremediably corrupt in the tradition of the *Commedia*, and only presents the first line in a clearly corrupt form. The limited quotation in Varchi offers Castelvetro the occasion for a strong reproach:

Non ha dubbio niuno che il Varco non intende i versi provenzali che pose Dante nel canto XXVI del *Purgatorio*, facendo parlare Arnaldo Daniello, il quale avisa essere scorretti non perché egli sapesse che fossero scorretti, ma perché, essendo io in Firenze con lui et caduto tra noi ragionamento di que' versi, io gli dissi che erano ne' testi stampati et in molti scritti a mano scorretti et gli dissi anchora come si dovevano correggere et come si dovevano intendere, ma o s'è dimenticato di quello che gli dissi o non ha voluto dir quello che intese da me per non confessare d'havere imparata cosa da me. (Castelvetro 1999: 223)

In this short paragraph, Castelvetro accuses Varchi of multiple failings. First, he charges Varchi with not having sufficient knowledge of Occitan in the first place; second, he argues that he hid the fact that it was Castelvetro who taught him that the *vulgata* of the lines is incorrect; and, finally, he states that Varchi had forgotten—or intentionally omitted—the correction that Castelvetro had taught him. At the same time, the correct reference to the imperfection of the printed version constitutes a firm rebuttal of Pietro Bembo as editor of the Aldine text of the *Commedia*. To further

show his own superiority over Varchi, Castelvetro offers an edition of the passage accompanied by a translation:

Que' versi adunque, secondo che si truovano ne' buoni testi, si deono scrivere cosi:

Tam m'abellis vostre cortes deman
ch'ieu non posso ni vuoil a vos cobrir
ie' sui Arnaut, che plor, e vai cantan
consiros vei la spassata follor
et vei giausen le ioi che sper denan
ara vos prec per achella valor
che vos guida al som ses dol e ses calina
sovegna vos a temps de ma dolor
[...]

Tanto mi piace vostra cortese domanda,
che io non posso né voglio a voi celare
io sono Arnaldo, che piango et vo cantando
tristo veggo la passata follia,
et veggo lieto la gioia che spero inanzi.
Ora vi priego per quello valore,
che vi guida all'altezza senza duolo e senza caldo
sovegna a voi a tempo del mio dolore (Castelvetro 1999: 224).

It looks like Castelvetro is offering a critical edition of these difficult lines (Castelvetro 1999: 224).⁵⁴ The resulting text is quite disappointing, and perhaps reflects both the provisional state of the treatise, and the fact that it was written after the loss of his books in Lyon. While his usage of the *ch-* instead of *qu-* for the unvoiced velar is understandable both because of Italian usage and of the fact that he had seen the Tuscan MS *c* which often adopts it, the French form 'ie' and especially the Italian 'posso' are unworthy of the command of the language he shows elsewhere. On the other hand, the text does have improvements over Bembo's. This is the case for the readings 'consiros', 'giausen', 'per achella' against 'con si tost', 'giau sen', 'pera chella'.⁵⁵ What is more, the translation provided is mostly correct, even though it is quite dependent on Castelvetro's predecessors. As Debenedetti points out, Castelvetro's translation is especially commendable for being the earliest one to properly render 'consiros' as 'tristo' (1995: 114–15).

⁵⁴ It is, however, true that this text presents the very characteristic reading 'ses dol et ses calina', only common, among the known tradition, to MSS Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ricc. 1005 and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. 313. A copy of the latter MS was in Reggio Emilia—where we know that Castelvetro went hunting for good manuscripts of Benvenuto da Imola—and it is MS Modena, Biblioteca Estense *α.V.8.6* (It. 747). The text here presented is, however, very different for the rest of Arnaut's speech, even missing line 141. This might imply that more than one manuscript was used in the work (Roddewig 1979: 9–10; Castelvetro 1999: 224).

⁵⁵ At the time, Castelvetro used a 1515 Aldine edition of the *Commedia*, where the passage is unchanged from the 1502 *Terze rime* with the exception of Arnaut's name ('Arnault' in the 1515 print) (Castelvetro 1999: 229).

Castelvetro does not refrain from commenting on the odd reference to Occitan poems by Guinizelli in the *Hercolano*, a passage that has also caused confusion among modern commentators (see Chapter Five):

Anchora che messer Pietro Bembo nel racconto dei poeti della lingua vulgare nomini Guido Guinicelli et nel racconto de' poeti forestieri che hanno poetato provenzalmente non nomini lui né di lui si leggano canzoni altro che vulgari, non dimeno il Varco molto arditamente afferma che, se ben fu di Bologna, scrisse non dimeno provenzalmente, mosso peravventura da quelle parole di Dante non bene intese da lui:

“O frate” disse “questi ch'io ti scerno

Col dito”, et additò un spirto inanzi,

“fu miglior fabro del parlar materno”.

Percioché, se Guido non havesse scritto provenzalmente, ma toscano o fiorentino, l'antiporre che fa a sé Arnaldo Daniello sarebbe cosa fuori di tempo. Ma il Varco doveva considerare che Dante haveva detto:

Et io a lui: “Li dolci detto [*sic*] vostri,

che, quanto durerà l'uso moderno,

faranno così anchora i loro inchiostri”

et che così era “uso moderno” la lingua provenzale come l'italiana et perciò Guido, antiponendo a sé Arnaldo nell'“uso moderno” o nel “parlar materno” non parla fuori di tempo, quantunque egli scrivesse toscaneamente et Arnaldo provenzalmente. (Castelvetro 1999: 230)

Varchi's shortcomings are set out in sequence in this passage, possibly written with the knowledge that the reader would come to it having already read Castelvetro's corrections on Arnaut's speech at the end of the same canto. It may be that Varchi misremembered Bembo's list of troubadours, or else he might have made a mistaken reading of *Purgatorio* 26, since he would have been justified in thinking that the comparison that Guinizelli makes between Arnaut and himself might imply that they used the same language, thereby misunderstanding the expression ‘uso moderno’. However this may be, Castelvetro implies that Varchi was in error, and that he showed an inattentive reading not just of Dante, but also of the *Prose* of which he himself had been the editor.

These few passages, then, while not especially meaningful from the point of view of the history and circulation of Occitan materials, and despite the issues raised by the unfinished state of the *Correttione*, are precious to understand how, once again, at the end of life, Castelvetro was able to use his knowledge of Occitan to claim (with varying levels of honesty) his superiority over his adversaries. In so doing, he used their lack of Occitan expertise to dismantle the observations of his

adversaries and their cultural prestige. Castelvetro thus presents Bembo and Varchi as having a much inferior knowledge of the language and literature than they both had claimed, and one incomparably inferior to his own.

Conclusion to Chapter Four

The difficulties attending to any general appraisal of Castelvetro's Occitan studies are worth restating. We should note how our assessments is complicated by several factors. Thus, Casteveltro's close collaboration with Barbieri, and the latter's distaste for being acknowledged, may have led us to attribute to him work actually done by Barbieri. We should note again the difficulty in dating some of his works, and the fact that some of them may be built upon an accretion of materials written in different times, as well as the dispersion of his works during the years of exile. To these issues, we add a point that has been documented throughout the chapter, and that is the way Castelvetro adopts a method that naturally leads him to point out others' shortcomings and to privilege his own strengths, thereby hiding the actual limits of his knowledge.

What we can say is that his earliest references to the troubadours are found in his commentary on Petrarch, c. 1530s to c. 1550s, and these traces of interest might owe something to his knowledge of the work of Giulio Camillo Delminio. In particular, it is interesting to see the signs, in the Petrarch commentary, of the ongoing critical edition he was carrying out with Barbieri around the middle of the century. This is evident not only in the explicit references to 'Giovan Maria mio', but also in the notable interest for Gaucelm Faidit.

The intention to make a critical edition brought Castelvetro and Barbieri together at least since the 1550s, and possibly even in the 1540s. Several people contributed more or less directly by providing materials for the edition—Beccadelli, Venier, Varchi, Torquato Bembo. The effort was significant and resulted in the bringing together of what is perhaps the largest group of Occitan manuscripts in one place during the sixteenth century. Only some vestiges of this effort survive, such as the aforementioned references in the *Rime sposte* and some notes left on the manuscripts.

In the 1550s–60s, Castelvetro was engaged in what might be described as an anti-Bembist crusade in the *Giunte* and it is here that his linguistic ideas are most prominently intertwined with his Occitan interests. Occitan was particularly useful for Castelvetro within this specific controversy, since knowledge of the language and its literature, alongside Sicilian, allowed him to prove that Bembo’s knowledge of the Romance languages was insufficient to offer a basis for his linguistic theory.

The middle of the century saw the beginning of a series of turbulent events that resulted in Castelvetro’s exile. Castelvetro did retain an interest for troubadour poetry during his exile, and probably remained in possession of some medieval manuscripts when he was forced to leave behind most of his belongings in his adventurous escape from Lyon. While he was in exile, Varchi’s *Hercolano* was posthumously published, and Castelvetro felt compelled to write an answer in the *Correttione*, which adopts a similar strategy to the *Giunte* in showing the inadequacy of the criticised author to build a linguistic theory because of the incompleteness of his Romance literary culture. On this occasion, though, the attack reaches a much more personal level, as Castelvetro had met Varchi in person and had taught him—or so he claimed—how to read some passages in Occitan.

Thus, Castelvetro’s Occitan culture invariably appears to be deployed in ‘dialogue’ with a friend (Barbieri), with his opponents across different generations (Bembo, Varchi), or with the author he is commenting (Petrarch). The *Giunte* probably represent the most accomplished discussion of what he understood Occitan to be and its relationship with the Italian vernaculars was. Castelvetro’s use of Occitan across his works also shows aspects of the internal evolution of the *questione della lingua*, for we find clearly in his works the abandonment of a more ‘normative’ aspect in favour of a stronger focus on the history of the language and the relationship between different vernaculars.

Chapter Five

A Linguist's Eye on the Troubadours: Benedetto Varchi

In the previous chapter, we encountered Benedetto Varchi (1503–65) as a correspondent of Lodovico Castelvetro. Varchi was a Florentine poet, historian and academician whose interests ranged from philosophy to literature and onto translation. He was, moreover, the main promoter of Bembo's linguistic theory in Florence from the 1540s, a theory which he attempted to harmonise with the spoken use of Florence.¹ Since a foundational article by Debenedetti (1902), Varchi has also been recognized for his interests in the recovery of Occitan. And yet, despite this, Varchi's importance to the phenomenon of the recovery of Occitan has often, and even in recent times, been minimised. Debenedetti himself did as much in his pithy comment that '[Varchi] non era stoffa di linguista' (1995: 172). This general attitude is due in no small part to the fact that in the *Correttione d'alcune cose nel "Dialogo delle lingue" di Benedetto Varchi*, Castelvetro underlined Varchi's ignorance of Occitan at the time of their meeting in Florence in 1551 (Chapter Four), thus influencing modern scholars' perception. While there might be some truth in Castelvetro's claims with respect to their 1551 meeting, an impartial and in-depth examination of the testimonies of his Occitan studies reveals a rather different state of affairs, and indicates that he made noticeable progress in his knowledge of the language over the years.

Before moving on to discussing the documents, it will be useful to investigate the reasons why Varchi is often perceived as a 'minor' figure in the Occitan studies of the sixteenth century. In part, scholarly neglect in this area can be explained by what Varchi himself wrote in his major theoretical work on language, the late dialogue entitled *l'Hercolano* on which he worked from the mid-1550s to the end of his life: 'io per me non intendo tanto oltra nè della lingua spagnuola, nè

¹ Although he is often rightfully credited with having made Bembo's ideas palatable for the Florentines, and despite his formal deference to Bembo, Varchi's linguistic ideal was actually quite different from Bembo's, as it also emerges from the discussion later in this chapter. For a more thorough discussion of Varchi's heterodox Bembism, see Bruni 1969: 12–27 and 57–62; Pirotti 1971: 109–48; Varchi 1995: 10–14; Castelvetro 1999: 9–12; Andreoni 2007: 181–221.

della franzesa che io possa giudicarne' (Varchi 1995: 654). Since we have a wealth of proof of his interest for other languages, this is actually to be understood as an application of the *topos modestiae*. Inventories of the books he owned indeed show a rich collection of grammar books and dictionaries of Spanish, German, Hebrew, French, Greek, and English (Varchi 1995: 99).² However, it is noteworthy that no original literary works in these languages are listed among Varchi's books, thereby suggesting that he was not interested in the literatures produced in these languages.³ Similarly, while the list of *Postillati* offered by *Autografi* 2009 (pp. 339–48) shows that he annotated a good number of Latin and Greek philosophical works published outside Italy, the same cannot be said for works in the European vernaculars (see Scapecchi 2007: 309). In the *Hercolano*, despite showing an interest for German and Spanish loanwords, the only two non-Italian vernacular authors that are mentioned (apart from the troubadours) are the influential Spanish poet, Juan de Mena (1411–56), 'il più bello e più lodato scrittore che habbia la lingua castigliana', and Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo who is referred to periphrastically as 'quegli che intitolò il suo libro *Amadis di Gaula*' (c. 1450–1505), though it seems that Varchi only knows the latter through Bernardo Tasso, who had translated Montalvo's *Amadis* into Italian. In the same pages where he mentions these two authors, he nonetheless displays a dismissive attitude towards their 'intelligenza e maestria dell'arte', reinforcing this impression of a general lack of interest for foreign literatures (Varchi 1995: 241, 653–54).

Occitan literature, however, appears to receive comparatively more attention from Varchi, probably by virtue of its influence on Tuscan. This can already be seen in the earliest references he makes to Occitan in his production, although they are few and remarkably unoriginal.⁴ In the

² A good example of this is in Brancato 2018. A further proof of Varchi's sensibility for different languages is a fragmentary 'comparative grammar' of Italian, Greek and Latin found in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 597, fols. 1–102, part of which was edited as *Frammento di grammatica di M. Benedetto Varchi* in *Opuscoli* 1807–9: I, 102–57. To counter Varchi's profession of ignorance, one could also point out that, in the *Hercolano* itself (1995: 938–39), he discusses the Iberian languages, French dialects, and even the Arab loanwords that can be found in Spanish.

³ Varchi did own a few translations into French and Spanish of Tuscan and Latin works, but these are obviously not relevant here (Varchi 1995: 99).

⁴ About sixty lectures by Varchi are known, only about fifty of which survive, often in unreliable posthumous editions (cf. Andreoni 2007: 1). I have looked for references to Occitan in the lectures in Varchi

introduction to the third lecture on *Paradiso* 1, held before the Florentine Academy on 3 May 1545, for instance, *uopo* is defined as ‘parola tolta da’ rimatori provenzali, come testimonia il reverendissimo Bembo’ (Varchi 1841: I, 237, cf. *Prose* I, x),⁵ and in that same lecture he describes the conditional in *-ia* as ‘modo provenzale’, silently borrowing again from Bembo (Varchi 1841: I, 248, cf. *Prose* I, x). Another reference to Occitan from around this same time is found in the 1545 letter to Luca Martini on the verb *farneticare* and is patently mistaken. Varchi indeed inexplicably identifies *frenesia* as ‘pigliato da’ Provenzali e da’ Franzesi’ (Varchi 1841: II, 102).⁶ The available evidence all suggests, then, that Varchi’s knowledge of Occitan and of its literature in the mid-1540s was second-hand at best.

Nevertheless, Varchi was already aware—again, through Bembo—of the importance of the Occitan language both for Tuscan literature and for Bembo’s theory, as is proven by the funerary oration for the Venetian cardinal which Varchi recited at the Accademia Fiorentina on 27 February 1547 (see Fubini Leuzzi 2007: 212). Here, in praising Bembo’s cultural and linguistic sophistication, he says that

se a bene intendere la [lingua] Latina, gli fu di bisogno appre(n)der la Greca, a bene inte(n)der la Thoscana, gli bisognò apparar la Provenzale, poco meno che del tutto spenta anchora in quei te(m)pi, dalla quale ha(n)no così i prosatori Thoscani, come gli scrittori diversi, infiniti vocaboli, & modi di favellare tolti, & cavati, come ne dimostra egli stesso nel principio de i tre dottissimi libri delle sue gravissime & ornatissime prose (Sansovino 1569: 53rv, also cited in Debenedetti 1995: 24).⁷

Despite this, nothing indicates any first-hand knowledge either, and similarly the four grammatical lectures given at the *Accademia fiorentina* in 1551–52 and the *Discorso sopra le lingue* written in those same years lack any mention of Occitan, thereby suggesting the absence of any personal research on the theme on Varchi’s part (see Varchi 2003).

1841, 2004, 2005 and in Gilson 2019a. Especially the absence of any intertextual reference to troubadour poetry, in an author so keen to resort to it (Varchi 2005: 686–87), is indicative that whether he had Occitan materials or not at the time, he was unable to use them.

⁵ The matter of *uopo* also implied a polemic with Cristoforo Landino, who had considered it as originating from Latin: ‘chome in latino diciamo “michi est opus”’ (2001: 4, 1569).

⁶ For the date of the lecture, see Andreoni 2012: 156; for that of the letter, see Varchi 1995: 21–22.

⁷ This idea of the need to learn the ‘parent’ language to understand its ‘descendant’ was a recurring concept in Varchi’s speeches and writings. See for instance *Opuscoli* 1807–9: I, 54: ‘come niuno non può sapere perfettamenteemente latino, il quale non sappia greco, così niuno può toscaneamente intendere il quale latinamente prima non intenda’. This idea is mocked in Alfonso de’ Pazzi’s satirical sonnet XXII: ‘chi toscano | per arte vuol venir, divenga greco | prima, e poi spera di venir toscano’ (cited in Varchi 1995: 15).

Our suspicion of Varchi's ignorance of Occitan at least until 1551 is supported by the aforementioned testimony of Castelvetro's far-from-impartial *Correttione*, which, as we saw, depicts the Florentine humanist as completely ignorant of the language at the time of their 1551 meeting (Chapter Four). What is especially notable is the fact that Varchi needed Castelvetro's help not only to amend the incorrect vulgate of the Occitan lines of *Purgatorio* 26, but also to understand their meaning (Pirotti 1971: 29–30; Castelvetro 1999: 223–25).⁸ Multiple clues lead us to think that Castelvetro is not being mendacious here. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter Four, in 1551 Castelvetro sent to Varchi the translations from Arnaut Daniel that he and Barbieri had made, calling upon him not as an arbiter of their accuracy, but as someone who might express a judgment on the quality of the Italian.⁹ Some scholarship draws from this the conclusion that Varchi had no interest for troubadour poetry prior to his meeting with Castelvetro, and that it might have been precisely that meeting that led him to attempt to acquire a better knowledge of the language (Debenedetti 1995: 98, 355; Varchi 2017: 26–27).

All the same, while all available evidence seems to point towards a clear difference between Castelvetro's detailed knowledge of the Occitan language and the more limited—or possibly non-existent—understanding of Varchi, it is true that, at the time of their aforementioned meeting, Varchi promises Castelvetro to send him the fifteenth-century lyric anthology now known to scholars as MS *c* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutei 90 inf. 26). The fact that he had the manuscript, or at least knew where to find it, might mean that Varchi was at least already interested in troubadour materials, even if it does not necessarily mean that he was able to

⁸ One other potential proof of Castelvetro's influence on Varchi's earliest Occitan studies might be—but this is no more than a conjecture—in the *Regole della grammatica provenzale* (see below). Indeed, when discussing the title 'en' (< DOMINUS), Varchi writes in the margin 'M. l.' (or 'M.I.'), which might be understood to mean 'messer Lodovico (Castelvetro)'. On the other hand, it is also possible that this means 'messer Leone (Strozzi)'. To support this second possibility, one could add that while the first example ('en Ramons') is taken from the very first words of the *Razos*, the other ('En Iaufre Rudel') can be found in the copy of Bernart Amoros's MS, which at some point in time belonged to a Leone Strozzi, *a*. One third potential interpretation could be 'Messer Iaufre', but this interpretation would be problematic as Varchi does not seem to know the meaning of 'En' ('I provenzali pare a me che mettino inanzi a tutti i nomi propii questa sillaba *en* quando vogliono', fol. 16v). None of these hypotheses is thus fully satisfying.

⁹ In Varchi's biography contained in Varchi 1995 (91), Antonio Sorella includes a reference to the fact that Varchi became 'uno dei maggiori specialisti' of Provençal among the events that happened between 1532 and 1537 without justifying this. As I have already explained, Varchi is extremely unlikely to have known Occitan, let alone having been a 'specialist' of it, at such an early date.

understand it.¹⁰ Varchi ultimately sent it to Castelvetro and Barbieri in the following year to serve as a source for their edition.¹¹ The fact that he came into possession of MS *c* might also be connected with his appointment on 22 November 1551 to a commission within the *Accademia fiorentina* whose role was to set down grammatical rules for the Florentine language, since it would have made sense for him to start investigating a literature whose importance for understanding Tuscan was evidently clear to him (Varchi 2003: 143).¹²

Having examined these early references, we will now move on to the two testimonies of Varchi's Occitan studies, the *Regole della grammatica provenzale* and the *Hercolano*.

1. *Regole della grammatica provenzale* (post-1551)

So far, any possibility of Varchi having direct knowledge of the troubadours has been conjectural and doubtful, so much so that we are rather inclined to think that at least until late 1551 he knew little to nothing of it and of its literary tradition. However, by the time of the *Hercolano*, as we will see, Varchi will undeniably give proof of a good familiarity with Occitan language and texts. While we have no way of reconstructing the exact chronology of what happened between the time of his meeting with Castelvetro and the writing of the dialogue, there is a fundamental

¹⁰ MS *c*, not to be confused with MS *C* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 856), is a fifteenth-century manuscript produced by a humanistic hand leaving ample room for some decorated initials which were never realised (Pelaez 1896: 247). Its content seems to be based on multiple sources, and shows notable similarities to MS *U* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutei 41, 43) (Folena in *Mostra* 1957: 70–71). MS *c* is also the sole witness of Dante da Maiano's two Occitan poems (BEdT). Two copies of *c* were made during the sixteenth century: one, known as *c^a*, created towards the end of the century at the request of Piero del Nero, was destroyed in a fire in 1940, and its contents only survive in Edmund Stengel's diplomatic edition (Debenedetti 1995: 275; Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 38); a second one, known as *c^b* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Mediceo Palatino 1198), belonged to art collector Niccolò Gaddi (1537–92), and is now fragmentary (Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 47). As for *c* itself, a diplomatic edition was carried out by Mario Pelaez (1896).

¹¹ The fact that Varchi did not give Castelvetro the manuscript when they met in Florence, and that he took so long before delivering it, might mean that the manuscript was not yet in his possession, but that he merely knew who owned it and only bought it from its possessor in early 1552.

¹² The commission was unable to reach any conclusions, but Varchi gave the aforementioned four lectures on grammar and wrote the *Discorso sopra le lingue* as a 'by-product' of this activity (Varchi 2003: 143). With the caveats that come with a reasoning *e silentio*, it must also be underlined that that in the lecture on *TC* dated by Andreoni to 1554 (2012: 311–12), there is no mention whatsoever of the troubadours. Nevertheless, since the lecture is solely focused on the representation of love in the poem, making no mention of the procession of lovers and adopting a chiefly philosophical perspective, the silence might as well be due to the context.

testimony of his progress in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1812. This manuscript is now known by the title that a later owner of the manuscript, Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi, appended on fol. 2r, *Regole della grammatica provenzale di Benedetto Varchi*. Above that title is another one written in Varchi's hand: 'Regla proensale' (*sic*).¹³ The manuscript can only be dated, on the basis of what we have said so far, to after his meeting with Castelvetro (Varchi 2017: 27).¹⁴

The *Regole della grammatica provenzale* (*Regole* from here onwards) are a private translation and compendium of two thirteenth-century Occitan grammar books, the *Donatz proensals* by Uc Faidit and the *Razos de trobar* by Raimon Vidal de Bezaudu. Despite being dismissed by Debenedetti as an 'arido sunto' (1902: 159) of the originals, the *Regole* are actually documents of considerable significance for our interests, and we will explore them in detail in the following section.

The *Regole della grammatica provenzale*: Sources

To understand more fully the significance of Varchi's compendium, we first need to re-discuss its relationship with its sources. Biadene 1885 (400–1), followed by Debenedetti 1902 (129), Debenedetti 1995 (99) and, most recently, Gresti (Varchi 2017: 26), identified the source for the translation in the sixteenth-century booklet known as MS *all*, now bound with the Occitan

¹³ At some point after Varchi's death, the manuscript passed on to Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi, who should not be confused with Carlo di Ruberto, who owned MS *c* after Varchi. While in the Strozzi family's possession, the manuscript was bound in the miscellaneous codex Magliabechiano VIII.1444 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, from which it was separated at a later time (as already noted by Alvisi 1884). I thank Dario Brancato for helping me identify the two Strozzi.

¹⁴ In the years 1550–53, Varchi seems to have taken a break from his activity as a lecturer at the *Accademia fiorentina*, only giving six lectures (four of which on grammar) between late 1551 and early 1552 (Andreoni 2012: 16). One might therefore conjecture that, during these years, immediately after the contact with Castelvetro, he might have had time to carefully study Occitan grammar (and one might add that the absence of any references to MS *c* within the *Regole della grammatica provenzale* might be due to the fact that the MS had been lent to the two Modenese intellectuals). Moreover, the fact that in these same years the *aramei* developed and spread their theory of a derivation of Tuscan from Aramaic might be connected with Varchi's enquiry into the influence of Occitan on Tuscan (D'Alessandro 1980: 134–35).

chansonnier *aI* (that is, part of a sixteenth-century copy of Bernart Amoros's chansonnier)¹⁵ within MS Florence Biblioteca Riccardiana 2814.¹⁶ The content of *aII* is as follows:¹⁷

1. fols. 133r–147r (1r–15r): Uc Faidit's *Donatz proensals*
2. fols. 147v–160v (15v–28v): Raimon Vidal's *Razos de trobar*
3. fols. 160v–161r (28v–29r): Bernart Amoros's preface to his MS
4. fols. 162r–170r (30r–38r): all the *vidas* from Bernart Amoros's MS
5. fols. 170v–172v (38v–40v): index of poets contained in Bernart Amoros's MS

In spite of the prevailing scholarly consensus, the identification of *aII* as the direct source of Varchi's translation is, however, to be rejected for a variety of reasons.¹⁸ First, there are no proofs that Varchi ever owned *aII*: this fact, often taken for granted (see for example Varchi 2017), was in fact a conjecture made by Debenedetti (1995: 275; Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 89).¹⁹ Indeed, in terms of the manuscript's external history, all we know about *aII* is that it was annotated by a hand that some (Stengel 1878: x; Debenedetti 1995: 275) identified with that of Piero di Simon del

¹⁵ Bernart Amoros's chansonnier (either the original or a medieval copy of it) belonged at some point to someone called Leone Strozzi, whose identity is uncertain: it might either be the famous *condottiero* (1515–54) son of Filippo Strozzi and Clarice de' Medici—in which case Varchi, who, as I will argue, was to some extent exposed to it, would have gotten the MS directly from him—or the initiator of the Strozzi of Rome (1555–1632), son of Roberto Strozzi and Maddalena de' Medici, and in this second case Varchi must have borrowed the manuscript from a previous owner. The second option seems slightly more probable, see Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 40–41.

¹⁶ As is widely known, the Provençal chansonnier *aI* is the first half of the copy of an exemplar of Bernart Amoros's chansonnier (or possibly of the original itself) made by the scribe Jacques Teissier de Tarascon at the request of Piero di Simon del Nero in 1588–89 (the second half being Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Campori γ.N.8.4). MS *aII*, written by another sixteenth century hand and on larger sheets of paper, must therefore have been bound with it after the chansonnier was split in two. According to Borghi Cedrini and Meliga (2020: 65), the current binding might be datable to the eighteenth century.

¹⁷ In Stengel, Biadene, and Marshall's editions of the *Donatz* and the *Razos*, the part of *aII* containing the grammars is called *C*. I am not going to use this siglum since given the potential confusion with that of the Provençal chansonnier *C* mentioned elsewhere in this thesis.

¹⁸ The double page numbering is due to the fact that *aII*'s pages were numbered twice, before and after the binding with *aI*. For simplicity's sake, I am only mentioning Bernart Amoros's MS as a source for the last three sections, but 'non è possibile [...] eliminare il sospetto che [...] quanto in *aII* pertiene al canzoniere dell'Amoros non derivi soltanto dalla diretta consultazione [...] del canzoniere originale [...] ma vi giunga attraverso trascrizioni e appunti precedenti [...] ovvero non derivi soltanto dai materiali presenti in *LS*' (Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 111). Similarly, it cannot be excluded that the original manuscript of Bernart Amoros's chansonnier included the two grammars as well, as is suggested some similarities between the language of Bernart's introduction and that of the *Donatz* (Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 90–91).

¹⁹ Debenedetti goes as far as to hint at the possibility that *aII* was written by Varchi himself, which has been proven erroneous (Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 88–89).

Nero,²⁰ who occasionally intervenes on it, although the identification is dubious. This hand supplies three missing lines of the *Razos* (at fols. 149v–150r=17v–18r), signals a *lacuna* (fol. 150v=18v), and underlines some misspelled words, occasionally replacing them with the correct readings (*Donatz* 1969: 6–7; *Borghini Cedrini-Meliga* 2020: 90–91). Should the identification be confirmed, this might mean that *aII* was, like MS *a*, commissioned by Piero himself, who later personally intervened to correct the scribe’s mistakes, presumably drawing the correct readings from the same antigraph. Should this be the case, considering that the rest of Del Nero’s documented Occitan activity cannot be dated to before 1575, it could be that *aII* was only produced after Varchi’s death (*Borghini Cedrini-Meliga* 2020: 88–89). Regardless of whether this last hypothesis is true or not, none of the manuscript’s material aspects points towards Varchi as its owner (for comparison, MS *c*, which does not bear any marginalia by Varchi, has his name, effaced by the following owner but still readable, at the beginning of fol. 3r).

On the other hand, there are important elements connecting *aII* to Varchi. Two testimonies indeed suggest that Varchi had a manuscript containing *vidas* arranged in the same order as in section 4 of *aII*. The first one is the fact that in the *Hercolano*, Varchi includes a full translation of Giraut de Borneil’s *vida* claiming to have derived it from a manuscript at the beginning of which this life is found. The second testimony is the fact that in an inventory of manuscripts that passed from Baccio Valori’s hands to the Rinucciniana library which was edited by Aiazzi and Arbib in 1841 (*Varchi* 1841: xxxvii) there was one, now lost, called ‘Vite di Giraldo Bornello e di Arnaldo Daniello, poeti provenzali, tradotte da quella lingua in volgare fiorentino’ (*Debenedetti* 1995: 131; *Varchi* 2017: 27). Out of the known Occitan manuscripts, Giraut’s *vida* only occurs in the first

²⁰ Piero di Simon del Nero (?–1598) was active in Florence in the late sixteenth century as a politician and as a collector of manuscripts with a special interest for medieval Tuscan and Occitan literature. About him, see *Gregori* 1988 and *Borghini Cedrini-Meliga* 2020: 38–39.

position in *aI* and *aII*, and the text of Varchi’s translation is perfectly compatible with both of these. Arnaut’s *vida* follows it immediately in *aII*.²¹

The text of the *Regole* also supports the possibility of a connection with *aII*. In terms of general structure, the *Regole* are indeed very close to the heavily rehandled versions of the two grammars contained in *aII*.²² Common textual errors (e.g. *aII* 2r, *Regole* 5r ‘pestre’ and ‘paistre’ instead of ‘prestre’ and ‘pastre’; *aII* 15v, *Regole* 16v ‘alonie’ instead of ‘alonc’; *aII* 26r, *Regole* 20r ‘Pericol’ for the troubadour Peirol) further support this connection. For these reasons, all scholarship takes the identification of *aII* as Varchi’s antigraph for granted (Varchi 2017: 28; Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 88) despite the fact that, as we have already said, nothing proves that *aII* was ever in his hands, or that it was even in existence while Varchi was alive.

However, a closer examination of *aII* reveals that, despite the many similarities, this manuscript cannot actually be the direct source for the translation, since its scribe made a good number of errors not reflected in Varchi’s translation, and for which conjectural emendations on Varchi’s part are to be excluded. Here is a small selection of individual readings (more could easily be listed) from *aII* compared with Marshall’s amended texts—or his *cruces desperationis* where he was unable to amend (*Donatz* 1969, Marshall 1972)—, and Varchi’s *Regole*:

Donatz proensals

<i>aII</i>	Corrected text (Marshall)	Varchi
1r porse due ²³	58 puesc dire	4r si può dire ²⁴
2r tigner	73 signer	5r seigner
2r sebren	74 sebren†	5r sobrer
2v non ania pueil ²⁵	92 no.m ama puois	5r non ama, puois

²¹ The order of the *vidas* mirrors that of Bernart Amoros’s chansonnier (Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 97). In *aI*, Arnaut’s is the second *vida* to appear in the manuscript, but it is separated from Giraut’s by many poems by Giraut de Borneil and Bernart de Ventadorn (BEdT).

²² MS *aII* is the only witness for the rehandled text of the *Donatz*, while a second one exists for the *Razos*, see *Donatz* 1969: 3–8, Marshall 1972: xvi–xxi, and Avalle 1993: 119–26.

²³ Piero del Nero (or whoever revised the manuscript after it was written) underlined the *s* and the *u*, suggesting that he was aware of the error.

²⁴ *Puesc* is a first person, whereas Varchi, in translating, uses the third. Varchi might have either made a mistake or, as it seems more likely, intentionally changed the person. Regardless of this, it is extremely unlikely that he reconstructed anything from ‘porse due’.

3r natus	114 nasus	6r Naso
6v ers [...] ters [...] dexteters	726–28 ors [...] tors [...] destors	12v ors [...] tors [...] destors

Razos de trobar

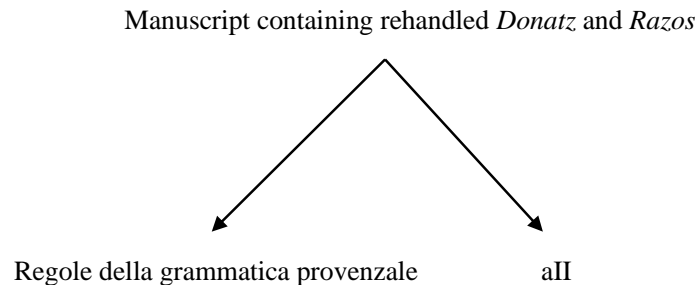
<i>aII</i>	Corrected text (Marshall)	Varchi
23r fa donna	259 sa domna	18r sadomna
23r ratz	266 ratz†	18v Catz
23rv tjaunes [...] tjaimon	266 Naimes, 269 Naimon	18v Naimes [...] Namon
24r gengers	292 genzers	19r genzers
26v ferit	379 feric	20r feric
28r anues	428 amics	20v amics

Even more strikingly the *Donatz*, as it appears in *aII*, has omissions and heavily corrupted passages that do not find counterparts in Varchi’s text. For instance, whereas in *aII* the description of the different declensions of *cors* (body) and *cor* (heart) is lacunose (*aII* 4r ‘*cors* pro corpore est indeclinabile; *cors* pro corde facit in nominativo et vocativo [...]’²⁶ in *-or*, in reliquis in *-ors*’), by contrast Varchi (fol. 7r) gives a longer explanation: ‘*cors* quando significa “il corpo” non si diclina; *cors* quando significa “il quore” fa nel vocativo *cors*, ne gli altri casi *cor*; nel plurale il nominativo fa in *or* et gli altri casi in *ors*’. Similarly, whereas *aII* has the confusing ‘eu [...] uolgran o uolriam [...] uos uolgrats o uolriatz’ (fol. 12rv) for the optative, Varchi (fol. 10r) has the full paradigm with the correct first person ‘volgra o volria’. In another case, the title of the list of examples of indeclinable nouns ending in *-ers* with an ‘open’ *e* (in Occitan, ‘largz’) is mistakenly reported by *aII*’s scribe within the list of nouns in *ems* as ‘iners ilargz’ (fol. 30v); Varchi instead correctly has both the title and the contents of the list at fol. 6v. Ultimately—and this is perhaps the most striking example—in one case the order itself of the contents is altered by *aII*’s scribe but preserved by Varchi: *aII* indeed mistakenly has lines 550–879 of Marshall’s edition right after 266, while Varchi follows the correct order.

²⁵ I am not entirely certain about the reading *ania*, as the only thing suggesting it rather than *ama* is a dot over it, which might not be meant to signal an *i*, also considering that there is another seemingly meaningless dot before *pueil*.

²⁶ I am using italics here to signal that, compared to the critical text, this is a lacuna and not my omission.

Let us then summarise the characteristics highlighted by the selection of examples listed above. We note the following: the correspondence of the order of the first two *vidas* of *aII* with that of the manuscripts known to Varchi later in his life; significant similarities between the contents of the *Regole* and the rehandled versions of the *Donatz* and *Razos* found in *aII*; the presence of meaningful errors common to both *aII* and the *Regole*; the presence of meaningful errors present in *aII* but not in the *Regole*, including at least a lacuna and one significant alteration of the order of contents; the lack of any proof of *aII*'s passage in Varchi's hands. These considerations lead us to think that *aII* is not Varchi's direct source for either text, but rather that *aII* is a quite imperfect copy of the same original from which Varchi derived his translation. The textual derivation can thus be visualised as follows:



It cannot be excluded, then, that *aII* was commissioned by Piero del Nero, although this is disputed (Debenedetti 1902: 160-62 *contra* Zufferey 1987: 79). However, it should be noted that he definitely had at some point access to Varchi's manuscripts, as proven by the fact that he was able to have *c* copied (the copy being MS *c^a*). Thus, it is also possible that, at some point, perhaps after Varchi's death, he was able to see the manuscript on which the *Regole* are based and have it copied on *aII*.

***The Regole della grammatica provenzale* and Varchi's competence**

Having defined more precisely the manuscript's source, we can now move on to discuss the *Regole della grammatica provenzale* in detail, in order to understand what were Varchi's interests and his

level of understanding of the language. Given that there are differences in the way he approaches his two source texts (the *Donatz* and the *Razos*), this study will examine them separately before offering some conclusions regarding the whole *Regole*.

Donatz proensals

In the *Donatz* section, Varchi shows a clear tendency for omitting or summarising the passages in which he was not interested. He removes most of the more theoretical passages of the *Donatz*, which are generally unoriginal and doubtlessly familiar to someone who knows the Latin grammatical tradition (Biadene 1885: 402), and, rather than always reproducing the entirety of the lists of words provided as examples by the original, he sometimes makes a selection, perhaps eliminating words that he could not understand (either because he did not know them or because they were too corrupt in the antigraph) or were obvious to him.²⁷ The structure of the grammar itself is likewise altered by Varchi, especially from the paradigm of *aver* onwards (*Regole* fol. 14r).²⁸ Varchi seems to be attempting to reorder the original's contents in a more rational way, as is the case of the declension of *aver* itself, where he brings together different tenses and moods scattered in the source, and similarly with the second and third declensions, which he tries to restructure by collating different passages of his source.

Varchi also tries to put the grammar's precepts into practice. Thus, for instance, the long explanation of the future optative and the present subjunctive, given by the *Donatz* between fols. 8v and 9r, is summarised at fol. 11v of the *Regole* as: 'Presente del subiuntivo è 'l medesimo che il futur dell'ottativo: *Dieus voillia q'eu escriva, escrives [sic], escriva, escrivam, escriatz [sic],*

²⁷ This behaviour is strikingly similar to that adopted by Varchi in the *Grammatica hebraea* contained at fols. 305–27 of MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VIII. 1444 (see note 13), which is a translation-compedum of Theodorus Bibliander's *Institutiones de lingua Hebraea*. The text is datable to 1537–41, although the extant copy is more likely to have been copied around the 1550s, see Brancato 2018: 241–45.

²⁸ In editing *all*, Gresti (Varchi 2017: 40) makes it look like Varchi only reports the past perfect from the third person singular onwards, and then, under 'preterito plusquam', lists the first and second singular persons of the perfect. I instead think that all the past perfect forms are to be understood as contained within the paragraph 'pret[erito]', and the 'preterito plusquam' paragraph was left empty.

escrivien [sic]', using only *escriure* as a model, and deriving—not without errors—its forms from the other verbs employed by the original.²⁹ On occasion, this evolves into a full-fledged expansion of the source's examples. For example, where the *Donatz* (*aII* 10v), in explaining the first conjugation, gave the full paradigm of *amar* but only the first person of *cantar*, the implied analogy of the two verbs is developed into a full paradigm of both (*Regole* fol. 8v); and where his source (*aII* fol. 5v) only gave him the first three persons of the present indicative of *aver*, Varchi also supplies the plural (fol. 10v).

In a few cases, he goes as far as to challenge the grammar book itself. The objectively problematic discussion of the neuter offered by Uc (as translated by Varchi at fol. 4r: 'che non appartien né al maschio né alla femmina come *gaugz* "gaudio" et *bes* "bello"') is commented upon in a sort of footnote at the bottom of the page that reads 'questo non par vero perché i provenzali non hanno neutro se non in questo modo: "Egli è buono imparar" etc., "ciò è buona cosa"'. In another case, after repeating the *Donatz*'s claim that the passive infinitive 'non ha luoc' (*aII* fol. 15v), Varchi writes 'esser amat', perhaps in an attempt to show that a periphrasis can be used to render the Latin passive infinitive in Occitan just as in Italian.³⁰

Varchi's independence occasionally leads him into error, as we saw with part of the subjunctive of *escriure*. Another mistake is probably to be identified in the fact that Varchi wrote, by the sentence 'tutti i nomi che finiscono in *atz* sono feminini' (fol. 6r), the adjective 'malvatz' ("evil"), perhaps thinking that it is the opposite of 'bontatz' ("goodness"), rather than an adjective. While these mistakes show the limits of Varchi's knowledge of the language, they are limited in number when compared to the many aforementioned expansions and re-orderings of contents.

²⁹ Since *aII* has the missing forms of the verb in Latin, one cannot exclude that Varchi's model actually had the complete paradigm. Even in this case, the fact that he was able, on the basis of the *Donatz*'s sentences, to conflate the present subjunctive with the future optative is still a sign of an attentive reading.

³⁰ Another proof of sophistication can perhaps be identified in the terminology adopted, which in some cases adopts terms of recent coinage such as 'coniugazione' and 'imperativo' to render the Occitan 'conjugatio' and 'emperatiu'. These words are found in other sixteenth-century grammarians such as Giovan Francesco Fortunio, Girolamo Muzio and Matteo San Martino (see *Biblioteca Italiana*; also see Pirotti 1971: 133).

In general, then, Varchi, appears as a reader who is still learning the basics of grammar, and yet is attentive enough to be able to re-elaborate and discuss the contents of his source.

Razos de trobar

The second section of the *Regole della grammatica provenzale*, based on the *Razos de trobar*, begins at fol. 15v without any clear breaks.³¹ Varchi's approach is quite similar to that which we find in the *Donatz*, especially in his selectivity, although the original order is maintained throughout, and there are not as many expansions. However, as a consequence of Varchi's firmer command of the language compared to when he began the *Grammatica*, Varchi tends to skip over the things that he already knew.³² The original's verbose explanations are similarly turned into more 'useable' schemes. Compare, for instance, the way the declension of *totz* is treated in the two texts: *all* fol. 22r 'Estiers tot aizo voil qe vos sapchatz qe.l nominatius e.l vocatius singulars ditz *totz* o en tot los autres cas singulars *tot*; es [*sic*] nominatius e.l vocatius plurals ditz *tuit*, els altres cas plurals dizom *totz*'; *Grammatica* fol. 18r '*totz, tot, tot, tot, totz, ab tot | Tuit, totz, totz, totz, tuit, totz*'. Laconic lists of nouns, pronouns, and verb forms, with far fewer omissions than those of the *Donatz*, cover the entirety of fols. 18r–20r, suggesting that at this point Varchi is more interested in expanding his lexicon than in learning grammatical rules.

But what is most characteristic about this section is the fact that, possibly because by the time he translates the *Razos* Varchi is a more independent user of the language, the focus often shifts to inferring rules from the *Razos*'s use itself. This is especially true of the first three folios: the section begins with a reflection on the word 'En' ("sir"): 'I provenzali pare a me che mettino inanzi a tutti i nomi propii questa sillaba *en* quando voglione' (fol. 16v), inspired by the presence of the word in the very first sentence of original the text i.e. fol. 15v: 'Per so qar eu En Raimons

³¹ There is an *R* at the top of the page which might be understood to mean 'razos' or 'Raimon' (Vidal), but which is actually more likely to mean, like other *R*'s or *Re*'s found within Varchi's grammar, 'Regola'.

³² When quantifying how much of the text Varchi skipped one must keep in mind that *all* lost part of its text when the manuscript's original cover was removed: at fol. 18v, indeed, the corrector writes: 'qui manca vedi insu la coperta', hinting at content that is now lost together with the *coperta* it was written on. The MS New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 831, containing a very similar text of the *Razos* to that of *all*, can be used to reconstruct the passage.

Vidals...’. Similarly, the *Razos*’s sentences can inspire morphological reflections. Thus, we find Varchi commenting on *dit* in the following terms: ‘*Qar sun tan breumen dit*, “che sono tanto brevemente dette”, et così *dit* è tutti i numeri, tutte le persone et tutti i generi, et così de gli altri: *auzidas las cosas*’ (*Regole* fol. 16v, *all* fol. 15v).³³ A similar interest in morphology informs his laconic note ‘*mond, mont, mon*’: Varchi, who could read *mont* in his source text, here reflects on the fact that these are all different forms of the same word (*Regole* fol. 26r, *all* fol. 16v). Elsewhere, Varchi identifies relationships between words, recognising ‘breumen’ as derived from ‘brieu’, both of which are used at fol. 15v of *all*: ‘*Plus breu*, “più breve”, *plus brevemen [sic]* “più brevemente”; così *leu* “lieve”’.

Occasionally, Varchi compares Occitan with Tuscan, identifying how the first influenced the latter:

‘ni han saubuda la maniera del trobar’, onde in toscano “no han saputo” et “saputa la maniera” etc. “mi allontano” et simil verbi col ‘mi’ hanno anco i provenzali: ‘mi alonie’ “m’allontanassi”³⁴ (*Regole* fol. 16v, cf. *all* fol. 15v)

In other cases, he explicitly seeks within the text he is reading the origins of Tuscan words and sentences (*all* fol. 19r ‘q’hom puesca’; *Regole* fol. 17r “‘Che huom posse’: modo provenzale’), and of morphological peculiarities (*all* fol. 15v “‘Non vos en devetz meravillar’, *Regole* fol. 16v “non ve ne devete meravigliare”. *Devetz*, onde “devete”, et non “dovete”).³⁵

This ‘historical’ interest is also evident in the attention given to some theoretical passages of the *Razos* containing precious information about different variants of Occitan, which—unlike the *Donatz*’s theoretical content—Varchi maintains. Thus, the—corrupt—passage from his

³³ Here *all* (and probably Varchi’s antigraph) correctly reads ‘causas’—Varchi probably Tuscanises the word involuntarily.

³⁴ Interestingly enough, Varchi uses the word ‘Toscano’, which in the *Hercolano* (Varchi 1995: DCXV) will be only allowed as a ‘general’ name indicating all of the individual vernaculars spoken in Tuscany (the ‘normative’ one being ‘Fiorentino’).

³⁵ While the sentence could also be read as a way to express preference for *devere* over *dovere*, the *Hercolano* actually uses both forms indiscriminately. It should, however, be noted that in revising his Petrarchan commentary to make it closer to Bembo’s ideal of language, Alessandro Vellutello replaced all rhyzotonic forms of ‘dovere’ with ‘devere’ (Belloni 1992: 82). Varchi might also have annotated this form specifically to reply to Castelvetro, who had made it clear in the *Giunta* verbi XVIII (Castelvetro 2004: 120) that the second person plural of ‘dovere’ is an exception to the rule in that it is ‘dovete’ rather than ‘devete’.

antigraph ‘neguna parladura non es tant naturals ne tant drecha dels nostre lengages qom aqella de Franza o de Lemozi o de Santonge o de Caorci o d’Alvergna’ (*aII* fol. 17r) is, for instance, rendered as ‘Niuna lingua è tanto naturale et dritta al provenzale come la franzese o di Lemosi o Santonge o del Caerci etc.’. Varchi even shows an interest for the grammatical terminology employed by the text: ‘quando si piglia il neutro non vi si mette la *s*, il che essi [*scil.* Occitan speakers] dicono *abbreviar*, come *bel m’es qar m’avetz honrat*, “bello mi è” etc., et non *bels*’ (fol. 17r). In general, this second section seems to be the work of a more ‘refined’ Varchi, who can apply the rules he has learned and derive further ones from the text in front of him, and who is interested in looking beyond Occitan in an attempt to determine how much of it survives into the vernacular of Florence.³⁶

2. The *Hercolano* (ante 1570)

The only published work that reflects Varchi’s achievements in Occitan grammar is the posthumous dialogue *Hercolano*, regarded as a point of arrival for the whole of Varchi’s linguistic thought, as well as—according to some scholars—the most important work on language produced in the century (Marazzini 1993: 267). Published in 1570 after Varchi’s death, the *Hercolano*’s contents are presented—from the frontispiece onwards—as a response to the criticism expressed by Castelvetro about Annibal Caro’s ‘Venite all’ombra de’ gran gigli d’oro’. However, Varchi’s dialogue—which is the result of a work dating as far back as 1555 had already reached some form of completion in March 1560 (Pirotti 1971: 123; Varchi 1995: 33)—is actually much more ambitious, covering many of the principal matters of debate of the Cinquecento *questione della lingua* and closely following the *De vulgari eloquentia*, only sparingly referring to the Caro-Castelvetro controversy (Marazzini 1993: 267–71). The work is a dialogue (related in the fiction by Vincenzo Borghini to Lelio Bonsi) in which Varchi discusses ten different linguistic *quesiti*

³⁶ That there ever was an intention on Varchi’s part to publish the grammars alongside troubadour poetry, was timidly supposed by Debenedetti (1902: 130) but not taken up in either of his major works on the reception of Provençal contained in Debenedetti 1995. It is nevertheless denied by Gresti (Varchi 2017: 28).

posed by count Cesare Hercolani. Using a variety of arguments and methodologies borrowed from *auctoritates* ranging from Aristotle to Bembo, Varchi attempts to build a theoretical system aimed at justifying the proposal of a linguistic standard based on the reconciliation of Bembo's model of archaic literary Tuscan with contemporary spoken Florentine (Varchi 1995: 20–28). While the authority of spoken Florentine had already been defended, earlier in the century, by authors such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Lodovico Martelli, and Claudio Tolomei, the attempt to use it in conjunction with the literary tradition as codified by Bembo is one of Varchi's most defining characteristics. This approach to language theory can be found as far back as a draft for a Tuscan grammar datable to the 1540s (Varchi 1995: 20–21; Siekiera EI), while a more mature theoretical exposition of it is found in Varchi's *Discorso delle lingue*, written in 1552–53:

Nelle lingue non la ragione delle cose ricercare principalmente si debbe, ma l'uso di chi le favella, o l'autorità di coloro che le scrissero. E in su queste due cose massimamente fondati si sono, e fondare si debbono tutti i Gramatici di tutte le lingue, l'ufizio de' quali non è altro che insegnare favellare correttamente, cioè senza barbarismo e senza solescismo (*Opuscoli* 1807–9: II 156)

However, I think it is also worth pointing out that Varchi's linguistic ideal is interestingly close to that expounded in the *Razos de trobar*, which Varchi, as we have already mentioned, could have read in those same years. After expressing the traditional complaint that some people, lacking good taste, are unable to distinguish fine poems from inferior compositions, and therefore spread bad taste among their peers, *aII*'s version of the text adds:

Et tuit li home qi en aqella terra [*scil.* in Limousin] son nat ni noirit han la parladura natural et drecha. Mas qant us de lor es issitz della parladura per alchuna rima o per alqun mot qi li sera mestier, cui on [*read:* cuion] las genz qi non entendon qe la lur lenga sia aitals, qar non sabon lur lenga; per qe mielz la conois cel qi a la parladura reconoguda qe sel qi non la sap. E per zo non cui on [*read:* cuion] mal far qan geton la parladura de sua natura, anz cui on [*read:* cuion] qe sia aitals la lenga. Per q'ieu vue il [*read:* vueil] far aqest libre per far reconoisser las parladuras d'aqelz qi la parlon drecha e per enseignar aicels qi non la sabon. (fol. 17v; I added the distinction between *u* and *v*)

This remark grants the speakers of the most refined variety of Occitan, the Limousin, a superior judgment on which forms are acceptable and which are not in literature. This conception, which attempts to unite literary quality with an acquaintance with the spoken language of one region, is significantly similar to that of Varchi and shows the potential overlaps between his linguistic theory and his growing appreciation of Occitan.

While we cannot prove that Varchi was influenced by the *Razos* in developing his linguistic theory, Occitan language and troubadour poetry are explicitly discussed in various passages of the *Hercolano*. In this section, I will examine how Occitan is understood and represented within the dialogue by first focusing on the way it is positioned within a wider system of languages. I will then look at how Varchi attempted to define its influence on the Florentine vernacular, and ultimately discuss the troubadour quotations and translations incorporated in the *Hercolano* in order to assess Varchi's sources and level of confidence with the language.

The *Hercolano*: Origins of Occitan and its collocation within Varchi's linguistic system

It will be useful to start our discussion of the presentation of Occitan in the *Hercolano* by reporting how it is defined genealogically and typologically. Like Bembo, Varchi defines the Tuscan vernacular as born from the contamination of Latin with 'barbarous' languages. Varchi's reliance on Bembo here is shown by the fact he includes a sizeable extract from the *Prose* relevant to this discussion within the *quesito quinto* (668–69).³⁷ However, while Bembo makes no claim about other vernaculars, Varchi explicitly adds that the same process produced the other Romance languages: 'non solamente in tutta l'Italia, ma eziandio in tutta la Francia, chiamata prima Gallia, e poco meno che in tutte le Spagne si mutarono per lo discorrimento di tanti barbari lingue e costumi'.³⁸ This is true of the different Italian vernaculars as well: 'altro è il volgare fiorentino, altro il lucchese, altro il pisano, altro il sanese, altro l'aretino, e altro quello di Perugia [...] anco molte castella hanno i volgari diversi e, per conseguenza, le lingue' (669–70). This means that genetically speaking, Varchi considered Occitan and the other Romance vernaculars, just like 'normative' Florentine, to have come from analogous and parallel processes in which the contamination of Latin with different linguistic superstrata yielded different results.

³⁷ All page numbers for the *Hercolano*, unless otherwise specified, come from Varchi 1995.

³⁸ One implied difference between the vernaculars of Italy and those of other regions is that while Italians were native speakers, Latin was, in Varchi's terms, a 'lingua *non originale*' to the people of those regions (see Varchi 1995: 645–46), but this is never discussed in the text.

Finer discriminations regarding Varchi's perception of Occitan can be obtained by examining the *quesito terzo* ('Divisione e dichiarazione delle lingue'), in which he sets out his typological taxonomy of languages through a sequence of binary distinctions in line with the scholastic tradition. We will here follow this series of distinctions, underlining how Occitan is used within it, and occasionally also discussing its absence. Occitan is first mentioned when explaining the different degrees of 'health' that a language can enjoy. Languages can of course be 'vive' or 'non vive',³⁹ but there are two different degrees of 'non-life', one being that of languages that no one understands anymore ('*morte affatto*'), and the other that of the '*meze vive*' languages, defined as follows:

se bene non si favellano naturalmente da alcun popolo in luogo nessuno, si possono nondimeno imparare o da' maestri, o da' libri, e poi favellarle o scriverle, come sono la greca, la latina, e ancora la provenzale; e queste cosi fatte chiamaremo *meze vive*, perché dove quelle prime sono morte e nella voce e nelle scritture, non si favellando più e non s'intendendo, queste seconde sono morte nella voce solamente, perché, se non si favellano, s'intendono da chi apparare le vuole (646)

Varchi attributes to medieval Occitan the same vitality as the classical languages.⁴⁰ Ancient Greek and Latin have disappeared 'nella voce solamente' and yet are understandable 'da chi apparare le vuole'—a claim that seems to encapsulate the undoubtedly demanding time he must have spent studying, in the absence of 'maestri', the difficult 'libri' of the *Donatz* and *Razos* in order to learn the language.⁴¹

The following distinction is between '*lingue nobili*' (in which illustrious authors have written) and '*non nobili*'. Varchi does not explain where Occitan is located within this scheme, but the references to troubadour poetry contained within the *Hercolano* make its 'nobility' clear. And yet, Varchi's silence in this passage may be significant, for he is opposing at this point Castelvetro's claim that French and Spanish are equal in terms of literary dignity to Florentine (653–55). Given this argumentative context, then, it might be that having to deal with the fact that

³⁹ I am reproducing the Italics from Varchi 1995.

⁴⁰ The concept of lingue '*meze vive*' is also used to defend the use of the vernacular instead of the classical languages, 'spente nella loro parte migliore e più importante', the spoken usage (Varchi 1995: 857).

⁴¹ Elsewhere, he makes the *Conte* say that that Latin can only be learned 'con una gran fatica, pare a me, e mettervi dentro di molto tempo e studio; e a pena che egli riesca.' (1995: 681). It should be noted that Varchi himself learned Latin relatively late in his life (Pirotti 1971: 3).

the troubadours were so admired by Dante and Petrarch while at the same time having to declare the superiority of the Tuscan over all other vernacular literatures would have overly complicated the discussion, and this may explain his avoidance of the topic here.

Languages can, then, from an individual perspective, be ‘*natie*’ (that is, the language one speaks naturally, or that, in a terminology derived from the *De vulgari eloquentia*, ‘si succiano col latte’) and ‘*non natie*’. The latter can be further differentiated between those that are ‘*semplicemente altre*’ (‘sono tutte quelle le quali non solamente non sono nè favellate da noi, nè intese quando altri le favella, ma nè ancora hanno che fare cosa del mondo con le nostre natie’) and those that are ‘*non semplicemente altre*’ (‘se bene noi non le favelliamo nè intendiamo naturalmente, hanno però grande autorità e maggioranza sopra le nostre natie, perché se non hanno dato loro l’essere, sono state buone cagioni che elle siano’, 647). The examples Varchi brings here are the relationships respectively of Greek towards Latin and of Latin towards Tuscan; however, he then adds that ‘la toscana, quasi di due madri figliuola, è molto ubbrigata ancora alla provenzale’ (647).⁴² The claim is interesting in its ambivalence, as it puts the Occitan influence on Tuscan on a similar level to that of Latin while cautiously limiting itself to a generic idea of ‘obligation’ rather than derivation.

It is also possible that, as we have seen, this judgment is connected with the fact that only Latin is at the root of Tuscan. Occitan’s influence therefore consists in a later enrichment of the language. This relationship would therefore exemplify the second way that a language can be ‘*non semplicemente altra*’ towards another as mentioned above, that is, being one of the reasons ‘che ell[a] si[a]’. In other words, according to Varchi, Occitan had a fundamental role in shaping the way the language developed, as is also suggested by a later reference to Tuscan being made ‘primariamente’ of Latin and ‘secondariamente’ of Occitan (Varchi 1995: 726). The statement

⁴² In the aforementioned *Discorso sopra le lingue* (1551–52), Varchi had simply said that Latin was ‘madre della Toscana [lingua]’ (Opuscoli 1807–9: I, 157).

should also be read as one of the many manifestations of Varchi's Bemboist leanings,⁴³ for, as we have seen, the *Prose* dedicate much of the first book to Provençal loanwords, perhaps leading Varchi to formalise Occitan's role for the evolution of Tuscan in this way. The enrichment of a language is also a key concept of Varchi's linguistic thought. The *Discorso sopra le lingue* (1551–52) formalised it as follows: 'come che tutte le lingue dalla prima origine loro nascono (come l'altre cose tutte quante) imperfette e rozze, o volemo dire piuttosto povere e incolte, si vanno però facendo ricche e più belle secondo gli uomini che le favellano, e gli autori che le scrivono' (*Opuscoli* 1807–9: II, 156).⁴⁴

To further clarify how Occitan enriched Florentine, we can read the aforementioned passage of the *Hercolano* in dialogue with this claim from the *Quesito settimo*:

la lingua nobile di Firenze, cioè quella che si scriveva o si scrive haveva ed ha per basa e fondamento, oltre la proprietà detta, molte parole e modi di favellare non pur latini, ma provenzali, e ancora d'altre lingue, ma in ispezialità della greca e dell'hebraica. (715)

The 'lingua nobile' (a concept of a clear Dantean origin)⁴⁵ of Florence is a written language (or 'parlare pensato', 888) that is sufficiently different from the spoken one for Varchi to identify various influences from the historically nobler languages that are missing from (or at least less present in) everyday *fiorentino*. This stance is also part of Varchi's strategy to complement Bembo's dismissiveness towards spoken Florentine with a *fiorentinista* conception of language. He does this by theorising two different levels within Tuscan, one of which was more strictly connected to Occitan (and Greek and Hebrew) than the other. Bembo, whose focus was purely literary, had indeed stressed how writers are the basis of language, but Varchi remarks that the spoken language is in turn a source for writers, and should therefore not be disregarded, at least not the one spoken by people who are reasonably learned (Siekiera EI). The existence of two clearly

⁴³ Debenedetti (1902: 115) considers this an unoriginal re-elaboration of Bembo's theory of languages. While the root of these concepts in the *Prose* cannot be denied, I believe that Varchi goes beyond Bembo's position and draws his own conclusions.

⁴⁴ Varchi possibly derives this idea from Machiavelli's *Discorso intorno alla nostra lingua* (Varchi 1995: 241).

⁴⁵ While Varchi did not believe the *De vulgari eloquentia* to be authentic, he uses it within the *Hercolano*, as also proven by the aforementioned reference to the vernacular being 'succia[to] col latte' above (Varchi 1995: 18–19, 647).

distinct linguistic levels with different behaviours is confirmed elsewhere in the *Hercolano*: ‘Io voglio tralasciare qui l’oppenione di coloro, i quali tengono che così si debba scrivere a punto, come si favella; il che è manifestamente falsissimo’ (809). However, as we will see, this two-level logic is not always maintained.⁴⁶

The *Hercolano*: Tuscan’s debt towards Occitan

The claim of an influence of Occitan on the Tuscan language is substantiated by a wealth of linguistic and literary elements presented throughout the *Hercolano* as having an Occitan origin. Once again, Varchi does not hide his reliance on Bembo on this matter. The first time he claims that Tuscan is composed ‘della latina e della provenzale’, the count asks him for an elucidation about the role of Provençal, receiving the following answer:

Il medesimo Bembo nel medesimo libro [*scil. Prose*] vi può ancora in cotesto larghissimamente e con verità satisfare, ogni volta che di leggerlo vi piacerà, e vi doverrà piacere quanto prima potrete, se vi diletta come mostrate, di sapere in quante e quali cose i primi rimatori toscani si valessero de i trovatori provenzali; che *trovatori* si chiamavano provenzalmente, anzi che quella lingua si spegnesse, i poeti, come *trovare* poetare: ancora che alcuni dalla somiglianza del suono ingannati, non *trovatori*, ma *trombadori* scrivono;⁴⁷ e non solo i rimatori, ma i prosatori ancora di toscana si servivano delle voci e de i modi del favellare provenzale, come si può vedere sì negli altri, e sì massimamente nel Boccaccio, il quale molti usa di quei vocaboli che racconta il Bembo (702)

Varchi once again declares the dependence of his reconstruction from the *Prose*, also implying, with a polemical jibe at Alessandro Vellutello who had used the word ‘trombadori’ both in his 1525 commentary to Petrarch and in the later 1544 *Espositione* to Dante (Debenedetti 1995:

⁴⁶ One other example of a breach of this system is when in discussing the Hebrew and Greek derivation of Tuscan’s negative sentences he says: ‘CONTE. E da chi s’hanno a imparare così minute e sottili differenze, e non dimeno necessarie? VARCHI. Da’ legnaiuoli, se non volete da’ setaiuoli o lanaiuoli di Firenze; e vi sono di quelle che niuno può insegnarle, se non un lungo uso e una continova pratica, perché o non vi sono regole, o non vi si sono trovate ancora.’ (724) Pirotti 1971 (119–24) believes that the two-level logic is partly due to Varchi’s attempt to defend Caro from Castelvetro’s Petrarch-centric—and thus Bembist—criticism while avoiding openly contradicting Bembo, and it might precisely be because Varchi was not satisfied with how the two levels were reconciled that he kept delaying publication of the *Hercolano*. Another inconsistency could be added: the ‘cultural’ criterion according to which the normative language is that of the ‘non idioti’ is similarly unsystematic, as proven by the aforementioned reference to ‘legnaiuoli’, ‘setaiuoli’ etc. (See also Vitale 1978: 92–93).

⁴⁷ This is one of the many cases where Varchi shows the unreliability of etymologies. There might also be a hint of Florentine pride in this correction, as the verb ‘trovare’ survived in Florence, at least in the expression ‘perché non paia ch’io trovi e canti’, used within the *Hercolano* (671).

209), that Bembo remains the more reliable source on the troubadours.⁴⁸ The list of loanwords that follows indeed replicates that found in *Prose* I, X–XI, including the very order of the words.⁴⁹ Ever devoted to Bembo’s memory, Varchi nonetheless feels compelled to add a few remarks symptomatic of an attentive reading of the *Prose*, such as an attempt to interpret *miraglio* as *ammiraglio*, or the mention of the Provençal origin of the suffixes *-anza* and *-enza*, implied by Bembo’s accumulation of multiple words with these endings together.

The incorporation of almost all of Bembo’s list of words within the *Hercolano* is also significant from the point of view of the contemporary debates. On the one hand, the reproduction of the list is a reply to those fellow Florentine academicians such as Pierfrancesco Giambullari and the group nicknamed the *aramei* that denied any connection between Tuscan and the Gallo-Romance languages, arguing instead that Tuscan descended from Aramaic and Etruscan (Varchi 1995: 16, 58; Firpo 1997: 87–91; Lo Re 2008: 300–2). On the other, Varchi’s list can also be read as an implicit attack on Castelvetro, who had strongly denied the Provençal origin of most of these words in the *Giunta*. The view that Castelvetro is the target here is supported by the fact that this passage also questions the validity of etymologies, to which Castelvetro attributed a special importance (Debenedetti 1995: 176). Varchi indeed draws a clear distinction between a word’s etymology, which is most of the time too distant to retrace, and its direct derivation, which can instead be identified with some certainty. To exemplify this, and this is very significant, he uses Occitan words:

Verbigrazia, questa parola *orgoglio* è posta tra quelle dagli autori che havete nominati le quali dirivano dal greco, e nondimeno i Toscani (per quanto giudicare si può) non da i Greci la presero, ma da’ Provenzali;

⁴⁸ Vellutello had access to *N2* but had very little understanding of the language (Belloni 1992: 71).

⁴⁹ To Bembo’s list, Varchi adds *chere*, which, unless it is a printing error shared by both 1570 editions of the *Hercolano*, would be a pleonastic third person present of the verb *cherere*, also included in the list (a similar expansion would be *havea* where Bembo had only included *ha* and *hebbe*; The aforementioned error of *miralh* interpreted as *ammiraglio* would later be pointed out by Girolamo Muzio in the *Varchina* (see Debenedetti 1995: 179). It should also be noted that by Varchi’s time, Bembo’s list of Provençalisms had been adopted by most grammarians (Varchi 1995: 26). The Venetian *editio princeps* of the *Hercolano* also included *pariglia* among the Provençalisms, although elsewhere in the treatise, the word is said to come from Spanish. *Pariglia* is absent from the list as it appears in the Florentine edition that followed in the same year: unless this correction is the editor’s initiative, we can surmise that there was a time when Varchi thought that the word had an Occitan origin, but later changed his opinion and removed it from the list in the manuscript with a correction that the Venetian printer failed to notice (Varchi 1995: 215).

similmente *parlare e bravare*, che io dissi di sopra esser venuti di Provenza, hanno, secondo cotesti medesimi autori, l'origine greca, e con tutto ciò i Toscani non dalla greca lingua, ma dalla provenzale è verisimile che gli pigliassero. (699)

The choice of using as an example words that came to Tuscan through Occitan might not be neutral either, as it might be a way for Varchi to compensate for the inferiority that he had shown at the time of their 1551 meeting.

After relating Bembo's list of Provençalisms, with a clear separation ('Raccontatemene degli altri'), Varchi adds a wealth of other presumed ones (703): *affanno*, *affannare*, *angoscia*, *angoscioso*, and many others. Interestingly, the words are set in alphabetical order. This order suggests that Varchi, rather than citing them in any haphazard way, is drawing from a list (be it physical or mental) that was already ordered in that way, and which he presumably drew from the Occitan materials that were in his hands.⁵⁰ Some of the words can be retraced to the *Regole della grammatica provenzale*, as is the case of *avinente*. The Occitan *avinens* appeared multiple times in the examples of the *Regole*, and once, in a passage from the *Razos* that he translated, Varchi himself had used *avinentemente* (fol. 17v). Similarly, the presence of the word *allontanarsi* in the *Hercolano* reflects one of his additions to *Donatz* section of the *Regole*: "mi allontano" et simil verbi col 'mi' hanno anco i provenzali: 'mi alonie' "m'allontanassi" (fol. 16v).

In the *Hercolano*, Varchi also says that there are 'non pochi [...] modi del favellare' (705) that the Italians derived from the Occitans, although here he only mentions two such constructions: that based on *in + gerund* (taken from *Prose*, III, 54), and the expression *per poco non morì*. To this list, one can also add *far buoni motti*, mentioned at 605. Here Varchi is probably thinking of Gauselm Faidit's *vida* which reads in Bernart Amoros's chansonnier: 'fetz molt bos sos e bos motz' (Boutière-Schutz 1973: 167).⁵¹ Varchi is also aware that the Tuscan term *motto* has a quite different meaning from its Occitan equivalent: 'ma a noi questo nome *motto* significa tutto quello

⁵⁰ From an unsystematic survey, it seems to me that the Occitan equivalents of most of these words can be found on MS *c*.

⁵¹ While *al* correctly reads 'motz', *all* has 'inotz'—one more hint that *all* was never in Varchi's possession. Also note that Lodovico Castelvetro displays a particular interest for Gauselm Faidit in his Petrarchan commentary (Chapter Four).

che i Latini comprendono sotto questi due nomi *ioci e dicterii*, e i Greci sotto questi altri due *scommati e apotegmati*' (605).

The count then asks for proof that the troubadours came before the Tuscan poets and not vice versa, expressing thereby a doubt already debated by Bembo. The answer is supported by Dante's authority:

CONTE. Il mio secondo dubbio è perché voi fate che i Toscani habbiano pigliate coteste voci da' Provenzali, e non i Provenzali da' Toscani; non sarebbe egli possibile che i Toscani havessero alcuna di coteste stesse voci non da' Provenzali preso, ma da quelle medesime lingue dalle quali le pigliarono i Provenzali?

VARCHI. Sarebbe; e anco che la Provenza n'havesse prese alcune dalla Toscana; ma perché i rimatori provenzali furono prima de' toscani, perciò si pensa che essi habbiano dato e non ricevuto cotali voci. Ecco Dante nostro favellando di Guido Guinizelli, vostro bolognese, disse:

Quando io udii nomar se stesso il padre

Mio, e degli altri miei miglior, che mai

Rime d'amore usar dolci e leggiadre.

Dove, chiamandolo padre, cioè maestro e precettore suo e degli altri suoi migliori, viene a confessare ingenuamente ch'egli e eglino da lui imparato haveano. (706–7)

Purgatorio 26 is then used to discuss the distinction between a poet's origins and the language he wrote in:

CONTE. Dunque sarà pur vero che la mia lingua tenga il principato tra tutte l'altre d'Italia.

VARCHI. Guido, se bene fu da Bologna, scrisse nondimeno provenzalmente,⁵² e anco se fu non rimase il primo, conciosia cosa che Guido Cavalcanti gli entrò innanzi; non vi ricorda che il medesimo Dante disse:

Così ha tolto l'uno all'altro Guido

La gloria della lingua, e tale è nato

Che l'uno e l'altro caccierà del nido? (707)

The claim that Guido Guinizelli wrote in Occitan is confusing and difficult to explain. In the eighteenth century, the erudite Giovanni Bottari (Varchi 1730: 210)⁵³ had supposed that it might be a printing error for 'toscanamente', but this would imply a quite unusual *lapsus* on the

⁵² It should be noted that, structurally speaking, this sentence repeats almost *ad verbum* *Prose* II, 22 'Guido Giudice, come che ciciliano fosse, scrisse nondimeno toscanamente', which could perhaps indicate that Varchi is misremembering this reference to Guido delle Colonne.

⁵³ The entirety of Giovanni Bottari's commentary is reproduced within Anton Federigo Seghezzi and Gaetano Volpi's 1744 edition (Varchi 1744), to whom Valentina Grohovaz (Castelvetto 1999: 230) attributes this claim. Similarly, Sorella (Varchi 1995: 707) mistakenly attributes it to Pietro Dal Rio's 1846 (Varchi 1846: 229–30) edition, where it is instead correctly attributed to Bottari.

printer's part. Another explanation has been proposed by Antonio Sorella (Varchi 1995: 707), who claims that Varchi here actually uses the word 'provenzalente' to define in general the pre-Dantean way of writing poetry, regardless of the language. While this second explanation could have some support by the fact that once in the *Prose* (III, LXXVIII) 'provenzalente' is used to mean 'in a way similar to that of the Occitan language', it is difficult to think that Varchi would extend this meaning to poetic styles without elaborating, especially considering that, as we will see, shortly afterwards he uses that same adverb in the meaning of 'in Occitan'. Neither explanation is therefore convincing, especially given that, in this context, Varchi is clearly talking about the Provençal language and not of a style of poetry. It is possible that, citing from memory, Varchi is actually thinking of Dante da Maiano's Occitan poems contained at fol. 138v of MS *c* (BEdT 121,1 and 2), confusing one poet connected with Dante for another.⁵⁴ The context seems to support this: Dante's words towards Guido, and not those of Guido about Arnaut, are indeed taken as proof that the troubadours came first, hinting that Varchi thought Guinizzelli was one of them.

If our interpretation of the passage is correct, then, the strategy employed to fit Occitan within the history of the vernacular at the service of a linguistic ideology is very close to that of Bembo, who had employed Folquet, Sordello, and Bertolome Zorzi to show how some masters wrote in a language other than their native one. The fact that a poet (and Dante's 'padre' no less) adopted a language other than his native Bolognese is indeed an implicit encouragement to contemporary authors to adopt Florentine instead of their native language.

The reference to *Purgatorio* 26 then leads Varchi to an excursus about Arnaut Daniel that allows him to explore the influence of Occitan on Tuscan in literary terms:

VARCHI. [...] Ma tornando a Guido vostro, egli stesso confessa che Arnaldo Daniello provenzale fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno, dicendo di lui:

Versi d'amore e prose di romanzi

Soverchiò tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti,

⁵⁴ Castelvetro notoriously criticised Varchi's habit of citing off by heart which often led him to make unnecessary mistakes (*Correttione*, xli–xlii: Castelvetro 1999: 207–12; also see Chapter Four).

Che quel di Lemosì credon ch'avanzi.

CONTE. Chi fu quello di Lemosì, se voi il sapete?

VARCHI. Io ho in un libro provenzalmente scritto molte vite di poeti provenzali, e la prima è quella di Giraldo chiamato di Bornello, che è quegli di cui favella Dante in questo luogo, e di chi intese il Petrarca quando, nella rassegna che egli fa de' poeti provenzali nel quarto capitolo d'Amore, scrisse:

E 'l vecchio Pier d'Alvernia con Giraldo.

La qual vita io tradussi già in volgare fiorentino, havendo animo di seguitare di tradurre tutte l'altre; il che poi non mi venne fatto, ancora che sieno molto brevi, e l'ho in questo scannello che voi qui vedete. (708)

This citation, together with the translation of Guiraut de Borneil's *vida* that follows it (about which see next section), is of paramount importance, since it proves—as already mentioned—that at this point, Varchi had ('io ho') a copy of Bernart Amoros's chansonnier, or at least of its *vidas*.⁵⁵ Given what we have said about MS *all*, it is unlikely that it is to be identified with this manuscript—it must rather have been a separate copy of the original, which at some point during the century was in the hands of a Leone belonging to the Strozzi family, to which Varchi was very close throughout his life (Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020: 89).

This reference is also important for chronological reasons, because it tells us that, at the time when he wrote the *Hercolano*, Varchi had only translated Giraut de Borneil's *vida*. We indeed know that at some point he also translated that of Arnaut Daniel, as testified by the aforementioned reference in the inventory cited by Aiazzi and Arbib ('Vite di Giraldo Bornello e di Arnaldo Daniello ...'; Varchi 1841: xxxvii). Considering what we said about the times of composition of the *Hercolano*, Varchi must therefore have translated Arnaut's *vida* at least after 1555, possibly even later, testifying to a continuation of his interest for Occitan even after the *Hercolano*.

The Conte immediately acknowledges the usefulness of the information on Giraut de Borneil and Arnaut Daniel for the understanding of *Purgatorio* 26, 117–47 and of *TC* IV, 38–57, as well as for *Rvf* 70, although he refrains from citing this last occurrence as 'credo che cotali parole, come diceste voi poco fa, sieno scorrettamente scritte' (709–10). This comment on the low quality of the vulgate text, interestingly, seems to either doubt the authenticity of the source used

⁵⁵ Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2020 (89) claim that Varchi might have drawn only the *vidas* from the Strozzi manuscript as he already had many poems in *c*, but we actually have no way of telling whether the manuscript mentioned in the *Hercolano* only contains the 'molte vite' or also has lyric poems.

by Bembo for the Aldine, or to hint that Petrarch himself had not written the line correctly on his autograph. While Varchi might have made this decision for purely narrative reasons internal to the functioning of the dialogue, it does elicit the suspicion that the attribution of these words to the Conte might have been a strategy to avoid having to deal directly with a difficult passage, one on which Varchi might have expected Castelvetro to base his inevitable retort.

Interestingly enough, then, this passage, which is vital to explaining Dante and Petrarch's preference for Arnaut Daniel over Giraut de Borneil, is completely devoid of any direct quotations from Arnaut's poems. Perhaps realising this, in a later passage, where Varchi discusses the existence of oxytone words in Tuscan, he includes, together with a Dantean quotation, the two opening lines of 'Aissi com cel qu'a la lebre cassada' (BEdT 249,1), which MS *c* attributed to Arnaut:⁵⁶

CONTE. Che sapete voi che *altresi* sia provenzale, e che egli si profferisca toscanamente coll'accento acuto in sull'ultima?

VARCHI. Io ve ne potrei allegare molti luoghi di poeti provenzali, ma bastivi questo d'Arnaldo Daniello, che comincia così una sua canzone:

Illi com cel qa le lepre cazada or pois la perd

Autre la reten, tot autresi es avengud a me.

Et Dante disse nella sua contra gli erranti:

Ma ciò io non consento,

Nè eglino altresi, se son christiani. (898)

In the light of the discussion above, with its frequent references to Dante and Petrarch, one would think, as we have argued, that Occitan only influenced one of the two levels of normative Florentine, the written and literary. However, Varchi seems to suggest otherwise. Even words as elementary as 'parlare' (533) or 'menzogna' (630), and common expressions such as the aforementioned 'per poco non morì' (705) and 'far motto' (605) appear to originate from Occitan.

⁵⁶ The same poem also appeared in Bernart Amoros's chansonnier, where it was however attributed to Peire Vidal (BEdT). The fact that this alternative attribution is not mentioned might hint that Varchi used (a copy of) Bernart Amoros's MS only for the *vidas* as Borghi Cedrini and Meliga theorised (2020: 89).

Varchi never deals with this inconsistency, even though, as we have noted, he does underline the strictly literary channel through which these words and expressions entered the language.

I am hesitant to accept the idea that Varchi is intentionally suggesting that spoken Florentine has been influenced by the language of the *tre corone* (as proposed by Varchi 1995: 27–28), and thus, indirectly, by the troubadours. Such a bold claim would need to be explicitly justified, especially in a work that tries to reconcile spoken usage with Bembo’s norm. It rather seems to me that he instinctively perceives a connection between all levels of Florentine and the troubadours’ language and finds himself at a loss to give it a rigorous explanation.

This perceived concordance of contemporary spoken Florentine with ancient literary Florentine and the troubadours’ usage is even once used—in a rare defense of Castelvetro—to justify the use of the word *parlatura*:

VARCHI. Ridansi [*scil.* those who laughed at Castelvetro for using the word] ancor di me, il quale l’ho posta, sì perché ella è voce della lingua provenzale, dalla quale ha pigliato la fiorentina di molte cose, e sì per l’autorità di ser Brunetto Latini,⁵⁷ maestro di Dante, il quale l’usò nella traduzione della *Rettorica* di Cicerone, e sì ancora, perché l’uso d’hoggi non mi pare che la rifiuti, e anche l’analogia non la vieta (560)

The passage is particularly interesting, since here Varchi recognizes the power of Florentine to achieve a remarkable variety by borrowing from Occitan as well as from its own literary tradition, a matter that was so important to Varchi that here he is effectively praising Castelvetro’s judgement over that of Caro (Pirotti 1971: 131). Despite the importance attributed to the theme, the nature and extent of the influence of literary Occitan (and literary Florentine) on the spoken vernacular is never clarified. Nevertheless, Varchi once again underlines the existence of a privileged relationship between the two languages when he concludes the section on loanwords from Hebrew and Greek by saying:

onde conchiudendo dico che la lingua volgare, se bene ha di molti vocaboli e di molte locuzioni d’altri idiomi, è però composta principalmente della lingua latina e secondariamente della provenzale. (726)

⁵⁷ Based on a research on *Gattoweb*, I believe that here Varchi is referring to Brunetto’s *Rettorica* XXXV, IV. Here is how the passage appeared in the only sixteenth-century edition of the work, which Varchi owned: ‘il nostro Catone, ne q(ue)lli altri saui che amauano dirittamente il comune, et haueano senno, et parlatura’ (Brunetto 1546, page c 2v; see Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Filze Rinuccini 11, fol. 324r).

The relationship between Occitan and Tuscan runs deep, allowing Varchi to even use Occitan to explain Tuscan words:

CONTE. [...] che dite voi del verbo *rancurare*? Viene egli da *rancore*, o vero *ruggine*, [...] et è egli sì mala cosa e così da doversi fuggire, come alcuni lo fanno?

VARCHI. *Rancuro*, donde si venga, è verbo provenzale, e significa *attristarsi* e *dolersi*, come si vede in quel verso d'una canzone di Folchetto da Genova, benché egli si chiamò e volle esser chiamato da Marsilia, la quale canzone comincia:

Per Deu amors ben sabez veramen,

dove dice, dolendosi della sua donna:

Com plus vos serf chascuns, plus se rancura;

Usalo ancora Arnaldo di Miroil in una sua canzone che comincia:

Sim destringues donna vos, et amor.⁵⁸

Da questo discende *rancura*, cioè 'tristizia e doglienza', nome usato da Dante [...] ma molte [*scil.* volte] da' poeti provenzali, come si può vedere nella medesima canzone del medesimo Folchetto; e Pietro Beumonte nella canzone che comincia:

Al pariscen de las flors

[...] disse:

Qui la en paez ses rancura (581–83)

This passage is of particular importance in its application of the concept of Occitan being one of the main components of Tuscan. To elucidate the meaning, usage, and deverbal derivation of a word, he uses Folquet, Arnaut de Mareuil, and Peire Breumon, in the same process showing that Dante's language owes much to the troubadours. This second point is further elaborated when immediately afterwards the Conte asks Varchi why Dante resorted to the Occitan word *rancura*, and receives the response that 'il fece (credo io) o per arricchir la lingua, o perché cotali voci erano a quel tempo in uso' (584). In a way that is somewhat reminiscent of Colocci, Dante is here presented as enriching the vernacular (cf. Chapter One), within a dynamic conception of language, open to innovation, whether it comes from one of Tuscan's 'parent literatures', or from current use (here, both possibilities are brought forward).

⁵⁸ Oddly enough, the exact line where Arnaut de Mareuil uses 'rancurar' (the second line of the fourth stanza in *c*, fol. 32v) is not reported.

The genetic relationship of Florentine and Occitan interestingly makes it possible to use Dante's Occitan to prove the 'Tuscanness' of the word 'abbellare':

[the verb *abbellare*] ha sempre davanti sé o mi, o ti, o gli, secondo le persone che favellano, o delle quali si favella: questo è modo di dire toscano, come mostra Dante stesso, inducendo nella fine del XXVI canto del *Purgatorio* Arnaldo Daniello a dire provenzalmente:

Iam m'abelis votre cortois deman (579)⁵⁹

The examples adduced here so far show that Varchi was familiar with the Occitan literary tradition, and that he was able to give fitting literary references. As a *lingua non semplicemente altra* to Florentine, Occitan not only provides the origin of words found in Dante and Petrarch, but it can also be used to explain the meaning and correct usage of Florentine words. On the literary side, the Occitan quotations are used to explain Petrarch and Dante, implying a very close relationship between the two languages by virtue of the linguistic and literary debt of Florentine towards Occitan, a relationship that also justifies the choice of those authors who decide to adopt a literary language that does not correspond to their native one.

The *Hercolano*: Perception and Understanding of Occitan and of its literature

After looking at Occitan from a 'Florentine' perspective, in this final section, we discuss what can be deduced from the *Hercolano* concerning how Varchi understood troubadour poetry, and what was his conception of the language in itself, as well as the degree of insight that he had by the time he wrote the treatise.

The *Hercolano* quotes four troubadour poems and one *vida*. The original text of all four poems is given with the addition of modern punctuation, and three are also accompanied by translations, while the *vida* is only given in translation. The choice of poets is unsurprising: Folquet de Marselha, Giraut de Borneil and Arnaut Daniel all belong to the Dantean-Petrarchan canon. As for the 'lesser' Arnaut de Maroill and Peire Breumon, their names might be connected with an

⁵⁹ Varchi could read the *incipit* that inspired this line (BEdT 155,22) at fol. 10r of *c*, where it appears as 'tant mabelis lamoros pensamen': it might be that the textual differences between it and the form under which he knew Arnaut's speech from the *Commedia* caused him to miss this connection.

attempt to identify Petrarch's allusion in the *Triumpho* to 'un Piero e l'altro e 'l men famoso Arnaldo'.⁶⁰ However, the fact that this connection is not explicitly stated might suggest that Varchi himself was uncertain about it.

As already mentioned, the source for the *vida* is Bernart Amoros's chansonnier, while the poetic quotations all seem to come from *c*, even where Bernart's chansonnier could have offered him some form of *varia lectio*. The fact that *c* is the source is proven by the fact that 'Al pareissen de las flors' (BEdT 356,1) is attributed to Peire Breumon and 'Aissi com sel qu'a la lebre cassada' (BEdT 249,1) to Arnaut Daniel. Both attributions are indeed only found in this manuscript. In terms of the texts themselves, the *Hercolano* does have some minor deviations from the manuscript, but they are insufficient to justify the existence of another source. Some of them can be explained as part of the process of transcription or printing (e.g. *c* 'Qi' – *Hercolano* 'qui'; *c* 'paç' – *Hercolano* 'paez'), while others are simple Tuscanisations or hypercorrections (e.g. *c* 'lebre' – *Hercolano* 'lepre'; *c* 'distrignes' – *Hercolano* 'destringues'), possibly due to self-dictation while transcribing them in the *Hercolano* or as a result of Varchi's habit of remembering texts by heart. The quotation from 'Aissi com sel qu'a la lebre cassada' is however uncharacteristically inaccurate, with three decasyllables that are extremely easy to identify both metrically and from MS *c*'s punctuation being turned into two lines of fifteen syllables. The text also presents two alterations, with the 'Aissi' being turned into 'illi', while the clearly visible Tironian note at the end of the line in *c* (fol. 39r) is inexplicably ignored. Both of these characteristics, however, seem to be symptoms of a hasty reading rather than deriving from a different source.

In terms of their function, the poems quoted are selected purely as examples of the linguistic phenomena discussed in the dialogue or as a way to understand Dante and Petrarch, with no real concern for their content or literary quality. Of course, it is difficult to gauge how much this is to be considered a sign of a real disinterest on Varchi's part and how much it is a consequence of the treatise's primary interest for the Florentine vernacular. Only the discussion of the primacy of

⁶⁰ The identification of the 'altro Pietro' with Arnaut de Mareuill is already in Vellutello's commentary (fol. c 3v of Vellutello 1532, the edition that Varchi had).

Arnaut Daniel over Giraut de Borneil shows an interest for this literary tradition in itself, and even this is done through a clearly Dantean filter, with none of Arnaut's poems being quoted directly (Varchi 1995: 709).

Metrical features can perhaps reveal something more about Varchi's choice of lines. Some of the quoted lines are in metres that are very similar to those of the Italian tradition (a feminine and a masculine decasyllable, and a feminine heptasyllable). It might be that, because of their similarity to Italian metrics, Varchi found them particularly memorable, or at least easier to remember, possibly hinting that he was citing them by heart. As for the translations, all quite straightforward and clear, two out of three adopt one of the two traditional Italian metres (the hendecasyllable 'com più vi serve alcun, più se ne duole' and the heptasyllable 'All'apparir de' fiori').

As for Giraut de Borneil's *vida*, it is, as already mentioned, cited only in a translation that Varchi had supposedly already carried out at the time of the dialogue's setting. The text is evidently based on that of Bernart Amoros's manuscript, as is shown by the mistake 'Copusduello' instead of 'Esiduoill', only found in *al* and *all* (cf. *all* 'capdueil'; Varchi 2017: 27). The inclusion of the translation is justified by the need to elucidate Dante's sibylline reference to 'quel di Lemosi' (which a long tradition identified as Giraut),⁶¹ and is 'quasi in tutto alla lettera, e fedele al testo' (Debenedetti 1995: 131). Varchi only makes a few very minor mistakes, the most notable probably being the understandable mistranslation of 'aprendet'—"he taught"—as 'apparare'. This translation gives in general the impression of someone well versed and confident in his grasp of the language, as well as able to connect these contents with Dante and Petrarch's texts.

Ultimately, it is helpful, if we are to appreciate more fully the identity of Varchi in his final years as a Provençalist, to focus on the passage where he speaks of Tuscan nouns ending in *-ore*, pointing out that:

⁶¹ If I am not mistaken, the earliest instance is in Jacomo della Lana's 1324–28 commentary, who calls him 'Guido Brunello', then followed by Benvenuto da Imola and Martin Paolo Nidobeato (*Dartmouth Dante Project*; Dante 1477–78: II, i2v).

i Provenzali davano l'articolo femminile a tutti quei verbali cui noi diamo il maschile, come si vede chiaramente ne' lor libri e in quei versi di Dante che seguitano a quegli allegati di sopra da noi, dove si legge: *las passata follor, per a che la valor, de ma dolor, come se follore, dolore e valore* fussero femminini, in luogo di *follia, doglienza e valenza*. (853)

While it is somewhat underwhelming—as Castelvetro would not fail to notice—to see Varchi adopt such incorrect readings for *Purgatorio* 26, and despite the fact that this is the only remark on Occitan morphology found in the *Hercolano*, it remains notable that Varchi understands and applies a specific grammatical rule that he seems to have deduced on his own.

In general, he is much less proactive when citing the Occitan parts of the works of Dante and Petrarch: the Occitan lines of *Purgatorio* 26 are reduced to the initial line that we reported above, which attempts to latinise the *Tant* as *Iam* and then mostly follows the Aldine version, including the French spelling 'cortois'. It is unsurprising that Varchi points out that these lines 'per mio avviso siano scritti scorrettamente'. As for the line included in *Rvf* 70, we saw that he directly dodges the passage by defining it too corrupt (709–10).

Ultimately, what Varchi offers in the *Hercolano* is a quite accurate reading of Occitan texts from MS *c* and from Bernart Amoros's chansonnier displaying a special sensibility for grammatical phenomena. This sensibility, together with what we know from the *Regole*, the accuracy of his translations, and his interest in the grammars of several classical and modern languages, suggests that what we see here are the traces of Varchi's detailed linguistic study of the Occitan language undertaken both to understand it in itself and to cast light on the nature of the relationship between the language of the troubadours and that of Florence.

Conclusion to Chapter Five

As we noted in the introduction to this chapter, Varchi's role within the phenomenon of Occitan studies has been minimised or entirely neglected in past accounts, including Debenedetti's.⁶² The extent of this neglect is such that this underestimation is found even in the latest edition of his

⁶² A similar thing (also due to the fact that much of his production still only exists in manuscript form or in outdated prints) seems to have happened with the reception of Varchi's work in other fields.

Regole della grammatica provenzale (Varchi 2017), one of the fundamental documents of his knowledge of the language. The prevailing judgment—one which this chapter has attempted to revise with its documentation of Varchi's knowledge and sophistication as an Occitan scholar—may also owe something to a critical conservatism in adopting traditional appraisals of Varchi's philological and critical tools.

Against such evaluations, this chapter has attempted to illustrate and document how Varchi's personal compendium of the *Donatz* and *Razos*, whose sources we have here discussed for the first time since Biadene, reveals a notable level of erudition and demonstrates a quite advanced understanding of the language. Varchi also shows an ability to move with confidence and ease among grammatical phenomena, and, in order to understand the meaning of the text, to draw from the grammatical treatises conclusions that apply not only to Occitan, but also to the Florentine language.

The *Hercolano*, the only 'public' work where we can see Varchi applying what he had learned from his reading of the Occitan grammars and poets, pays eloquent testimony to Varchi's concern to define Occitan typologically and historically within the wider frame of world languages, while at the same time attempting to identify how certain of its literary features survive within Dante and Petrarch, as well as within the Florentine language in general. However, Varchi seems to struggle to measure the nature and importance of a linguistic connection between Tuscan and Occitan that he perceives almost instinctively, and which he fails to define in terms of the distinction between spoken and written Florentine. Despite the unsystematic approach in discussing these linguistic connections, his references to Occitan show a good command of the language and a good understanding of its influence on Tuscan literature, although some of his transcriptions are quite problematic. His limits, however, emerge especially for what concerns troubadour poetry as a historical phenomenon in its own right, a domain in which the *Hercolano* shows no interest. Although this absence might simply be due to the dialogue's theme, it is significantly in line with the general lack of interest that Varchi displays for the French and Spanish literary traditions, which contrasts with his interest for the languages in themselves.

Chapter Six

Giovanni Maria Barbieri: Italian as Occitan's heir

Giovanni Maria Barbieri, whom we have already encountered in Chapter Four, was for most of his life a notary and later chancellor of the *comunità* of Modena, as well as an erudite literary scholar with a special interest for the Middle Ages and its poetry. He is best known for the *Arte del rimare*, a treatise he began writing in the 1570s, that is, the very last years of his life, and which he left unfinished. Despite its unfinishedness, the treatise represents a chronological and conceptual 'point of arrival' for this thesis and its main subjects of enquiry since it represents both the most accomplished product of the rediscovery of Occitan and a high point in the redirecting of focus that occurred within the *questione della lingua*, as it moved from being hinged on defining grammar on aesthetic grounds to a more strictly philological research, in which the normative aspect was less pronounced.

This chapter is divided in four sections. We will start, in the first section, by discussing a few more testimonies of Barbieri's activity at the time of the edition of troubadour poetry he was preparing with Castelvetro. We will then, in section two, move on to discussing a possible influence of Occitan literature on Barbieri's own poetic production. The third section is instead devoted to Barbieri's translation of the Franco-Venetian poem *Attila flagellum Dei* by Nicolò da Casola. In the final section, we will ultimately focus on the representation of the Occitan language and of troubadour poetry within the *Arte del rimare*, discussing the sources employed, the historical and typological definition of Occitan language and literature it proposes, and Barbieri's perception of modern Italian.

Our main source for Barbieri's life is the *Vita* written by his son Lodovico, which can be used with some caution, given that it is based on recollection more than on documentation. From Lodovico we learn that Barbieri was born in 1519, and that he had preceptors in the classical languages since his youth (Barbieri 1843: xi–xii; Bertoni 1905: 7–8). Despite becoming a notary on 9 November 1535 at the age of sixteen, he was then sent to study alongside Fulvio and Baldassarre Rangoni, members of the governing family of Modena (Barbieri 1843: xii; Folena DBI). Later he was in service of

Ludovico II Pico della Mirandola, accompanying him to Paris (1538–c.1545). As we said, it was in Paris, according to his son, that Barbieri learnt the basics of Occitan language and literature with the help of a secretary of the queen. There are no testimonies of any kind of interest for Occitan at the French court, especially considering that Francis I famously imposed French as the official language in 1539 with the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts, however, it is very much possible that Barbieri met someone with an interest on the matter, or at least found some materials on which to work (1905: 9; also see Folena DBI).

1. More testimonies of the Barbieri-Castelvetro edition

After coming back from Paris, Barbieri became friends with Castelvetro, who was close to Fulvio Rangoni (Al Kalak DBI), and who used to give private lectures in the houses of many young Modenese intellectuals (Bertoni 1905: 16). By mid-century, Barbieri had reached a quite high level of familiarity with the Occitan language, and according to Lodovico Castelvetro Jr., he soon became ‘dottore e guida’ on the matter to Lodovico despite being much younger than him (Bertoni 1905: 44).

This common interest for Occitan and Barbieri’s proficiency in the language led the two to plan together an edition of troubadour poetry. As we discussed in Chapter Four, they translated the *Donatz proensals* and produced a dictionary. In addition to these, some other material that we know to have belonged to Barbieri might have been acquired or produced around this time. This is the case of the fragment known as *b2* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. 4087, fols. 9–53), written by Barbieri and containing one *vida* and one *razo* of Pons de Capdoill, twenty-two poems, and part of Daude de Pradas’s *Roman dels auzels cassadors*. Twenty-one poems and the *Roman* derive from a lost Occitan chansonnier known as ‘the book of Miquel de la Tor’ (and five out of these twenty-one also sport variants in the margins derived from MS *M*), while one poem (BEdT 375,21) comes from MS *M*.¹ All of this has led Zufferey to define the manuscript as ‘un début de travail

¹ It is possible that the texts from *M* do not come directly from the original manuscript but rather from a copy of it such as the *LibAsc* we are going to discuss later (Zufferey 1987: 167). At least for what Miquel de la Tor’s

critique' (1987: 167). Such a document would make perfect sense within the context of producing a critical edition—Barbieri was perhaps going to edit some of the poems by using *LibMich*'s text as a 'base manuscript' to amend with the variants from *M*.

Another document that probably has to be dated to around this same time is the exemplar of Trissino's 1529 edition of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, now preserved in Venice, at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, under the shelfmark 85 D 51, which has some autograph marginalia by Barbieri. Among these notes, we find corrections to the corrupt Occitan quotations of the Trissino edition. In announcing the finding of the *postillato*, Paolo Trovato (1986: 424) underlined how the Occitan corrections are in a darker ink and in a less cursive hand compared to those on the Italian quotations, which are, by comparison, significantly closer to that of the *Arte del rimare*, thereby suggesting an earlier date for the Occitan notes compared to the Italian. The handwriting of the Occitan notes looks very similar, both in term of ink and *ductus*, to that of the note on manuscript *c*, and this suggests that they were written around the same time. Trovato's relative chronology is however made somewhat problematic by the existence of a *descriptus* of Barbieri's notes (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capponi III.75) which reports some of the later notes and which Careri (1996: 280) attributes to Castelvetro, thus dating it to well before the *Arte*.

The notes have been examined at length by Careri 1996 (280–82) and Pulsoni 1997 (642–50), who have established that Barbieri draws his variants from manuscripts that are also connected with the *Arte* (certainly *M* and the *Libro di Michele*, probably also *H*), and possibly one more unidentified source that carried Giraut de Borneil's 'Ar ausiretz encabalitz cantars' at fol. 15v. I would like to point out that it cannot be excluded that some of these, attributed to the *Libro di Michele* by Careri 1996, actually come from *D*, given that some incipits correspond completely or partially to the readings found in this manuscript (the readings of the *postillato*, based on Pulsoni, are on the left,

book is concerned, *b2*'s function was certainly not that of preserving the texts, as the original of Miquel's book remained in Barbieri's possession until his death.

those of *D* on the right; any differences between Pulsoni and Careri's transcriptions are signalled in the footnotes):²

BEdT 242,72 'Sim sentis fizels amics | per uer encuser' amor' (fols. a 5v–6r) – 'Sim sentis fizels amix | Per uer encuser amor' (*D* 8r)

BEdT 242,55 'Per solatz reueillar³ Que ses trop endormitz' (fol. b 8r) – 'Per solatz reueillar Qe ses trop endormitz' (*D* fol. 6v)⁴

BEdT 242,73 'Si per mon sobretoz non fos' (fol. c 3r)– 'Si per mon sobretoz non fos' (*D* fol. 4v)⁵

Whether or not Barbieri used *D* for these quotations, in the other cases mentioned by Careri, the use of *LibMich* is almost certain given the presence of the diphthong *-ue-* derived from *ō* in 'brueills' at fol. b 8r (BEdT 29,13) and 'Pueis' at fol. d 2r (BEdT 234,16). We thus can be certain that, at the time of writing these notes, Barbieri had at least three manuscripts, if not four, available. Despite their scarcity, these notes are also useful to gauge Barbieri's competence, since they show that he is able to recognise the quoted text behind the heavy corruptions (for instance, the first text we have quoted appears in the Trissino text as 'Surisentis fez les armes | Puer encuser amor'). But what is more interesting is that, when parts of the text are correct, Barbieri only amends the substantial differences. For instance, for BEdT 80,29, he uses *M* to correct the nonsensical 'Non pos nul dat con' of the print with 'Non pos mudar cun' leaving intact the variant 'pos', although it does not correspond either to *M* ('puesc', as also reproduced in the *Arte*) or *D* ('puosc'). Similarly, in correcting the last words of the *incipit* of BEdT 29,18 from 'chensorz' to 'chemsorz', he shows an awareness of the semantic difference between the particles *-n* and *-m*.

In one exceptional case, at fol. d 2r, Barbieri extends Dante's discussion of *coblas unissonans* by adding one example: 'come nella canzone di Guilem de Saint Deides, che incomincia: Pueis tant mi forsamors que ma fait entrametre | ca la gensor del mon fai ma chanson trametre etc.'. The

² Eleonora Vincenti (1963: xxxix) confusingly argues that no transcription of *D* appears to be among Barbieri's manuscripts seen by Alessandro Tassoni for the 1609 edition of the *Considerazioni sopra le rime del Petrarca*. I think that most of what she attributes to MS *K* actually comes from *D*, and we also know that *D* is the source of some contents of the *Libro slegato*. In addition to this, Barbieri shows knowledge of the original MS *D* in the *Arte del rimare* (*Min* 24v *BC* 19r), and given that it was in the possession of the Este library, he was probably able to look at the original at his leisure.

³ Here Careri (1996: 281) has a full stop that Pulsoni 1997 does not report.

⁴ Careri 1996 (281) claims it might have come from *LibMich*. The 'qu-' in 'que' could support this claim, but Barbieri might as well have used a different spelling from his source.

⁵ Careri 1996 (282) supposes that this might also have come from *LibMich*, which is perfectly possible but not demonstrable.

example from BEdT 234,16, possibly drawn from *D*,⁶ is perhaps the most interesting one of the group, because it shows that Barbieri's sensibility was not limited to language, but also encompassed metrical forms (Pulsoni 1997: 647).

If they really are to be dated to the time of the edition, these marginalia and corrections are then proof of a quite advanced knowledge of Occitan, so much so that we cannot really exclude that, in some of these cases, he did not use any manuscripts but rather corrected *ope ingenii* (Pulsoni 1997: 648). However, more importantly, this survey has a bearing on our understanding of the manuscripts available to Barbieri and Castelvetro at the time of the edition, since—if the notes are to be dated to the time of the edition—it leads us to include manuscript *M* and the *Libro di Michele* among their collection.⁷

2. The poems (1554-58)

In this section, we will shortly look at two of the poems that Barbieri wrote between 1554 and 1558. The presence of an influence from Occitan poetry in the second poem ('Pioggia d'un bel pensier ne l'alma mia'), has already been underlined by Bertoni (Barbieri 1907: 4–6), while the first one is my proposal. Such an influence—one of the very few examples of a literary influence of troubadour poetry found within this thesis—acts as a further proof of the depth reached by Barbieri's understanding of the Occitan tradition around the time of the critical edition.

Treperuno III.3

The first poem we will look at is part of an answer to Annibal Caro's *Apologia* which Barbieri wrote to support Castelvetro's case in his debate against Annibale Caro. The *Apologia* contained two groups of sonnets against Castelvetro, the *Mattaccini* and the *Corona*, both attributed to the popular Roman

⁶ The form 'Deides' cannot, however, be justified with *D*, which always has 'lesder' ('leider' in *D^a*, 'leisdier' in *D^c*).

⁷ Unlike in the *Arte* (and in the notes to Italian poems within this same *postillato*), Barbieri does not indicate his sources here, so these deductions were made entirely on the basis of the text (Careri 1996: 281).

figure of Pasquino.⁸ A third group of three sonnets was probably circulated in manuscript form. Possibly because of the supposedly ‘collective’ nature of Caro’s attack, Barbieri decided get involved by responding to the first two groups of poems with his own *Mattaccini* (now lost) and *Corona*, adopting the same rhyme-words as Caro. As for the third group of sonnets, Barbieri answered to each of Caro’s sonnets with three sonnets that adopted the same rhymes used by Caro, and which he titled *Treperuno*.⁹ These poems appear to be mostly devoid of meaningful literary reminiscences. I would like to cautiously propose here what might be a partial exception to this in the third sonnet of the third part of the *Treperuno*, and more specifically in the *Natureingang* of the poem:

Come il cucùlo, che di maggio sento
 canta orgoglioso e vola con figura
 di bel sparvier, ma poi in vera fattura
 È piuma lieve a cuculare intento

Natureingänge that adopt bird imagery are a very traditional feature of troubadour poetry (see, among others, Schulze-Busacker 1978), and Barbieri might here be alluding to that use in general. However, it is possible that he is here playing with one specific passage from Jaufrè Rudel:

Lanquan li jom son lonc en mai
 m’es belhs dous chans d’auzelhs de lonh (BEdT 262,4 lines 1–2 [p. 89])¹⁰

Barbieri derives the May setting and the sound of an unseen bird from Jaufrè Rudel, but turns this into a parody by replacing Jaufrè’s generic birds with a cuckoo representing Annibal Caro, who, like Aesop’s crow, struggles to resemble a nobler bird to no avail.

Even the structure of the sentence might owe something to the Occitan tradition, since the expression ‘like [animal] which’ is very similar to one used twice as an incipit by Rigaut de Berbezilh (BEdT 421,1 and 421,2). The second of these two occurrences is quoted within the *Arte del rimare* as follows:

⁸ The *Mattaccini* are actually *sonetti caudati* in the style of Burchiello.

⁹ Of a fourth group of anti-Caro sonnets, the *Marmotte*, only one survives, ‘Una strana marmotta, che conspersa’—and the attribution of it is uncertain, see Barbieri 1907: 23.

¹⁰ The text and page number are from Chiarini’s edition (Jaufrè Rudel 1985). Although Barbieri does not mention this poem in the *Arte del rimare*, he personally copied this text from *LibMich* on *Mh2*’s antigraph (see *Mh2* p. 79).

Autresi com Lorifans,
Que can chai nos pot levar (*Min* 28r *BC* 23r)

These elements, when taken together are not sufficient to prove incontrovertibly an intention to imitate the troubadours, but they are at the same time too many to gloss over them.

‘Pioggia d’un bel pensier ne l’alma mia’

This poem was written on the occasion of the wedding of Mary I of Scotland (Mary Stuart) with Francis II of France (1558), and was published by Dionigi Atanagi in 1565 (I, fols. 92r–93r; re-edited on the basis of Atanagi’s anthology in Barbieri 1907, 7–8).¹¹ While it does not stand out for originality among the many encomiastic compositions produced during the century, Giulio Bertoni (Barbieri 1907: 5) reported that the rhyme scheme employed—AbCDEFgH—might have been influenced by the troubadour tradition. Bertoni’s intuition seems confirmed by the fact that the *Repertorio digitale della canzone italiana* (RDCI), which currently only covers the second half of the Cinquecento, registers it as the sole example of this metre. While far from common, stanzas made of eight lines without any internal rhyme such as these have illustrious examples in troubadour poetry, including Bertran de Born’s aforementioned BEdT 80,29 (‘No posc mudar un chantar non esparga’), and, more importantly, four poems by Arnaut Daniel, including ‘Si.m fos amors de joi donar tan larga’ which is cited both in the *De vulgari* and the *Arte del rimare* (BEDT 29,17; the others are 29,1, 29,8, 29,9).¹² Barbieri was aware of Arnaut’s elevated and difficult style: ‘le sue canzoni sono così difficili da intendere, che alcune si trovano essere state anticamente chiosate di commento latino per maggiore intelligenza’ (*BC* fol. 21v, *Min* fol. 26v), and he probably perceived such a structure as Arnaut’s chief metre because of the comments in *Prose* II, IX, and in *De vulgari eloquentia* II, XIII, which reads in Trissino’s translation: ‘E queste stanze di una oda sōla, Arnaldō Daniellō usò quasi in tutte le sue canzoni’; ‘tali stanze ha ufatō frequentissimamente Arnaldō Daniellō, cōme ivi. Sem

¹¹ After Atanagi 1565 the poem was published again in Peretti-Cappelli 1866.

¹² This scheme is identified by the RDCI as ‘Su *Verdi panni, sanguigni, oscuri o persi* (29) con l’aggiunta di un verso finale’ (RDCI does not point out that ‘Verdi panni’ also features an internal rhyme at the third and fifth line of each stanza and ‘Pioggia d’un bel pensier’ does not). The fact that the fourth and fifth line of each stanza always end with the same words (‘voce’ and ‘lode’ respectively) is, I think, Barbieri’s innovation. I thank Anna Scattola for helping me identify the exceptionality of this rhyme scheme in Cinquecento Italy.

fòs amor de gior donar' (1529: fols. c 6v and d 2r). We also saw that in his copy of the *De vulgari* Barbieri annotated the latter passage adding the citation from 234,16, and this shows that he had given some thought to this specific structure.

To this structure, Barbieri might even have intentionally added a couple technicalities reminiscent of Occitan poetry—namely, the use of *coblas capfinidas* between stanzas IV and V ('Ti godi questo chiar di virtù lume! | Di virtù lume e fior di leggiadria') and derivative rhymes (IV, 3 'affina', V, 3 'fina'; IV, 8 'allume', V, 8 'lume') (Barbieri 1907: 56). The fact that these characteristics are all found within the same two stanzas reinforces the possibility that they were intentionally employed together.

More cautiously, we can look for further influences connected to Occitan literature in the metaphors and words employed throughout the canzone.¹³ In line V, 3 'In corpo di beltà compita e fina' the use of the word 'fina' to qualify 'beltà' is relatively common among the troubadours. As for the word that rhymes with it at IV, 3, 'affina', could once again be a homage to Arnaut Daniel, who in Dante 's'ascose nel foco che li affina' (*Purg.* XXVI, 148).

Though with respect to *Treperuno* III.3 we have remained very cautious, I believe that in this case the number and character of the similarities are sufficient to prove on Barbieri's part an intention to imitate Occitan poetry.

3. Barbieri in the 1560s: *La guerra d'Atila*

The scandals around Castelvetro and ultimately his exile made the planned troubadour edition impossible. In the early 1560s, Barbieri does not seem to focus much on medieval literature, being involved in the defence of Lodovico's brother Giovanni Maria, and being then elected chancellor of Modena (in November or December 1560) and tasked with reordering the city's archive, a role he was given by virtue of his familiarity with medieval documents (Bertoni 1905a: 392, 396; Marchetti DBI).

¹³ I am rejecting the identification proposed by Bertoni (Barbieri 1907: 5–6) of 'Se non che suol de l'abbondanza | del cor lingua mortale | sparger fuor d'eloquenza ancor gran lume' with a reference to the first two lines of Aimeric de Pegulhan's 'Ades vol de l'aondansa' (BEdT 10,2). The proverbial saying comes from Matthew's Gospel (12, 34) and there is no need to resort to the troubadours for it.

In 1561, he was then appointed to give public lectures ‘d’umanità’ in the city, although he never actually began lecturing (Bertoni 1905: 54).

In 1565, Barbieri’s knowledge of medieval literature was however called upon by the duke Alfonso II, who tasked him with translating the Franco-venetian poem *Attila flagellum Dei* (also known as *Guerre d’Atile*) by the fourteenth-century notary, Nicolò (or Nicola) da Casola for Aldobrandino III Este (see *Rialfri* s.v. ‘Nicolò (o Nicola) da Casola’ and ‘*La guerra d’Attila*’). The source, described by Lodovico Barbieri as ‘duo volumi assai grandi’ (1843: xx–xxi), are the manuscripts now called α.W.8.16 and 17 (*olim* XI.B.18 and 19) of the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria of Modena.¹⁴ Alfonso had very specific requirements for this translation insofar as Barbieri only had to translate the parts of the poem that had any connection with the house of Este¹⁵ using ‘la lingua più antica’, and withholding his name (Barbieri 1843: xxiii–xxiv). The poem is a heavily romanticised story of the invasion of Italy by the Huns in the year 452 which runs for 37.535 Alexandrine lines and which draws from a long-standing tradition that presented the war as a form of crusade against a pagan invader (Bertoni-Foligno 1906: 85–86; Beretta 2021: 259). The reason for this translation was an ongoing debate between the Este and the Medici families on which of the two was more ancient. This was the same debate that led Giovanni Battista Pigna to write the *Historia de’ principi di Este*, first printed in 1568 and revised by Barbieri before the second edition. Alfonso meant to use the actions attributed to his forefathers as an argument for Este precedence (Barbieri 1843: xix–xx), although the original plan to pass the work off as an ancient Italian text seems to have been abandoned, because the

¹⁴ The manuscripts are almost certainly autograph by Nicolò and probably represent a provisional state of the work, see Nicolò da Casola 1941: ix and Beretta 2021: 259. Both contain notes, meant to identify sections and summarise key concepts, left by at least two hands datable to the late fifteenth or the sixteenth century in an Italian vernacular with some northern and Latinising characteristics (e.g. vol. I fol. 2v: ‘Nomen de lo autore’; fol. 4v ‘Fiola del re’). One single marginal note was added by Barbieri (fol. 87v ‘La croce vermiglia sopra | l’Alicorno d’argento’). On the recto of the first folio of the manuscript, the c’s of the date (‘mccclviij’) have been erased with the clear intention of making the manuscript look older than it actually is. Pio Rajna (1908: 83) attributes this to Alfonso’s plan to make the narration look as old as possible, while a now-lost leaflet with a note by Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (prefect of the Estense library from 2 August 1756 to April 1768) claimed that this was done by Barbieri himself (Bertoni-Foligno 1906: 100). The manuscript, however, belonged to Alfonso, and I cannot see why he would have needed to make it look older, unless he expected the Medici to ask for testimony of the source of his claims.

¹⁵ While Nicolò derived the figure of King Gilius of Padua, slayer of Attila, from a pre-existing Romance (*L’estoire d’Atile en Ytaire*, also known as *Atile en prose*), *Forest d’Est* was his own invention to celebrate the dukes of Ferrara (Bertoni-Foligno 1906: 86–87; Beretta 2021: 259).

short introduction to the *princeps* of the book presents it as ‘hora [...] ridotta in volgare italiano’ (1568: 1).¹⁶ The responsibility for the translation nevertheless remained undeclared. It also appears that originally Barbieri was to translate both volumes, but ended up only carrying out the first one.

This translation is relevant to our discussion because of one troubling detail. The introduction defines the work as ‘scritta in latino [...] dipoi trasportata in lingua provenzale da Nicolo da Casola Bolognese’ (1). The mention of ‘provenzale’ is striking: Barbieri was almost certainly able to distinguish Occitan from Old French, and in addition to this, his claim is based on the frontispiece of the manuscript, which defines the poem as ‘translatat(us) de cronica in lingua *Francie*’ (italics mine), a phrase which leaves no room for equivocation. This confusion cannot be explained away by means of the peculiarity of the Franco-Venetian language, nor by attributing the introduction to someone other than Barbieri.¹⁷ However, this mistake is repeated in a letter to Carlo Sigonio written in 1568, where the *Attila* is once again called ‘gran libro scritto in provenzale’. What is more, when, in 1565, Barbieri noted having received the task to translate the two volumes, he defines them as ‘scritti in lengua francesca antica’, and, when writing the *Arte del rimare* in 1572, Barbieri includes the *Huon d’Auvergne*, which is written in the same language, in the chapter on French (Rajna 1908: 84; Debenedetti 1995: 163–64). This evidence necessarily leads us to agree with Rajna (1908: 84) that there was an intentional attempt on Barbieri’s part, almost certainly at the behest of Alfonso, to present the poem as written in Occitan for reasons of prestige. After all, Alfonso’s case could only be strengthened by having the final proof of the antiquity of the Este family written in the language that a general consensus accepted as older than Italian. Of course, Barbieri could not reveal this act of mendacity had been imposed by his protector not even to his friend Carlo Sigonio, and when in the

¹⁶ In 1581 the linguist Jacopo Corbinelli claimed he had never read a book ‘che m’habbi fatto star più perplesso e irresoluto se gl’era antico o moderno’ (Rajna 1908: 83).

¹⁷ The possibility that the introduction is not due to Barbieri was advanced by Cavazzoni-Pederzini (Barbieri 1843: xx), while Folena thinks that the introduction ‘sarà stata manipolata’ (DBI). Other than the reasons that follow, these possibilities are disproven by the text itself of the introduction, which presents multiple characteristics typical of Barbieri’s use (‘per maggiore intelligentia’, ‘è da sapere’, ‘si morì’, ‘si è’, the lack of anaphoresis in ‘prencipe’ and ‘nepote’, the absence of accents, the use of commas before ‘et’ and ‘che’). The desinence *-i* for ‘Esti’ goes against his practice in the *Arte*, but corresponds to what he does in the *Guerra d’Attila* itself (e.g. fol. 11v ‘se n’andò ad Esti’, ‘prencipe d’Esti’).

1570s he writes the *Arte del rimare*, which is dedicated to Alfonso II Este, he opts to entirely omit the *Guerre d’Atile* when discussing old French.¹⁸

4. The *Arte del rimare* (1572–74)

It does not seem that after Castelvetro’s exile, Barbieri remained in contact with anyone who could have potentially revived the project of the critical edition that he had begun. We can, however, surmise that he privately continued to read the manuscripts to which he had access. According to Lodovico Barbieri, the event that led Barbieri, at the end of his life, to start thinking of a work on poetry which incorporated Occitan was seeing Castelvetro’s commentary to Petrarch’s *Triumphs*, which—as we have seen in Chapter Four—contained the promise that Barbieri himself would at some point write something that would renovate the memory of the troubadours (1843: xxvii).¹⁹

Castelvetro’s commentary would be printed only after Barbieri’s death, but, in its introduction, Giacomo Castelvetro claims that Giovanni Maria (brother of Lodovico, and who died in December 1575) had arranged to get his brother's commentary printed, and was prevented from bringing this to completion by an the illness that ultimately caused his death (Castelvetro 1582: fol. 2v). After Lodovico’s exile, Barbieri had remained in contact with the Castelvetro family, and especially Giovanni Maria, intervening to prevent Giovanni Maria Castelvetro’s goods being repossessed, and still when writing the *Arte* he was able to cite a volume found ‘nella libreria de i Castelvetri’ (BC fol. 38r). Thus, he was also likely to be able to see the manuscript of the commentary.

The *terminus post quem* for the the *Arte* can be set in 1572, as Barbieri writes that Jean Molinet’s prose version of the *Roman de la rose* was written ‘settanta due anni or sono’ (Min fol. 24v), and Molinet gives at the end of the *Roman de la rose moralisé* the date ‘Lan quinze cens’

¹⁸ His son, too, believed the book to be in Occitan, probably because of the introduction to the printed edition; for the same reason, this mistake is also found in the aforementioned genealogy of the Casolia family by Asdrubale Bombaci and in Giovanni Francesco Negri’s *Annali di Bologna* (Bertoni-Foligno 1906: 90–91).

¹⁹ In a 1571 letter, Barbieri complains that because the ducal treasurers did not pay him his yearly stipend of twenty-five *scudi*, he is in ‘urgente bisogno’ (Bertoni 1905a: 394). Perhaps the decision to write a book was also guided by economic reasons.

(Molinet 1503: 104r); while its *terminus ante quem* is Barbieri's death on 9 March 1574. While Occitan did form the original nucleus of Barbieri's project, the treatise had a much larger scope and aimed to work as an encyclopaedic manual for writing poetry in Italian. Barbieri meant to deal first with the history of rhymed poetry (first book), then with the construction of lines, stanzas and poems (book two), and ultimately with different genres of poems in the third book. Barbieri only finished and revised the first, and all we know about his plans for the second and third books comes from a letter from Lodovico Barbieri to Gianvincenzo Pinelli on 19 July 1587 (edited in Debenedetti 1924: 432–35). In this letter, we also learn that Barbieri used to also call the book *Rimario*.

The first and only book of the treatise is testified by two autograph manuscripts (Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, B3467 6a and 6b) and one printed edition (Barbieri 1790, which I will call *Tir*). The two manuscripts contain two different states of the work, one (6a, *Min*) more provisional than the other (6b, *BC*). Both of these manuscripts were partially mutilated before 1790, so that when Girolamo Tiraboschi published the text, he found himself forced to 'contaminate' them with each other in order to create and publish a complete version of the work. From the beginning of the work to halfway through the eighth paragraph of Chapter 5, *Min* was the only witness and Tiraboschi reproduced it. Various clues lead me to this conclusion: the fact that Tiraboschi claims that he had to provide titles for the first five chapters (Tiraboschi 1790: 21), in line with *Min*'s habit to only call chapters by number (whereas the extant part of *BC* gives each chapter a title); *Tir*'s adoption of the marginal notes numbering the love stories in Chapter 5 ('Novella I', 'Novell. II', etc., see *Tir* 50–51), which were included, only in *Min*, to reorder the chapter's sections; the presence of some Occitan passages in MS *bI*—which collects some of *BC*'s Occitan quotations—which *Tir* is missing. Further losses of pages occurred in the twentieth century. As a result of these later vicissitudes, today the only extant witness of the first three chapters of the treatise is the 1790 print.²⁰

We are thus left with only the first book 'ben compiuto, ma non revisto' (Debenedetti 1924: 433). Despite the centrality of Occitan, the perspective is, as noted, much wider, discussing the origin

²⁰ I will discuss the problem of the *Arte*'s sources more into detail in a future work.

of Romance rhymed poetry from the Arab-speaking world, its spread to Europe through occupied Spain and Sicily, and its evolution and diffusion. Barbieri attributes such a spread to the poets' desire to celebrate women and rulers, a claim that he substantiates with a wealth of examples taken chiefly from Occitan poems and *vidas*. Barbieri then provides a definition of the Romance languages based on Dante's tripartite division in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, and moves on to discussing individually the French, Occitan, Sicilian, and Italian traditions, focusing on specific poets and examples of their production.

In the following six sub-sections, we offer an in-depth examination of the Occitan element within the treatise. The first one discusses the sources employed, presenting some new findings for what concerns Barbieri's use of Occitan chansonniers; the second deals with how troubadour poetry is perceived against the wider frame of the history of rhyme, and what is its importance for the understanding of Italian; in the third we will instead discuss the definition of Occitan within the system of Romance languages. The fourth section will then discuss the troubadour biographies and verse incorporated in the tract, their uses in the treatise, and Barbieri's translational strategies. In the fifth we will discuss the order in which Occitan contents are presented in order to evaluate to what extent Barbieri is adhering to a pre-existing canon or creating a new one. In the final subsection, we will ultimately tie all of what has been said so far to the *questione della lingua* and to Barbieri's position on the matter.

The *Arte del rimare*: Sources

With considerable modernity, Barbieri opens his work by discussing the state of the art of our knowledge of rhymed poetry, with due consideration for works from the Middle Ages to the present. It will be useful to offer a succinct summary of the parts of our interest within this list of predecessors, which survives only in *Tir* (27–29). The very first work to be mentioned, Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*, is identified as the perfect treatise on language and literature, which, had Dante finished it, would have 'così ben chiarita la cosa delle rime' that neither the *Arte* itself, nor any of the other works he lists, would have been necessary. Among the multiple reasons for the superiority of Dante over

everyone else is ‘l’intelligentia delle lingue, et massimamente di quei volgari, ne’ quali fiori dapprima questa nuova maniera di poesia’ (*Tir* 27). This claim, made almost surreptitiously, is extremely important, as the *De vulgari* is the only among the cited works to deal at length with more than one language. In this way, Barbieri implicitly presents his own work as the first one since Dante to offer a truly ‘interlinguistic’ perspective (elsewhere he says: ‘nel trattare delle rime ho voluto parlarne non pur come huomo d’Italia, ma etiandio come francesco, e provenzale’, *BC* fol. 17r *Min* fol. 22v).²¹ After quickly and dismissively mentioning Gidino da Sommacampagna and Antonio da Tempo,²² Barbieri then names works in other languages, including Raimon Vidal de Bezaudu’s *Razos de trobar*. Barbieri then turns to the authors of his present century, which are mostly considered useless for the ends of understanding rhymed poetry in itself, with the partial exception of Pietro Bembo’s *Prose*. Barbieri states that Bembo ‘diede di buoni avvertimenti nelle sue *Prose*, i quali non sono però tanti, che possano dar lume a vedere, quanto fa bisogno sapere in tal soggetto, perciocché non fu sua intenzione di parlare principalmente del rimare’ (*Tir* 30). In more than one case, the *Prose* will resurface as a useful model for Barbieri to understand and frame Occitan poetry.

Dante

The *De vulgari eloquentia*, which Barbieri only knew through Trissino’s 1529 translation, is the main inspiration for the *Arte del rimare*. Barbieri derives from it most of his discussion of the Romance domain, and uses its well-known reference to ‘spagnuoli, che hanno fatto poemi nel volgare d’OC’ (as cited in *Min* fol. 2r; *DVE* II, XII, 3, cf. Dante 1529: fol. d 1r) as the only proof of the existence of an old tradition of Spanish poetry, which is a key element in his reconstruction of the diffusion of rhyme through the territories occupied by the Arabs. More specifically to the Occitan domain, the *Dve* can be used as a source of information on poets (‘Giraut de Borneil di Lemosino, poeta di moralità piu tosto, che d’amore’, *BC* fol. 21v *Min* fol. 26v; cf. *Dve* II, ii, 9; Dante 1529: b 8r), or to define a form of

²¹ Whenever a passage exists in both manuscripts, I am providing the text from *BC* and indicating the location of the passage on both MSS, unless otherwise stated.

²² Interestingly, the DBI page for Antonio da Tempo, written in 1987 by Pasquale Stoppelli, points out the complete absence of Occitan in the *Summa* as its main flaw (Stoppelli DBI).

aesthetic canon (e.g. ‘E per testimonianza ch’egli [*scil.* Aimeric de Pegulhan] fosse buon poeta, basterà credo sapere ch’egli sia citato da Dante in una sua canzone [...], *BC* fol. 27v *Min* fol. 32r; cf. *Dve* II, VI, 6; Dante 1529: fol. c 3r).

Alongside the *De vulgari*, Barbieri employs the *Vita nuova*, not yet printed at the time, and which he reads from a manuscript that belonged to the Frangipane family (*BC* fol. 45v). The *Vita nuova* has a key role in defining the structure itself of the treatise, since it connects the birth of vernacular poetry to love:

Et il primo, che cominciò a dire si come poeta volgare, si mosse pero che volle fare intendere le sue parole a donna [...] conciosia cosa che cotale modo di parlare fosse da principio ritrovato per dir d’amore (*Min* fol. 5r [*VN* XXV, 16]).

This claim has an impact on the structure itself of the book, as Barbieri aims to substantiate Dante’s words and expands upon them:

Dante dice, che le donne furono cagione del nascimento delle rime in volgare, et io dico gli amori delle medesime donne, et i favori degli huomini grandi essere stati cagione ancora del loro augumento, sicome furono parimenti per altri tempi d’altre sorti di poesie; a dechiaratione della qual sententia [*scil.* the passage from *VN* above] non sarà credo fuor di proposito l’addurre in questo loco alcuni particolari d’historia, per l’esempio de’ quali si possa venire in cognitione degli amori, che mossero gli outramontani [*sic*], et mossero i nostri a poetare et ad inalzar le rime in cantando (*Min* fol. 5r)

Barbieri’s expansion of Dante’s claim therefore goes in two directions: one, somewhat obvious, is that of love for women’s continued impact on the development of poetry (to which Chapters 5 and 6 are dedicated); the other, more original, is that of underlining the role of rulers in protecting and supporting poets (Chapter 7).

Barbieri also deploys the *Commedia* as a point of reference. He explains that Giraut de Borneil was ‘quel di Lemosi’ (*BC* 26v; *Purg* 26, 120, with a marginal reference to *DVE* II, II, 9; Dante 1529 b 8r), and, more originally, he uses Bertran de Born’s *vida* to explain why Dante placed him in Hell (*BC* 27r *Min* 36v; *Inf* 28, 133–36). Barbieri also shows awareness of the problem posed by the incorrect infinitive ‘cobrire’ in the Occitan part of *Purg.* 26, 14. This of course is particularly embarrassing as the mistaken word, almost certainly due to Dante, occurs in rhyme position, and Barbieri finds himself forced to omit the lines that follow after amending:

Tan mabellis vostre cortes deman

Quezieu non puese ni vueill a vos cobrir
col resto che segue. (*BC* fol. 16v, *Min* fol. 22r)

Pietro Bembo

Pietro Bembo's *Prose* are employed repeatedly in the *Arte* as an authority, for instance to avoid dwelling on whether the vernacular already existed in Plautus's time (*Tir* 39). Bembo's influence however more subtly infiltrates the whole treatise. Indeed, the definition found in the *Prose* of a language's nobility as determined by its literature (I, XIV, 21) justifies the focus of the treatise on the three languages *di sì*, *d'oïl* and *d'oc*:

Non per altra cagione ho detto nel precedente capitolo di volere solamente havere in consideratione i volgari d'oïl, d'oc, et di sì, se non perché si trovano essere stati anticamente nobilitati, et arricchiti sopra gli altri per compositioni di buoni, et valenti scrittori (*BC* 17v, *Min* 23r)

Most directly relevant for our purposes is, however, Bembo's impact on Barbieri's understanding of Occitan poetry. Barbieri indirectly owed him his knowledge of multiple troubadour manuscript sources (at least *H* and *D*), but Bembo's influence runs deeper, because many elements of Barbieri's representation of Occitan literary culture are surprisingly similar to what Bembo says in I, VIII. Thus, the Bembist idea of an Occitan *koiné* as being adopted by non-native speakers might underlie a claim Barbieri makes at the beginning of Chapter 10: 'La quale anticamente fu di grande honore non solo a i suoi del paese, che l'usarono, ma parimente ancora a gli stranieri, che n'ebbero cognitione' (*BC* 20v, *Min* 26r). Bembo's humanistic interpretation of the political conditions of Occitania as particularly fertile for the development of poetry also appears to be mirrored and developed in the fourth chapter:

Et in verità sotto questi conti Ramondi, et Berlinghieri, che durarono fin a Carlo di Anghiò fratello del re di Francia, che successe nel contado per Beatrice sua moglie, la Provenza si fece grandemente sentire, et fiorirono le rime nel vulgare di lingua d'oc (*Min* fol. 2r)

Bembo is also significantly used as the only authority for what concerns aesthetics other than Dante, as the judgment on Folquet (once again *Prose* I, VIII) does not escape him, so that he concludes his discussion of Folquet by saying:

Ma perché monsignor Bembo parla di lui nelle sue prose come di “dolcissimo poeta”, non sarà se non bene gustare la sottoscritta sua canzone per un saggio della dolcezza delle sue rime. (*BC* fol. 24r, *Min* fol. 29r; the text of BEdT 155,2 follows).²³

Ultimately, in speaking of Barbieri’s relationship with Bembo, it will be necessary to bring up what he says of the incipit of BEdT 233,4, whose authorship, as we saw, was used by Castelvetro to diminish Bembo’s authority:

come fece il Petrarca nella canzone:

Lasso me, ch’i non so in qual parte pieghi

Trapponendo quel principio di canzone provenzale:

Dreiz e raison es quieu chant em demori. (*BC* fol. 16v, *Min* fol. 22r)

As mentioned in Chapter Four, Castelvetro and Barbieri do not appear to know BEdT 233,4, which is found in *K*. Bembo had attributed the poem to Arnaut, while Castelvetro had denied it on purely stylistic grounds, and Barbieri here, in the absence of direct sources, is unable to decide which authority is right, and suspends judgment.

The Occitan sources

The *Arte del rimare* contains a wealth of quotations from Occitan poems. At the time of his death, Barbieri left six chansonniers and one collection of translated Occitan poems (in Lodovico’s aforementioned letter, Debenedetti 1924: 434). Considering that only one of them is likely to be a medieval manuscript (*LibMich*), the others must have been complete or partial copies, possibly exemplifying the habit defined in his biography: ‘Soleva sempre, leggendo libri di qualsivoglia sorta, notare tutte le cose degne di memoria in forma di Repertorio [...] pensando [...] al valersene per uso proprio’ (Barbieri 1843: xviii).

In most cases, whenever Barbieri cites from a source in the *Arte*, he indicates the manuscript or print source he is employing, also specifying the folio he is citing from, with the number followed

²³ Giovan Giorgio Trissino’s works (especially the *Poetica*) also exerted a quite important influence on Barbieri’s theories on the rhyme (Bertoni 1905: 22; Cipollone 2003). However, he was not a reliable source for Occitan, as Barbieri had seen from his edition of the *Dve*. Also note that in the *Castellano*, ‘lingua provenzale’ is presented as a *specie* of the wider genus ‘lingua franceje’ (Trissino 1986: 27).

by one dot for the recto and two for the verso, and occasionally adding the line number. The Occitan quotations are no exception to this detailed form of referencing. This has allowed scholars to give a detailed description of the sources employed (Mussafia 1874, Debenedetti 1995, Careri 1996). The *Arte* explicitly cites from four books:

Lib. in Asc. (or ‘Lib. in asc.’, interpreted as ‘libro in assicelle’ since Mussafia 1874, 206)²⁴

Libro slegato (or ‘Lib. sleg.’)

Libro Siciliano (or ‘Lib. sic.’)

Libro di Michele (or ‘Lib. Mich.’)

To these, we can add *D*, mentioned once in the ninth chapter (*Min* 24v, *BC* 19r), which is the only source not requiring any sort of explanation, as we have already established its presence in the Este library and Barbieri’s close relationship with Alfonso II. With the exception of *Lib. Mich.*, these manuscripts all appear to be modern collections based on different sources, possibly not too different from the collation between *Libro di Michele* and *M* found in *b2*.²⁵

In line with the conventions of modern scholarship, we will refer to these as *LibAsc*, *LibSleg*, *LibSic*, and *LibMich*.²⁶

Libro in assicelle. This source has been recognised as mostly based on *M* already by Mussafia 1874 (40–43), although he was aware that there were some differences, both in text and content, between *M* and Barbieri’s quotations. Debenedetti 1995 mostly speaks of it purely as a copy of *M*,

²⁴ Tiraboschi 1790 mistakenly interprets it as ‘libro dalle Assie’ (Mussafia 1874: 6)

²⁵ The only vague hint to the antiquity of these manuscripts is in Tassoni’s *Considerazioni sopra le rime del Petrarca* (1609) where he calls them ‘libri antichi’ (563): but, as Debenedetti argues, ‘l’espressione [...] andrà intesa nel senso che queste trascrizioni, per essere fedeli, venivano a rappresentare antiche fonti’ (1995: 268).

²⁶ I will not here dwell on the discussion of the internal articulation of these lost manuscripts, since the matter was already covered with only a few mistakes by Mussafia 1874. Our knowledge of *LibMich* is particularly detailed, as the number of gatherings and their content were discussed into detail by Zufferey 1987 (159–65) and Careri 1996 (307–8). Unlike what I do in the rest of this chapter, I will here cite from *Min*, rather than *BC*, whenever possible, as *Min*’s quotations seem less ‘interpretative’ and closer to the source than those of *BC* (cf. for instance the life of Ferrarino in *Min* fols. 20v–21r with *BC* fols. 14v–15r and with MS *D*^c fol. 243rv).

only pointing out the presence of a poem (BEdT 17,I) which only exists, in fragmentary form, in *N* and in Vat. Lat. 7182, the manuscript on which Colocci copied some poems that might have come from Equicola's 'Chanson d'amors' manuscript. Neither attribute the poem, as Barbieri does, to Alegret, so that Barbieri must have used a different source.

By comparing *LibAsc* with *M*, we can confirm that *M* is the principal source, as many lines quoted from it in the *Arte* are identical or almost to *M*. The orthography occasionally differs, but this can easily be understood as Barbieri amending or instinctively adapting the text to forms with which he was familiar (e.g. *M* fol. 35v 'obedir', *Min* fol. 37r *BC* fol. 33r 'obezir'; *M* fol. 94v 'trueb' *Min* fol. 32v *BC* fol. 28r 'trob'; *M* fol. 149v 'adrechamen' *Min* fol. 2r *BC* fol. 27v 'adreitamen').²⁷ Some cases are, in all likelihood, amendments made by Barbieri (*M* fol. 124v 'istar' *Min* fol. 39r *BC* fol. 34v 'estar'; *M* 'Na Biatritz d'Est, anc plus flor' *Min BC* 'Na Biatritz d'Est, anc non vi plus bel flor').²⁸

In two cases, Barbieri declares both *LibAsc* and *LibMich* as his sources (BEdT 46,2 [*BC* fol. 36r *Min* fol. 40r] and BEdT 437,2 [*BC* fol. 42v only]). In the first case, we can compare the poem as it appears in the *Arte* with the text carried by MS *b2* (fol. 12r), which normally carries *LibMich*'s text. On the basis of the graphical differences between this poem and the rest of the manuscript, Careri (1996: 283–84) claims that it was copied at a different time, also suspecting the use of a source other than *LibMich*. However, if we compare the text of the *Arte* with that of *b2* and that of *M* (fol. 204v), we can clearly see that the *Arte*'s text almost entirely corresponds to *b2*, and that no variants seem to come from *M*. I am thus inclined to think that Barbieri drew the poem from *LibMich* and simply annotated its presence in *LibAsc* in the margin, without using it to establish the text.²⁹ In the case of the second poem, Sordello's 'Aitan ses plus uiu ho(m) con uiu iausentz', we have an exceptionally relevant source in MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 2 MS 6, also known as

²⁷ The fact that we should not give too much weight to these orthographical and morphological differences is confirmed by the fact that the second line of BEdT 9,14 begins with 'so qa' in *M*, 'so, qua' in *Min*, and 'so, ca' in *BC*. Similarly, there are cases where *Min* preserves the -s of words from *M* whereas *BC* loses them (*Min* 39v 'mestiers', *BC* 35r 'mestier'; *Min* 39r 'soms' *BC* 34v 'som').

²⁸ The masculine 'bel flor' makes it extremely likely that this is Barbieri's conjecture, rather than a manuscript's reading (De Bartholomaeis 1927: 60).

²⁹ It cannot of course be entirely excluded that *LibAsc* drew this text from a source other than *M* and corresponding to that of *b2*—which of course leaves us to wonder how the text looked in *LibMich*.

Mh2.³⁰ This manuscript is a copy, owned—and possibly made—by the Jesuit polyglot Joaquim Pla (1745–1816), of part of a manuscript written by Barbieri based on *LibMich* and *M*, possibly the very same MS of which *b2* is the only extant fragment (Careri 1991: 344; 1996: 282–3; 302–8). In the specific case of Sordello’s poem, *Mh2* reports *M*’s text on the left column of p. 51, with variants drawn from the *Libro di Michele* on the right column. A comparison between *Mh2* and the *Arte*’s text (only found on *BC*) shows that Barbieri here made a critical edition of the text using *LibMich* as the main source, with only some variants coming from *M*:

Mh2 p. 51 (*LibMich*’s variants in square brackets)

Aitan ses plus uiu hom co(n)[qan] uiu iausentz[iauzens]
 Qautre uiure[uiures] nos deu uidar pellar[uidapelar]
 Perqieu[Perso] mesfortz[mesfors] de uiure de reinhar[renhar]
 Ab ioi per lei[leis] tan[plus] coraiosamenz[coraiosamens]
 Seruir, qieu[quieu] am, qar hom qi[que] uiu marritz
 Non pod[pot] de cor far bos fatz[faitz] ni grasitz[grazit]
 Doncs er[Fara] merses[merse] sim fai li[la] plus gracida[grazida]
 Viure iausen[iauzen] pos al[als] nom ten[te] a uida.

BC fols. 42v–43r

Aitan ses plus uiu hom quan uiu iauzens
 Cautre uiure nos deu vidappellar,
 Perso mesfors de viure, de renhar
 Ab ioi, per leis plus coratiozamens
 Seruir, quieu am, quar hom, que uiu marritz
 Non pot de cor far bos faitz, ni grazitz.
 Doncs er merse, sim fai la plus grazida
 Uiuere iauzen, pos als nom ten a uida.

Libro Slegato. Debenedetti (1995: 270) defines *LibSleg* as ‘copia di *H* [...] aggiuntivi alcuni elementi, desunti da altre fonti’. Debenedetti’s description is based on the findings of Mussafia 1874 and Gauchat-Kehrli 1891 (346–47). This situation was then confirmed by De Bartholomaeis (1927: 66–82). The primary function of this manuscript must have been to allow Barbieri to keep an extract of the content of *H*, and it was probably the fact that *H* was unbound that gave this copy its name (Careri 1990: 52–53). However, it also featured some texts from other sources: the life of Ferrarino da Ferrara comes from MS *D* (*D*^c fol. 243r),³¹ as well as possibly also the *tornada* from BEdT 134,1 (with some graphical differences). Barbieri also mentions the presence of a poem by Prebost de Valensa, who is absent from *H* (but present in *D*), and that of a ‘Prebost de Noalhac’ who cannot be

³⁰ *Mh2* has not been digitised, but its text is available in diplomatic transcription in Careri 1996 (323–406) and on CAO (both editions were carried out by Maria Careri).

³¹ Note that both Mussafia 1874 (53) and Gauchat-Kehrli 1891 (346) include BEdT 80.B.D (the story of Bertran de Born and Guiscarda) among the texts that *LibSleg* has but *H* is missing. This is due to an error in the Tiraboschi print, which at p. 136 reads ‘Lib. sleg. | Car. 38.’ instead of ‘Lib. Sicil. car. 38.’ (*BC* 36v). In addition to this, De Bartholomaeis (1927: 67) also considered Gausbert de Poicibot’s *vida* as contained in *LibSleg*. Given that the reference to *LibSleg* in *BC* is to the poem and not the biography, I do not think this is necessarily the case.

found in any of the known chansonniers (Mussafia 1874: 45; De Bartholomaeis 1927: 74). The reference to Guilhem Figera being ‘dottore’ (*BC* 30v *Min* 35r) might also have come from a lost source, given that the only known *vida* of this poet, preserved by *FIK*, does not give him this title (De Bartholomaeis 1927: 79).

As for Barbieri’s transcriptional habit towards *H* in *LibSleg*, it is comparable to that of *LibAsc*: there are morphological and graphical adaptations (*H* 35r ‘cosseill’ *BC* 36v *Min* 40v ‘conseill’; *H* 51r ‘coblas’ *Min* 38r *BC* 34r ‘cotblas’), as well as proper amendments, which might imply the use of other sources (*H* 35v ‘uisatges’ *Min* 17v *BC* ‘usatges’; *H* 51r ‘qen digan’ *BC* 28v *Min* 33v ‘quem digatz’).³² This is particularly true of the text of Rigaut de Berbezilh’s ‘Autressi com l’orifans’, which has some key differences (e.g. *H* 30v ‘Micarus’ *BC* 23v *Min* 28v ‘Magus’, and the third and fourth *cobla* being inverted compared with *H*; see De Bartholomaeis 1927: 68–69). While Barbieri knew the medieval notes that *H* added to Arnaut Daniel’s poems, we cannot determine whether he had transcribed them in this manuscript, since he does not mention it as a source where he speaks of them (*BC* 21v *Min* 26v).

Libro Siciliano.³³ This manuscript is perhaps the most problematic among Barbieri’s sources because of the unprecedented mixture of Italian (and Sicilian: hence, its name) and Occitan contents, and it will be worth discussing it at a more granular level. De Bartholomaeis (1927: 116–24) considered it a sixteenth-century collection created in mainland Italy to collect various materials of interest, which also attempted in an artificial way to ‘Sicilianise’ the poems of the *scuola siciliana*, which were originally written in a form of common literary Italian.³⁴ As for its Occitan contents, they

³² Barbieri cites from *LibSleg* the incipit of ‘Ben gran avoleza intra’ (BEdT 233,2), which is now almost entirely lost in *H* as the top right corner of folio 42 is damaged. Thanks to Barbieri, then, we know that *H* attributed the poem to Guilhem de Saint Gregori (unless of course it was anonymous and Barbieri drew the attribution from *D^a*).

³³ The name of the *Libro* is interestingly similar to that of Angelo Colocci’s *liber Siculorum* or *Siculus*, but this may be no more than a coincidence (Cipollone 2003: 215).

³⁴ De Bartholomaeis did not believe in the authenticity of the Sicilian texts, causing Debenedetti to defend it in 1932. The matter is in fact still debated, see Cipollone 2003 and the bibliography signalled by Sanga (2003: 229).

mostly consisted in *razos*. This was, then, in all likelihood, ‘uno zibaldone’ made in the sixteenth century (123–24). The Occitan contents of *LibSic* have been known to be related to *H* for a long time, although much of its content seemed to come from a different source (Mussafia 1874: 58). Debenedetti (1995: 270) repeats Mussafia’s conclusions, saying that ‘senza la luce di nuovi documenti, le ipotesi formulate rimarranno pur sempre sterili ipotesi’. Nowadays, thanks to the analysis of Careri (1996) on *LibMich* and her edition of *Mh2*, we have several new documents that Debenedetti lacked, and which we will now put to use.

The *Libro siciliano* is used eight times in the *Arte* as a source for Occitan contents. Four out of these eight occurrences are *razos* or *vidas* that contain a poem within them (the other four occurrences relate to biographical texts without any poems, or with the poems being drawn from elsewhere). Barbieri translates the prose texts keeping quite close to *H*’s text but giving the text a generally more elegant form.³⁵ Normally, *H*’s *vidas* and *razos* only give one or two lines of the lyric extracts within the prose. In the *Arte*, Barbieri extends these short extracts, normally so as to provide a full *cobla*. Despite the fact that these poems are all in *H*, it will be useful to compare some of these also with *Mh2*’s readings. Here are two examples, with *Min* on the left, *Mh2* in the centre, and *H* on the right.

<i>Min</i> fol. 10v	<i>Mh2</i> p. 52	<i>H</i> fol. 21v
Li dous consire,	Lo dous consire,	Li doulz consire
Quem donamor souen,	Quem dona mors souen,	qem donamor souen
Donam fan dire	Don am fai dire	dompnam fan dire
De uos maintz uers plazen.	De uos maintz uers plazen.	De uos maint uers plazen
Pensan remire	Pensan remire	Pensan remire
Uostre cors car, e gen,	Uostre cors car e gen,	uostre cors car e gen
Cui ieu dezire	Cui ieu dezire	cui eu dezire
Mais, que non fauc paruen.	Mais que non fauc paruen .	mais qeu non fatz paruen
E si tot mi deslei	E si tot mi deslei	e sitot me deslei

³⁵ Barbieri particularly departs from the original in Guilhem de Balaon’s life, although not enough to justify the presence of a different source.

Per uos, ges nous abnei,	Per uos ges nous abnei	per uos ges no labnei
Cades ues uos soplei	Cades ues uos soplei	ca des uas uos so plei
Ab francha benuolensa.	Ab francha benuolensa	per fina benuolensa
Dompna, en cui beutatz gensa,	Dompna en cui beutatz gensa	dompenen cui beltatz genza
Maintas uetz oblit mei	Maintas uetz oblit mei	mantas uetz oblit mei
Queu lau uos e mersei.	Que lau uos e mersei.	Qeu lau uos e mercei.
<i>Min</i> fol. 13v	<i>Mh2</i> p. 58	<i>H</i> fol. 19r
Lo uers mou merseian ues uos	Lo uers mou merseian ues uos	Lo uers mou merceian uas uos
Dona, no per tal quieu entenda	Dona no per tal quieu entenda	non per so dompna qentenda
Que de mi merse uos prenda	Que de mi merse uos prenda	qe de mi merces uos prenda
Tant es lo forfaitz cabalos,	Tant es lo forfaitz cabalos	tant es lo forfaichz cabalos
Car ges perdos no si atanh,	Perquieu si bem destrenh nom planh	car ges perdos no si ataing
Mas pos mi mezeis ai perdut,	E pos mi mezeis ai perdut	mas pos mi meseis ai perdut
E uos, quem faitz plus esperdut,	E uos quem faitz plus es perdut	e uos quem faitz plus esperdut
Sim pert mas paraulas nom tanh. ³⁶	Sim pert mas paraulas nom tanh.	Sim perc mas paraulas nom taing]

That *LibSic* and *Mh2* have a common source in *LibMich* is confirmed by the striking similarities from all points of view, including even the purely graphical ones. The fact, however, that some lines, as is the case of the fifth in the second example, instead correspond to *H*, suggests that *LibSic* was either a collection of ‘critical editions’, or, like *b2* with *M*, contained a collation between *LibMich*, used as base-text, and marginal variants from *H*, from which Barbieri built a critical edition specifically for the *Arte*.

We have, however, reason to think that, however, a third source other than *LibMich* and *H* came into play in *LibSic*, as is suggested by the presence of the otherwise unattested life of Raimbaut D’Eira (*Min* fol. 31v *BC* fol. 27r, see De Bartholomaeis 1927: 97), accompanied by the cobla BEdT

³⁶ In both poems, we can see graphic and morphological traits that I believe correspond to the ones used by Zufferey (1987: 171–88) to identify the *tradition linguadocienne orientale*, such as: *s* for [s] at the beginning of a syllable (‘mersei’, ‘merseian’); *qu* for [k] when followed by *e* (‘quem’) but *c* in front of *a* (‘car’); *z* for intervocalic [z] (‘dezire’); *nh* for a final [ɲ] (‘tanh’). ‘Pos’ rather than ‘pueis’ is somewhat unexpected, but it is also shared by *Mh2* whose origin from the area is certain.

391,1 which is also found on *H* (fol. 55r), but in a very different text from that of the *Arte*. In addition to this, Bertran de Born's *vida* cited at fol. 22r of *BC* and 27r of *Min* is only found in MSS *FIK*, none of which Barbieri seems to know. In addition to this, there are key differences from all three manuscripts. For instance, the fact that Bertran is defined as 'gentil castellano' in Barbieri and just 'castellans' in all three chansonniers. Consider too the way Barbieri depicts Bertran as a seditiously inciting warfare, as he who 'mai lasciò stare in pace il re di Francia col re d'Inghilterra, né il conte de Peitieux con il conte di Lemotges, né il conte di Peiregors'. This seems to contrast with *FIK* where Bertran seems to be directly at war with the lords of Poitou, Limoges and Périgord, rather than pitting them against one another. In addition to this, the *vida* makes no references to Bertran's involvement in a war between England and France.³⁷ Barbieri derives from the same folio of *LibSic* (38r) as the *vida* the *razo* BEdT 80.B.D, used as a source for Guiscarda (*BC* fol. 36v, *Min* 41r). This *razo* is—again—only found in *FIK*, and quotes two coblas from an otherwise unknown text (BEdT 80,1). As far as the text of the *razo* is concerned, there is not much we can say, since Barbieri gives an extremely succinct summary. We note only that, unlike all three manuscripts, both *Min* and *BC* read 'Combron' instead of 'Comborn' for the name of the county governed by Guiscarda's husband. The text of the poem instead deviates significantly from that of *FIK*.

Min fol. 41r

Ai Lemozins franca terra cortesa

Mout mi saup bo, car tals honors ue creis,

Ensegnamens, cortesia, e larguesa,

Ualors, e pretz, solatz, dons, e dompneis,

Bertran de Born 1985 (only the relevant lines)

A! Lemozin, francha terra cortesa,

Molt me sap bo qar tals honors vos creis,

Qe jois e prez e deportz e gaiesa,

Cortesia e solatz e dompneis

[...]

Dos e servirs e garnirs e largesa

8

[...]

³⁷ As a minimal further help to identify the source, we can point out that Barbieri gives all three figures the title of count, whereas in *FIK* the lord of Limoges is actually a viscount.

	Enseignamenz e valors e proesa,	10
	[...]	
E qui pros es, e de proesas feis,	E qui pros es ni de proesa.s feis,	12
Mal estara, si ara non pareis	Mal estara, s'aoras non pareis,	
Puois na Guiscarda nos est sai tramesa.	Pos Na Guiscarda nos es sai tramesa.	

Barbieri only has one *cobla* instead of two, and with key differences from *FIK* including the following key points: in the second line, *FIK* have the present ‘sap’ instead of the perfect ‘saup’; the third line is completely different in *FIK*; the fourth differs significantly in the first part; while the fifth, sixth, and seventh are the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth respectively in *FIK*. What we might call the building blocks of *LibSic*’s lines three and four can be found in lines 8 and 10 of *FIK*, reported here. The text of *LibSic* then appears to be an abbreviated and revised version of the text carried by *FIK*, and thus probably based on a lost source. The fact that all of these unattested materials come from fol. 38v of *LibSic* possibly hints that all of the contents of this folio are drawn from the same source. We however have no way of telling if Barbieri found these texts in *LibMich* or elsewhere.

It is at any rate obvious that the Occitan part of *LibSic* must have been conceived by Barbieri mainly as a depository of *vidas* and *razos*. It derived these texts from *H* (a manuscript known for its peculiar collection of biographical texts [Poe 2000: 159]) and from at least one other source, and also included lyric texts that derived from the collation of *LibMich* with *H*.³⁸

Libro di Michele. Barbieri’s best-known Occitan source is what he calls ‘libro di Michele’. He describes it as a book containing many poems collected by a Miquel de la Tor who writes in the beginning: ‘Maistre Miquel de la Tor de Clarmon dalvernhe si escrius aquest libre estant en Monpeslier’ (*BC* fol. 30v, *Min* fol. 35v). This lost manuscript was probably a medieval copy of another,

³⁸ Another—less likely—possibility is that *LibSic*—which is declared as a source only at the beginning of the biographical texts, and which we assumed is also the source for the poetic quotations—only contained these proses, and that Barbieri derived each of the lyric poems from *LibMich* itself. He does this explicitly in the case of Elias Cairel in *BC* (fol. 33r), but considering his normal rigour it would be odd for him to have omitted this source in all cases but one. In addition to this, such an explanation would fail to explain the presence of elements from *H* in these texts.

equally lost, medieval manuscript which is known to have belonged to the Valencian poet, Ausias March (c. 1397–1459). It was a sizable book with more than a hundred folios, and contained a chansonnier (with poems, *vidas*, and *razos*) up to fol. 97, while at fol. 98v began the *Roman dels auzels cassadors* (see the marginalia of *BC* fol. 31r, *Min* fol. 36r) (Zufferey 1987: 157–68; Careri 1996: 262–63, 307–8). This is the manuscript that Barbieri cites most often, especially for poetry, and, as we have argued, it appears to have been his base-text for most of his editorial work (see *b2*, *Mh2*, and what we said about *LibAsc* and *LibSic*).

Most of the love stories of the fifth chapter of the *Arte* are identified as deriving from *LibMich* (Arnaut Daniel, Folquet de Marselha, Guilhem de Saint-Leidier, Raimon de Miraval, Pons de Capdoill), with only two coming from *LibSic* (Guilhem de Cabestanh and Guilhem de Balaon). The source for the remaining ones (Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Peire Vidal, Arnaut de Mareuil, Gauselm Faidit, Iseut de Capion in *Min* and Jaufre Rudel in *BC*) is undeclared. There is, however, good reason to suspect a notable presence of *LibMich* among these, too. The principal evidence here is as follows:

- Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s story (*Min* fol. 6rv) is built by combining his *vida* with a *razo* that follows it immediately in MS *E*, p. 209 (and, when mentioning the poet again in Chapter 10 of *BC*, fol. 26v, Barbieri declaredly draws a poem from *LibMich* (cf. Mussafia 1874, 21, and Zufferey 1987, 163)³⁹;
- Peire Vidal’s *vida* (*Min* fol. 7rv) is—among the manuscripts connected to Barbieri—in both *Mh2* (p. 1) and *H* (fols. 22r–23r) however, the *razo* that follows it is BEdT 364.B.B.b, contained in *Mh2*, p. 9, and not *H*.⁴⁰ The poem that follows (BEdT 364,37) is identical to *Mh2*, p. 9 (also see Zufferey [1987: 161–62], who did not know *Mh2*);
- For Arnaut de Mareuil, some biographical information that appears in the tenth chapter (*BC* fol. 26r *Min* fol. 30v) where it is declared to be derived from *LibMich* was originally written

³⁹ *E* derives from the same sub-archetype as *LibMich* and seems to always be abridged in comparison to it (Avallé 1993: 77; Menichetti 2015: 34–35, 204). The poem contained in Chapter 5 (BEdT 392,2) exhibits essential differences from *E*—however, it is likely that *E* here draws from a different source (Menichetti 2017: 199).

⁴⁰ I am giving BEdT numbers only when there are more than one *vida* or *razo* for that author in the BEdT.

- in the fifth and then effaced (*Min* fol. 9v; Mussafia 1874: 19), and the poem that follows in Chapter 5 (BEdT 30,19) almost entirely corresponds to *E*, p. 66 (cf. Zufferey 1987: 62);
- Gaucelm Faidit's story, composed of a *vida* and a *razo* (BEdT 167.B.B; *Min* fols. 7v–9r *BC* fols. 1r–2r and *BC* fol. 25v *Min* 30rv), is split between Chapters 5 and 10. In its second occurrence, Barbieri declares derivation from *LibMich*.⁴¹ The first poem cited in Chapter 5 (BEdT 167,59) has some morphological traits typical of *LibMich* (l. 6 'coratge', l. 7 'viatge', cf. Zufferey 1987: 174);
 - Jaufre Rudel's *vida* (*BC* fols. 7v–8r) is in MSS *ABIKN2*. I can only here underline that the text is closer to the expanded *AB* version than to the shorter one preserved by *IK*, and that Barbieri cites two poems from *LibMich*, but as they are not included in the original *vida*, this does not necessarily have implications for it (*pace* Mussafia 1874: 16).⁴²

To sum up, then, when he sets out to write the *Arte del rimare*, Barbieri has on his desk four sources four Occitan texts. Three of these are his creations: *LibAsc* (with contents derived from *M* and other sources), the Occitan part of *LibSic* (with content from *LibMich* and *H* and possibly other sources), *LibSleg* (derived from *H* and with at least one text from *D* and one from another source). The fourth is a medieval manuscript, the *LibMich*.

The *Arte del rimare*: Occitan Literature and the vernacular tradition

Barbieri's treatise is aimed at explaining the ancestry of the Italian vernacular tradition, which has 'tolta la gloria del rimare ad ogni altro volgare' (*BC* fol. 8v, *Min* fol. 15r). He thus opens his discussion with the *vexata quaestio* of whether the Sicilians or the Occitans came first, claiming that Petrarch's mention of the precedence of the Sicilians should be understood as a reference to popular Latin poetry and not to poetry in the vernacular. Snippets of vernacular rhymed poetry can indeed be

⁴¹ Note however that the collocation of the marginal note in *Min* seems to suggest that only the first poem cited comes from *LibMich*.

⁴² As for Iseut de Capion in *Min* (fols. 14rv and 41rv), *BC* (fol. 37r) explicitly declares that the text comes from *LibSleg*, and since those *coblas* (BEdT 253,1 and 20,2) are only known through the *razo* found exclusively in *H* (fols. 45r–46r), it is more likely to come from there.

found in Latin authors (whereas ‘high’ poetry tended to avoid homeoteleuton). The use of rhyme as the defining characteristic of poetry is however not indigenous, since it was invented by the Arabs—the earliest example being the Quran (which Barbieri discusses through Ricoldo da Montecroce’s *Contra legem Sarracenorum*).⁴³ When they then expanded to Europe, the Arabs brought rhymed poetry with them:

Però è ben verisimile, che gli spagnuoli per la vicinanza, e commercio d’una natione all’altra fossero i primi da quella banda ad apprendere dagli arabi, ch’essi nominarono “mori”, per essere venuti di Mauritania, con la lingua insieme la maniera del poetare. La quale è verisimile ancora, che da i medesimi spagnuoli passasse alle altre vicine regioni, et specialmente nella Provenza, se non più tosto, al meno allhora, quando i conti di Barcelona, che furono di un lignaggio con i re di Aragona, ne divennero signori, il che fu secondo il conto de i predetti annali negli anni di nostra salute MCXII. (*Min* fols. 1v–2r)

Thus, thanks to the dynastic connection between Aragon and Provence, reconstructed with the help of the *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* (and, as we have noted, perhaps following Bembo’s cue), this new way of making poetry found its way into Provence. While occupying Spain, the Arabs also made their way to Sicily, once again bringing rhymed poetry to a new land. This is the reason why the *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum* produced in Southern Italy was written in rhyme.

Barbieri maintains that Spain, Italy, and Occitania all wrote rhymed poetry only in the Latin language before turning to the vernacular (which, following Castelvetro, he interprets as being born from the corruption of popular Latin, *Tir* 39) for an extended period of time. Barbieri even attempts to reconstruct the date for the birth of vernacular rhymed poetry using Dante and Petrarch’s claims:

’l Petrarca scrivendone a Socrate negli anni di Cristo 1348 dice essersi trovato [*scil.* the use of the vernacular in poetry] “non multis ante seculis”; il che molto più specificatamente si trahe dalle parole di Dante nella sua *Vita nuova*, che scrisse ancora giovinetto essendo egli nato nell’anno 1265, dove dice: [a quotation from *VN* XXV [16] follows, see above] (*Min* fol. 4r)

This sets the birth of vernacular poetry in the early twelfth century. As further proof, Barbieri adduces Benvenuto da Imola’s commentary on Dante, which confirms the *Vita nuova*’s date (*Min* fol. 4v; Benvenuto da Imola *Purg.* 24, 52–54, see *Dartmouth Dante Project*).

⁴³ Ricoldo’s work was reprinted multiple times from its *princeps* in 1500. The fact that Barbieri refers to it as *Improbatio Alcorani*, and the form he uses for the author’s name, as well as the content of the quotations, point to the 1500 edition printed in Seville by Stanislaus Polonus (Ricoldo 1500; see Burman CMR, Ferrero Hernández 2021: 403).

Once adapted to the Occitan vernacular, rhymed poetry grew in importance and refinement thanks to a mixture of the political conditions under the counts of Provence (as already claimed by Bembo, *Prose*, I, VIII), the many women that the troubadours loved, and some form of ‘convenevolezza’ and ‘buona harmonia’ of the Romance languages (*Min* 4v–5r). It was this blend of circumstances—political, amorous and linguistic—which allowed this poetry to thrive ‘specialmente dall’anno di nostra salute 1200 fin all’anno 1300’ (*BC* fol. 35v). This interpretation allows Barbieri to save Petrarch’s claim of the priority of the Sicilians (who were the first in Europe, together with the Spanish, to employ rhymes) while at the same time supporting Dante’s statement of the Occitans’ priority.

Despite perceiving Sicilian and Occitan poetry as born simultaneously, it is clear that Barbieri considers only the latter influential on Italian poetry. At the root of this is an aesthetic judgment (‘Vero è che’l Petrarca giudiciosamente pose da sezzo i rimatori siciliani’, *BC* fol. 37v *Min* fol. 42r). While Barbieri explicitly refers only to *TC* IV, 36, it is clear that such a statement is also influenced by Bembo’s dismissal of the *scuola siciliana*.

Barbieri is also concerned with defining the troubadours’ society. Thus, he says that Arnaut de Mareuill ‘fu della medesima contrada che ’l Daniello’ (*BC* fol. 26r, *Min* fol. 30v), and that Aimeric de Pegulhan ‘si introdusse in corte del re d’Aragon col favore di Guglielmo di Berguedam’ (*BC* fol. 27v, *Min* fol. 32v). In other cases, he highlights recurrent noblemen and women: the Loba de Puei Nautier is introduced as the beloved of both Peire Vidal and Raimon de Miraval (*BC* 4v, *Min* 11v); Bertran de la Tor and Peirol were both under the protection of Dalfi d’Alvernhe; and Guilhem de Saint Leidier loved Dalfi’s sister (*BC* fols. 2v, 31r, *Min* fols. 10r, 35v); ‘Uc de Bersie’ is instead depicted as ‘crociato per andare oltra mare con lo imperadore Federico’ (*BC* fol. 28v; *Min* fol. 33r). Barbieri presents the troubadours’ milieu as an interconnected environment of poets, ladies and noblemen who together formed the background of the Occitan poetic tradition.

Despite the nobility that Occitan used to have, Italian is now the most refined language for poetry, especially thanks to the work of the greatest poet who, in a stark departure from the Bembian model is not Petrarch but rather Dante. The superiority of Italian over any other vernacular is,

however, a recent phenomenon, while in the past Occitan was a requirement for any refined intellectual (*BC* 20v, *Min* 26r; cf. Gualteruzzi 1525: 33v). It is by no coincidence, then, that the poets that Barbieri identifies as the greatest of the Italian tradition were all able use Occitan: Dante did so in *Purgatorio* 26, ll. 140–41, and Petrarch in *Rvf* 70, l. 10. What is more, Fazio degli Uberti, to whom Barbieri grants the title of third greatest poet of the Italian tradition by account of Boccaccio's inadequacy as a writer of verse,⁴⁴ wrote twenty-three lines of *Dittamondo* IV, 21 in Occitan (*BC* fol. 16v, *Min* 22v, cf. Fazio degli Uberti 1952: 314–15). Already before them, Occitan poetry had flourished in Italy, and among its promoters were the Este dukes, to whom the treatise is dedicated:

Ma dalla prenarrata regola del bon re Guilielmo non fu guari differente lo stilo, che tennero i marchesi d'Este in Ferrara nel ricevere, et cimentare gli huomini di corte per avanzamento della cosa delle rime, come si trova scritto incidentalmente in una prosa di lingua provenzale posta dinanzi ad un libretto di stanze scelte, ch'essi chiamano *Coblas triadas* (*BC* fol. 14v, *Min* fol. 20r).

The 'prosa' in question is the introduction to Ferrarino da Ferrara's florilegium, of which Barbieri cites a lengthy section, depicting the Este court as culturally very advanced, and compares their court to that of Raimon Berenguer. In this way, Barbieri attributes the Este court a long-standing literary and cultural tradition, in an ideal continuity from the unnamed 'Marches dest' of Ferrarino's prose to Borso d'Este (1414–71), to the dedicatee Alfonso II. The *De vulgari eloquentia* serves as further proof of this continuity, as Dante brings 'la lodevole discretione del marchese d'Este' (*BC* fol. 15r, *Min* fol. 20v) as a grammatical example, implying almost the proverbial nature of the *estense* excellence.

Through the Este's patronage, the activity of scholars such as Ferrarino, and the greatest Italian authors, then, Italy inherited Occitan poetry's nobility. This context explains why parts of the discussion of the troubadours almost doubles as a commentary on the Occitan part of *TC* IV, which is possibly also likely connected to the treatise's origin from Castelvetro's commentary on the *Triumphs*. Here are some examples:

⁴⁴ *BC* fol. 52v: 'Ancora che'l Petrarca nella seconda pistola del quinto libro delle *Senili* assai cortegianamente si sforzi di far credere al Boccaccio che suo sia il terzo loco nella cosa delle rime, più giustamente nondimeno pare che questo loco si debba dare a Fazio degli Uberti, il quale nelle canzoni più s'accostò alla leggiadria del Petrarca, e in poema di opera continuata fu come una scimia di Dante'.

Quando il Petrarca disse nel quarto capitolo del *Trionfo d'Amore*:

E'l men famoso Arnaldo.

Si può credere, ch'egli intendesse di Arnaut de Marueill più che di nessuno altro (*BC* fol. 26r; *Min* fol. 30v)

Degli Ughi fu l'uno Uc de Samsir [...] L'altro Uc de Pena [...] Il terzo Uc lo brus [...] Il quarto Uc de Bersie (*BC* fol. 28r; *Min* fol. 33r)

The Arte del rimare: A definition of the Occitan language and of the Romance Middle Ages

Barbieri follows the *De vulgari eloquentia* quite closely in positing the possibility of defining languages at different levels of detail, from the language of a single town ('volgare modonese'), to that of a national 'cultural entity' ('italiano'), to even a super-national level ('schiavone').⁴⁵ Out of these languages, 'sceglieremo quei soli, che si trovano per scrittura essere stati anticamente ricettacolo delle rime, ed avere avuti scrittori degni di memoria, da' quali sono stati coltivati, e messi in pregio' (*BC* fol. 15v). This privileged condition, which echoes Bembo's claim that 'non si può dire che sia veramente lingua alcuna favella che non ha scrittore' (*Prose* I, XIV), belongs to three vernaculars: *oc*, *oïl*, and *sì*. Barbieri underlines two key features of these languages. One is not being monolithic: '*tutti i volgari* di Francia, di Provenza, di Cicilia, e d'Italia, che sono i volgari, che anticamente hanno havuti scrittori' (*BC* fol. 15v; italics mine). This multiplicity stems from a typically 'cortigiana' perspective, which is also the one adopted by Trissino in his translation of the *De vulgari eloquentia*. The second key feature is 'una certa convenevolezza, quasi a modo di fratelli nati d'una origine simili fra loro con alcuna disimiglianza' (*BC* fol. 15v, *Min* fol. 21v), and it derives from the 'theory of the catastrophe' as presented by Castelvetro and Varchi. Unlike them, Barbieri also stresses another element of Dante's tripartite systematisation:

[...] quello SIC, che i grammatici si trovano haver preso per adverbio di affermare, la qual cosa pare, che dia qualche piu autorità a gli italiani i quali dicono SÌ [...] La lingua di OI allega per se, che per lo suo piu facile, e piu dilettevole volgare tutto quello, che e stato tradutto, overo ritrovato in prosa volgare e suo [...] L'altra poi argomenta per se, cioe la lingua d' OC, e dice, che i volgari eloquenti scrissero i primi poemi in essa, si come in lingua piu perfetta, e piu dolce (*BC* fol. 16r; *Dve* I, x, 1-3, Dante 1529: a8r)

⁴⁵ The influence of Trissino's *Castellano* on this theory—as suggested by the common reference to 'schiavone' (cf. Trissino 1986: 44)—has been pointed out by Cipollone (2003: 210).

The tripartite division is therefore also a functional division, with Italian being the most Latinate language, French the most apt for prose, and Occitan the sweetest and most fit for poetry. The ‘convenevolezza’ and the ‘specialisation’ of the three languages also explains why the greatest poets of the Italian Middle Ages knew all three, as it was the only way to fully grasp the potential of vernacular rhymed poetry (*BC* fols. 15r–16r, *Min* fols. 20v–22r).

Occitan is qualified further at the beginning of the tenth chapter: ‘La lengua provenzale antica non è del tutto francesca, né del tutto spagnuola, ma sì bene misturata in parte dell’una, et dell’altra, et con certe sue proprietà, che la fanno essere lengua da per sé’ (*BC* fol. 20v, *Min* fol. 26r). The first key feature of this definition is the way it distinguishes Occitan from French. As we have noted, such a distinction was not obvious at the time (and this again supports our suspicion of Barbieri being economical with the truth regarding the language of the *Attila*). The second major feature is the use of the word ‘misturata’. This expression has been rightfully connected with Equicola’s definition of the language spoken at the court of Raimon Berenguer as a *lingua cortigiana* made up of various languages in the printed edition of his *Libro* (Debenedetti 1995: 164–65). This association should, however, not be overstressed, since Barbieri’s Occitan is not an artificial *koiné* language—it is ‘misturata’ by nature, and this natural mix of qualities results in a particularly ‘perfetta’ and ‘dolce’ language which had for a time the dominion over the other Romance languages just as Italian does now. As further argued by Debenedetti (1995: 165), this interpretation might have a biographical explanation. For, Barbieri tells us that he learned Occitan ‘senza maestro [...] con l’aiuto d’altre lingue, et per forza di rincontri al modo delle ziffere’ (*BC* fol. 21r, *Min* fol. 26r), and he must have realised how closely related Occitan is to the other Romance languages precisely in this way, a perspective which also justifies his interlinguistic and teleological perspective.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ It is true (as pointed out by Bertoni 1905: 85) that Barbieri does not show any particular familiarity with Spanish, with the exception of the *Anales de Aragon*. However, he knew Castelvetro who did have some familiarity with Spanish, and Moisè Finzi who was perhaps one of the many Jews who found refuge in Ferrara after being expelled from Spain with the Alhambra decree.

The *Arte del rimare*: Troubadour biographies and verse

The troubadours are discussed in Chapters 5 and 10 of the treatise. The content of the fifth chapter consists of stories about the loves of twelve troubadours, while the tenth gives information about the lives and production of more than fifty authors. *Min* shows that Barbieri was originally uncertain about how to distribute these contents. This is particularly clear from the fact that the twelfth love story of *Min* is erased and repurposed, in a virtually unchanged fashion, as biographical information about the trobairitz Iseut de Capion in chapter 10 (her place in the fifth chapter is taken, in *BC*, by Jaufre Rudel). Similarly, among the other love stories, Barbieri originally wrote some biographical information on the authors which he later removed from Chapter 5 and rewrote in the tenth. We offer one representative example:

Min fol. 9v (Chapter 5), erased section: così detto dal castello di Marueill, ch'è nel vescovato di Peiregors, huomo fu di povera generatione, ma molto avenente della persona, e buon trovatore, e cantava bene, e leggeva ben romanzi.

Min fol. 30v (Chapter 10): Arnaut de Marueill, che fu della medesima contrada che il Daniello, del vescovato di Peiregors, huomo avenente della persona, tutto che fosse di povera generatione, il quale fece al suo tempo di buone canzoni, et cantava bene, et leggeva bene romanzi

Most of the love stories of the fifth chapter are *razos*, often introduced by snippets of the *vidas*,⁴⁷ and with the limited lyric quotations already contained in these texts often extended to complete stanzas. Only the first paragraph (Arnaut Daniel) and the last in *BC* (Jaufre Rudel) differ significantly from this model. In the first case, Barbieri only translates the *vida* of Arnaut, which already contains three lines from BEdT 29,10 used as proof that Arnaut Daniel's love was always unrequited. To this quotation, Barbieri adds the first stanza of 'Ans que.l cim reston de brancas' (BEdT 29,3), in which Arnaut defines himself as 'educated in the school of love', as a hint that he might have actually enjoyed better fortune at some point. In the second case, Jaufre's *vida* is almost turned into a *razo* with the addition of five short quotations from his poems, presented as motivated by the facts recounted in the poet's biography.

Before introducing these stories, Barbieri declares their function. He says that the chapter is meant as 'dechiaratione' of Dante's claim that vernacular poetry was born from love. While, then,

⁴⁷ The distinction between the two genres has been put into question (Egan 1983: 37). I will use it here purely to distinguish the texts as they are categorised in the BEdT.

their function is didactic, Barbieri also aims at ‘fare ancora per alquanto officio di poeta, cercando di giovare insieme et di dilettere’ (*Min* fol. 5r). Because of their ‘dilettevole’ nature, Barbieri refers to these stories as ‘novelle’ (see *BC* fol. 30r and the marginalia used to reorder the texts in *Min*: ‘novella I’, ‘Novel. 2.^a’ etc.).

In this pursuit of literary pleasantness, Barbieri does not passively translate the texts, but strives to make them stylistically more elegant. The translations tend to be very faithful and accurate, departing from the original mostly through the removal of repetitions and irrelevant passages, as well as of those that are too unrealistic, as is the case of the omission of Gaucelm Faidit fainting from happiness after hearing that Audiartz de Malamort is willing to love him (*E* 192–93; cf. *BC* fol. 1r, *Min* fol. 8v).⁴⁸ Another motivation behind such excisions might be decorum. Thus, for example, the fact that there was a short relationship between Lombarda and her beloved is omitted (*H* fol. 43v; cf. *BC* fol. 36v, *Min* fol. 40v), as is the fact that after intentionally cutting his ties with Alazais, Pons de Capdoill courted other women (*b2* fol. 15v;⁴⁹ *BC* fol. 5v, *Min* fol. 12v). On the other hand, faithfulness to the original text sometimes brings Barbieri to incorporate specific expressions: *BC* fol. 4r *Min* fol. 11r ‘a non saputa’ (*H* 21r ‘a non saubuda’);⁵⁰ *Min* fol. 7v ‘hebbe tanto di cuore’ (*E* 191 ‘siac tan decor’), *BC* fol. 1r *Min* fol. 9r ‘vi menava per parole’ (*E* 193 ‘uos menaua per paraulas’). While revising the *Arte*, Barbieri evidently works on the translations themselves: this is particularly noticeable in his rendering of ‘mesatge’ first as ‘messaggio’ (in *Min* and in the earlier text of *BC*), and, after quite some re-thinking, finally as the more correct ‘messo’ (*BC* fol. 6r, *Min* fol. 12v).

Parts of the tenth chapter contaminates the *vidas* and *razos* with other sources such as the *Ciento novelle antike* and Benvenuto’s commentary on the *Commedia*, to which Barbieri sometimes adds his own autoschediasms. For instance, the paragraph on Bertran de Born (*BC* fol. 22r, *Min* fol. 27r) begins with information drawn from the *marginalia* of MS *H*:

⁴⁸ Although he does not state a source, Barbieri probably drew this *razo* (167.B.B. found only on MSS *EN2Rp* [BEdT]), from *LibMich* (Mussafia 1874: 19; Zufferey 1987: 162), and I am thus using *E* as the closest source.

⁴⁹ Incorrectly stated to be ‘16v’ on *DigiVatLib*.

⁵⁰ From searches conducted using GDLI (s.v. ‘saputa’), *Biblioteca italiana*, and *Gattoweb* (the TLIO page for ‘saputa’ is not yet available), ‘a non saputa’ was not an expression used in medieval or Renaissance Italy.

Bertran de Born, et Arnaldo Daniello furono così amici, che insieme si chiamavano l'un l'altro "Dezirat", come nota una chiosa sopra la chiusa della sestina di Arnaldo, che dice:

Barbieri then reports the last three lines of the sestina, in which 'Dezirat' is mentioned, explicitly drawing them from *LibMich*; then he moves to his *vida*, which as already mentioned comes from *LibSic*:

Questi si fu un gentil castellano di Peiregors signore del castello d'Altaforte, huomo valente, et buon guerriero, ma di cervello inquieto, che sempre hebbe guerra co' suoi vicini, né mai lascio stare in pace il re di Francia col re d'Inghilterra, né il conte de Peitieux con il conte di Lemotges, né il conte di Peiregors

He adds one more war fuelled by Bertran, drawn from the nineteenth novella of the *Ciento novelle antike*: 'et etiandio fece ribello il Re Giovanni al re Riccardo suo padre di Inghilterra' (cf. Gualteruzzi 1525, fol. 9r: 'leggiesi della bonta del Re Giouane guerreggiando col padre per lo co(n)siglio di Beltramo'). This last action justifies his place in the *Inferno*: 'Per la qual cosa fu posto da Dante ragionevolmente fra gli scommettitori' (also note the Dantean 'fece ribello', cf. *Inferno* 28, l. 136). He then goes back to the *Ciento novelle* to draw from them the information that 'Hebbe oltra ciò ardimento di vantarsi ch'egli havea più senno, che niuno altro, come conta il Maestro delle *Cento novelle antiche*' (Gualteruzzi 1525, fol. 9r: 'si uanto kelli auea piu senno ke niuno altro'; 10v 'tu diciesti kauai piu senno ke uomo del mondo'). Barbieri finds confirmation of this claim in a poem that he draws from *LibAsc*:

Ar es ben dreitz que vailla mos chantars

E mos bos sens, e mos sotilz trobars.

This constant back-and-forth between different sources is at its root justified by the existence of elements of common literary culture among the Romance languages, so that works written in Italian can be used to enlighten the production of a troubadour and vice versa.

The *Arte del rimare*: An Occitan canon?

As we have already mentioned, Barbieri reports aesthetic judgments on the troubadours that are derived from Dante—the inclusion of a poet in the *De vulgari eloquentia* is an important recognition of status—or, in one instance, from Bembo. Similarly, expressions such as 'bon trobaire', 'bonas

chansos' (as well as, for Elias Fonsalada, 'no bons trobare [...] fo', *H* fol. 29r) are often reported from the original prose texts, and examples are often brought to substantiate these claims. Barbieri also sometimes gives his own judgment on the authors. For example, he states that Bertran d'Alamanon is 'molto buon poeta così per canzoni come per serventesi', and that Gausbert de Poicibot is 'molto leggiadro rimatore in far canzoni di versi corti'. Sometimes, these judgments are accompanied by comparison with other authors as when we learn that Marcabru wrote 'con minor leggiadria, e dignità' compared to Peire Cardenal, and 'fu [...] come un Burchiello fra' provenzali' (*BC* fol. 33v, *Min* fol. 37v), associating Marcabru's often scabrous satirical verse and the comical-realistic poet Domenico di Giovanni, known as Burchiello (1404–49; see Patrizi DBI).⁵¹

The presence of such judgments on literary value begs the question of whether there is some intention to convey some form of canon through the order of contents of Chapters 5 and 10. Regarding the fifth chapter, Debenedetti (1995: 228) noted that 'ordine in questa materia non c'è, ma obbedienza ad un codice e null'altro'. Zufferey's study of *LibMich* has actually shown that this order does not mirror that of the chansonnier (1987: 161–62). The fact that Barbieri changed the order of these contents further proves the existence of authorial intentionality here. Indeed, the earliest order of contents testified by *Min* is:

1. Arnaut Daniel
2. Folquet de Marselha
3. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras
4. Peire Vidal
5. Gaucelm Faidit
6. Arnaut de Mareuil
7. Guillem de Saint-Leidier
8. Guillem de Cabestanh

⁵¹ Burchiello was already picked as an example of rough language in Trissino's *Castellano* (1986: 37). The *Mattaccini* in Caro's *Apologia* were presented as inspired by Burchiello (Caro 1558: 225), and in the *Treperuno*, Barbieri had depicted Caro as 'A burchiellare intento' (*Treperuno* III.1, line 4, edited in Barbieri 1907, 22),

9. Raimon de Miraval
10. Pons de Capdoill
11. Guilhem de Balaon
12. Iseut de Capion

At some point, however, Barbieri changed his mind and reordered the first six stories, adding a new side note to each of them with a roman numeral (sometimes accompanied by ‘Novella’ or ‘Novel.’) to signal its new position. In this way, the order became:

1. Arnaut Daniel
2. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras
3. Peire Vidal
4. Arnaut de Mareuil
5. Gaucelm Faidit
6. Folquet de Marselha

Iseut de Capion was then removed from *Min*, and *BC*, which in other respects replicates *Min*’s final order, has Jaufre Rudel in her place. This last change does not seem to have been dictated by aesthetic preference, since it might be that Barbieri simply preferred to deal with the trobairitz by grouping them in Chapter 10. The rest of the list, however, could have been guided, to some extent, by personal preference for the poets.

The tenth chapter is instead opened by Peire d’Alvernhe, by virtue of his being the ‘primo buon trovatore’, as his *vida* and *Dve* I, x, 3 testified. He is followed by Giraut de Borneil (who is the first poet of *c* and the second of *D*), who, according to Barbieri, ‘venne appresso’, implying chronological succession. Next in sequence is Arnaut Daniel, then Bertran de Born, Rigaut de Berbezilh, Folquet de Marselha, Peire Vidal, Gauselm Faidit, a list of ‘Arnaldi’, one of ‘Raimbaldi’, one of ‘Amerighi’, one of ‘Ughi’ (with Folquet de Rotmans ‘embedded’ within it because of a poem sent to him by Uc lo Brus), Raimon de Miraval, then a list of ‘Guglielmi’. This section is then closed by the remark ‘passiamo ad altri d’altri nomi diversi l’uno dall’altro secondo che mi si presenteranno

dinanzi e prima' (*BC* fol. 30v)—which implies that the authors discussed so far were not ordered casually: the common element in this section is that these authors are cited in medieval Italian works—chiefly the *Triumphs*, with the addition of Bertran de Born from Dante's works and Rigaut de Berbezilh and Raimon de Miraval from the *Ciento novelle antike*. In line with the book's intention to discuss the background of Italian poetry, Barbieri is then prioritising the authors that had a direct impact on works written in the Italian vernacular.

The rest of the chapter is clearly guided by less strict principles, but there is still some degree of order, based on names (for instance Miquel de la Tor and Bertran de la Tor being associated, or the poets called Elias being listed together),⁵² style (e.g. Peire Cardenal and Marcabru being associated by their satirical vein), or belonging to a particular environment (e.g. Gui de Cavaillon and Bertram Folcon who exchanged poems, or Peire Raimon and Albertet de Cestaro who both celebrated the Malaspina), or social status (churchmen, noblemen, ladies).

We can thus say that while the order of the fifth chapter may reflect Barbieri's taste, the tenth rather testifies to an intention to isolate the authors who are most directly connected with Italian poetry.

The *Arte del rimare*: Romance languages in the present day and the *questione della lingua*

As we mentioned, Barbieri's discussion of medieval literatures was functionalised to the second and third book in which he meant to give precepts for contemporary poets. This explains why he feels compelled to explain that the different aptness of the vernaculars to different genres as defined by Dante has changed over time. Contemporary France has overcome its original inability to build a strong poetic tradition thanks to its first 'ottimo poeta' Alain Chartier (1395–1430), and modern French poets are numerous enough for Barbieri to fill two façades of a folio with their names (*BC* fol.

⁵² This criterion is similar—intentionally or by chance—to that of some manuscripts (including *c* and *LibMich*) which tend to group together poets by the same name or similar names.

18rv, *Min* fols. 23v–24r). As for the Occitan language, ‘hoggidì si vede essere ignota non solo agli stranieri, ma etiandio ai provenzali medesimi’, so much so that the only way to come to understand it is through comparison with other languages, ‘et è certo maraviglia come sia potuta così andare in oblivione, essendo stata havuta così cara appresso gli antiqui, et havendo havuta tanta copia di buoni scrittori in rima’ (*BC* fol. 20v *Min* fol. 26r).

Italian is now, in terms of authority, the true heir of Occitan, having absorbed its elegance and then having reached new and unprecedented heights through the work of Dante and his successors. However, a treatise dealing with Italian still needed an explanation of what this language is, even fifty years after the *Prose*. The page defining it is in *Min* particularly troubled, with many erasures and corrections of different entity. This is what he ultimately formulates in *BC* (fol. 17rv):

Della proprietà, et denominatione del qual nostro volgare vertendo lite fra toscani, e lombardi mossa già per messer Claudio Tolomei, et messer Gabriele Cesano dall’una parte, et dall’altra per messer Giovan Giorgio Trissino e messer Hieronimo Mutio, io non volendo in ciò far pregiudicio ad alcuno dico similmente et dichiaro, che’l volgare, nel quale intendo, che habbiano da sonare le nostre rime, si è quello che hanno usato i buoni et approvati scrittori d’Italia, da i quali lo prenderemo per nostro uso, chiamandolo tratanto con Dante “volgare nobile”, et “illustre”

First of all, the passage is interesting for the names it chooses to mention: Tolomei is the author of the *Cesano*, a dialogue which specifically focuses on what name should be given to the vernacular, and in which the eponymous Cesano defends the Tuscan nature of the language (Tolomei 1996); Trissino, as we saw, was well-known to Barbieri, and also appears as an interlocutor of the *Cesano*, where he defends his ‘Italianist’ theory. The fourth name, that of Girolamo Muzio, is likewise connected to the *Cesano*, as he expounded his theory, according to which the vernacular is actually to be considered ‘Lombardo’, being born from the invasions of the Germanic populations in Northern Italy, in a letter in which he commented on the *Cesano*, and which was published, among Muzio’s letters, in 1551 (Marazzini 1993: 262).

Barbieri displays some form of disinterest for the matter, and keeps himself outside of the discussion, and especially seems uninterested in the matter of giving the language a name which was instead the main point of the *Cesano* and of Trissino’s *Castellano*. As for the substance of this language (which in an earlier phase he had called “volgare delle scritture”, *Min* fol. 23r), it is defined quite vaguely: poets should write in the language of the authors who had allowed Italian to gain the

dominating role it has now. As explicitly declared, Barbieri considers the standard that he proposes as in continuity with the one proposed in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, which he only knew through Trissino's translation, which steered Dante's theory towards a decidedly *cortigiana* interpretation (Cipollone 2003: 204–5). Barbieri, however, seems to strip the *De vulgari* of its courtesan element, only picking the 'literary' side of Trissino's Dante:

Questò vølgare adunque, che essere Illustre, Cardinale, Aulicò, e Cortigianò havemò dimòstratò, dicemò esser quellò, che si kiamo vølgare Italianò [...] Questò veramente hannò usatò l'j'Illustri Dottòri, che in Italia hannò fattò pøemi in lingua vølgare (Dante 1529: fol. b 5v)

Yet, and despite Barbieri's protests of neutrality, Trissino's conception of a form of 'Italianness' that groups together Sicilians, Duecento poetry, and Dante and Petrarch, can be seen at the root of how Barbieri groups together the 'lingue di sì' (Trissino 1986: xlvi). Barbieri's adherence to the use of 'buoni et approvati scrittori d'Italia' can also be understood as a form of neo-Bembism that does not programmatically limit itself to the Tuscany and to the middle ages, and the wording may owe something to the Bembist Castelvetro of the *Ragione*, who had written that 'sono da scegliere certi scrittori d'autorità, a' quali si possa prestar fede nell'elettione delle parole' (Castelvetro 1559: 10v).

From this point of view, Barbieri is quite distant from Trissino's *cortigiana* theory, and closer to Bembo's classicism, whose influence we found in various parts of the treatise. The fact itself that Barbieri can 'hybridise' these different points of view while at the same time staking his distance from the 'militant' earlier proposals shows that to him 'la questione della lingua è [...] in un certo senso una questione morta, benchè tanti seguitassero e abbiano seguitato a tenerla viva' (Debenedetti 1924: 431). While to some extent Barbieri's discussion of the name and nature of literary vernacular was only meant comply to what the erudite reader expected of such a treatise, it ultimately allows us to better define its relationship with Occitan historically (as knowledge of that tradition was an essential trait of the culture of those that brought it to the importance it has now), as well as 'hierarchically' (as the best language for lyric poetry, it occupies the role that a few centuries before was Occitan's).

5. Excursus: Barbieri's materials after his death

Barbieri died—as we mentioned—on 9 March 1574. In the following years, his son Lodovico plans an edition of the unfinished treatise, and gets in contact with Jacopo Corbinelli hoping to get some help in the endeavour. A letter sent to Corbinelli on 28 July 1581 gives us some details about the manuscripts that Barbieri left behind

fra le fatiche del predetto mio padre, trovo una traslatione di molte canzoni di buon' rimatori con la historia delle loro vite in nostra lingua, et sei volumi scritti di sua mano di simili compositioni non translate (Debenedetti 1995: 314)

It is very likely that among these six volumes were the four used for the *Arte*, and it is reasonable to think that the other two were of a similar nature (collations and/or critical editions) which did not necessarily contain otherwise unattested materials. Lodovico's effort to get the book printed was honest, if hopeless. Six years after this letter he still hoped to get his father's book published, but some manuscripts had perhaps gone lost. On 19 July 1587, Lodovico tells Pinelli that he has been 'più volte ricercato' of his father's Occitan manuscripts, and that he has tried to keep them 'il meglio ch'io ho potuto per non restarne privo' (Debenedetti 1924: 432–33).⁵³

Lodovico does not elaborate, but we know that erudite interest for Occitan was well alive in the 1580s: in that time, Fulvio Orsini goes hunting for Bembo's Occitan manuscripts and enlists a 'Leonardo provenzale' as a teacher and Gianvincenzo Pinelli—himself a keen linguist interested in Occitan literature—as a middleman for the acquisition of manuscripts. We cannot know who are these people bothering Lodovico with requests, nor how is it possible that these pressures are able to make Lodovico worry about being left with no manuscripts, but it is undeniable that the description of the collection made in this new letter is quite different from the one before:

Alcune compositioni in verso d'Arnaldo Daniello, a penna da per sè.
Un altro libro a penna di compositioni in verso di varii authori provenzali.
Un racconto della vita, amori et qualità di molti valenti scrittori provenzali, et degli medesimi molte compositioni.
Un libro di Michele della Torre, che raccoglie molte compositioni in verso di varii compositori provenzali, in fine del quale vi è nella medesima lingua un Trattato del falcone astore et simili ucelli da caccia, come l'aviamo, il conocimiento de' buoni, la cura et medicine per gl'infermi, a penna.

⁵³ Interestingly, in summarising the contents of the treatise in this same letter, Lodovico claims that the first book tells 'transito che fa di *Sicilia nella Provenza* quest'uso della rima' (Debenedetti 1924: 433; italics mine), making Giammaria agree with Petrarch more than he actually does.

Un altro libro della vita, amori et qualità et compositioni amorose di varii compositori provenzali.
Item un libro dove è buon numero di compositioni di varii scrittori provenzali, et finalmente una traslatione di varie compositioni provenzali in nostra lingua.
Item il Donato provenzale con la sua translatione, di che V. S. per sua gratia me ne fece coppia. (Debenedetti 1924: 434–35)

If Careri is right in positing that ‘a penna’ is to be understood as ‘not written by Giammaria Barbieri’ (1996: 263), then we have to think that the six manuscripts he had before were reduced to just three. It is, however, undeniable that this new letter is significantly more detailed than the previous one, so it is also possible that in the earlier one Lodovico was giving an estimate of the number of manuscripts written by his father (also considering that the total number of manuscripts here listed, excluding the *Donatz* which Lodovico had acquired from Pinelli, is six). However that may be, there is little we can say about this list. The *Libro di Michele*, being defined as ‘a penna’, is likely to be the original *LibMich* and not *b2* or a similar copy (Careri 1996: 263), while the book containing ‘una traslatione’ could perhaps date to the time of the Barbieri-Castelvetro edition.

Some more information is found in Alessandro Tassoni’s *Considerationi sopra le rime del Petrarca*, a commentary on the *Rvf* published in 1609 which compares Petrarch with his sources with the intention of demonstrating his originality. In an introduction to the manuscript version of the commentary, Tassoni declares his debt towards Lodovico Barbieri, who helped him in looking for correspondences with Petrarch in troubadour poems, ‘molte delle quali tiene tradotte da suo padre in nostra lingua d’Italia’ (Careri 1996: 310). After some early discussions (Bacci 1887, Bertoni 1904, Bertoni-Jeanroy 1904, Debenedetti 1995), Tassoni’s quotations were studied in detail by Eleonora Vincenti (1963: xxxiii–xlv) and Maria Careri (1996: 309–19), as well as—with reference only to the quotations from Sordello’s poems—by Marco Boni (Sordello 1954: 352–61). Some of these quotations are given in the original language and some in Italian. The translated ones tend to be much more literal in the manuscript version of Tassoni’s commentary compared to the print (Boni 1954: 353–55). They seem to derive from *H*, *M*, and *D*, and this is unsurprising given what we know from the *Arte*, nor are we surprised to find texts that seem to contaminate these sources (Vincenti 1963: xxxvii–xxxviii). Other quotations come from *c*, which, although unused in the *Arte*, was in Barbieri’s

hands in the 1550s (Vincenti 1963: xxxix), and other more with texts very similar to those of *C* and *E* probably come from *LibMich* (Careri 1996: 313–14).⁵⁴ From the sum of what has been said so far we can therefore deduce that in the seventeenth century Lodovico remained in possession of *LibSleg*, *LibAsc*, and *LibMich*, as well as of a copy of *c* and possibly of *D*.

Conclusion to Chapter Six

Barbieri's profile as it emerges from this chapter confirms the traditional depiction of him as a careful, erudite, and considerate scholar, while also shedding some new light on less-studied aspects of his figure, chiefly his ability to adapt his knowledge of the Occitan language to his own poetic production, as well as some key aspects of the structure of the *Arte*.

While the importance of the *Arte* inevitably makes it the chief focus of this chapter, we should not underestimate the significance of Barbieri's other works and activities. While the origins themselves of his Occitan culture remain mysterious, we are able to see him already in the 1550s judiciously amending his copy of the *De vulgari* with the help of the chansonnier and of his advanced understanding of the language, as well as using some of this knowledge for his own poetic production. After Castelvetro's exile, Barbieri retained his role as an expert of Romance literature, being tasked with the translation/compendium of the *Attila flagellum Dei*, whose language he perfectly recognised as different from Occitan, but which he nonetheless had to 'sell' as Occitan for political reasons.

In the 1570s, Barbieri understood from Lodovico Castelvetro's notes on Petrarch that his friend expected him to produce a work which would save the troubadours from oblivion. This impetus may well have led him to conceive the *Arte del rimare*, whose chapters five and eleven aimed to keep Castelvetro's promise by grouping together Occitan poems and information on authors from multiple ancient and modern sources. Within the *Arte*, Occitan and the whole Romance tradition are functionalised to a fuller understanding of Italian literature, adopting the *De vulgari eloquentia* as a

⁵⁴ Eleonora Vincenti (1961: xxxix, 143) attributes some characteristics to *K*, but they can all be explained either with *D* or other sources.

theoretical basis and complementing it with a depiction of Occitan poetry as part of a process that began with the Arabs and issued into the formation of the Romance lyric communities. The Italian poetic tradition and the work of its greatest poet Dante Alighieri is read against this supranational Romance background, and knowledge of the troubadours among the founders of this tradition is indicated as one of the main reasons for the dominion over the lyrical tradition that the Italian language now has.

Conclusion

Santorre Debenedetti notoriously concluded his monograph with the remark that ‘I provenzalisti del cinquecento non furono che dei filologi’ (1995: 295). This comment has a strong basis in truth, but the findings presented in this thesis allow us to nuance such a claim in various ways. Starting from Debenedetti’s claim, this Conclusion discusses the forms, nature, and implications of this form of philology as it emerges from this thesis. The first section summarises the main elements that have emerged from our account of the recovery of Occitan, one that proposes what is ultimately a more complex view of the phenomenon and of its ties to the *questione della lingua*. In the second section we propose an interpretation of the data and the different kinds of interest and re-use made of Occitan, using the framework of reception theory and a specific recent development known as transformation theory. We then provide a summary of which sources were available to our scholars and how they used them, and ultimately offer—by way of a final coda—some remarks on the continued influence of these studies on the centuries that followed.

1. Philological and antiquarian interest

Let us begin by going back to the definition of these scholars’ activity as purely philological and devoid of aesthetic interests. Of course, to some degree, the tendency to restrict enquiry to what might be called philological approaches—searching for manuscripts, collating them and attempting to establish texts, trying to build historicising perspectives on Occitan culture and language—is perfectly understandable. Even ignoring the language barrier, medieval troubadour poetry responded to an aesthetic taste that was very different to that of the Cinquecento reader. Understanding it required, moreover, knowledge of the socio-cultural context within which these poems were produced. In such a context, and with the deficits of knowledge and linguistic understanding and the cultural distance, it is difficult to see how the troubadours could inspire sixteenth-century poetry. In addition to this,

literary allusions require a sufficiently large public able to understand them, and only a printed edition could have enabled such a broader interpretative horizon.

Despite this, representing this activity as curious but ‘cold’ philology, as Debenedetti did, is imprecise. One should not forget that one of the key motivations for these enquiries was the investigation of the *Fragmenta* and *Triumphs*’s ancestry. For instance, Pietro Bembo, Lodovico Castelvetro, and Giovanni Maria Barbieri went hunting for Arnaut’s poem as cited by Petrarch in *Rvf* 70 so as to understand better that Petrarchan composition, and Lodovico Castelvetro examined the presence of Gaucelm Faidit within Petrarch in order to ‘anatomise’ the Tuscan poet. More generally, the list of troubadours’ names found in the *Triumphs* is cited in one form or another by each and every author investigated here, and especially helps shape Colocci’s early research and to structure parts of Barbieri’s *Arte del rimare*. As argued by Bologna (1993a: 536), this Petrarchan focus is the key feature that distinguishes Renaissance vernacular philology from its classical equivalent, as the improved understanding of Petrarch that these intellectuals aimed for was ultimately meant to define the aesthetics of Petrarch’s production and thus have a direct effect on contemporary poetry, which was substantially caught up in the imitative practices associated with Petrarchism.

Secondly, these enquiries also sought to build upon and verify ideas, names, and suggestions found in Dante, both the Dante of the *Commedia* and of the *De vulgari*. A deepened appreciation of the troubadours could help in understanding the identity of the troubadours found in the *Commedia*, with special regard to Arnaut’s speech of *Purgatorio* 26 and the discussion of him and Giraut de Borneil in that canto. Unlike Petrarch, however, Dante was also used as a source of information for understanding the troubadours themselves. We have seen repeatedly and most conspicuously of all in the chapters on Bembo and Barbieri, that his *De vulgari eloquentia*, once rediscovered, offered an important precedent, both of exegetical and historical framing, to troubadour poetry, and presented a more explicit and understandable canon compared to that proposed in the *Triumphs*. It is in a similar vein that Angelo Colocci notes ‘Dante cita questa’ beside the incipits he recognised in his chansonniers. What is more, the *De vulgari eloquentia* offered important material for defining what the Occitan language was in opposition to French and Italian, as well as for defining its literary

culture in its lyrical specificity. Such material was, as we have seen, integrated with profit in Colocci, Varchi, and Barbieri's linguistic theories.

The pervasive use of Dante and Petrarch also brought to light the inconsistency between the *De vulgari eloquentia*, which considered the Occitans the first to have written poetry in the vernacular ('vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt', I, X, 3), and Petrarch's *Familiars*,² where the Sicilians are declared to be the earliest vernacular poets ('quod genus, apud Siculos, ut fama est, non multis ante seculis renatum...' I, I, 6). The range of responses here is notable. Colocci considered the Sicilians the direct heirs of an ancient but minoritarian form of poetry; Pietro Bembo defended the Occitans' priority on aesthetic grounds; and his position was followed and expanded upon by Varchi. Castelvetro uses his knowledge of Romance poetry to defend the Sicilians' antiquity. As for Barbieri, his approach shows the most originality, since he theorizes the simultaneous diffusion of rhymed poetry in both Sicily and mainland Europe.

If there is one figure that to some extent evades the concern with Dante and Petrarch it is Mario Equicola. In the *Chronica di Mantua*, Occitan poetry is a source for local history, and Sordello's *tenso* is adduced to complement the depiction of Sordello in the *Commedia* and the *Aliprandina* with an example of his writing. In Equicola's later printed *Libro de natura de amore*, Occitan is then placed within a wider history of theories and expressions of love, and depicted (through what we have identified as a 'Sordellian' filter) as a more delicate and dignified expression of love compared to those produced by the ancient world.

Even ignoring Equicola's case, it would, however, be unjust to depict the interest Cinquecento intellectuals show for Occitan as entirely subservient to their enquiry into Dante and Petrarch. There are clear sparks of curiosity for Occitan in itself in many of these intellectuals. Colocci notes metaphors, similes, and expressions of particular interest in troubadour poems. Bembo finds a special sweetness in Folquet and shows an interest for the recurring themes of the poems. Varchi reads Occitan grammar books with intelligence and curiosity. And while the first book of the *Arte del rimare* is functional to explaining the excellence of Italian, Barbieri gladly devotes many pages to the troubadours, even bringing them up when discussing French and Italian. The very fact that there were

two (albeit failed) attempts to edit the troubadours in the Cinquecento demonstrates that there was an interest for the detailed study of their texts. All of what we have said so far shows the ‘active’ and ideological function of these studies, of which we will bring more proof in discussing the *questione della lingua* in the next section.

2. The *questione della lingua* and the troubadours

Let us now return to the main question of this thesis, namely, how and why does the *questione della lingua* come into play into these vicissitudes? We have seen that the relationship between Occitan studies and the *questione della lingua* is complex and deep, and that it is much more than a by-product of the enquiry into Dante and Petrarch. Pietro Bembo writes at a time when the victory of the vernacular over Latin, though sanctioned by historical reality, had not yet had its full theoretical justification: his digression on the history of Occitan poetry is meant to prove that vernacular languages can effectively create traditions that are formally refined and can stand the test of time, and that a shared linguistic standard can also be adopted by those who were not born within it—and, at the same time, the decline of Occitan after the fall of their courts serves as a cautionary tale against non-classicist approaches to literary norms. In the same period, Mario Equicola gave a similar account of the rise and fall of Occitan courts within his *De natura de amore*, within which he replicates in the court of Ramon Berenguer V the ideal of the *lingua cortesiana* that he had defended in the past and to which he probably still looked nostalgically. For him, great courts could attract noble and cultured people from many different places and develop a linguistic standard. Equicola wanted to show that this real-life *koiné* was able—and this is what Bembo strongly denied in his opposition to the *cortigiana* model—to crystallise itself into a literary standard capable of producing a literature that can transcend the ravages of time. It is this kind of ideological use of philological fact—be it conscious or unconscious—that substantiates much of the *questione*’s relationship with literary tradition.

For the later scholars, chiefly Castelvetro and Barbieri, the problem of the linguistic standard is to some extent secondary, with philological and theoretical concerns being their primary concern. Varchi depicts Occitan as something akin to the classical languages, a dead form of expression which survives in texts that we can still read to gain an understanding of the origins of the Florentine vernacular. Indeed, while Occitan and Tuscan were born independently from the same source, Tuscan, especially in its literary articulation, has undergone the influence of Occitan to such an extent that the language of the troubadours can be considered its second mother. For Castelvetro, the parallel nature of the two languages is instead an essential interpretative key that disproves any form of linguistic derivation for Italian, with only very limited cases of literary derivation being accepted. And in Barbieri, as we have seen, Occitan is a key component of the literary culture of the most excellent medieval Italian authors and a necessary instrument to understand them fully.

A prominent and recurring preoccupation in nearly all our authors is that of the nature and extent of the debt owed by the Tuscan vernacular to Occitan. This problem is present in some of Colocci's notes and dealt with extensively by Pietro Bembo, who expands on it when revising the *Prose* ahead of publication. The diffusion of the *Prose* made Bembo's long list a necessary object of discussion for his successors. Varchi, for example, accepts it fully and further expands it, using it to substantiate his idea of the Tuscan vernacular's double origin. Castelvetro, by contrast, refutes it as incompatible with the parallel existence of the two languages. Similarly, the problem of the debt that Tuscan lyric poetry owes to the troubadours is a recurrent one. If the Occitan origin of the *sestina* and of *coblas unissonans* is mostly agreed upon by all, stances on the matter range from general dismissiveness (Castelvetro) to the theorisation of a direct derivation of Tuscan lyric from the Occitan, at least among the oldest poets (Bembo, Barbieri).¹

Another recurring matter is that of the origins of vernacular rhymed poetry, and it is strictly connected with the definition of the specificity of medieval Romance literature and culture. Both

¹ A special interest for Occitan metres is displayed by an author outside of the six explored in this thesis, Domenico Venier, who tried to describe the metre of two poems by Peire d'Alvernhe in his private notes (Debenedetti 1995: 185–87).

problems first emerge in Colocci, who first seeks the origins of rhyme in Sicily and among the Arabs and who looks for elements of contact among Sicilian, Occitan, Italian, and Portuguese languages and literatures. Equicola also makes a clear distinction between Latin poetry, on the one hand, and Occitan, French, and Italian, on the other, especially insofar as the way love is treated by the moderns in a more delicate and elevated form compared to the classics, which was pioneered by the troubadours and which the Italians largely adopted. The common origin of the Romance vernacular from popular Latin mixed with the Germanic populations' languages is also, as we argued, a stable point of reference in Castelvetro's linguistics, while on the literary side he believes that the troubadours owe more to the Italians rather than vice versa. In Barbieri's case, the frame of the *De vulgari eloquentia* justifies an enquiry that looks at Italian as the point of arrival of a long history of interconnected literary expressions that the Romance vernaculars derived from Arab poetry.

3. The reception of troubadour poetry as transformation

In the early 2000s, a research group based at the Humboldt University in Berlin elaborated an agile framework for shaping forms of reception as agents of cultural change within a society, the 'theory of transformation', which attempts to categorise different phenomena connected to reception and its cultural impact (Bergemann et al. 2019). Such a model works well in a case such as ours, where we seek to gauge the impact of the erudite recovery of older literary materials (troubadour poetry) on the cultural horizon of a later age (Cinquecento Italy). This perspective is hinged on the concept of *allelopoiesis*, that is, the way a *reception culture* (i.e. the cultural system that receives a cultural artifact) builds a relationship with a *reference culture* through the selection and interpretation of specific elements of that culture, which constitutes a *sphere of reference*. In our case, we might understand Cinquecento Italy as the reception sphere of troubadour poetry, a cultural object which is mediated by the medieval chansonniers. These manuscripts act as non-neutral *agents*, which, unbeknownst to sixteenth-century scholars, present their own canon, among which sixteenth-century intellectuals operate a further selection by focusing their interest on the basis of their Petrarchan and Dantean interests.

Out of the transformational phenomena described by Bergemann et al. (2019), that of *focalisation* (i.e. the concentration of the receiver's attention on specific parts of the received corpus to the detriment of others) indeed dominates throughout all the forms of reception we have looked at in our thesis. Our scholars have access to a wealth of texts from a variety of authors from different times, and the notes they write on the manuscripts and the tables of contents they create show that they were aware of the richness of the troubadour corpus. However, the texts they mostly focus upon are almost invariably those connected to Dante and Petrarch's canon, with a special attention for Arnaut Daniel and Folquet de Marselha, as well as for BEdT 233,4. In this context, it is, for instance, extremely meaningful that the only traces left of Barbieri's critical edition on the manuscripts that were lent to him in the 1550s are the transcription on MS *H* of the incipit from 233,4 as cited by Petrarch and a few amendments to a poem by Folquet on MS *c*. With the exception of the *Arte del rimare*'s extensive treatment, which discusses many non-canonical troubadours, and Equicola's erudite assembly in the fifth book of the *De natura de amore*, the only time the focus extends meaningfully beyond this canon is in Pietro Bembo's list of Italian troubadours in the *Prose*.

Another common process is that of *appropriation*, that is, the recontextualization of the ancient text within a new context. This is found in the works which include passages from Occitan texts in their original language. In the *Chronica di Mantua*, Sordello and Peire Guilhem's *tenso* has the 'antiquarian' function of complementing the information on Sordello given by Benvenuto da Imola and Bonamente Aliprandi. In the *Hercolano*'s case, instead, the inclusion of Occitan texts exceptionally serves to justify the use of specific words in Tuscan. In Barbieri's *Arte del rimare* the often extensive extracts from Occitan poems instead exemplify the contribution of the troubadours to the development of western rhymed poetry. In Bergemann et al.'s framework, appropriation becomes *assimilation* when the text is fused within a literary work to such an extent that it becomes an allusion understandable only to the reader familiar with the alluded text. This phenomenon requires a level of aesthetic understanding which, as we noted in the Introduction, was largely absent from the Cinquecento approach to troubadour poetry, and may perhaps only be present in the two poems by Barbieri that we examined briefly in the last chapter. To an extent, we may say, however, that the way

Equicola builds, within the fifth book of the *De natura de amore*, a unitary discourse made of snippets of translated troubadour poems can be understood as assimilation. When an ancient object is included into a modern work as an artefact produced by a distant cultural system we instead speak of *encapsulation*. The aforementioned *tenso* in the *Chronica*, the troubadour quotations of the *De natura* and those of the *Arte*, as well as the translated *vidas* and *razos* incorporated in the *Arte*, might all be understood in this way, given that they offer a glimpse into a distant cultural system, of whose otherness the authors are well aware, although their interest, as we argued, goes well beyond pure antiquarianism. Whenever there is also an attempt to historicise and contextualise Occitan poetry through the analysis of what little is known of the time and the use of secondary sources such as the *De vulgari eloquentia*, the *vidas*, etc., this can be seen as a case of *reconstruction*.

Ultimately—and perhaps most significantly for the aims of this thesis—we have seen cases in which concepts tied to the *questione della lingua* become central in the representation of the cultural milieu of Occitan poetry. This is especially true of Bembo and Equicola, but it could be argued that it is also the case for Angelo Colocci and Giammaria Barbieri’s depictions of the Occitan tradition. These can be understood as forms of *reevaluation*, in which the cultural system of the Cinquecento is used as an interpretative lens through which to look at the Occitan tradition.

We can draw some conclusions from this short excursus. First of all, it is notable, if unsurprising, that none of the dominating transformations are those connected with art and creativity. Secondly, and equally unsurprisingly, there is a strong focalisation on the authors presented in Dante’s and Petrarch’s canon of troubadours. Ultimately, and this is perhaps less obvious, we can note the absence of the more antagonistic forms of transformation: the texts’ aesthetics or ideological contents are never challenged or diminished (unlike what happens with Sicilian poetry in Bembo and Barbieri). These ‘negative’ processes, which are essential to the construction of an aesthetic canon, require a form of engagement with the source that in turn postulates the understanding of the cultural and aesthetic values contained in a text, and this is something that Cinquecento authors mostly fail to do. The great cultural distance that underpins this neglect is also at the root of one of the main ways the *questione della lingua* connects to troubadour studies. By projecting a model into the past

(Bembo, Colocci, Equicola), by providing a theoretical model of the evolution of languages and of their categories (Bembo, Varchi, Castelvetro), and more in general by creating a teleological order that has Petrarch (and sometimes Dante) as its point of arrival, the *questione* offers categories and perspectives that allow (imperfectly, and to the expense of aesthetic considerations) the sixteenth-century intellectual to approach and understand a culturally and chronologically distant phenomenon.

4. Sources

An analysis of the sources available to our scholars can further nuance our evaluation and add valuable additional contributions. Let us start from the chansonniers, with the very obvious caveat that some sources used are now lost or remain unidentified. Out of the many known Occitan chansonniers, our scholars use a relatively limited selection: *A* (indirectly known by Colocci and possibly used by Bembo), *D* (Bembo, Castelvetro, Barbieri), *E* (Bembo, possibly Castelvetro), *H* (Bembo, Castelvetro and Barbieri), *K* (Bembo), *L* (Bembo), *M* (Colocci, Barbieri, possibly Bembo), *N* (Equicola, Colocci), *N2* or a similar MS (Colocci, possibly Equicola), *O* (Bembo, possibly Barbieri), *c* (Varchi, Castelvetro and Barbieri)—plus lost MSS such as Guilhem Feraut’s chansonnier (Equicola, Colocci), Bertran Amoros’s chansonnier (Varchi), and the *libro di Michele* (Barbieri). As for the many other manuscripts that were in Italy at the time, some were used by other intellectuals outside of the six discussed here (e.g. *F* by Marcello Adriani and Antonio Giganti, *a* by Piero del Nero, see Debenedetti 1995: 274) others (*G, P, S, T, U*) do not seem to have circulated at all.

Our six scholars mostly use manuscripts of the Venetian ε tradition: *D, E, H, K, N, N2*, as well as the lost manuscript of Miquel de la Tor (Avalle 1993: 79–89). This is entirely unsurprising, since this manuscript tradition is the richest, given the importance that the Veneto, and Northern Italy in general, had in the production and circulation of troubadour manuscripts in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. But this ‘Veneto-centrism’ is also due to the history itself of the Cinquecento phenomenon. As we have seen, the Venetian Pietro Bembo had one of the largest collections of chansonniers at the time, including *D* which had belonged to Giovanni Malipiero, *O* which used to

belong to the Badoer family, and *H* which he probably obtained in Northern Italy. Bembo also had in his possession *L*, which he is likely to have likewise bought in the Veneto, and had access to *E* which had been in the Este family's library before being bought by Luigi da Porto. As we have discussed, then, Bembo shared his knowledge of his manuscripts with Colocci, and Castelvetro and Barbieri received some of his materials. Equicola used MS *N* in Mantua, where it had been for two centuries. In addition to this, Giulio Camillo, the creator of *N2*, was likewise active in the Veneto. And two other recurring names of this thesis, Federigo Fregoso and Lodovico Beccadelli, who might have had Occitan manuscripts, were also active in Northern Italy.

Interestingly, the two scholars who were not active in Northern Italy are also the owners of manuscripts not belonging to the Venetian tradition. Colocci buys from Gareth's widow manuscript *M*, which derives from an Occitan tradition (Avalle 1993: 89–95),² and Varchi owns *c*, an example of a 'third tradition' now seen as an expression of the Tuscan canon (Avalle 1993: 98–99 for the older definition; for its reconsideration, see Viel 2021: 54–55 and the bibliography he cites); Varchi also uses Bernart Amoros's chansonnier, an extremely complex case which can be partially understood as independent from the other known traditions (Avalle 1993: 103–6; Borghi Cedrini-Meliga 2014). This specificity of the tradition known to Varchi should probably be understood in terms of the circulation of troubadour poetry in central Italy in the Middle Ages with the constitution of a troubadour canon which, despite using materials coming from Northern Italy, France, and Catalonia, is undeniably original (Viel 2021: 54–55). The fact that our scholars all use manuscripts connected to their area (or, in the case of Colocci, to the area of the former owner) strongly suggests that none of them were bought abroad (with the possible exception of the *Liber Marii*, see Chapter Three).

Literary genres other than lyric (narrative, *ensenhamens*, religious poems, etc.) enjoyed much less literary and manuscript fortune. As a consequence of this, our authors, who as mentioned were mostly looking for the ancestry of Italian lyric poetry, tend to ignore their existence, with the exception of the thirteenth-century grammars. The first generation of scholars seems to have not

² Once again, though, *M* appears to have also been marginally influenced by *ε* (Asperti 1995: 171–72).

known them, while the exponents of the second used the *Donatz* and the *Razos*. Varchi had both these texts in a manuscript akin to *all*, which presents a heavily rehandled version of both in an often corrupt fashion, and some of these textual problems, as we have seen in Chapter Five, carry over to Varchi's *Regole*.³ Barbieri and Castelvetro certainly had the *Donatz* from Domenico Venier, and we have reason to think that the text carried by MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 465 Inf. fols. 308–25 is based on their same source, and that one of the two translations there contained was their work.⁴ In addition to this, Barbieri mentions 'Las Rasos de trobar' (*BC* 32v, *Min* 37r), and shows awareness at least of the fact that it celebrates Limousin as the most refined form of Occitan (*Tir* 27). The other grammatical texts, mostly carried by Catalan manuscripts (see *Donatz* 1969: ix–xiii), are unknown to our scholars. As for other non-lyrical texts, only Barbieri shows familiarity with the *Roman dels auzels cassadors*, which was in *LibMich*: Barbieri copies this text on *b2* and mentions it in the *Arte* (*BC* 31r, *Min* 36r).

Outside of the manuscripts themselves, it will be useful to summarize the role that France and Catalonia had in determining the Italians' interest for Occitan. The importance of Catalonia is—as already pointed out by Bertoni 1911b (337)—overstated by Debenedetti, who sees in Gareth's discussion with Colocci in Rome the birth of the whole phenomenon (1995: 20–21). It is undeniable that Gareth and Casassagia had a fundamental role in providing Colocci with materials, but looking at the phenomenon as a whole, Catalonia's role appears minor. The early testimonies of Bembo's interest for Occitan are fuelled by the desire to understand the vernacular lyric tradition better and the availability of Occitan manuscripts in Italy. And while the linguistic similarity between Occitan and Catalan is mentioned on various occasions, no Catalan intellectual after Gareth and his nephew seems to have had any role in the phenomenon.⁵ The role of France is harder to gauge. The sixteenth century represents for France the beginning of officially sanctioned monolingualism with the ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts (10 August 1539), and yet, we have seen hints of an interest for Occitan in the

³ Interestingly, Terramagnino da Pisa based his *Doctrina d'acort* on a version of the *Razos* that is very close to the one carried by *all*, suggesting the existence of a Tuscan tradition (*Donatz* 1969: xxviii).

⁴ Although this detail is of minor importance, it should be noted that both Varchi and Barbieri's copies of the *Donatz* lack the Latin translation that accompanies the other witnesses (Avalle 1993: 123).

⁵ The fact that Aragon lost the kingdom of Naples in 1501 to France might have caused Catalans to flee Italy.

French court twice in our thesis, with Equicola first and then Barbieri. Both intellectuals went to France, and both are suspected to have had a form of first contact with the Occitan tradition there. It should be noted that in both cases the references are extremely vague, and no precise names of French intellectuals that influenced them are made. It is possible that some form of curiosity for the Occitan tradition survived at the French court, and that it influenced these two intellectuals, but its importance should not be overstated. Excluding Nostredame (see below), all the testimonies that we have of French scholars speaking of Occitan (namely, Dupuy's letters to Pinelli and Fauchet's *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie française*) come from late in the century and largely rely on what others had said before (Debenedetti 1995: 161). The phenomenon of the rediscovery of Occitan is thus to be understood—also by virtue of its close relationship to *questione della lingua*—as a purely Italian phenomenon.

5. Impact

The story delineated in this thesis ends with Barbieri's death in 1574. After him, it could be argued that the theoretical strands of the *questione della lingua* continued with the historical and philological activity of figures such as Vincenzo Borghini, as well as with the new forms of codification of the literary language brought about by the new purism of Leonardo Salviati and of the Accademia della Crusca (Marazzini 1993: 273–74). However, by this point, the *questione* and the study of Occitan had gone their separate ways. In the 1580s, the bibliophile Fulvio Orsini built a collection of manuscripts owned by Bembo and Colocci, and even made some attempts at studying the language with the help of materials derived from Barbieri and Castelvetro's collections. Between that decade and the following one, Piero del Nero looked for Occitan chansonniers and ordered copies of them on which he worked with care. Gianvincenzo Pinelli, an omnivorous collector, had some Occitan material which had belonged to Barbieri among his manuscripts (Debenedetti 1995: 344; Cantalupi 2019). While the impact of troubadour poetry on earlier Italian literature was still the main reason for these intellectuals to approach these materials (Piero del Nero for instance invites the posterity to cherish MS *F^a*, 'quando non fusse per altro, per molte voci che sono in Dante' [Debenedetti 1995: 276–90]),

none of them was however engaged in any extended discussions of linguistic standards or of the constitutive elements of the Italian vernaculars. This does not mean that these intellectuals were passive accumulators or unintelligent readers: but the theoretical aim that is the main thread we have followed so far is minoritarian, if not non-existent, in their work.

The reason for this inability of the Cinquecento ‘Provençalism’ to perpetuate itself was identified by Debenedetti (1995: 57, 293) in the incapability of the sixteenth-century humanists to collaborate and build a ‘school’ (‘Il moderno [...] deve convenire che non abbiamo qui una catena, ma solo degli anelli staccati’, 293). With due respect to Debenedetti, however, we have pointed out instead important traces of collaboration among these intellectuals, many of which he was well aware of. Colocci could rely on Lampridio’s help, was in contact with Bembo, and received Equicola’s manuscripts from Trissino; Giulio Camillo lent manuscripts to Colocci and Equicola; a small group of intellectuals supported Castelvetro’s and Barbieri’s editorial project with all the material they could provide. These collaborations mostly consisted in the exchange of raw material. This is understandable, since gathering sources necessarily preceded their interpretation. What was really missing for a wider impact and for the perpetuation of the phenomenon was however a printed edition of the texts, which could have made this tradition usable to a large readership, much like the *Giuntina* did for Italian poetry.

The phenomenon thus did not have the impact that it might have had—but this is not to say it was inconsequential. I have mentioned Orsini, del Nero, and Pinelli, all of whom built upon the work of the scholars that came before them. Beyond the Alps, the Occitan studies of the Italians were used within *Les vies des plus celebres et anciens poetes provençaux* by the Provençal Jean de Nostredame, the first printed work to specifically focus on the troubadours. Nostredame began working on the book in 1570, and knew what Bembo and Equicola wrote on the troubadours, as well as the work of Landino, Vellutello, Gesualdo, and Speroni (Debenedetti 1995: 231). He specifically uses Bembo and Equicola to reconstruct Raimon Berenguer V’s courtly environment, and Bembo to postulate the derivation of Italian metrical forms from the Occitan (Debenedetti 1995: 231). Nostredame’s work, plagued by the author’s many falsifications, was read by the Italian Giovanni Giudici who appreciated

it so much that he produced an Italian translation of Nostredame's 'mauvais petit livre' (Anglade in Nostredame 1913: lxxxii). Despite being mostly ignored when it came out, the book indeed enjoyed special fortune in the following century, especially from Giovan Mario Crescimbeni who produced his own retranslation in the eighteenth century. In 1582, Claude Fauchet wrote a *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie française*, and although he himself admits not knowing the language, he pays homage to the 'sçavants hommes d'Italie' (Debenedetti 1995: 161, 207).

Early in the seventeenth century, the fortune of Giovanni Maria Barbieri's Occitan research is guaranteed by his son Lodovico, despite the failure of his plan to publish the *Arte* with the help of Jacopo Corbinelli. Lodovico allowed Tassoni to use Giovanni Maria's manuscripts for his *Osservazioni* in 1609 (which also include most of the Occitan examples found in Castelvetro's Petrarchan commentary). He probably also made some of his father's materials available to his French acquaintance Jean Nicot, whose *Thresor de la langue francoyse tant ancien quant moderne* was posthumously printed in Paris by Douceur in 1606. In this rich vocabulary, Nicot included with some regionalist pride various references to Occitan, and it has been shown by Rosenstein (2006) that these almost certainly come from a manuscript very close to *b1*.

In a less strict form, the continued reading of the *Herculano* and especially of the *Prose* determined the establishment of a conception of Occitan as strongly influential on Italian in the scholars of the generations after Barbieri. Tassoni is once again exemplary: 'la Toscana, e Firenze in particolare, era piena allora [*scil.* in the middle ages] di Francesi, e di Provenzali, da' quali la lingua nostra prese un'infinità di vocaboli' (Tassoni 1620: I, 446)—similar claims can be found in authors who had no direct contact Barbieri's materials, such as in the seventeenth-century author Benedetto Buonmattei's *Della lingua toscana*: 'quantunque ella [*scil.* Tuscan] discenda discenda dalla Latina in gran parte; ella non discende però tutta [*scil.* from it] [...] ha ricevute molte [*scil.* voci] da Ciciliani, da' Provenzali, da gli Spagnuoli, da' Greci, da gli stessi Latini' (1626: I, 7) (Vitale 1955: 55–56).

Even in the following century, passages from Varchi and Bembo are incorporated by Antonio Bastero in the *Crusca provenzale* (1724), while the aforementioned Crescimbeni discusses the debt that Tuscan owes to the troubadours explicitly siding with Bembo against Castelvetro and also mentioning

Varchi and Equicola as experts of Occitan in his *Comentari intorno all'istoria della volgar poesia* (1702–11: I, 5–6; II, I: *passim*).

And yet, in spite of these continuing threads of Cinquecento influence in later production, the humanistic tradition had no bearing on the birth of modern scholarship on Occitan and on Romance literatures. Its root should instead be found in the romantic age's interest for popular poetry, and its inception is traditionally dated to the activities of Friedrich Diez and François Raynouard in the 1810s–20s (Cremonesi 1955: 233–34). In the activities of nineteenth-century scholarship in Italy we can, however, find traces of our intellectuals. Vincenzo Crescini, one of the first modern scholars to study the Renaissance discovery of Occitan, used to refer to these humanists as 'precursori' (Viscardi 1961: 191–93); and in Modena, the memory of Barbieri, along with Castelvetro, survived as a source of local pride thanks to Tiraboschi's edition of the *Arte*. In the 1800s Giovanni Galvani, within his anthology *Fiore di storia letteraria e cavalleresca dell'Occitania* (1845), included a dedication to Francesco IV Este in which a Modenese-Estense tradition rooted in Barbieri is defined:

Primo in Italia a scrivere dottamente della lingua e della poesia provenzale era Giovanni Maria de' Barbieri modenese; e questi, raccogliendo la singolare dottrina sua in un libro ch'egli intitolava *Arte del Rimare*, volevalo indirizzato per debito e per affezione alla Nobilissima Altezza di Alfonso II da Este, "perciocché", così egli scriveva, "essendo io suo suddito per nazione e suo uomo per beneficio di lei, così mi reputo obbligato, per legge di fedeltà e di gratitudine, a dedicarle i parti del mio ingegno, come già le ho dedicato per suo servizio la vita che mi resta ed i figliuoli usciti di me medesimo". Per venti anni io mi sono venuto logorando in istudi non dissimili da quelli dell'avvertito filologo modenese [...] (Barberini 2020: 242)

While the historical foundation of this parallelism is not very scientific, this tradition had a powerful emotional impact, which continued into twentieth-century philology. Giulio Bertoni was indeed known for inviting young scholars to approach Occitan by beginning with Galvani's work, and looked at Barbieri's activity with fascination and sympathy, claiming that: 'noi siam soliti ognora rivolgerci a lui [*scil.* Barbieri], come a un compagno di studi!' (Bertoni 1905: 4; Barberini 2020: 226).

Appendix

Giovanni Maria Barbieri's *Arte del rimare* – A Critical Edition

1. Sources

The manuscripts of the Archiginnasio (Carte Savioli-Barbieri)

The *Arte del rimare* survives in two autograph manuscripts reflecting two different states of the work, which are now kept within a box at the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio in Bologna with the shelfmark B3467. The box measures 21x31 cm and contains seven different paper manuscripts of varying sizes. The inside of the box's cover reads, in pencil, 'fascicoli 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6a, 6b, 7 | totale 8 fascicoli | fasc. 4 vuoto (cf. IMBI)' and contains a sticker reading 'Dono 1918 | *Cont. Cesira Savioli*' (the characters in italics were added by pen, the rest are printed on the sticker itself). The bottom of the box has a writing in pencil reading 'Restaurato 1981'. The contents of the box are:¹

1. A fragment of a discourse on the usage of Latin and the vernacular in literature, 4 fols., probably to be identified with the *risposta* that, according to Lodovico

1. This description is partially based on Mazzatinti 1903: 126–27, 'updated' with some newer sources (stated in the text) and with having seen it in person.

Jr., Lodovico Castelvetro and Filippo Valentini wrote to Antonio Fiordibello and Paolo Sadoletto (Cipollone 2003: 209), in a different hand from that of Barbieri.²

2. Notes on Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* written by Barbieri, 4 fols. (3v and 4 are blank).
3. Notes on the usage of some adverbs of place by Petrarch, written by Lodovico Castelvetro, 6 fols. (ALI)
4. (lost) Interpretative notes on some passages from Occitan poems, possibly by Lodovico Barbieri. 4 fols., which went missing before 1982 (*Autografi* 2009: 37), edited by De Bartholomaeis 1927: 128–36. The blue folder that used to contain it survives, and has the words 'Baroni de Baye' written on pencil on it.
5. Fragment of a *libro della famiglia* written by Lodovico Castelvetro, 6 fols.
- 6a. The earlier autograph draft (*Minuta*, or *Min*) of the *Arte del rimare*, 44 fols., missing 11 leaves at the beginning and an indefinite number at the end.³
- 6b. The autograph fair copy (*Bella Copia*, or *BC*) of the *Arte del rimare*, 56 fols., missing an unknown number of leaves at the beginning.
- 7 *Contrastus domini de Conciacho* copied by Barbieri. 6 fols, missing 36 fols. at the beginning.⁴

Fascicles 1, 2, 6a, and 6b were repaired and coated with Japanese paper, probably in 1981.⁵

2. According to Careri 1996 (266) this manuscript was written by Lodovico Castelvetro.

3. The disposition of the text on the last façade of *Min* seems to confirm that some folios at the end went lost, rather than that Barbieri interrupted the work at that point (see also Cipollone 2003: 211).

4. Fascicles 1, 3, and 5 were mistakenly attributed to Barbieri by De Bartholomaeis 1927 (6–7) and Fanti-Sighinolfi 1982 (125–26), see Careri 1996: 266

5. I would like to thank Dr. Clara Maldini of the Archiginnasio in Bologna who explained to me this form of restoration.

***Min* (Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, B3467 6a)**

Description Paper (watermarks: fleur-de-lis with two flowers on the side [Briquet 7261?]⁶ for quires 1–2 and for the first bifolium of quire 3 [fols. 20 and 23]; two crossed hammers with a crown above [Briquet 11639?] for the rest of the quires). Fols. ii + 44 fols. + ii. 1–11⁴. The first and last modern paper guards were glued to the cover of the fascicle. The original leaves measure about 19x29 cm, while the paper guards are 29.50x20 cm, and the cover 32x22.5 cm. Autograph.⁷

The leaves were numbered three times. The oldest numbering, written by Barbieri himself and found on the top right corner of each recto, begins with 12 and ends with 55 on the last recto, although the damage sustained by the manuscript over time has caused the loss of some of the numbers. After it became part of B3467, it was numbered again 21 to 64 (continuing from fascicle 5) by a modern hand using a pencil, and once more, after the latest restoration, from 1 to 44.⁸

Min was originally unbound, as proven by the fact that, not having enough space to write the entirety of the last line of BEdT 29,3 on fol. 5v, Barbieri used the other side of the bifolium (8v).

***BC* (Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, B3467 6b)**

Description Paper (watermark: praying angel within a circle with a star above [similar but not coinciding with Briquet 643]). Fols. ii + 56 fols. + ii. 1–7⁸. The first and last modern paper guards were glued to the cover of the fascicle. The original leaves measure about 31x21.5 cm, while the paper guards are 29.50x20 cm, and the cover 31x21 cm. Autograph with corrections and censorship by a later hand.

6. This same watermark is also found on fascicles 3, 5, and 7. Its presence on 3, which is Castelvetro's autograph, can be seen as further proof of the collaboration between him and Barbieri.

7. For a description of Barbieri's peculiar handwriting, see *Autografi* 2009: 39.

8. One more numbering can occasionally be found. It was done in a thicker pencil and it simply repeats Barbieri's page number at 14r ('25'), 29 ('40'), 30 ('41'), and 32 ('43').

Unlike *Min*, the leaves do not appear to have ever been numbered by Barbieri. A modern hand, the same as on *Min*, numbered the leaves on the bottom right of each recto with a pencil, starting from 65 (continuing from *Min*). Another numbering, starting from 1, was made using a pencil, probably before the restoration, since the number always fits within the original sheet, never extending to the restored parts of the page. Occasionally (e.g. fols. 1, 10, 38) a thicker pencil, probably the same as that of *Min*, is employed for these numbers.⁹

Much like *Min*, the leaves were unbound when Barbieri was writing: all folios save 1, 42, and 54, as well as 55 (the last written folio) have catchwords written by Barbieri on their bottom right corners, possibly in view of binding, and this is further confirmed by the fact that Barbieri began writing BEdT 392,III at fol. 26v and then mistakenly continued it on 31r, which is part of the same bifolium, rather than on 27r.

After the manuscript had been written, a later hand (*lh*), likely to be that of Lodovico Barbieri, altered the text by adding some accents and punctuation, some factual corrections, and censoring some content perceived as inappropriate.

Printed

Dell'Origine della poesia rimata (Tir)

Description Barbieri, Giovanni Maria

Dell'origine della poesia rimata : Opera di Giovanni Maria Barbieri modenese pubblicata ora per la prima volta e con annotazioni illustrata dal cav. ab. Girolamo Tiraboschi consigliere di S. A. S. e presidente della Ducal Biblioteca di Modena

In Modena. MDCCLXXX : presso la Società Tipografica con Licenza de' Superiori
187, [1] pages.

9. This same thicker pencil also exceptionally marks fols. 40v and 55v.

4°: A–Y⁴ Z⁶. One woodcut, page 1 (an eagle between two sets of vines).¹⁰

Tiraboschi’s editorial choices. The *mise-en-page* of the edition partially reproduces that of Barbieri. Only one margin per page, the outer one, is left empty for marginalia, thus accumulating both references and titles in the same space. The representation of quotations similarly imitates Barbieri’s habit, with an indent and open quotation marks “ on the left of each quoted line.

Tiraboschi only adopts *Min* up to the beginning of *BC* (halfway through Gaucelm Faidit’s love story), after which *BC* is used exclusively as a source. *Tir* presents a significantly modernised punctuation and capitalisation, as well as corrections to Barbieri’s sometimes non-standard spellings (e.g. **Min BC** letere, **Tir** lettere).

As he declares in the introduction, Tiraboschi also ‘updates’ the work, enriching it with various additions. As *Min* does not have a title for chapters, he adds titles for Chapters 1–5. The Occitan poems are accompanied with translations by the Catalan polyglot Joachim Pla.¹¹ He also includes a few endnotes aimed at expanding on what Barbieri says or at correcting his mistakes, also with the help of more recent works such as Jean Baptiste La Curne de Sainte-Palaye’s *Histoire littéraire des troubadours* (1774) and Crescimbeni’s *Comentari intorno alla sua istoria della volgar poesia* (1722).

Similarly, he alters some marginalia to replace references to sixteenth-century editions with more modern ones, and to add the sources that Barbieri does not signal. These alterations are signalled by employing italics between brackets for additions and italics without brackets for ‘updated’ sources. Whenever the source mentioned by Barbieri is a

10. Description based on OPAC SBN, checked on the exemplar Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce B 483. I have also seen Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mortara 1095, and the digitised Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 150117.

11. Although Pla is not credited for these footnotes, they were attributed to him by Careri (1996: 289, 292) because of the references to Pla’s native language (Catalan) and to Ferrara, where Pla lived for a time, and because Pla is known to have sent some ‘annotazioni’ along with his translations. To further confirm that these notes cannot belong to Tiraboschi, we can also add that while Tiraboschi plainly declares that Jean de Nostredame’s *Vies des plus célèbres poètes Provençaux* (1575) are fanciful and unreliable (Barbieri 1790: 4–6), the footnotes use them as a source (Barbieri 1790: 51).

manuscript or a modern edition did not exist, Tiraboschi left the original note unchanged and in Roman font. However, in reproducing Barbieri's references Tiraboschi fails to understand the way recto and verso are represented in Barbieri's references with a single dot and two dots respectively, and consistently employs a single dot.

Other sources

***b1* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4087, fols. 1–8)**¹²

Description Paper. ii + 8 fols., bound with *b2*. 1–2 (originally one single four-leaf quire). The first modern paper guard is glued to the cover. Clear signs of having been bent in eight. Leaves measure 32.1x22.5 cm. Copied by Lodovico Barbieri (Debenedetti 1995: 362; Careri 1996: 279).¹³

The leaves were numbered on the top right of the recto, only with respect to the ones containing text, before the leaves were re-ordered. After the bifolia were reshuffled, the old numbering was effaced and the leaves were numbered again three times, twice on the top right and once at the bottom right, according to the new order. This time, the blank pages were numbered, too.

Written in two columns, with the Occitan texts on the left and the Italian translations on the right. Variable number of lines per column (43–53).

Content and its use within the edition MS *b1* contains fifty-two Occitan texts drawn by Lodovico Barbieri from *BC* at a time when the manuscript contained the whole text of the *Arte*, in the order in which they appear in the original text, from the very first one (the first stanza of Peire d'Alvernia's 'Qui bon vers agrad'auzir', BEdT 323,13), cited within the second chapter, to halfway through Chapter 10 (Uc de Saint-Circ's 'Longament ai atendida', BEdT 457,18). Some of these are accompanied by information on the context

12. The description of the MS is based on Careri 1996: 269–70 and on the digitised copy on DigiVatLib.

13. The connection of this manuscript with the *Arte del rimare* was first noticed by Mussafia 1874, who attributed *b1* to Joachim Pla (32–33).

in which the texts are included in the *Arte* (e.g. ‘in provare ciò che si conta dell’amore d’alcuni rimatori come di causa dell’inalzamento della rima’, fol. 5ra), while the right-hand column is used for Italian translations of the texts, which however stop at the second line of the forty-fourth (Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s ‘epic letter’ BEdT 392, III).

Within our edition, *b1* is useful for two reasons. First, it tells us that *BC* had three more extracts than *Min* used to exemplify the usage of the words ‘motz’ and ‘so’ in Occitan within Chapter 2 (BEdT 262, 3 ll. 1–6; 9,1 ll. 7–8; 124,13 ll. 1–8)¹⁴—further hinting that *Tir* is not entirely based on *BC*. And second, it provides us with a new source for the Occitan quotations that survive only in *Tir*, which tends to corrupt the Occitan extracts. Despite being based on a different source than the one used by *Tir*, since *BC* probably copied its Occitan quotations from *Min* rather than drawing them again from the original sources, it can be used in our reconstruction.

2. This edition

After the 1790 edition, the *Arte del rimare* was never printed again in its entirety, with the exception of some snippets edited within De Bartholomaeis 1927. In the 1990s, an edition of all of B3467 was meditated by Rocco Distilo, but it never came to fruition (Bologna 1993: 129). A second edition, by Massimiliano De Conca, was in the works in 1999 (see De Conca 1999), but, despite being finished, was never published.¹⁵

Barbieri’s orthography is maintained, with only the addition of a distinction between *u* and *v* and of accents where needed. We similarly reproduce the punctuation of the original, with the exception of the addition of double quotation marks (“”) where needed, and the addition of apostrophes and accents in some cases (e.g. *chel* > *che’l*). In **BC**, whenever our alterations correspond to those of *lh*, this is signalled in the section ti-

14. Careri (1996: 274) supposes that these extra quotations are missing from Tiraboschi because they had been effaced, but our reconstruction leads us to believe that Barbieri had expanded chapter 2 in *BC* to include them.

15. I have contacted the authors, who were both very supportive of my project.

tled 'Paragraphematic variants introduced by lh'. The longer full stops that Barbieri occasionally uses to introduce quotations have been replaced by colons. Capitalisation follows modern usage.

Wherever Barbieri quotes text from a source, we follow its orthography, accents, and punctuation more closely, only distinguishing *u/v* and expanding any abbreviations in italics and between brackets. This approach was applied to capitalisation and word separation also for the troubadours' names, except in cases such as 'dAurenga' (e.g. **BC**, fol. 26v), where the capital letter makes it clear that Barbieri was aware that Aurenga is a proper noun.

The same logic was followed for the section that is only attested by *Tir*, with the exception of the removal of all of Tiraboschi's additions and changes.

Barbieri's marginal notes appear on the same margin (left/right) that they occupy in the manuscripts, while for *Tir*, the outer margin is consistently used.

Page (or folio) numbers are indicated in the inner margin. Whenever there is a | in the text and a page number in the margin, this means that the page begins after the |; its absence means that the beginning of the line corresponds to the beginning of the folio/page.

The apparatus is divided into two sections: the top one is genetic, and contains all prior variants (thus, A] **Min** B will not mean that Min carries the B variant in opposition to the text's reading A, but rather that the text's reading replaces the earlier one). In the apparatus, **T** is shorthand for the lemma being discussed, and is used to disambiguate (e.g. in cases where an earlier variant 'returns' as the final one), or to specify the cases in which the final variant results from the modification of what was written earlier, rather than from the erasure and replacement of the earlier variant (cases such as this will be represented as →**T**). In cases where variants occur within other variants, these are signalled by a superscript letter in the order in which they were written (*a* is the oldest reading, *b* came after it etc.). Smaller readings indicate that they were rejected by the author before the larger passage was effaced. Marginalia connected to effaced passages

are represented in the apparatus with \triangleright or \triangleleft depending on which margin is concerned.

The bottom part of the apparatus contains variants from *Tir* and, limitedly to *BC*, those introduced by *lh*.

A separate apparatus, at the end of the content of *BC*, collects interpunctive variants introduced by *lh*, while another, found at the end of the editions of both MSS, collects variants concerning titles and marginalia.

Edition

Chapters I-III from *Tir* (*Dell'origine della poesia rimata*)

I

- [27] 1. Se Dante Alighieri, ottimo e nobilissimo duca, ci havesse così lasciato intiero, come lasciò difettivo il suo libro della *Volgare eloquenza*, certamente egli haverebbe così ben chiarita la cosa delle rime, che nessuno dopo lui non haverebbe havuta giusta cagione d'impiegarsi a scriver libri in materia dell'arte del rimare. Il che si può conoscere apertamente ancor da quelle poche carte, che finadhora n'appaiono, nelle quali tali si veggono essere i fondamenti da lui posti, che non si poteva, se non sperarne un nobile et perfetto edificio. Et veramente erano in Dante le qualità principalmente richieste per condurre a buon fine una così fatta impresa. Conciosia cosa che egli si seppe ottimamente l'arte del dire in rima, havendola appresa fin da' suoi primi anni, et poi messa in pratica sì nobilmente, come noi veggiamo. Hebbe oltre ciò l'intelligentia delle lingue, et massimamente di quei volgari, ne' quali fiori dapprima questa nuova maniera di poesia. Alle quali cose si aggiugneva la cognizione di quasi tutte le Scienze, et in ispecialità della loica et della filosofia, da potere ordinatamente et

5

10

15

20

con giudicio conoscere, quali cose fossero da dire, et quali da tacere nella
pro|posta materia. Per le quali ragioni si può creder fermamente, che s'e- [28]
gli ci havesse lasciati i quattro libri, ch'egli intendeva di fare così, come
ne lasciò il primo solamente con un pezzo del secondo, questa scienza del
rimare sarebbe stata a' nostri tempi più nota; et insieme sarebbe stata le-
vata la fatica a molti antichi e moderni, stranieri e nostrani, che appresso
si sono sforzati di darne regole et ammaestramenti.

25

2. Fra' quali primieramente Antonio da Tempo padovano poco dopo
la morte di esso Dante compose in assai grosso latino un suo libretto, che
anchora va d'attorno in istampa, intitolato *De Ritmis vulgaribus*. Altret-
tanto ne fece in vulgare un Ghidino da Somma Campagna huomo pur di
quei tempi, ma lontani molto l'uno et l'altro di loro dal giudicio et dalle
facultà di Dante, i quali si occuparono in trattare cose di poco rilievo, ta-
cendosi del tutto, o parlando come per incidente di quelle, che sarebbono
state di utilità a sapere, et che allhora si sapevano comunemente per tutti
i rimatori.

30

35

3. Degli ultramontani Ramondo Vidale di Provenza fece un picciolo
trattato in suo linguaggio intitolato *Las Rasos de Trobar*, nel quale altro
poi finalmente non insegna che il diritto uso della parlatura di Limosi-
no, ch'era a quei tempi in pregio non meno, che al presente appo noi la
favella di Toscana. Si trova similmente una altra operetta assai antica in
lingua francesca, e scritta al modo di quella di Terenziano, et s'intitola *De
Speciebus seu coloribus Rhetoricae Gallicane*. Ma questa non può servire
di molto all'uso nostro d'Italia, perciocché tratta di certi modi proprii di
quella lingua, come sono rotondelli, cappelletti, bergerette, fratas, refra-
ias, lai, et virilai, nomi poco ricevuti dagli scrittori italiani fralle sue rime. Il
che si può dire medesimamente di alcune regole degli hebrei, i quali oltre
che non rimano in vulgare né suo né d'altri, ma solo nella sua lingua san-

40

ta et antiqua, fabricano ancora le consonanze de' versi loro a certo modo diversamente da noi.

45

4. Ma ritornando a' nostri, Monsignor Bembo ci diede di buoni avvertimenti nelle sue *Prose*, i quali non sono però tanti, | che possano dar lume a vedere, quanto fa bisogno sapere in tal soggetto, perciocché non fu sua intenzione di parlare principalmente del rimare, ma della volgar lingua così per la prosa, come per la rima. Innanzi al quale di poco haveva Messer Vincenzio Calmeta fatti nove libri *Della volgar poesia* ad Elisabetta Gonzaga Duchessa d'Urbino; ne i quali s'altro non si contiene che quello, ch'io n'ho veduto per un compendio ritrattone per mano di un valent'uomo, essi non si haveranno mai da prezzare per un'opera scolpita dalle nove muse. Più breve, et ancora di minore utilità, si dirà un libretto di Mario Equicola d'Alveto, che egli chiama "introdottorio" al comporre la rima in lingua volgare, nel quale altro non fa in sostanza, che ripigliare in sommario le cose già dette per Antonio da Tempo con la giunta di certi suoi discorsi della pittura et della poesia in generale. Della qual materia hanno fatti maggiori volumi messer Giovan Giorgio Trissino, et il vescovo Minturno, che nessuno altro, che fin qui n'habbia scritto, perciocché come huomini dotti, volendola quindi arricchire, l'hanno vestita di nomi di piedi greci, della poetica d'Aristotele, delle idee di Hermogene, et delle figure così delle sentenzie come delle parole, in guisa che di questi communi adornamenti si ritrovano avere fatte molte parole, ma poche delle proprietà delle rime rispetto del soprapiù. Questo stile tenne parimente Bernardino Daniello nella sua *Poetica*, introducendo messer Triphon Gabriele suo maestro a recare in volgare i precetti della *Poetica* di Horatio, la quale egli haveva molto per mano, et a trovare nel Petrarca i tre generi, et le figure di retorica, con assai lungo et copioso trattato, là ove de i modi del rimare se ne passa così leggiermente, che se ne spedisce in meno di dieci picciole

50

55

60

65

70

carte. Abbiamo ancora dal Ruscello et dal Dolce non so che della poesia volgare, i quali ne' suoi libri ne hanno voluto toccare più tosto come huomini studiosi, et arditì a voler vedere, et a scrivere d'ogni cosa, che perchè ci apportino cosa nuova sopra cotal materia.

75

5. Dalle quali precedenti narrazioni così trascorse | come di sopra io [30] non ho inteso per modo alcuno di inferire, che si habbiano però da riputar vane, né da dannare le fatiche de i prenominati scrittori, i quali sono più tosto da lodare, et da ringraziare di quel tanto, che ne hanno lasciato col mezzo degli scritti loro, ma solamente ho voluto dimostrare, che non essendo fin qui stato detto a bastanza né compitamente dell'arte del rimare, io non senza giusta cagione mi sia messo a volerne esporre quello, ch'io n'ho trovato e raccolto non solamente dagli huomini italiani, ma da gli stranieri ancora di quelle nazioni, c'ebbero fama di esserne stati i primi trovatori. Alla qual cosa fare sono stato indotto non solo dall'aver conosciuto, che ancora ci sia luogo per me; ma oltra ciò dall'ampiezza et dalla nobiltà del soggetto. Con ciò sia cosa che già tanto si trova ampliata la maniera delle rime per l'universo mondo, che quasi non v'ha nazione, che non se ne serva in cantando, et così sono annobilite, che i re et gli imperadori istessi non si sono sdegnati di spiegare in quelle i nobili suoi concetti; et eziandio la Chiesa le si ha ricevute nel santissimo sacrificio della messa sotto nome di "sequentia" ne i tempi di letizia tra la Pistola e 'l Vangelo.

80

85

90

6. Le quali mie fatiche ho preso consiglio d'indirizzare a Vostra nobilissima altezza, non per credermi, ch'ella n'habbia bisogno, tenendo presso di sé il dottissimo messer Giovan Battista Pigna suo secretario vaso capace et pieno di tutte le buone scienze, da cui può cotidianamente udire queste cose et migliori, ma per mio debito, et per mia particolare affettione, perciocché essendo io suo suddito per nazione, et suo huomo per beneficio di lei, così mi reputo obbligato per legge di fedeltà et di gratitudine a dedi-

95

carle i parti del mio ingegno, come già le ho dedicato per suo servitio la
vita, che mi resta, et i figliuoli usciti di me medesimo. Onde Ella per le
predette ragioni, et per sua naturale inclinazione a questa sorte di poesia,
forse facendo in ciò ritratto a i nobilissimi suoi maggiori d'Este, per opera
et favore de' quali il dir per rima potissimamente montò in pregio in Ita-
lia, si degnerà di accettare volentieri questo mio nuo|vo parto dell'arte del
rimare, con farmi ancora favore di leggerne alcuna volta come per inter-
mezzo degli alti suoi pensieri; ché io studiosamente et a questo effetto l'ho
voluto distinguere per capitoli ordinati, acciocché si possa comodamente
leggere e far punto fermo alla fine di ciascun capitolo a suo piacere, quasi
a modo d'una memoria locale.

II

1. Hora dovendo le rime esser materia del presente trattato, pare esser
conveniente innanzi a tutte le cose chiarire, che cosa sia questa, che noi
diciamo "rima", et specialmente in quella parte, della quale habbiamo im-
preso a trattare. Rima adunque non è altro, che quello che per li Greci si
disse "ῥυθμος", per li Latini "numerus", se non che questi si prendono più
largamente, là ove "rima" si dice solamente de' suoni, così de i cadenti,
come de i non cadenti sotto sillabicazione, per lo modo che Dante disse
del mormorio delle frondi, et del cantare degli uccelli:

Ma con piena letitia l'ore prime
Cantando riceveano intra le foglie,
Che tenevan bordone alle sue Rime.

Purg. can. 28.

Nella qual guisa nota ancora Hephestione esser ritimo nel suono de'
martelli, nella battuta de i piedi de i cavalli andanti, et nelle voci de gli

strumenti musicali; onde Vergilio scrisse de i ciclopi:

15

Aeneid. lib. 8.

Illi inter se se multa vi brachia tollunt
In numerum.

La qual sopradetta parte s'ha da lasciare a i musici come a loro appartenente.

2. Che poi nella maniera de i versi greci e de' latini sia ritmo, non si può negare, specialmente dicendo Vergilio

20

egl. X.

Numeros memini, si verba tenerem.

[32]

Nel qual proposito Dante fa dire a Vergilio de i suoi versi dell'*Eneide* nello *Inferno* a canto XIII.

25

S'egli havesse potuto creder prima,
Rispose 'l savio mio, anima lesa,
Ciò, che ha veduto pur con la mia Rima,
Non haverebbe in te la man distesa.

Così quest'altra parte lasceremo ad Hephestione, a Terenziano, a Mario Vittorino, et ad altri maestri dell'arte del versificare nella predetta maniera.

30

3. Ritimo mostra che facessero ancora insieme le parole di simile desinenza, poichè Eustazio sopra quel verso di Homero

Iliad. lib. 2.

υμεις γαρ θεάι εστε παρεστετέ ισετε πάντα

dopo lo havere poste alquante parole di simile desinenza, scrive così

Καλλωπιζουμεν¹ γαρ γοργωσ καί ευρυθμωσ

35

Per lo qual modo mise in rima Frate Cipolla la virtù del suo fante dicendo:

Egli è tardo, sugliardo e bugiardo

Negligente, disubidente, e maldicente

Trascurato, smemorato, e scostumato.

40

La qual sorte di rima come non fa per noi scompagnata da verso, così farà molto in compagnia delle altre cose, che si richiedono a i modi, et alla fattura del verso vulgare.

4. Ultimamente “rima” si prende per una maniera di dire, che con numeri e tempo regolato in rimate consonanzie cade. Le quali proprietà dovendosi aprire a i suoi luoghi di parte in parte, si lascieranno per ora così chiuse, bastandoci di dire, che di questa intese il Petrarca, quando disse nel quarto capo del *Trionfo d’Amore*:

Dante nel *Convito*

45

O qual copia d’amici, che ne ‘n rima

Porria ne ‘n prosa assai ornar ne ‘n versi

50

[33] Et questa è quella rima, che noi cerchiamo, et della quale principalmente s’intende di ragionare ne i conseguenti capitoli.

5. Della quale non havendo havuta notizia gli antichi greci e latini, bisogna haver ricorso a’ più moderni scrittori, per sapere che questa ancora

¹Sic.

55

si è chiamata con nome di “ritimo”, come da messer Giovanni Boccaccio nel libro XV delle *Genealogie* parlando di Dante:

Qualis fuerit, inclytum eius testatur opus, quod sub titulo comoediae
rhythmis Florentino idiomate mirabili artificio scripsit.

60

Et da messer Francesco Petrarca nel prefatio delle sue pistole *Famigliari* a Socrate:

Si quidem et Atticos et Romanos vulgares rhithmico tantum carmine
uti solitus accepimus.

Similmente dal signor Giovan Pico della Mirandola in una sua pistola al Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici.

65

Legi, Laurenti Medice, rhithmos tuos, quos tibi vernaculae musae
per aetatem teneram suggesserunt.

70

6. Et veramente per tanti modi si trova ritimare questa sorte di poesia, come si mostrerà, che ragionevolmente i sopradetti scrittori et altri l'hanno potuta chiamare con nome di “ritimo” latinamente parlando. Ma quantunque la voce di “rima” fia la sua propria e naturale appellatione, non è perciò che per altri rispetti non sia stata ancora disegnata sotto altri nomi; come di “note”, che disse Dante:

Inf. canto 16.

E per le Note

Di questa comedia Lettor ti giuro.

E di “tempre” che disse il Petr.

75

Nè mai in sì dolci e in sì soavi tempre
Risonar seppi gli amorosi guai,
Che 'l cor s'humiliasse aspro e feroce.

Canz. “Nel dolce tempo”.

Così Fazio degli Uberti nel suo *Mappamondo*.

Acciocchè tue
Se gli altri noti questo muti in temprà.

Cap. 134.

80

Ancora di “norma”, che disse il medesimo Fazio:

[34] Ragionato che m'ebbe queste cose
Con altre assai, ch'io non pongo in norma,
Così al suo parlar silenzio pose.

Cap. 81.

85

7. Ma più è da notare, che i provenzali et qualcun de i nostri antichi hanno alcuna fiata detta la rima “suono” e “motto”, quasi per interpretatione della parola, che questo appunto contiene in virtù, secondo che ci dimostra Dante nella canzone della gentilezza, là ove scrive:

E dirò del valore
Per lo qual veramente huomo è gentile
Con rima aspra e sottile,

90

Il qual loco Dante medesimo interpreta così nel suo *Convito*:

95

Et però dice aspro quanto al suono del dettato, che a tanta materia non conviene essere lene; Et dice sottile quanto alla sentenza delle parole; che sottilmente argomentando et disputando procedono.

8. Quello stesso adunque ci significherà “suono” e “motto” in due parole accoppiate, che “rima” in una sola da per sé. Di che abbiamo gli esempi presso il Maestro delle *Ciento novelle antike* nella novella LXIII.

100

I Cavalieri, e donzelli, ke erano giulivi, e gai si facieano di belle canzoni el suono el motto.

Et presso Pier d’Alvernia là ove dice nella prima stanza d’una sua canzone

105

Cui bon vers agradauzir
De mi conseil be que lescout
Aquest, quera comens a dir;
Que pos li er sos cors asis ,
Deu ben entendrel son, els motz.
Ia non dira quel anc auzis

110

Meillors motz trobatz luenh, ni prop.

104 vers] **b1** verso agradauzir] **b1** agradauzire
106 Aquest,] **Tir** A quest comens a] **Tir** comensa ;] **Tir missing**
107 li er] **Tir** lier ,] **Tir missing**
108 ,] **Tir missing** motz] **Tir** mots .] **Tir missing**
109 anc] **Tir** aia
110 motz trobatz] **Tir** Mots trobats ,] **Tir missing**

[35] Per tal modo disse ancora Arnaldo Daniello della accordanza di motto a suono nell'ultimo verso della seguente stanza, ch'è la prima di una sua canzone.

Autet, ebas entrels prims fueills

Son nou de flors els rams li renc,

115

E no i te mut bec, ni gola

Nuills auzels, ans brai, e chanta

Cadaus

En son us.

Per ioi cai dels, e del tems

120

Chan, mas amors mi asauta

Quils motz ab lo son acorda.

9. Per simile modo è da notare, che 'l nome di "rettorica" con altre parole della medesima natura si sono prese alle volte in significazione di

[36] "rima" sì da gli oltramontani come da i nostri; come fu un Mo|linet, che volendo traslatare in prosa un libro antico scritto in versi, et detto il *Romanzo della rosa*, dice nel proemio:

125

Il a pleu a vostre tres haute et noble seigneurie moy commander de

114 ,] **Tir missing** ebas] **Tir** e bas

116 no i] **Tir** noi ,] **Tir missing**

117 auzels,] **Tir comma missing** ,] **Tir comma missing** chanta] **Tir** canta

119 .] **Tir missing**

120 ,] **Tir missing**

121 ,] **Tir missing** mi asauta] **Tir** mia causa

122 Quils] **Tir** E vils motz] **Tir** Mots acorda] **Tir** a corda

reduyre le Romant de la Rose de Rectoricque en prose.

130

Dice “di rettorica in prosa”, sì come nel principio haveva detto “di rima in prosa”, in quattro versetti posti come per intitolazione dell’opera.

Le Romant de la Rose
Moralisié cler et net
Translaté de Rime en prose
Par votre humble Molinet.

135

Et come fece de i nostri il maestro Giovanni dal Virgilio contemporaneo, et amico di Dante, et che fece l’epitafio da porgli sull’avello, nel quale scrisse:

Qui loca defunctis gelidis, regnumque gemellum
Distribuit laicis rhetoricisque modis.

140

Volendo dire, che Dante haveva scritta la sua *Comedia* in volgare, et per rima. E Simone de Siena parlando di Dante:

Qui cominciò de leggier Dante in pria
Retorica vulgare e molti acquisti
Fece di sua poetica armonia.

145

Lib. a penna. car. 157.

10. Quindi conseguentemente si sono detti “trovare” per rimare, che usò Federigo imperatori nel principio d’una sua canzone:

Poichè ti piace Amore

Ch' eo deggia trovare
Far onde mia possanza.

150

Et “trovatori” per li rimatori, che pose Dante nella sua *Vita nova* dicendo:

Pensando io a ciò che mi era apparito, proposi di farlo sentire a molti, li quali erano famosi trovatori in quel tempo.

Del qual modo di dire ne sono pieni i libri de i provenzali, onde l'hanno
[37] i nostri preso, et viene dalla invenzione parte prin|cipale in poesia secondo quel detto di Plauto nel *Pseudolo*: “Sed quasi Poeta fabulas cum coepit sibi quaerit quod nusquam est gentium, reperit tamen”; onde disse ne' *Captivi*: “Huius modi paucas poetae reperiunt comoedias”; et ancora parte principale in rettorica, come mostra il titolo del libro di Cicerone *De inventione*. Quindi intitolò Dante il suo Libro *De vulgari eloquentia*, nel quale intendeva di parlar delle rime; et il Petrarca disse di lui nel trattato *De dicacitate* al Cap. XLVI: “Dantes Alegerius, et ipse concivis nuper meus vir vulgari eloquio clarissimus fuit”; perciocché l'eloquente parla secondo rettorica.

155

160

11. Per la quale istessa ragione “detti” e “dittato” si prendono per le composizioni fatte in rima dal verbo “dire”, ch'è proprio degli oratori, come il Petrarca nella canzone: “Quel antico mio dolce empio Signore”, dove fa dire ad Amore di sé medesimo:

165

Sì l'avea sotto l'ali mie condotto,
Ch'a donne e cavalier piaceva 'l suo dire,
E si alto salire
Il feci, che tra' caldi ingegni ferve

170

Il suo nome, e de' suoi detti conserve

Si fanno con diletto in alcun loco.

175

Per l'esempio di "dittato" prima abbiamo quel che dice Dante in un suo sonetto della *Vita nuova*:

Amor e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa

Siccome il saggio in suo Dittato pone.

180

Intendendo di messer Guido Guinicelli, che scrisse così in una sua canzone.

Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore

Si, com'Augello in selva a la verdura.

Non fe Amore anzi che gentil core

Nè gentil core anzi che amor Natura.

185

Di poi ancora il predetto Molinet nella sua già detta traslatatione avendo fatta menzione di mottetti, di rotondelli, di battute, e di canzoni sottogiunge:

Je respondz que telles choses n y valent gueres, car les Dittiez seront

[38]

au mieulx qu il en peult venir, louez d'aucuns personnages.

190

E questo è quanto per hora mi è sovvenuto di dire nella materia proposta; donde credo essersi chiarito a bastanza, quale sia quella rima, della quale siamo per trattare al presente, et di più sotto quai nomi si trovi notata per gli scrittori di quelle lingue, che sono note alla mia mediocrità. Della

cui origine resta a dire hora per ordine conseguentemente.

III

1. Nel cercare l'origine e l'antiquità delle rime faremo come coloro, che volendo far l'albero della sua schiatta si fanno quanto possono indietro a ritrovarne il principio; e l'ultimo, che trovano, quello pongono per radice del suo ceppo. Così noi ricercando, per quanto ci sarà possibile, i tempi passati, coloro diremo autori delle rime, che più anticamente troveremo haver rimato, ma nondimeno con protesto, che non ci farà fatica di farci un passo più indietro, quando altri mostrerà più antica origine per scritture o ragioni degne di fede.

5

2. Per intrarne addunque su la traccia, prima porremo quello, che ne dice il Petrarca nelle opere sue latine più per l'autorità dell'huomo nelle cose volgari, che per altro. Il quale nel principio delle pistole *Famigliari* ne scrisse così a Socrate suo amico:

10

Pars autem mulcendis vulgi auribus intenta suis et ipsa legibus utebatur. Quod genus apud Siculos, ut fama est, non multis ante seculis renatum brevi per omnem Italiam ac longius manavit, apud Graecorum olim ac Latinorum vetustissimos celebratum, si quidem et Atticos et Romanos vulgares rhythmico tantum carmine uti solitos accepimus.

15

[39] Per le quali sopradette parole mostra di avere portata opinione, che 'l dire in rima fosse ritrovato in Cicilia; e che fosse in uso al tempo degli antiquissimi greci e latini, appresso de i quali usassero i vulgaristi il verso rimato solamente. Dello essersi cominciato a rimare in Cicilia, può dir vero per lo modo che si dirà a suo tempo e loco. Ma che gli antichi ha-

20

25

vessero altra favella, che quella che si trova scritta ne i libri loro, già ciò non si concede; perciò che naturalmente una sola ne haveano, nella quale sebbene peccavano gli ignoranti, come Plauto fa studiosamente peccare nel *Truculento* Strafilace servo ruvido e villano nel dire “rabonem” per “arrabonem”, non è perciò ch’essi havessero due linguaggi, siccome noi abbiamo il latino e ’l vulgare. Né qui mi stenderò con più parole a di-

30

Ep. 6

mostrare l’errore di così fatta opinione, poichè ’l Filelfo nel nono libro delle sue *Pistole*, e Monsignor Bembo nel primo libro delle sue *Prose* si trovano haverla a bastanza ribattuta e convinta, onde ne viene ancora in conseguenza a rovinare il fondamento, che si usasse per gli vulgaristi, che non v’erano, il verso rimato solamente.

35

3. Me se ’l Petrarca con la parola “vulgares” avesse voluto intendere huomini del vulgo parlanti la medesima lingua che i nobili, benché meno corretta e men tersa, sarebbe egli vero, che ’l rimare fosse stato in uso appresso gli antiquissimi greci e latini, com’egli dice? Vero sarebbe per quella rima, ché presa strettamente s’intende pur quella concordanza, che per lo più nell’ultima e penultima sillaba far si suole, della quale appaiono ancora esempi in certe canzoni popolari, che pose Plauto nello *Sticho*, dove introduce servi a darsi bel tempo fra loro ad un banchetto:

40

Cantio est graeca ἡπέντε² πίν και ἡτρίς πίν, et segue

Bene vos, bene nos, bene me, bene te, nostram etiam, Stephanium

45

Bibe, si bibis

Et più basso havendo detto:

Redde cantionem veteri pro vino novam

²Sic.

Sottogiugne per botta e risposta

[40] Babae, Tatae, Papae.

Pose ancora Flavio Vopisco nella *Vita di Aureliano* in canzone due car. 200 50
versi tali, dove dice: “Unde iterum de eo facta est cantilena”:

Mille Francos, mille Sarmatas occidimus:

Mille mille mille mille mille Persas quaerimus

Alla qual maniera si ritraggono parimente i versi di Adriano imperatore
scritti per risposta a Floro poeta, che detto havea: 55

Ego nolo Caesar esse,

Ambulare per Britannos,

Scythicas pati pruinas.

Ai quali così rispose per le rime:

Ego nolo Florus esse, 60

Ambulare per tabernas,

Latitare per popinas,

Culices pati rotundos.

Et maggiormente ancora i versi ch’egli scrisse poco innanzi alla morte
posti da Elio Spartiano, che sono: 65

70

Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quae nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, rigidula, nubila,
Nec, ut soles, dabis iocos.

75

4. Né solamente era in uso questa rima nelle canzoni popolari, ma se ne servivano ancora per adornamento alcuna volta gli uomini dotti così oratori come poeti specialmente nel fine de i membri o de' versi, come si vede in Isocrate, che ne fu il maestro, et in Cicerone per grazia di esempio nella *Ligariana*:

Quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille districtus in acie Pharsalica gladius
agebat? Cuius latus mucro ille petebat?

Et in Plauto, che disse nel *Milite*:

80

Mihi ad enarrandum hoc argumentum est comitas,
Si ad auscultandum vestra erit benignitas.

85

5. Ma non per tutto ciò si ha da consentire al Petrarca, che gli | anti- [41]
chi attici e romani usassero il verso rimato, che noi usiamo. Alla fattura
del quale concorrono ancora altre cose, non solo la concordanza delle de-
sinenze, che gli antichi usarono non per necessità, come noi, ma a suo
piacere et di rado, et etiandio alcuni la fuggirono, come Virgilio dicendo
nella *Bucolica*:

egl. 3.

Dic mihi Damoeta, cuium pecus? Dove ben nota Servio nel co-

mento

Cuium antique ait vitans ὁμοιοτελωτον, ne diceret cuius pecus.

Per la qual cosa non s'ha da dire, né da credere, che da' greci o da' latini si siano prese le rime, poscia che essi non l'ebbero, se non del modo che s'è detto di sopra. Delle quali pare che Dante ne voglia attribuire la inventione non a' siciliani, come fa il Petrarca, ma alle nazioni oltramontane dicendo nel primo libro della *Volgare eloquentia*:

90

L'altra poi argomenta per se, cioè la lingua di OC, e dice che i volgari eloquenti scrissero i primi poemi in essa, siccome in lingua più perfetta e più dolce; come fu Pier d'Alvernia, et altri molti antiqui Dottori.

95

Le quali due precedenti opinioni toccò monsignor Bembo ambedue brevemente, et senza decisione, dicendo nel primo libro delle sue *Prose*:

100

Ma dello essersi preso da altri, bene tra se sono di ciò in piato due nationi la Siciliana, et la Provenzale.

Nel qual piato a volerlo decidere giustamente, si potrebbe dar ragione a ciascuna delle parti, ovvero il torto ad ambedue; ragione, per essere state le prime fra noi a mettere in pratica le rime vulgari ciascuna nel suo linguaggio; il torto, per haverle apprese da altri, cioè dal modo della nazione degli arabi, come noi teniamo, per più indici che ne troviamo. Prima per la testimonianza di quello, che ne dice fra Ricoldo, che fu un valente frate fiorentino di nazione, e dell'Ordine de' frati predicatori non guari dopo la institutione dell'Ordine, il quale essendosi messo in cuore di volere sapere

105

110

la lingua, la religione, et i costumi de' saracini, passò il mare, et se n'andò
in Baldacco allhora famosissima città di studio in quelle parti, dove pra- [42]
ticando co' maestri nelle scuole apparò il linguaggio, la legge, et i modi
loro; indi ritornato in Cristianità fece un suo libro, che s'intitola: *Improbatio Alchorani*. Nel quale riferisce fralle altre cose l'Alcorano essere scritto
in rima, come opera favolosa, dicendo al quarto capo:

115

Quod autem sit rhythmica in stilo per totam librum, patet legenti-
bus in eo; nec tamen possum convenienter ponere exemplum, quia
rhythmus et versus in Arabico non esset, si per omnia et fideliter
transferretur in Latinum. Sarraceni tamen et Arabes in hoc maxi-
me gloriantur, quod sermo Legis eorum et stilus est rhythmicus, et
dicunt quod in hoc patet, quod Deus fecit illum librum, et revela-
vit Mahumeto de verbo ad verbum, quia Mahumetus, qui fuit homo
idiota, nescivisset invenire talem stilum, et tales sententias.

120

Il che si ripete ancora nel capitolo XIII³ con tali parole.

125

Ordo autem verborum grammaticaliter et rhetorice est ibi pulcherri-
mus, nam fere totus liber timulus,⁴ et rhythmicus est, unde multum
gloriantur Saraceni de tam pulchro et ornato modo loquendi arabice
etc.

130

Quindi è, che Fazio degli Uberti introducendo nel suo *Mappamondo* al
cap. CXXIII il predetto fra Ricoldo a parlare de' fatti di Maometto scrive
così:

³*Sic*, it actually is in the eleventh.

⁴*Sic*. Ricoldo 1500 (pages are unnumbered) reads 'tinulus'.

Vero è che l'Alcoran conta in più carmi
Rotta la Luna, ch'esso la rintegra,
Ch'una sciocchezza a ragionarlo parmi.

135

Di poi per quanto ne dice Averrois nel paraphrasare la *Poetica* di Aristotile, il quale tocca in più luoghi di questa poesia degli arabi differente dal modo della greca, et specialmente nel VII capo là ove dice.

Carmina vero Arabum concordant in quantitate, seu mensura, et in calce, fineque orationis, sive in una litera, quae est ultima, sive in duabus literis.

Car 93.

140

[43] 6. Terzamente si confà alle sopradette testimonianze quello, che ne dicono i maestri della lingua hebraica, che come parenti sono sempre stati studiosi delle cose degli arabi; le regole de' quali havendo io vedute con l'aiuto di maestro Mosè Finzio hebreo nostro modenese intendentissimo non solo delle sue lettere, ma delle nostre ancora, ho trovato che Abram Aben Esdra dopo lo havere posto diciotto modi di sue rime in una grammatica, ch'egli compose circa l'anno de nostra salute MCCXLVI sottogiugne queste parole in sostanza:

145

Forse dubiterà alcuno con dire, qual ragione vi è, che i modi del rimare siano solamente tanti, quanti si è detto, attento che se potrebbero fare infiniti, ponendo un Jathed l'uno dopo l'altro, accrescendo e diminuendo il numero loro? Questi, che così dubiterà, si potrebbe forse svegliare dal sonno della sua pigrizia, et imparare la scienza degli Arabi; allhora potrà sapere per pruova perfettamen-

150

155

te, per qual cagione siano stati eletti questi modi, e non altri, et rimanerne appagato nell'animo suo.

160 Ho parimente trovato che un rabbi David Aben Jachia compose una gramatica intitolata *Laschion Limudim* dove nel trattato dello *schir*, cioè della canzone, al capitolo VIII dice le seguenti o tali parole:

165 Et dopo, che tu hai inteso questo poco del molto, che fa bisogno sapere de i preambuli, che vanno innanzi all'arte della canzone, dico, che non habbiamo né visto, né inteso, che alcuno di nostra gente habbia parlato cosa alcuna di questa arte, ma se ne attribuisce il suo fondamento o radice a gli Ismaeliti, da' quali è stata presa; e nella quale eglino tengono le dieci parti, cioè il loco principale.

170 Per le quali ragioni tutte ridotte insieme debbiamo conchiudere, che né da' greci, né da' latini antiqui né da' più moderni sia originato il modo delle rime, ma dagli arabi passando ad altre lingue e nazioni, come si dirà nel seguente capitolo, la sentenza del quale va continuata col presente discorso.

Min

Chapter IV

[1r] 1. Io dico ripigliando la precedente materia, che se l'Alcorano scritto in arabico con versi rimati, come dice fra Ricoldo, fu fattura di Macometto, o pur fu messo insieme per opera di Ebubezer suo successore, o riformato da Hali, che fu cagione di scisma fra' saracini di oriente, e di occidente, egli per tutti i modi precede in tempo ad ogni altra scrittura rimata così latina, come volgare, della quale noi habbiamo memoria, cadendo senza dubbio fra 'l VI secolo e 'l VII secolo.¹ Onde meritamente saranno gli arabi da porre per principali autori delle rime, come quelli, che più anticamente si trovano haver rimato. La qual maniera di versificare come habbia potuto passare in Europa, e specialmente a' provenzali, et a' siciliani, che si vantano di esserne stati i primi trovatori nel loro volgare, se ne può molto bene venire in cognitione dalle storie, che parlano particolarmente de i progressi de i saracini. Delle quali quanto sia per gli provenzali noi seguiremo quella, che s'intitola *Los anales de Aragon*, riputandola in questo caso più degna di fede, perciocché parla di cose avvenute ne i suoi paesi, o da quelle dipendenti. Quivi si legge come negli anni della natività del nostro signore Giesù Cristo VCCXIII gli arabi di Mauritania chiamati da i figliuoli del re Visiza, che pretendevano

5

10

15

19 re] **Min** added later above

18 signore] **Tir** Signor

¹These dates are written in Roman numerals with a superscript 'C'.

20 ragione alla corona, che allhora teneva il re Roderico, et da un conte
 Giuliano sdegnato contra il re per ingiuria ricevuta nell'honore d'u-
 na sua figliuola, passarono | di Africa in Spagna nella Betica, et dopo [1v]
 molte battaglie fatte, nelle quali peri col suo re quella antica poten-
 tia, e nobiltà de' gotti, che già conquistarono, et allhora tenevano le
25 Spagne, s'insignorirono d'ogni cosa fuorché di alcuni luoghi aspri,
 e dirupati de i Pirenei, et delle montagne di Asturia, di Gallicia, e
 di Cantabria, dove i vinti si ritirarono; né di ciò contenti passarono i
 Gio. Vill. car. 18.. 29. monti Pirenei, et più volte tentarono la Gallia, ma finalmente vinti,
 e ributtati prima da Carlo Martello, poi da Carlo Magno suo nepote,
30 che anchora gli si fecero tributari, furono costretti a starsi in Ispagna
 dentro da i confini de i regni loro, et così stettero con varia fortuna
 più di ottocento anni inanzi che si potessero cacciare di quella prima
 terra, che nel suo passaggio occuparono; donde non ha molti anni,
 che ne furono cacciati e dispersi per virtù del Re Catolico, et della re-
35 gina Isabella sua moglie. Però è ben verisimile, che gli spagnuoli per
 la vicinanza, e commercio d'una nazione all'altra fossero i primi da
 quella banda ad apprendere dagli arabi, ch'essi nominarono "mori",
 per essere venuti di Mauritania, con la lingua insieme la maniera del
 poetare. La quale è verisimile ancora, che da i medesimi spagnuoli
40 passasse alle altre vicine regioni, et specialmente nella Provenza, se
 Gio. Vill. car 81. 25. non più tosto, al meno allhora, quando i conti di Barcelona, che fu-

28 monti] **Min** added later in margin

30 fecero] **Min** ¹fece ²→ **T**

31 varia fortuna] **Min** originally cont. in Ispagna

39 da] **Min** added later above

38 di] **Tir** da del] **Tir** di

rono di un lignaggio con i re di Aragona, ne divennero signori, il che
[2r] fu secondo il conto | de i predetti annali negli anni di nostra salute
MCXII. Nel qual tempo don Ramondo Berlinghiere conte di Barce-
lona succedette a Giberto conte di Provenza per le ragioni di donna 45
Dolce sua moglie, et figliuola del predetto conte Giberto. Et in ve-
rità sotto questi conti Ramondi, et Berlinghieri, che durarono fin a
Carlo di Anghiò fratello del re di Francia, che successe nel contado Annali di Francia car. 123.
per Beatrice sua moglie, la Provenza si fece grandemente sentire, et
fiorirono le rime nel vulgare di lingua d'oc allhora talmente, che di 50
qui i provenzali ne sono stati stimati da molti i trovatori, tutto che
più tosto se n'habbiano da dire autori gli spagnuoli secondariamen-
te, per la prenarrata historia, et per quello, che ne dice Dante nel
secondo libro della *Volgare eloquentia* con le sottoscritte parole:

Questo ancora i spagnuoli hanno usato, e dico i spagnuoli, 55
che hanno fatto poemi nel volgare d'OC

car. 22.

Et nomina Amerigo di Belenuei ponendo il principio di una sua
canzone:

Nuls hom non pot complir adreitamen.

2. Similmente per l'opportunità del loco passarono i saracini nel- 60
la Cicilia, poiché ebbero incominciato ad essere ancora signori del

42 lignaggio] **Tir** legnaggio

44 Berlinghiere] **Tir** Berlinghiero

48 Anghiò] **Tir** Angiò

51 sono stati] **Tir** sono

65

70

75

mare, e la tennero fin che Roberto Guiscardo ne tolse loro del tutto la signoria; ma tanti nondimeno ne rimasero ancora nell'isola, che molti anni appresso Federico II imperadore ne poté trarre una colonia di venti mila persone da portar arme, per popolare in Puglia [2v] Luceria terra disfatta, che per ciò fu poi detta Nocera de' Saracini. Per la qual cosa essendo stata la Cicilia così antico nido della natione degli arabi, non sarà maraviglia, che i siciliani ricevessero da loro le rime, et che poi le portassero di Cicilia in Italia, et più oltre, come dice il Petrarca, havendosene per autori i siciliani come causa più cognita, e men remota. Così per le sopra dette vie si argomenta esser passata in Europa la maniera del rimare. La quale nondimeno, per quanto appare dalle memorie antiche si tentò prima di far sentire a certo modo ne i versi literali, che ne i volgari, come nelle sequenze, che per segno di letitia si cantano a certi tempi nella chiesa di Dio, trovate, come dicono, da Nocherio abbate di san Gallo,

[3r] nell'850. Et come ancora appare nell'uso di quei versi, che | si dicono leonini, quale si è quello, che porto scolpito nella spada Rugiero terzo Normando:

Appulus, et Calaber. Siculus mihi servit et Afer.

coll. lib. 3° car 68.

80

Della qual sorte di versi avegnadio che se ne trovi esempio appresso gli antichi poeti latini come in Virgilio

Irim de coelo misit saturnia Iuno.

lib. 9°. car. 294.

Non è perciò ch'essi usassero di fargli a studio tutti di quel modo,

77 nell'850.] **Min**¹ et frequentate appresso fra gli altri da Roberto figliuolo di Ugo Ciapetta, coronato re di Francia negli anni di nostra salute VCCCCXC, che fu quelli, che ^acompose in ^bdisse dello Spirito Santo: [*> Rot. div. off.* car. 38.]

Veni sancte spiritus

Et emitte cęlitus

Lucis tuae radium.

Et di cui si conta negli *Annali di Francia* [*> car. 77..*], che pregato da Costanza sua moglie a volere poetare di lei, egli fece di San Dionigi e de i compagni la lode, che comincia:

O Constantia martirum laudabilis.

onde la donna, che latino non sapea, si rimase lieta, et contenta, credendosi, che di lei l'havesse fatta. ²**T**

77 nell'850.] **Tir** *missing*

85

come fece la scola di Salerno tutto 'l suo consiglio mandato al re
d'Inghilterra:

Anglorum Regi mittit tota schola salerni. Et

come fece Hermanno Contratto una elegia per epitafio nella morte di Hiltruda sua madre negli anni di Cristo MLII.

Nel lib. intitolato *Chronicon*
stampato in Basil. nel 1536.

90

Mater egenorum, spes, auxiliumq(ue), suorum.

HOC Hiltrud tumulo debita reddit humo.

Quae praepollentes generosa stirpe parentes

Nobilitans claris extulerat studiis.

Atq(ue) colens castam reventer monogamiam

95

Vixit divinis prona ministeriis

Inq(ue) bona Marthae satagens consistere parte

Practica quod docuit vita sequi studuit.

Veste, cibo, lingua, pede, totis viribus ipsa

Se miseris largam praebuit, atq(ue) piam.

100

Relligione pios prae cunctis fovit amicos

Cunctis morigeram se dedit, et placidam.

Atq(ue) manens mitis, patiens, ac nescia litis

Complacuit mundo, o utinamq(ue) Deo.

Carnem castigans, precibus loca sancta frequentans

85–86 come ... Et] **Min** added later in margin

88 elegia] **Min** one erased letter before

85 scola] **Tir** scuola

87 tota schola] **Tir** schola tota

	Quaerere cęlestem sedula suevit opem.	<u>105</u>
	Crede panegyricis non haec me fingere vanis	
	Nec matrem verbis tollere falsidicis.	
	Consule rumorem quaqua versum popularem	
	Dictaq(ue) de veris paucula certus eris.	
[3v]	Hanc quoq(ue) postremo mera cum confessio crebro	<u>110</u>
	Purgasset Domino debita corde pio,	
	Communita fide, spe tuta, vicens pietate	
	Foelix hanc vitam deseruit miseram.	
	Cum mensis Ianus quintas devolveret idus	
	Movit permultas morte sua lachrymas.	<u>115</u>
	Pro qua quaeso, precor, peto, postulo, flagito lector	
	Pulses supplicibus ut dominum precibus	
	Quatenus ipsius pietate sui miseratus	
	Absolvat cunctis mitis eam maculis	
	Inq(ue) beatorum foelici sorte suorum	<u>120</u>
	Largus ei stabilem contribuat requiem.	

I quai soprascritti versi non si dee credere che Hermanno facesse tutti così corrispondenti nelle desinenze per altro, che per imitazione degli arabi, poiché si legge nella sua vita scritta da Giovanni Tritemio esso essere stato peritissimo delle lingue greca, latina, et arabica.

Nel fine dell'opera di Elia
Levita, che si dice 125
Massoreth Amassoreth

3. Questa medesima corrispondenza nelle parole della sua lingua santa hanno usato gli antichi, et usano i moderni poeti degli he-

128 santa] **Min** antica 128–129 hebrei,] **Min** *originally cont.* i quali le tol-

113 Foelix] **Tir** Felix

125 delle lingue] **Tir** della lingua

130

brei, fra' quali rabi Saadia Gaon di Egitto antiquissimo poeta, che fu nell'anno di nostra salute VCCCCXL compose una canzone, il cui soggetto si è di contare quante volte si trovi ciascuna letera nella Bibbia di modo, che viene appunto ad essere di tante stanze, quante sono | le letere del loro alfabeto; un'altra ne fece un poeta babilonico [4r]

135

In una spositione

sopra i v libri della Bibbia.

no della Pasqua degli Azzimi, due versi della quale si trovano citati da Salamon Galbo, che visse al tempo del passaggio di Gotifredo al conquisto di Terra Santa. Due ne cantano ancora a certi tempi inanzi, che vadano a tavola composte per rabi Isac Aben Ghiat, che fu di Spagna di una città detta Elisana lontana da Corduba una gionata² negli anni di Cristo 1120.

140

4. Le quali sopraposte canzoni ci possono servire a bastanza per conoscere i tempi, ne' quali appare gli hebrei havere havuto la cognitione, e l'uso delle rime. Il modo delle quali quanto più tardi in tempo, tanto più perfettamente in arte passò nel volgare; il quando

gono come di peso dalla Bibbia, et le pongono in consonanza secondo certi suoi modi;

130 nell'anno] **Min** dell'anno

132 stanze,] **Min** *originally cont.* che essi dicono "Basdim" cioè case,

139 di una città] **Min** *originally cont.* di Spagna

141 canzoni] **Min** compositioni

143 quanto] **Min** come

144 tanto] **Min** così

129-130 che fu] **Tir** *missing*

136 Salamon Galbo] **Tir** Salomon Gallo

140 1120] **Tir** 1180

²*Sic.*

potremo noi così raccogliere, che 'l Petrarca scrivendone a Socrate negli anni di Cristo 1348 dice essersi trovato “non multis ante seculis”; il che molto più specificatamente si trahe dalle parole di Dante nella sua *Vita nuova*, che scrisse ancora giovinetto essendo egli nato nell'anno 1265, dove dice: 145

E non e molto numero d'anni passati, che apparirono questi poeti volgari, che dire per rima in volgare tanto e, quanto a dire per versi in latino, secondo alcuna proportione, et segno che sia picciolo tempo e, se volemo guardare in lingua docho, et in lingua di SI', noi non troviamo cose dette inanzi al presente tempo cento cinquanta anni. car. 19.. 150

[4v] Con il qual tempo assai si confronta Benvenuto da Imola contemporaneo del Petrarca là ove dice nel commento della seconda cantica di Dante: car. 114.. 15.

Et hic nota, quod olim fuit solummodo dictamen literale tam in prosa quam in metro; Postea forte a ducentis annis citra inventum est dictamen vulgare, et fuit in principio inventum pro materia amoris; Sed hic poeta ipsum mirabiliter traxit ad materiam honestissimam, qualis est in poemate suo. 160

145 noi] **Min** *added later above* scrivendone] **Min**¹scrivendo²→ **T**

146 negli] **Min** de...

147 trahe] **Min** raccoglie

148 nuova] **Min** *added later above*

155 tempo] **Min** *originally cont.* per più di (*effaced in a darker ink*)

Et tanto sia detto della origine, et della antichità delle rime.

Chapter V

1. Essendo passato il modo delle rime nel volgare, come s'è detto, vi trovò tanto di convenevolezza, e di buona harmonia, che quantunque si possano metter in rima ancora altre parole, che le volgari, nondimeno propriamente parlando "rima" s'intende per tutta la volgar poesia, come l'intese il Petrarca dicendo: [5r]

5

son. 253. S'io havessi pensato che si care
Fossin le voci de' sospir mie' in rima

2. La qual poesia resta hora a vedere come nascesse, e come venisse in augumento. Del nascimento ce ne possiamo riportare a Dante, che disse nella sua *Vita nuova*:

10

car. 19.. Et il primo, che cominciò a dire si come poeta volgare, si mosse pero che volle fare intendere le sue parole a donna, alla quale era malagevole intendere i versi latini, et questo e contra coloro, che rimano sopra altra materia che amorosa, conciosia cosa che cotale modo di parlare fosse da principio ritrovato per dir d'amore.

15

5 dicendo] **Min** quando disse

8-9 qual ... augumento] **Min** *originally cont.* quale come nascesse, e come venisse in augumento hora si ha da vedere per gli sequenti capitoli

4 tutta la] **Tir** *missing*

9 augumento.] **Tir** augumento

3. Dante dice, che le donne furono cagione del nascimento delle rime in volgare, et io dico gli amori delle medesime donne, et i favori degli huomini grandi essere stati cagione ancora del loro aumento, sicome furono parimenti per altri tempi d'altre sorti di poesie; a dechiaratione della qual sententia non sarà credo fuor di proposito l'addurre in questo loco alcuni particolari d'history, per l'esempio de' quali si possa venire in cognitione degli amori, che mossero gli outramontani³, et mossero i nostri a poetare et ad inalzar le rime in cantando; et è ben dritto e ragione che nel parlare di poesia, mi sia lecito fare ancora per alquanto officio di poeta, cercando di giovare insieme et di dilettere.

20

25

4. ⁴ Incominciando adunque ragionevolmente porremo fra tutti

18 in volgare] **Min** *added later in margin* dico] **Min** *originally cont.* che
20 parimenti] **Min** *added later above* tempi] **Min** *originally cont.* ancora
22 alcuni] **Min** certi 22–23 l'esempio de'] **Min** gli
24 a poetare et] **Min** *added later above*
25 et è ... che] **Min** ¹Et così ²Di modo che 25–26 mi sia ... cercando] **Min**
facciamo per un pezzo l'officio del poeta, il quale si studia
28 ragionevolmente] **Min** *added later above*

20 parimenti] **Tir** parimente
24 outramontani] **Tir** oltramontani

³*Sic.*

⁴The original order of the first seven troubadours was: Arnaut Daniel, Folquet de Marselha, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Peire Vidal, Gaucelm Faidit, Arnaut de Maroill, Guilhem de Saint-Leidier. After this, Barbieri decided to re-order them by numbering each story in the margins (see Marginalia and Titles Apparatus). This re-ordering happened before the story of Iseut de Capion was cut from the chapter.

30

32. il primo Arnaldo Daniello come gran maestro d'amore, il quale amò
 un'alta donna di Guascogna d'Agrismonte moglie di Guglielmo di
 Bouvila, dalla quale | nondimeno con tutto 'l suo cantare tanto esal- [5v]
 tato dal Petrarca e da Dante non fu creduto che mai ottenesse pia-
 cere alcuno per conto d'amore⁵ perciò che nella chiusa d'una sua
 canzone, che comincia:

35

En cest sonet coind e leri.

egli dice:

Ieu soi Arnautz camas laura

E cas la Lebre ab lo bou,

E nadi contra Suberna.

40

Ma pel contrario disse ancora in un'altra canzone:

29 come ... quale] **Min** ; questi fu gentilhuomo molto leterato natio di un ca-
 stello detto Ribairac del vescovato di Peiregors al tempo del bon conte Ramondo
 Berlinghiere, et [◁ Benvenuto car. 125.. 52.]; *the words* del bon conte *are under-*
lined in the same ink as the text (rather than in the darker one of the correction),
possibly hinting at an earlier erasure of just them rather than the whole passage
 30 d'Agrismonte] **Min** added later in margin di Guascogna di] **Min** origi-
 nally cont. un

33 nella chiusa d'] **Min** egli dice in

36 dice] **Min** scrive nella chiusa della canzone

31 Bouvila] **Tir** Bouvile

⁵Damage to the right side of the page has caused the loss of the last two letters of 'amore', which I
 have supplied.

Ans quel sims reston dels brancas
Sec ni despoillat de fueilla
Farai, camors mo comanda
Breu chanso de razo lonia
Que gen ma duoit de las artz de sa escola
Tant sai quel cors fauc restar de sa berna.
E mos Bou es plus correns que lebres.⁶

45

[6r] 5. Raimbaldo di Vaqueiras trovandosi in corte del marchese Bonifacio di Monferrato s'innamorò di madonna Beatrice sorella del

40–47 Ma pel ... lebres] **Min** I quai ^asoprascritti ^bsoprascritti versi il Petrarca imitò e migliorò molto leggiadramente quando disse:

In rete accolgo laura. [◁ car.]
Et una cerva errante e fuggitiva [◁ car.]
Caccio con un bue zoppo pigro e lento. [◁ car.]
E col bue zoppo andrem cacciando Laura.

48 Raimbaldo di Vaqueiras] **Min** *originally cont.* fu figliuolo d'un povero cavaliere di Provenza del castello di Vaqueiras, il quale 48–49 Bonifacio] **Min**
¹Bonifatio? ²→**T**

41 sims] **Tir** sim
44 chanso] **Tir** chanto
46 sa berna] **Tir** Suberna
47 Bou] **Tir** bow
48 Raimbaldo] **Tir** Rambaldo

⁶The line begins on fol. 5v, where the damage to the top right of the page has caused the loss of the last two letters of *Bou*. It then continues on the top left corner of 8r, which is the second half of the same bifolium.

50 marchese, et moglie di Henrico del Carretto, et si stette longamente,
 che non osava scoprirle il suo amore, finalmente un giorno trovan-
 dosi a ragionamento con esso lei prese argomento di dirle per ma-
 niera di chiederle consiglio, qualmente egli amava nel suo cuore una
55 donna valente, nobile, ricca, et bella, con la quale haveva grande di-
 mestichezza, ma non ardiva manifestarle il suo amore per temenza,
 conoscendola tanto alta di tutti i beni, che facilmente potrebbe pren-
 derne sdegno e privarlo della sua conversatione, onde la pregava per
 Dio, ch'ella lo volesse consigliare se dovesse palesare il suo amore
 alla donna, ch'egli amava, o pur lasciarsi morire celando, temendo,
60 et amando. La gentil donna, che ben s'era accorta, ch'egli languiva
 per lei disiando, sentendo le sue parole si mosse a pietà, e rispose:
 “Raimbaldo ben dee ogni fino amante portar alla sua donna honore
 e riverentia | ma nondimeno più tosto che lasciarsi morire, io lodo [6v]
 ch'egli debba aprirle il suo cuore, e la sua volontà, perciò che se la
 donna è cortese, e gentile ciò non si prenderà a male, né a dishonore,
65 anzi lo ne stimerà da molto più; però io a voi dono consiglio, che le
 debbiate manifestare l'amore, che le portate, pregandola a volervi
 accettare per servitore, che voi sete tal cavalliere, che non è donna

50 Carretto] **Min** ¹Carreto? ²→T

56 tutti i beni] **Min** valore, di nobiltà, e ^aricchezza ^bdi ricchezza

57 e privarlo] **Min** privandolo

58 se dovesse] **Min** se egli dovesse

63 riverentia] **Min** rispetto

66 le] **Min** alla donna vostra

67 l'amore] **Min** *followed by unreadable effaced letter*

65 si] **Tir** *missing*

al mondo, la quale non dovesse volentieri ricervi⁷ al suo servitio;
 ch'io vidi gia che madonna Nalazais contessa di Saluzzo sofferiva 70
 per amatore Pietro Vidale, et la contessa di Burlatz Arnaldo di Ma-
 rueill, et madonna Maria da Ventadorno Gauselm Faidit, et la donna
 di Marsiglia Folchetto di Marsiglia; così per mia parola voi aprirete
 il cuor vostro alla donna amata, et vi assicuro, s'ella è tale, quale 75
 voi la dite, ch'ella non rifiuterà i vostri preghi". Raimbaldo uden-
 do il consiglio, che madonna Beatrice gli dava, et l'assicuramento,
 ch'ella gli faceva, incontente le si gittò a' piedi dicendo, ch'essa
 era quella, ch'egli amava, et di cui egli le havea chiesto il consiglio,
 pregandola che le piacesse di haver pietà di lui. La donna rispose 80
 allegramente ch'egli fosse il ben venuto, et che si sforzasse di ben
 dire, et di ben fare, ch'ella lo riceveva per cavalliere, e per servi-
 tore. Allhora Raimbaldo fu il più allegro huomo del mondo, et per
 allegrezza fece di questo una canzone, che comincia:

Eram requer sa costum e son us

Amor per cui planc e sospir e veill 85

Cala gensor del mon ai quist conseil

Em ditz quieu am tan aut com puesquensus

74 assicuro] **Min** *originally cont.* che

75 ch'] **Min** *added later above*

69 volentieri] **Tir** volentieri ricervi] **Tir** ricevervi

70 sofferiva] **Tir** soffriva

71 di] **Tir** de

72 Ventadorno] **Tir** Vantadorno

75 che ella] **Tir** *missing*

⁷*Sic.*

90

La meillor dompna em metensa fizansa
Conor e pretz mer e pros e non dans
E car ill es del mon la plus prezans
Ai mes en leis mon cor e mesperansa.

95

6. Pietro Vidale, | di cui disopra s'è fatta menzione, fu de i più [7r]
folli huomini del mondo, che di tutte le belle donne, che vedeva,
s'innamorava, et le pregava d'amore, et elle conoscendo l'humore
dell'huomo, gli dicevano di fare, e dire ciò, che gli fosse in piacere,
onde egli si credeva di essere il drudo di tutte; quindi è che 'l Petrarca
nel *Trionfo d'Amore* lo ripose tra quei:

cap. 4°.

Ch'amor si lieve afferra.

100

Fra gli altri suoi amori e follie si conta, ch'egli s'intendeva in
madonna Nalazais moglie d'Imberal signor di Marsiglia, il quale
amava Pietro Vitale sopra tutti gli huomini del mondo, et sapeva
ch'egli era innamorato della moglie, ma se ne pigliava solazzo, anzi
quando fra loro nasceva sdegno alcuno, esso era sempre mezzano a
fargliene far la pace. Hor avvenne un giorno, che essendosi Imberal
levato per tempo, et la donna rimasa sola, Pietro Vidale se n'entrò di

105

92 fu] **Min** *originally cont.* di Tolosa, poeta per ^anaturale ^bnatura, et ottimo ^acantore
^bcantatore, ma

94-95 elle ... dell'huomo] **Min** tutte, per segondare il suo humore

103 nasceva sdegno alcuno] **Min** ¹intraveniva qualche corruccio ²nasceva dispiacere

104 fargliene] **Min** ¹fargli ²→ T

nascoso nella camera, et trovandola dormire, le basciò la bocca et ella sentendo il basciare si svegliò, et vide il folle di Pietro Vitale, che l'haveva basciata, di che turbata oltra modo incominciò a gridare, il che udendo le donzelle di la entro, corsero al rumore dimandando che ciò fosse, Pietro Vidale se n'uscì della camera fuggendo, e la donna si rimase dolente e disdegnosa et havendo mandato a chiamare il marito gli si richiamò di Pietro Vidale, che l'haveva basciata in dormendo, ma Imberal come valente et savio huomo si prese il fatto a solazzo, riprendendo la moglie, che havesse fatto rumore, et si desse malinconia di quello, che 'l folle haveva fatto, ma ciò era niente, ché la donna, per ogni modo ne volea prender vendetta, et usava di gran minaccie; onde Pietro Vidale per paura, ch'ella non

[7v] gli facesse torre la persona, | montato sopra una nave se n'andò a Genova, et di la passò oltra mare col re Riccardo d'Inghilterra; ma Imberal, che tanto l'amava, et tanto si dilettaua di lui, che non ne poteva star senza, fece, et disse tanto con la moglie, che gli impetrò pace, et perdono, et gli fece mandar gratia di tornare in Provenza. Pietro Vidale havuta la gratia se ne tornò con grande allegrezza, et giunto al cospetto di madonna Nalazais le si inginocchiò dinanzi, et

106 trovandola] **Min** ¹trovando la donna ²→ **T** dormire] **Min** *originally cont. le si pose dinanzi in ginocchione, et et] **Min** added later above (originally a comma)*

109 rumore] **Min** ¹rumor? ²**T**

111 dolente e disdegnosa et] **Min** la quale

112 gli si richiamò] **Min** ¹gli si ric... ²disdegnosa, et dolente ³**T**

114 che havesse ... rumore] **Min** *added later in margin*

117 Vidale] **Min** *added later above*

123 Vidale] ¹Vitale? ²→ **T**

106 nascoso] **Tir** nascosto

125

la pregò a volergli concedere in dono il bacio, che egli le haveva imbolato, soggiugnendo, che quando nol volesse fare, egli era tutto presto di rendergliela. Per lo qual detto essendo ogni cosa rivolta in festa, et in solazzo, la donna gli fece dono del bacio, ch'egli si havea preso di furto; per la qual cortesia, et per l'allegrezza del suo ritorno egli fece allhora una canzone, della quale la prima stanza si è

130

Pueis tornatz sui en Proensa

Et a ma dona sap bo

Ben dei far bona chanso

Sivals per reconoisensa

135

Cap servir et ab onrar

Conquer hom de bon senhor

Don e ben fait et honor

Qui bel sap tener en car

Perquieu men vueill esforsar

140

7. Arnaldo de Marueill fu innamorato della contessa di Burlatz [9v]

125 haveva] **Min** ¹havea ² → **T**

132 a] *one letter was written and then effaced before a*

140–142 fu ... quale] **Min** così detto dal castello di Marueill, ch'è nel vescovato di Peiregors, huomo fu di povera generatione, ma molto avenente della persona, e buon trovatore, e cantava bene, e leggeva ben romanzi. Sua ventura lo condusse in corte della contessa di Burlatz, ch'era figliuola del buon conte Ramondo di Tolosa, et moglie del visconte detto Tagliaferro; della quale essendosi innamorato la donna

127 rendergliela] **Tir** renderglielo

129 havea] **Tir** haveva

figliuola del buon conte Raimondo di Tolosa, et moglie del visconte detto Tagliaferro, la quale non lo schifò punto, anzi intese i suoi prieghi, et gli aggradi, et diedegli baldanza di poetare con fargli di segnalati favori, et di ricchi doni sì, ch'egli divenne honorato huomo di corte. Hor mentre ch'egli si stava in tanta felicità, et faceva sue canzoni del suo amore, avvenne che 'l re Alfonso d'Aragona si innamorò della contessa, et veggendo gli amorosi sembianti, ch'ella mostrava ad Arnaldo, et le buone canzoni, ch'egli faceva di lei, se ne ingelosì fuor di modo, et tanto fece, et tanto disse, che sforzò la donna a partirlo da sé; onde Arnaldo partito con cuore dolente, e smarrito fece del suo dolore una canzone, che dice nella prima stanza

145

150

Molt eron dous mei consir,

E ses tot marrimen

Can la bella ab lo cors gen

Humil franque de bonaire

Me dis de samor estraire,

Don ieu non puesc partir,

E car ill nom rete,

Ni laus clamar merse,

Tug solas mi son estranh,

Pos de lieis iois mi sofranh.

155

160

145 felicità] **Min** prosperità

150 cuore] **Tir** cuor

8. Hora diciamo di Gauselm Faidit, c'hebbe tanto di cuore, che [7v]
 s'inamorò di madonna Maria da Ventadorno la più bella, et | la più [8r]
 valente donna, che si sapesse in nulla parte, et ella lo sofferiva per lo
 gran bene, che dicea di lei nelle sue canzoni, et durò questo amore
 165 ben sette anni; allhora Gauselmo venne a madonna Maria, e sì gli
 disse, che homai era tempo ch'ella gli facesse tal guiderdone della
 sua servitù, che si potesse tenere per pagato, altramente lo perde-
 rebbe, et che sopra la sua instantia volesse havere buona conside-
 170 ratione, et dette queste parole sì si partì; la donna si rimase in gran
 pensiero per dubbio non si desse a ricantare di lei per fellonia, se
 lo lasciasse da sé partire così mal contento, né sapendo da sé trovare
 consiglio assai espediente mandò a chiamare un'altra gentil donna
 175 sua amica detta madonna Naudiartz de Mala mort, con la quale ha-
 vendo conferito il tutto, ella la confortò dicendo, che lasciasse a lei
 la cura di fare sì, che Gauselmo Faidit si partirebbe dallei in pace; et
 incontante per un suo discreto messaggio mandò dicendo a Gau-
 selmo, ch'egli volesse più tosto havere in pugno un picciolo uccello,
 che una gru volante nel cielo; della quale ambasciata essendosi Gau-
 selmo assai maravigliato, venne per chiarirsene a trovare madonna
 180 Naudiartz, et la inchiese che cosa havesse voluto significare ciò, che

162 c'hebbe] **Min** che fu d'un borgo del vescovato di Lemosino, uomo di per-
 sona disadatto, giocatore, e goloso, onde stette longamente, che le sue composizio-
 ni non erano gradite, finché fu fatto conoscere, et mosso in pregio per lo marchese
 Bonifatio di Monferrato; et ^anondimeno ^bpur

163 madonna Maria] **Min** ¹Mar... ²→ **T** bella] **Min** valente

170 si partì] **Min** *originally cont.* da lei

166 gli] **Tir** le

174 Naudiartz] **Tir** Naudiarts

gli havea mandato dicendo del picciolo uccello, et della gru; la donna l'accolse molto amorosamente, et rispose; "Gauselmo la pietà, ch'io ho di voi, mi ha fatto ciò dire; perch'io so che madonna Maria non vi ama, se non per cortesia, et per le lodi, che voi le date in cantando, la quale si è rispetto a voi come la gru volante nel cielo; ma io sarò come il picciolo uccello, che haverete nel pugno per fare, et per dire ciò che vi piacerà, se lasciandola lei, vorrete accostarvi a me, che desidero di essere amata da tale huomo, quale voi sete, che mi metta in pregio, et in fama"; Gauselmo udendo queste parole, et | veggendo gli amorosi sembianti, et la piacevolezza della donna, ch'era giovane, e bella, subito rispose ch'era presto di fare sì, come ella gli diceva; "adunque, voi n'andrete" disse ella "et sì farete una canzone, nella quale cortesemente prenderete commiato da madonna Maria, dicendo di havere posto il vostro amore in un'altra, da cui attendete miglior guiderdone del vostro servire". Gauselmo senza altro pensare se n'andò et fece in tal soggetto una canzone, di cui qui sotto porremo la prima stanza:

185

190

195

Tant ai sufert loniamen greu afan,
 Que si stes mais que nom naperseubes,
 Morir pogra tost e leu, sim volgues,
 Cala bella non preira ia dolors.

200

185 le] **Min** gli

188 piacerà] **Min**¹piaccia²→ **T**

191 veggendo] **Min**¹vedendo²→ **T**

193 adunque,] **Min** *originally cont.* adunque", allhora ^adisse la donna ^bsoggiunse la donna, andrete] **Min**¹anderete²→ **T** disse ella] **Min** *added later above*

197 se n'andò et] **Min** *added later in margin*

En cui mala fos beutatz e valors;
Don regardan part forsatz mon coratge;
205 E pos li platz, segrai autre viatge;
Mas lies non cal, ni no so ten a dan
De perdre me, nils bels digz de mon chan.

210 Questa canzone uscì fuori, et fu cantata da molti siché pervenne
a notitia di madonna Maria, la quale nell'animo suo restò molto con-
tenta del commiato preso di quel modo per opera della gentildonna
sua amica. Ma Gauselmo a capo d'una stagione tornato a madonna
Naudiartz le narrò, come haveva fatto il suo commandamento, ché
s'era partito dallo amore di madonna Maria, et in lei haveva messo
lo core, il senno, et il sapere, et la pregò che volesse fargli e dire de
215 i piaceri piacenti, ch'ella gli havea promesso. La donna di buonaria
rispose et disse; "Gauselmo egli è vero, che voi sete troppo valente,
et troppo pregiato huomo, siché non ha donna al mondo, ch'amar
volesse, la quale non si dovesse tenere appagata di voi per | amatore, [9r]
et per servitore, percioché voi sete padre, et maestro di valor, et di
220 cortesia; ma ciò che io vi dissi, et promisi, non fu per volontà, ch'io
havessi di amarvi per amore, ma per trarvi della prigione, ove eravate,
et di quella speranza, che havevate havuta più di sette anni, perciò
che io sapeva bene la volontà di madonna Maria, che vi menava per
parole, et con promesse senza pensamento di attenervi cosa alcuna;
225 nelle altre cose io voglio bene esser vostra amica, per servivi in ciò,
che vi piacerà commandarmi". Quando Gauselmo intese questo per
risposta, se fu tristo et dolente non è da dimandare, et cominciò a

224 pensamento] **Min** voler

gridare mercé alla donna, che nol volesse di questo modo uccidere, né tradire, né ingannare; ella rispose, che già non l'uccideva, né l'ingannava, anzi che tratto l'havea d'inganno, e di morte; in somma le parole furono molte, ma finalmente veggendo Gauselmo, ch'ella non era acconcia a far cosa, ch'egli volesse, si parti da lei, et si pensò di tornare nell'amore di madonna Maria dimandandole perdono del fallo commesso contra lei, et per tale effetto fece la canzone, che comincia:

230

235

Non alegra chans ni critz
Dauzels mon fel cor engres,
Ni no sai perquem chantes,
Nim perdes
Mos motz, car ben los perdria,
Sieu dizia,
Quem valgues
Ves midons precx ni merses,
Que nos tanh ges
Iaill sia per mi queritz
Perdos, tant li soi faillitz.

240

245

[5v] 9. Folchetto di Marsiglia faceva sue canzoni di madonna Nala-

228 modo] **Min** *added later above*

231 ch'ella] **Min**¹ che la donna² → **T**

247 Marsiglia] **Min** *originally cont.* fu figliuolo di un ^amercante ^bmercatante Genovese ^adetto ^bdetto per nome ser Alfonso, che lo lasciò molto ricco di havere, ma Folchetto lasciando l'esercitio del padre si mise a pratticar le corti et molto fu grato al re Riccardo d'Inghilterra, et al bon conte Ramondo di Tolosa, percioché

250 zais de Roca Martina moglie d'Imberal signor di Marsiglia, la quale
 egli amava, et ella gli sofferiva tale amore per la gran lode, che ne
 traheva; ma finalmente prese sdegno contra lui per sospetto, ch'egli
 non s'intendesse in una sua cognata sorella del marito detta madon-
 na Laura de Saint Iorlan, et sì gli diede adiratamente commiato, che
 più non voleva di suoi detti, né di suoi prieghi, et che da lei non
 dovesse mai più sperare né bene, né amore; per lo qual commiato
255 Folchetto si rimase tristo e dolente, et lasciò per un tempo solazzo, e
 canto; ultimamente essendosi andato a lamentare della sua disaven-
 tura alla moglie di Guglielmo di Monpeslier detta "l'Imperadrice"
 per esser figliuola dell'imperadore Emanuel donna di gran valore,
 ella lo confortò che perciò non si dovesse disperare, et lo pregò che
260 per suo amore volesse cantare, et egli allora fece una canzone, che
 comincia

car. 35..

Tant mou de corteza razo

[6r]

Mos chantars, que noi dei faillir,

Enans hi dei meills avenir,

265

Canc non fīs, e diraus co,

Que Lemperairitz men somo,

E plagram fort que men gequis,

Sill mo sufris;

Mas car illes sime, rais

270

Densenhamen,

molto era avenente huomo della persona, e buon trovatore, et

259 lo] **Min** *added later above*

266 Lemperairitz] **Min** ¹Lemperairetz? ²→ **T**

270 ,] **Min** *added later on the line*

Nos cove cal sieu mandamen
Sia mos sabers flacx, ni lens;
Ans tanh que doble mos engens.

[9v] car. 63. 10. Guglielmo di Saint Leidier | s' intese nella sorella del Dalfino [10r]
d'Alvernia, moglie del visconte di Polonhac detta per nome la Mar- 275
chessa, di cui fece molte bone canzoni, et chiamavala "Beltramo" nel
suo cantare, l'amore della quale si conta ch'egli guadagnò per questo
modo, che havendola longamente amata, lodata, et servita la donna,
che nol voleva ritenere per cavalliere, né per servitore, gli hebbe un
giorno a dire, che di lei non sperasse havere né bene, né amore, salvo 280
se non facesse, che'l visconte suo marito gliel commandasse, et ne
la pregasse; per le quali parole Guglielmo tutto sgommentato fu per
lasciar l'impresa, pur aguzzandogli amor lo 'ngegno si diede a pen-
sare come potesse fare che'l visconte pregasse la donna, che dovesse
accettarlo per amadore, et finalmente sì si accordò fra se medesimo 285
di fare una canzone, nella quale il marito dicesse alla moglie, che
lo dovesse amare. Hora il visconte molto si diletta delle canzoni
di Guglielmo, et molto le cantava volentieri. Egli adunque havendo
fatta la canzone la mostrò al visconte, et gli narrò la ragione, perché
l'havea fatta senza nominare le persone; il quale havendone sentito 290
gran piacere l'apparò a mente, et appresso havendone contato l'argo-
mento alla moglie gliele cantò tutta dal principio alla fine. La quale

274 s'] **Min** *originally cont.* si fu un ricco castellano di Velaic del vescovato del
Puei Sancta Maria huomo honorato, et buon cavallier d'arme, largo, e cortese, e
costumato et si

290 senza ... persone] **Min** *added later in margin*

295

ricordandosi di quello, che detto, et promesso haveva, bene notò, et bene intese il tutto, né volle mancare del conveniente, che in quei tempi era tenuto a gran fellonia, a Guglielmo di Saint Leidier, ricevendolo per cavaliere, et per servitore sicome gli havea promesso. Della sopradetta benaventurata canzone la prima stanza fu:

300

Dompna ieu vos sui mesatgiers,
Et el vers entendetz de cui,
E salut vos depart selui,
Cui vostre ioi alegre pais,
E dic vos be de ver hueimais,
Vostre mesatges vertadiers
Serai del vers qui quel vos chan.

305

11. Guglielmo di Capestaing s'innamorò d'una gentildonna moglie di un gran barone del paese detto Ramondo di Castel Rossiglione, di cui era vassallo; la donna allo 'ncontro aggradì l'amor suo di modo, che fece suo cavaliere di lui, et lungo tempo ebbero insieme gioia l'uno dell'altro; della qual cosa essendo stato avvertito Ramondo di Castel Rossiglione s'ingelosì della moglie, et la fece serrare, et guardare dentro una torre; onde Guglielmo non la potendo vedere, né godere, come soleva, se ne viveva in gran tristezza, et fece di passione una canzone, che comincia: [10v]

310

304 vers] **Min** added later in margin

305 Capestaing] **Min** originally cont. un gentil castellano del contado di Rossiglione fu buon trovatore, cortese huomo, et costumato, et buon cavaliere d'arme, pregiato da tutta la buona gente, et molto amato dalle donne. Questi

312 se ne] **Min** added later above

Li dous consire,
Quem donamor soven, 315
Donam fan dire
De vos maintz vers plazen.
Pensan remire
Vostre cors car, e gen,
Cui ieu dezire 320
Mais, que non fauc parven.
E si tot mi deslei
Per vos, ges nous abnei,
Cades ves vos soplei
Ab francha benvolensa. 325
Dompna, en cui beutatz gensa,
Maintas vetz oblit mei
Queu lau vos e mersei.

La qual canzone fu cagione della sua morte, e perciò di lui disse
il Petrarca 330

E quel Guglielmo
Che per cantar ha 'l fior de' suoi di scemo.

Perciò che havendola udita Ramondo, e credendo fermamente,
che di sua moglie l'havesse fatta, il fece venire a parlamento seco

329 e] **Min** added later above

335 fuori del castello di Capestaing, et ivi l'uccise, facendogli | tagliare⁸ [11r]
 la testa, e trarre il cuor del petto, et ogni cosa mettere in un carniero.
 Indi ritornato a casa fece il cuore arrostire, e portarlo in tavola, et
 alla moglie il fece mangiare a non saputa; il quale quando ella heb-
340 be mangiato Ramondo levatosi in piede le disse, che quello, ch'ella
 mangiato havea, si era stato veramente il cuore di Guglielmo di Ca-
 pestaing, dimandandole, s'egli era stato buono a mangiare, et per
 segnale di ciò le fece vedere la testa. La quale havendo la donna ri-
 conosciuta, rispose come forsennata, ch'egli era stato sì buono, e sì
 saporoso, che giamai altra vivanda non le torrebbe il sapore della
345 bocca, che basciata le havea il cuore di Guglielmo di Capestaing. Il
 che udendo Ramondo mise mano alla spada, per correrle sopra; ma
 la donna fuggendo all'uscio d'un balcone sì si lasciò cadere giù a
 basso, e ruppe il collo. Questo maleficio si seppe per tutta Catalo-
 gna, e per le terre del re d'Aragona, dove ne fu fatto per tutto gran
350 corrotto; et essendosi mossi insieme i parenti di Guglielmo, et della
 donna, et con esso loro tutti i valenti cavallieri, ch'erano in caso d'a-
 more, guerreggiarono Ramondo di Castel Rossiglione a fuoco, et a
 sangue. Et il re d'Aragona havendo inteso il fatto vi andò in persona,
 et prese Ramondo, e gli disfece tutti i suoi castelli, et fecelo morire
355 in prigione. La donna, et Guglielmo di Capestaing ambedue insieme

340 Guglielmo] **Min**¹Guglielmo²→ **T**

342–343 riconosciuta] **Min**¹conosciuta²→ **T**

346 correrle] **Min**¹corrergli²→ **T**

350 di] **Min** del

355 ambedue] **Min** fece

⁸From 'tagliare' to 'anime loro' Barbieri uses a narrower pen.

furono sepelliti in un monimento dinanzi alla porta d'una chiesa del borgo, ch'è nel piano di Rossiglione, et durò un tempo, che i leali amanti de i paesi all'intorno huomini e donne venivano ogni anno a fargli l'annovale pregando Iddio per le anime loro.

12. Ramondo di Miraval fu un povero cavaliere del paese di Carcassona, che non haveva se non la quarta parte del castello di Miraval, nel quale non stavano quaranta persone; ma per lo suo bel trovare, et perché seppe più d'amore, et de i piacenti detti, che corrono tra gli amadori, che nessuno altro, fu molto honorato e tenuto caro per lo conte Ramondo di Tolosa, il quale era quelli, che gli dava 360

[11v] cavalli, et arme, et i vestimenti, che gli bisognavano, per lo re Pietro d'Aragon, pel visconte di Bezers, per Beltramo di Saisac, et per tutti i gran baroni di quella contrada; e non era nessuna gran donna nel paese, che non desiderasse, e non si penasse, che Ramondo di Miraval le volesse bene per amore, perciò che egli le sapeva più honorare, et più far gradire, che nessuno altro huomo; di molte adunque fu vago, et di molte fece canzoni, ma d'una basterà far mentione. Hor è da sapere, che in quel tempo era in Carcassese una gentildonna avvenente, bella, e cortese, volonterosa molto di pregio, et di honore detta per nome la Loba de Puei Nautier moglie di un cavaliere di Cabaretz ricco, e poderoso; nella quale s'intendevano tutti gli huomini di valore, e molti gran baroni della contrada, come il conte di Foix, Olivier di Saisac, Pietro Roggier de Mirapeis, Amerigo de Monreial, et ancora Pietro Vitale; ma sopra tutti l'amava Ramondo di Miraval, e molto la esaltava in cantando, et in parlando; et ella per le gran lodi, 370

ch'egli le dava, mostrava d'aggradire i suoi preghi, et ritenevalo solo basciando, et con buone parole; ma essa non gli haveva amore alcuno 375

356 furono] **Min** added later above

385

no, et ciò, che gli diceva, era per inganno, perciò che voleva tutto il suo bene al conte di Fois tanto, che lo havea fatto suo drudo; et alla fine men cautamente operando, si fece palese il fatto della lor drudaria; onde la donna disubito fu discaduta di pregio, e d'honore, che a quei tempi si haveva per morta ogni donna, che facesse suo drudo d'alto barone; e fra gli altri Pietro Vitale ne fece una mala canzone, nella quale disse:

390

Molt ai mon cor felo
Per lieis, que mala fo,
Que per un conte Ros
Ma gitat abando,
Ben par que Loba es,
395 Car ab comte senpres,
Es part demperador,
Ca feita sa Lauzor
Per tot lo mon saber,
Mas qui ment non ditz ver.

400

Di questo fallo della Loba senti Miraval un gran dispiacere, et **[12r]** hebbe volontà di darsi a dir mal di lei, ma poi si pensò che meglio era, ch'egli s'ingegnasse d'ingannarla lei sicome ella haveva ingannato lui, e con tal disegno cominciò a scusarla per tutto, et a sostenerla del fatto del conte di Fois; quando la Loba intese che Miravale la difendeva del male, ch'ella havea commesso, con tutta la tristezza, che haveva, si rallegrò alquanto, perciò che di lui haveva ella maggior paura, che di nessuno altro. Perciò fattolo chiamare a sé, piangen-

405

384 havea fatto] **Min** fece 384–385 alla fine] **Min** added later above

do lo ringratiò del mantenimento, che le faceva, et poi gli disse così,
“Miraval se io mai hebbi pregio, e valore, né cortesia, né cosa alcuna
di buono, tutto ciò mi è da voi venuto; del qual beneficio se non ve
n’ho fin qui rimeritato, io non me ne sono già rimasa per non calere,
ma per una parola, che voi poneste in una vostra canzone, quando
diceste:

410

Bona dona nos deu damor gequir,

E pos tant fai cazamor sabandona,

No sen cug trop ni massa non o tir;

Que meins en val totz faitz, quil dessazona.

415

Onde io attendeva di farvi piacere, ma con honorata cagione, accioché voi l’haveste più caro; hora conoscendo che voi mi sete vero amico, difendendomi contra tutti del falso biasimo, che mi hanno messo addosso i miei nemici, io per voi mi voglio torre a tutti, e dar mi a voi, per fare e per dire ciò, che vi sarà in piacere”. Ramondo di Miraval mostrando grande allegrezza accettò il dono della Loba, et hebbe da lei ciò, che gli piacque, et poco appresso si partì dal suo amore, essendosi innamorato d’una gentil donna moglie del conte di Menerba detta Gent Esquiu de Menerba, et fece allhora la canzone che comincia:

420

425

Sieu en chantar soven

Nomatur ni maten,

Non cuidetz que sabers,

Men failla ni razos,

430

409 valore,] **Min** *originally cont.* se mai hebbi buona amanza, né cortesia

435 Ni talans amoros,
Quel plus de mos volers
Es en ioi et en chan
E de razon ai tan,
Que chantar en poiriasatz;
Mas tot can sai, no vueill sapchatz.

440 **13.** Pons de Capduill amò per amore madonna Nalazais de Mer- **[12v]**
cuer figliuola di Bernardo Danduza un honorato barone della marca
di Provenza, e moglie di un gran conte d'Alvernia, dalla quale era
parimente amato, et molto gioiosamente passavano insieme i loro
amori. Con la quale stando egli in tanta allegrezza entrò in un folle
pensiero di voler provare se la donna l'amava da dovero, quasi non
gli bastassero le tante dimostrazioni, che n'havea di certe in mano;
445 così cominciò a far sembiante di haver portato il suo amore altrove, e
che poco di lei gli calesse. Quando madonna Nalazais vide che Pons
de Capduill, cui ella havea tanto amato, e tanto honorato, si era sen-
za cagione partito dell'amor suo, e s'era dato altrui, n'hebbe tanto
sdegno, che unque poi non fu persona, a cui parlasse, ne dimandas-
se di lui, e s'altri gliene parlava, non gliene dava risposta, vivendosi
450 tuttavia in gran festa, e trionfo. Allhora il folle amante veggendo

438 Capduill] **Min** *originally cont.* si fu un gentil barone del Puei Sancta Maria,
e sapeva ben poetare e ben violare, e ben cantare, et era buon cavallier d'arme,
grande, e bello della persona, e di bei costumi, et

440 dalla quale] **Min** da cui

441 insieme] **Min** *added later in margin*

444 bastassero] **Min** dovessero bastare

che la donna non si dava nessuna malinconia del suo partire, né gli mandava letera, né messaggio, si accorse di haver mal fatto; et dopo l'havere più volte mandato a lei lettere, e messi, ch'ella non volle pur accettare, né udire fece una canzone, che dice:

455

Aissi com sel ca pron de valedors
Eill faillon tuit, ia tant non er amatz
En la sazon, ques dezaventuratz,
Me faill ma dompna, car conois camors
Mi fai per lies murir a greu turmen;
E sill pogues faire nuill faillimen,
Ves mil feira, mas meins en val, so cre,
Bars, que dechai selui, que vencut ve.

460

Questa sua canzone non gli valse nulla, perciò ne rifece un'altra, che comincia:

465

Qui per nessi cuidar
Fai trop gran faillimen,
A dan li deu tornar,
E sami mal en pren,
Ni ma donam dechai,
Bes tanh, que tal folia
Ai fait, per queu devria
Morir dire desmai.

470

[13r] Né quest'altra parimente non gli giovò, ché madonna Nalazais non volea creder a nessun partito, ch'egli avesse finto così per pro-

475

varla. Ultimamente se n'andò a madonna Maria da Ventadorn, alla viscontessa de Monferran, et alla viscontessa Dalbusso, et tutte tre le menò a Mercuer a madonna Nalazais a dimandarle per lui mercé, che volesse rendergli la gratia sua; a' preghi delle quali, ella gli perdonò, e lo redintegrò nell'amor suo, ond'egli fu il più allegro huomo del mondo, e disse bene, che mai più non farebbe una tal pazzia.

480

14. Tale, e maggior follia fece Guilielmo di Balaon il quale amava una gentil donna del vescovato di Gavauda detta per nome madonna Guilielma de Iavais moglie di Pietro di Iaviac, da cui era parimente amato, et ne haveva ogni suo piacere per conto d'amore.

485

Hor haveva Guilielmo un suo compagno chiamato Piero di Bariac, il quale havendo una sua amica detta madonna Viernetta venne con esso lei in cruccio per alcuna cagione sì, ch'ella gli diede malamente commiato, né più voleva ascoltarlo, né con lui havere affare in conto

490

alcuno; ond'egli non poteva durare d'affanno, e di amorosa passione, pur finalmente per opera di Guglielmo di Balaon la donna si mitigò, et lo rimise nella sua gratia di prima; della quale riconciliatione Piero di Bariac fu tanto allegro, c'hebbe a dire, che in questo punto haveva sentita gioia maggiore, che non sentì nel primo acquisto

495

dell'amore di madonna Viernetta. La qual cosa non potendo credere Guilielmo di Balaon si dispose di volere provare, se la gioia del ricuperare amore era così grande, come diceva Piero di Bariac suo compagno, et finsi di essere forte adirato con madonna Guilielma,

500

e stette longamente senza volere andare in loco, dove ella fosse, e senza mandarle né letera, né ambasciata; la donna, che molto l'ama-

477 tutte] **Min**¹tutta²→ **T**

482 il quale] **Min** un gentil castellano del distretto di Mompoliere, che

486 suo] **Min** *added later above*

va di cuore gli mandò sue lettere piene d'amore, e messo fidato a sapere la cagione, per la quale egli si stessee di venirla a vedere. Ma Guilielmo non volle accettar sue lettere, né udir suo messaggio, anzi

[13v] lo | fece accommiatare del castello villanamente; il messo ritornato contò il tutto alla donna; la quale di nuovo gli mandò un suo cavalliere consapevole del loro amore a dimandare perché fosse così turbato 505

seco, che s'ella havea fatta cosa, che l'havesse offeso, si proferiva di starne ad ammenda al suo senno di lui; egli rispose, che dire non gliene voleva la cagione, la quale ella sapeva bene, ch'era tale, che non richiedeva alcuna ammenda. Per la qual risposta non sapendo la 510

donna che si pensare se ne stava in gran malinconia. Finalmente havendo inteso, che Guglielmo era venuto a Ioviac dicendo di andare in peregrinaggio, et era smontato a casa di un borghese suo amico, senza lasciarsi vedere a corte, ella quando ogniuno si fu andato a dormire se'n venne allo albergo, dove era alloggiato, et facendosi 515

menare al letto, ove egli giaceva, gli si gittò dinanzi in ginocchione dimandandogli perdono, se in conto alcuno l'havea offeso, e si fece inanzi per volerlo basciare; ma Guglielmo ostinato, e fellone più che mai la ripinse indietro, et battendola la cacciò via da sé. Per la qual cosa la donna se ne ritornò trista, e grama, pentita di ciò, che'l 520

soperchio amore le havea fatto fare, e con animo deliberato di mai più non pensare in lui, et di non volerlo vedere, né udire. Guglielmo di Balaon, a cui pareva di havere fatto assai, si levò la mattina per

511 malinconia.] **Min** *originally cont.* pensando tuttavia come si potesse scontare del fallo, ch'ella non havea commesso.

512 Ioviac] **Min** Pier...

515 dove] **Min** *originally cont.* Guilielmo

525

tempo, et se ne venne al castello, et fece dire a madonna Guilielma, che le voleva parlare; ma la donna piena di sdegno, e di mal talento nol volle vedere, ne udire, anzi gli fece dar commiato, e gittarlo fuora del castello; onde egli tardi accorto del suo errore, e pentito della sua follia se n'andò come un matto sospirando, e piangendo, e per questa cagione fece una disperata canzone, che comincia:

530

Lo vers mou merseian ves vos

Dona no per tal quieu entenda

Que de mi merse vos prenda

[14r]

Tant es lo forfaitz cabalos.

Car ges perdos no si atanh;

535

Mas pos mi mezeis ai perdut,

E vos, quem faitz plus esperdut,

Sim pert mas paraulas nom tanh.

540

La qual canzone fu portata a madonna Guilielma per Bernardo di Anduza uno honorato barone del paese, che la pregò caramente, che volesse far perdono a Guilielmo del suo fallo, prendendone primamente quella vendetta, che paresse a lei; ella rispose a Bernardo, che a i suoi preghi non poteva mancare di compiacere, et che per suo amore era contenta di perdonargli con prenderne prima vendetta, la quale vendetta fosse tale, che Guglielmo si trahesse l'onghia del più lungo dito della mano, et gliela portasse a donare; Bernardò riferì il

545

524 Guilielma] **Min** ¹Guillielma ²→**T**

527 accorto] **Min** pentito

543 era] **Min** *added later above*

545 a donare;] **Min** *added later above with a different pen*

tutto a Guglielmo; il quale incontintente senza altro pensare si fece legare il dito, et trarne fuori l'onghia a gran tormento; poi montato a cavallo con Bernardo d'Andusa se ne venne a Iaviac a madonna Guilielma, et gittatolesi a' piedi, le chiese perdono, et le presentò l'onghia del dito, la quale ella prese perdonandogli la nescia sua follia. Et è gran mercé d'un huomo, quando ha gran bene, e va cercando il male, che lo trova, sì come fece Guilielmo di Balaon.

550

552 Balaon.] **Min** *originally cont. with one more section below*: Per dare ancora ^ain questo ^bin questo capitolo alle donne ^ala sua ^balcuna picciola parte, ^aè da sapere ^bvegno a dire che havendo un Guido di Tornenquera fatto gran fallo contra madonna ^aAlmucs ^bNalmucs di Castelnovo, di cui era stato un tempo cavaliere, e servitore; et ^anon osando ^bnon osando egli di andargliene a dimandare perdono, una ^adonna ^bpoetessa detta Niseus de Capion la pregò per lui nella seguente stanza dicendo:

Dompna Nalmucs si ova plagues [14v]
Beus volgra pregar daitan
Que lira el mal talan
Vos fezes fenir merces
De lui, que sospire planh
E mueir languen es complanh
E quier perdon humilmen
Queus fatz per lui sagramen
Si tot li voletz fenir.
Quel si quart mieills de faillir.

Madonna Nalmucs, che voleva bene a Guido, et a cui rincresceva, ch'egli non venisse a dimandarle perdono ^arispose ^ble rispose così per le rime:

Dompna Niseus sieu sabes

Chapter VI

1. Per le cose di là da' monti non ci mancherebbono di molti altri [15r]
esempi somministrati dalle delitie di quei tempi, et dalla usanza del
paese, che ancor dura, ma le dodici precedenti historie disopra nar-
rate doveranno bastare a dar notitia degli incitamenti, c'hebbeno gli
5 oltramontani a far montare le rime in alto nel cantar d'amore; ma de
i nostri minor numero, e più casti amori si haveranno da raccontare,
percioché se ben furono molti e tutti paiono dir d'amore, non per ciò
di tutti, ma di pochi sono scritti gli innamoramenti, e la maniera d'I-
talia nel conversare non comportò loro una tanta libertà di fare, e di
10 dire. Nondimeno così fervidamente cantarono quei pochi, de' quali
si farà mentione, che per opera loro le rime italiane paiono avere
tolta la gloria del rimare ad ogni altro volgare.

2. Et, per cominciar da Dante padre e maestro dell'arte del dire
in rima, egli medesimo scrisse del suo amore un libretto intitolato
15 *Vita nuova*, nel quale viene a spiegare in parte i suoi amorosi aveni-
menti, mentre che narra le ragioni, che lo mossero a fare i sonetti, e
le canzoni, che sono stampate nel primo libro delle *Rime antiche*; ma

Quel se pentis del engan,
Quel a fait ves mi tan gran
Ben fora dreitz queu nagues
Merces, mas a mi nos tanh,
Pos que del tort no safran,
Nis pentis del faillimen.
Que naia mais chausimen; [line added later]
Mas si vos faitz lui pentir,
Leu podetz mi convertir.

7 furono molti e] **Min** added later above ¹sono molti ²→ **T**

8 sono scritti] **Min** si sanno

perciò che'l libretto non è fin qui, ch'io sappia, passato in istampa, sarà bene che dello amore di questo poeta si faccia qui sapere alcuna cosa a corroboratione della sopradetta sententia; del primo inamora-
mento del quale Benvenuto da Imola commentando il XXX° canto del *Purgatorio* dice le qui sottoscritte parole:

20

Sed ad pleniorum cognitionem eorum, quae dicuntur hic et in capitulo sequenti de ista Beatrice, volo te scire, quod cum quidam Fulcus Portunarius honorabilis civis Florentiae de more faceret celebre convivium Kal. Maii convocatis vicinis cum Dominabus eorum Dantes tunc puerulus novem annorum secutus patrem suum Aldigherium, qui erat unus de numero convivarum, vidit a casu inter alias puellas puellulam filiam præfati Fulci, cui nomen erat Beatrix, aetatis | viii annorum, mirae pulchritudinis, sed maioris honestatis, quae subito intravit cor eius ita, quòd nunq(uam) postea recessit ab eo, donec illa vixit, sive ex conformitate complexionis, et morum, sive ex singulari infuentia coeli; Et cum aetate continuo multiplicatae sunt amorosae flammae, ex quo Dantes totus deditus illi, quocunq(ue) iret pergebat, credens in oculis eius videre summam foelicitatem, pro qua lachrymas, vigi-
lias, et infinitas tulit poenas, tamen hic amor honestissimus semper fuit, et nunq(uam) apparuerit signum libidinosi actus in amante, vel amata.

25

[15v]

30

35

40

A dimostrare gli avvenimenti del quale amore come sotto nube, basterà porre il sogno, che ne fece Dante del modo appunto, ch'egli lo conta nel preallegato libretto, dove dice:

45

Et peroche quella fu la prima volta, che le sue parole si mossero per venire alle mie orecchie, presi tanta dolcezza, che come inebriato mi parti dalle genti, et ricorsi al solingo luogo d'una mia camera, et posemi a pensare di questa cortesissima, et pensando di lei mi sopragiunse uno soave sonno,

50

nel quale m'apparve una meravigliosa visione_ Che a me pareva vedere una nebula di colore di fuoco, dentro dalla quale io discerneva una figura d'uno signore di pauroso aspetto a chi la guardasse, et pareami con tanta letitia quanto a se, che mirabil cosa era, et nelle sue parole diceva molte cose, le quali io non intendea se non poche, tra le quali io intendea queste_ Ego Dominus tuus. Nelle sue braccia mi pareva vedere una persona dormire ignuda, salvo che involta mi pareva in un drappo sanguigno leggermente. La quale io riguardando molto intentivamente conobbi ch'era la donna della salute,

55

la quale mi havea il giorno dinanzi degnato di salutare; et nell'una delle mani mi pareva, che questi tenesse una cosa, la quale ardesse tutta, et pareami, che mi dicesse queste parole_ Vide cor tuum. Et quando egli era stato alquanto, pareami che disvegliasse questa che dormia, et tanto si sforzava per suo ingegno, che le faceva mangiar questa cosa, che in mano,

60

gli ardeva, la quale ella mangiava dubitosamente; appresso cio poco dimorava che la sua letitia si convertia in amarissimo pianto, et cosi piangendo si ricoglieva questa donna nelle sue braccia, et con essa mi pareva che se ne gisse verso il cielo, ond'io sosteneva si grande angoscia, chel mio deboletto

65

Et peroche quella fu la prima volta, che le sue parole si mossero per venire alle mie orecchie, presi tanta dolcezza, che come inebriato mi parti dalle genti, et ricorsi al solingo luogo d'una mia camera, et posemi a pensare di questa cortesissima, et pensando di lei mi sopragiunse uno soave sonno, nel quale m'apparve una meravigliosa visione_ Che a me pareva vedere una nebula di colore di fuoco, dentro dalla quale io discerneva una figura d'uno signore di pauroso aspetto a chi la guardasse, et pareami con tanta letitia quanto a se, che mirabil cosa era, et nelle sue parole diceva molte cose, le quali io non intendea se non poche, tra le quali io intendea queste_ Ego Dominus tuus. Nelle sue braccia mi pareva vedere una persona dormire ignuda, salvo che involta mi pareva in un drappo sanguigno leggermente. La quale io riguardando molto intentivamente conobbi ch'era la donna della salute, la quale mi havea il giorno dinanzi degnato di salutare; et nell'una delle mani mi pareva, che questi tenesse una cosa, la quale ardesse tutta, et pareami, che mi dicesse queste parole_ Vide cor tuum. Et quando egli era stato alquanto, pareami che disvegliasse questa che dormia, et tanto si sforzava per suo ingegno, che le faceva mangiar questa cosa, che in mano, gli ardeva, la quale ella mangiava dubitosamente; appresso cio poco dimorava che la sua letitia si convertia in amarissimo pianto, et cosi piangendo si ricoglieva questa donna nelle sue braccia, et con essa mi pareva che se ne gisse verso il cielo, ond'io sosteneva si grande angoscia, chel mio deboletto

[16r]

sonno non potè sostenere, anzi si ruppe, et fui disvegliato, et 70
immantinentemente cominciai a pensare, et trovai che l'hora, nella
quale mi era questa visione apparita, era stata la quarta della
notte. Siche appare manifestamente che ella fu la prima delle
nove ultime hore della notte. Pensando io accio, che mi era
apparito proposi di farlo sentire a molti, li quali erano famosi 75
trovatori in quel tempo, et concio fosse cosa, ch'io havessi
gia veduto per me medesimo l'arte del dire parole per rima
proposi di fare uno sonetto, nel quale io salutassi tutti li fideli
d'amore, et pregandoli, che giudicassero la mia visione scris-
si a loro cio, ch'io havea nel mio sonno veduto, et cominciai 80
allhora questo sonetto

A ciascuna alma presa e gentil core,

Nel cui conspetto viene il dir presente,

In cio, che mi riscrivan suo parvente,

Salute in lor signor, cio e amore.

Già eran quasi che atterzate l'hore 85

Del tempo, ch'ogni stella e piu lucente,

Quando m'apparve amor subitamente,

Cui essenza membrar mi da horrore.

Allegro mi sembrava amor tenendo

Mio core in mano, e ne le braccia havea 90

Madonna involta in un drappo dormendo.

Poi la svegliava, e d'esto core ardendo

Lei paventosa humilmente pascea,

Appresso gir lo ne vedea piangendo.

95

Benven. Dopo la morte di Beatrice, nel tempo del suo esilio s' innamorò parimente di una giovinetta lucchese, come egli tocca nel canto XXIII del *Purgatorio* in persona di Bonagiunta da Lucca dicendo:

Femina e nata, e non porta ancor benda,

[16v]

comincio ei, che ti fara piacere

100

La mia citta, come c'huom la riprenda

Il cui nome fu Gentucca, come nel detto loco:

Ei mormorava, e non so che Gentucca

Sentiva io.

La quale egli appresso nel canto XXXI fa nominare a Beatrice "Pargoletta" forse con nome sinonimo di "Gentucca" là ove dice per modo di riprensione:

105

Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso

Ad aspettar piu colpi o Pargoletta,

O altra vanita con si breve uso.

110

et nel fine della canzone "Io son venuto al punto dela rota" car. 35.. "Se in pargoletta fia per cuore un marmo".

VN. N. car. 9.. 14.

3. Guido di messer Cavalcante Cavalcanti, il qual Dante in alcun

110–111 et nel ... marmo.] **Min** added after beginning the following paragraph.

112 di messer Cavalcante] **Min** these words are underlined, perhaps hinting at an intention to remove/replace them

loco chiama primo degli amici suoi, mostra di essere stato innamorato
in Toscana per una sua ballata, che comincia:

Rim. an. car. 70. Perch'io no spero di tornar giamai 115
Ballatetta in Toscana
Va tu leggiere, e piana
Dritto alla donna mia,
Che per sua cortesia
Ti fara molto honore. 120

Ma chi fosse questa sua donna se ne viene in cognitione per
alcune parole scritte da Dante nella sua *Vita nuova*, che sono:

car. 28.. 24. Io vidi venire verso me una gentil donna, la qual era di fa-
mosa beltade, et fu gia molto donna di questo primo amico 125
mio; il nome di questa donna era Giovanna, salvo che per
la sua belta, secondo ch'altri crede, imposto l'era per nome
Primavera, et così era chiamata:

Per la qual cosa ragionevolmente si potrebbe sospettare, che la
canzonetta prima nel secondo libro delle *Rime antiche* fosse più tosto
di Guido Cavalcante, che di Dante, a cui si attribuisce: 130

car. 16. Fresca Rosa novella
Piacente Primavera
Per prata, e per riviera
Gaiamente cantando

122 alcune] **Min** certe

135

Vostro fin presio mando ala verdura.

4. Della donna di Lappo Gianni si trova fatta menzione nel se- [17r]

lib. XI. car. 135.. R. a. guente sonetto di Dante a Guido Cavalcanti:

140

Guido vorrei, che tu, e Lappo, ed io
Fossimo presi per incantamento,
E messi in un vassel, ch'ad ogni vento
Per mare andasse a voler vostro, e mio
Si che fortuna, od altro tempo rio
Non ci potesse dare impedimento,
Anzi vivendo sempre in noi talento
Di stare insieme crescesse 'l desio
E monna Vanna, e monna Bice poi,
Con quella su il numer dele trenta
Con noi ponesse il buono incantatore;
E quivi ragionar sempre d'amore,
E ciascuna di lor fosse contenta
Si come io credo, che sariamo noi.

145

150

“Quella su il numer dele trenta” era senza dubbio la donna di Lappo terzo compagno perché molto bene s'intendevano fra loro, et si ha da riferire a quello, che racconta Dante medesimo nel libretto della sua *Vita nuova*, dove scrive così:

155

137 di Dante] **Min** *added later above*

149 quivi] **Min** ¹qui ²→ **T**

153 perché] **Min** e et] **Min** ¹et ²il che ³**T**

154 nel] **Min** *originally cont.* predetto

Dico che in questo tempo, che questa donna era schermo di tanto amore quanto dalla mia parte, mi venne una volonta di voler ricordare lo nome di quella gentilissima, et accompagnarlo di molti nomi di donne, et specialmente del nome di questa gentildonna, et presi gli nomi di sessanta le piu belle donne della citta, ove la mia donna fu posta dall'altissimo sire, et composi una pistola sotto forma di serventese, la quale io non scrivero, et non havrei fatto mentione, se non per dir quello, che componendola maravigliosamente avvenne, cio e che in alcun altro numero non sofferse il nome della mia donna stare, se non in sul nono tra nomi di queste donne.

160

165

Sul numero adunque del trenta doveva esser caduta l'amica di Lappo sì come Beatrice sul numero del nove, et chi potesse vedere la sopradetta pistola si farebbe chiaro del suo nome.

[17v] 5. Ma che diremo dell'amoroso messer Cino? quello certamente, che ne disse Dante suo amico, cioè: "Che pigliar si lasciava ad ogni uncino". Alla qual cosa risponde Cino medesimo con un sonetto stampato fralle *Rime antiche*:

170

lib. XI. car. 135.

Poich'io fui Dante dal natal mio sito
Per greve esilio fatto pellegrino,
E lontanato dal piacer piu fino,
Che mai formasse il piacere infinito.

175

157 dalla mia parte] **Min** a me

172 un] **Min** il

Pel qual sonetto, et per la canzone che comincia:

La dolce vista e'l bel guardo soave.

180

Si vede chiaramente ch'egli hebbe il suo amore nella sua patria in Pistoia, che fu Selvaggia secondo la commune opinione, et secondo monsignor Bembo che disse nelle stanze:

Questa fe Cino poi lodar Selvaggia.

185

La quale opinione può esser nata da i versi del Petrarca nel 4° capitolo del *Trionfo d'Amore*, che sono:

Ecco Dante, e Beatrice, ecco Selvaggia

Ecco Cin da Pistoï, Guitton d'Arezzo.

190

Quasi che'l Petrarca volesse così accoppiare insieme Cino, et Selvaggia, come haveva accoppiati Dante, e Beatrice; al che non osando io di contradire per riverenza di coloro, che hanno portata e portano questa opinione, dirò solamente, che'l dubitare di ciascuna cosa non è senza utilità, e tanto maggiormente, che di Selvaggia trovo essersi fatta mentione da' provenzali come di donna d'altro loco, che di Pistoia, et di tempo alquanto sopra l'età di Cino, come in una canzone di Amerigo de belenoi che comincia:

195

Tant es damor onratz sos segnoratges

181 che] **Min** e l'intendimento suo si

190 hanno portata e] **Min** added later in margin

Que noi cap negus malvatz usatges.

ove dice:⁹

Si Salvaia es tan pros daura mala

Com Nalbertz ditz.

200

[18r] E più basso mostra, che havesse sorella, et che fossero figliuole
d'un signor Corrado dicendo:

E si iamais vei lei ni sa seror

E non len fan tornar en unescala

No son fillas den Corrat lo seignor.

205

Della quale parla similmente uno Ugo di sansir dicendo:

Na Salvaga daitan siatz certaina

Que lonramens de vos me fai plazer

Lombardia e la Marcha e Toscaina.

Lanfranc Cigala parla di Salvaia nel libro slegato car. 86..

210

Peire Raimon de Tolosa nomina Corrado Malaspina, et Aura Mala.

Mich. car. 50.

Albertet de Sestaro. Lib. asc. car. 90..¹⁰

I quali precedenti esempi io ho voluto addurre in questo loco, perciò

⁹This sentence is on the same line as 'que noi cap etc.' and was perhaps added later.

¹⁰These lines ('Lanfranc ... 90..'), written in the top margin and recalled by a + sign in the main text, are probably a reminder for a future expansion

215

che non mi ricorda di havere mai letto né presso a Cino, né appresso
alcuno altro de' nostri fuorché nel Petrarca il nome di Selvaggia,
onde se ne possa havere contezza maggiore di quella, che se ne può
havere per gli soprallegati versi.

220

6. Notissimo, e cantatissimo sopra tutti¹¹ è stato l'amore di Mes-
ser Francesco Petrarca con madonna Laura, della quale tante rime
scrisse così in vita, come in morte, che pare meraviglia, come nes-
suno potesse mai dubitare di questo suo amore; et nondimeno Iacopo
della Colonna suo singularissimo signore, et amico voleva che l'a-
mor suo di Laura fosse una fintione, per haver materia di poetare,
intendendo il nome di Laura per la laurea poetica, alla quale aspira-

225

car 220.. 1.

va con ogni studio, sì come suonano le parole del Petrarca medesimo
scritte nella XX^a pistola del secondo libro delle *Cose famigliari* là
ove dice:

230

Quid ergo ais? finxisse me mihi speciosum Laureae nomen,
ut esset et de qua ego loquerer, et propter quam de me multi
loquerentur; rem autem veram in animo meo Lauream ni-
hil esse, nisi illam poeticam; ad quam aspirare me longum,
et indefessum studium testatur, de hac autem spirante Lau-
rea, cuius forma captus videor, manu facta esse omnia, ficta
carmina, simulata suspiria.

235

217 onde ... havere] **Min** né darne

¹¹ Barbieri leaves more space between Cino and Petrarch than he normally does between different authors. This is perhaps intentionally placed to represent the special place that Petrarch had in the Cinquento canon.

Dalla quale imputatione di fingardia se ne difende per questo modo:

[18v] In hoc uno, vere ut iocareris, simulatio esset utinam, et non furor, sed crede mihi, nemo sine magno labore diu simulat, laborare autem gratis, ut insanus videaris, insania summa est; Adde quod aegritudinem gestibus imitari bene valentes possumus, verum pallorem simulare non possumus, tibi pallor, tibi labor meus notus est.

240

Per la testimonianza delle quali sopradette parole dovendosi ripetere vero, e non finto l'amore del Petrarca, potrà ciascuno per sé medesimo vederne gli avvenimenti notati qua, e là per le sue rime, che gli fece scrivere Amore.

245

Filocopo car. 4.. et 199.. 7. Il Boccaccio più di ogni altro fu palesatore del suo amore, parlandone in versi, et in prosa più apertamente, che non si sarebbe convenuto alla conservatione dell'honore della donna amata, la quale era di schiatta reale, figliuola naturale del re Roberto terzo re di Napoli della casa Angioina, il cui nome proprio era Maria, ma fu dal Boccaccio nominata per nome di Fiammetta ne i suoi libri; molti de' quali egli compose per l'amore di lei.

250

236 Dalla] **Min** Contra la

241 aegritudinem] **Min** ¹aegretudinem ²→ **T**

254 lei] **Min** *originally cont.* , come il *Filocopo* dell'amore di Florio, e di Bianco Fiore, *L'Amorosa Visione*, il *Filostrato* dello amore di Troilo, e di Griseida, *La Teseide*, et la *Fiammetta*, et forse qualche altre operette, che dovettero perire nello incendio, che fece delle sue cose volgari ^a, come testimonia il Petrarca nella pistola seconda del quinto libro delle *Senili* [< car. 332..] scrivendo al Boccaccio medesimo:

Ait enim te prima aetate hoc vulgari stilo unice delectatum plurimum in eo curae, ac temporis posuisse,

255

8. Fatio degli Uberti contemporaneo de i pre detti due poeti amò [19r]
madonna Rosa de' Malaspini moglie del conte Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino, sì come egli tocca nel suo *Mappamundi* al cap.

car. 40. 31. LXII. dicendo:

260

Seguendo a di a di il mio camino
Ascoli vidi, Fermo, e Recanata,
Ancona, Fano, Arimino, et Urbino.
Ne l'ultima citta, ch'e qui nomata,
Trovai quel vago sol, trovai la Rosa,
Che sopra l'un di Malaspini e nata.

265

Or s'alcuna favilla in te riposa
D'amor lettore pensa qual divenni,
Che la mia mano qui notar no l'osa.

Al qual suo amore accennando egli in una canzone, che comincia:

270

O voi, che havete gli animi disposti
Ad ascoltar delle cose d'amore,

donec quaerendi, legendiq(ue) ordine, in mea eius generis vulgaria, et iuvenilia incidisses; tum vero tuum illum scribendi impetum refixisse; nec fuisse satis in posterum a similibus stilum abstinere, nisi iam editis odium indixisses, incensisq(ue) omnibus non mutandi animo, sed delendi teq(ue) simul, et posteros tuorum huius generis fructu operum spoliasses, non aliam ob causam. q(uam) quòd illa nostris imparia iudicasses.

^{b al}Et ^{b1}Laquale mori inanzi a lui, come appare in un suo sonetto a Dante già morto:
"Dante se tu nel'amorosa spera?" [◁ Nel lib. *Rime di diversi autori* car. 4..]

267 no] **Min** non

163. Udite come il core
Tolto mi fu, onde piu non fu mio.

Disse così nell'ultima stanza chiudendo la canzone:

Canzon creata al'ombra d'una Spina 275

Dolce d'amor, che agli occhi m'e si vaga,

Quando il cor piu appaga.

Io piu la priego, e chieggio, che mi uccida.

La strada tua e longa, e pellegrina,

Ma non temer, chel buon cor non si smaga, 280

E di questo mi appaga,

Fugge ciascuno, in cui viltà s'annida;

E sel camin ti guida

In parte, u sia alcun di nostra setta,

Fa che sental piacer del tuo bel viso, 285

Poi come t'e diviso,

Te n'anderai o cara mia diletta

Dove le tue sorelle troverai

Appie del piu bel viso, che fu mai

[19v] E questo fin qui sia detto a dimostrare, quanto profittassero in 290
quei tempi le rime per cagione degli amori delle donne, che agguzzarono gli ingegni degli amanti a far sentire cantando le lodi loro, et le amorse sue passioni.

274 stanza] **Min** added later above

292 lodi] **Min** di...

Chapter VII

1. Hora si ha da dire del giovamento, che fecero alla vulgar poesia i favori degli huomini grandi; ma perciò che lungo sarebbe a dire di tutti quei, che posero a questo fatto mano aiutatrice, solamente si toccherà di alcuni, che si trovano per scrittura haver posto più particolar studio a beneficio di quest'arte del dir per rima.

2. Nel qual soggetto è da sapere quello, che faceva fare in sua corte il conte Raimondo di Provenza raccontato dal Maestro delle *Ciento novelle antike* con le sottoscritte parole:

I Cavalieri, e donzelli ke erano giulivi e gai si facciano di belle canzoni el suono el motto e quattro approvatori erano stabiliti ke quelle ke aveano valore facciano mettere in conto. Ellaltre a killavea fatte dicciano kelle migliorasse.

3. Fu già stagione, come testimonia Dante nel primo libro della *Vulgare eloquenza*, che tutto quello, che si componeva per gli hu-

3 aiutatrice] **Min** ¹adiutrice ²→ **T**

4 più] **Min** *added later above*

12 migliorasse.] **Min** *originally cont.* È da sapere ancora quello, che racconta Benvenuto da Imola nella esposizione del XXVI canto del *Purgatorio* di Dante parlando di Arnaldo Daniello, dove dice:

[< car. 120] Hic dum senuisset in paupertate fecit cantilenam pulcherrimam, quam misit per nuntium suum ad regem Franciae, et Angliae, et ad alios principes occidentis rogans ut quemadmodum ipse cum persona iuverat eos delectatione, ita ipsi cum fortuna sua iuvent eum utilitate, cum autem nuntius reportasset multam pecuniam dixit Arnaldus nunc video quod deus non vult me derelinquere, et continuo sumpto habitu monastico parcissimae vitae semper fuit.

mini italiani in rima, si chiamava siciliano, perciocché prima usciva
nelle corti de i re di Cicilia, che furono prima normandi, poi di Soa-
via della casa di Stoffen descendenti di Federico Barbarossa. Della
...nu car. 81.. 28 prima schiatta uscì quelli, che fu sornomato il “bon re” Guilielmo, il
qual soprano¹² si dava per gli antichi solamente a i prencipi beni-
gni, humani, cortesi, liberali, et amici de’ buoni, et virtuosi huomini,
come s’altri dicesse, per cagion di esempio, il “bon duca” Borso d’E-
ste primo duca di Ferrara, al modo, che disse Dante nel canto XXII
dello *Inferno*: 15

Poi fui famiglia del Bon Re Tebaldo.

et nel canto XVI del *Purgatorio*: 20

Currado da Palazzo, el Bon Gherardo.

Ma ritornando sul primo proposito, dico che di questo bon re
Guilielmo Normando si trova scritto nel commento di Francesco
da Buti sopra il XX canto del *Purgatorio* di Dante, come segue
appresso: 30

car. 316. Questo Re Guilielmo fue uno homo iusto, et ragionevole, et
amava li suoi sudditi di diltione regale, la quale fa differen-
za dalla iniqua volonta tirannica, et teneali in tanto trastullo,

15 perciocché] **Min** ¹perciò ²→ **T**

22–25 Nel ... et] **Min** *added later in margin*

31 homo] **Min** ¹huomo ²→ **T**

¹²The word is underlined, possibly hinting at an intention to replace it.

35

pace, et diletto, che si potea stimare un Paradiso terrestre;
costui era liberalissimo, non era cavaliere, ne d'altra condi-
tione homo, che fosse in sua corte, o che passasse per quella
contrada, che da lui non fosse provveduto, et era lo dono pro-
portionato a sua vertude; Ben tenea elli questa regola entro li

40

homini di corte, che selli veniva uno cattivo o mal parlante
homo di corte in sua corte, incontanente era conosciuto per
quelli, che sopra cio erano posti, et incontanente li era donato
roba, et altri doni, perche havesse cagione di partirsi; se erano
tanto conoscenti si si partivano, se non, cortesemente li era
dato commiato. Et s'elli veniva uno virtudioso, et curiale, a

45

questo era similmente donato, ma continuo lo teneano | in
speranza di maggior dono, et con cotali genti erano si legati,
che raro si partiano. Per la quale regola in essa corte si tro-
vava d'ogni perfettione gente; quivi erano li buoni dicitori in
rima d'ogni conditione, quivi erano li excellentissimi canta-
tori, quivi erano persone d'ogni solazzo, che si puo pensare,
vertudioso, et honesto; in questa corte era tanta pace, santa
tranquillita, chelli habitanti, et sudditi notavano in allegrezza.

[20v]

50

4. Di quei di Soavia non fa bisogno dire altro per argomentare,

Gio. Vill. car. 54.. 44

che portassero favore alle rime, se non che di loro medesimi si leg-
gono ancor hoggidi in istampa canzoni da non sprezzare secondo la

55

36 homo] **Min**¹huomo² → **T**

52 et] **Min** *originally cont.* altri

54 medesimi] **Min** *originally cont.* si

55 ancor] **Min** *added later above*

maniera di quei tempi.

5. Ma dalla prenarrata regola del bon re Guilielmo non fu guari
differente lo stilo tenuto da i marchesi d'Este in Ferrara nel ricevere,
e nello accarezzare gli huomini di corte per avanzamento della cosa
delle rime, come si trova scritto incidentalmente in una prosa di lin-
gua provenzale posta dinanzi ad un libretto di stanze scelte, ch'essi
chiamano *Coblas triadas*; la quale io porrò qui sotto nel suo proprio
linguaggio del modo appunto, che la vi ho trovata, et dice così:

60

Maistre Ferari fo da Feirara e fo giullar et intendez meill de
trobar proensal che negus om che fos mai en Lombardia e
meill entendet la lenga proensal e sap molt be letras e scri-
vet meil chom del mond e feis de molt bos libres e de beill.
cortes om fo dela persona e bons om fo a Deo e volontera
servit as baros e as chavalers, e tostemps stet en la casa dest
e qan venia qe li Marches feanon festa e cort e li giullar li
venian che sentendean dela lenga proensal anavan tuit ab lui
e clamavan lor maistre e salcus lin venia che sentendes meil
che i altri e che | fes questios de son trobar o dautrui e mai-

65

70

[21r]

56 tempi] **Min** *originally cont.* , come di Federigo II.

Poi che ti piace amore

Che eo deggio trovare.[< *Rim. an. car. 116.*]

Et del re Enzo suo figliuolo, che disse:

S'eo trovasse pietanza[< *car. 115.*]

57 fu] **Min** è guari] **Min** ¹guiri? ²→**T**

59 accarezzare] **Min** cimentare

75

stre Ferari li respondea ades. Siche li era per un canpio en
la cort del Marches dest. Mas non fes mais che dos cancos e
una retruensa mais serventes e cobles fes el asai delas meilor
del mon e fe un estrat de tutas las cancos dels bos trobadors
del mon e de chadaunas canzos o serventes tras unas coblas o
deus, o tres.¹³ aqelas che portan lasentenzas delas canzos co

80

son tut li mot triat et aqest estrat escrit isi denan et en aqest
estrat num vol meter nullas delassoas coblas. mais qel de cui
es lo libre lin fi scriure per che fos recordament de lui. e mai-
stre Ferari qand elera zoven sentendet en una dona chac nom
madona Turcla e perachela dona fe el de molt bonas causas.

85

E qan ven chel fo veil pauc anava atorn mais chel anava a
Trevis a meser Giraut da Chamin et a sos filz et illi fasian
grand honor el vesian voluntera e molt laquilian ben e li do-
navan voluntera per la bontat de lui e per lamor del Marches
dest.

90

Per la quale particolare affettione e cura all'accrescimento di
questa arte montarono le rime in pregio, et i fautori di quelle si gua-
dagnarono l'amore degli scrittori, che volentieri pigliavano occa-
sione di dirne tutto 'l bene, che poteano, come fa Dante dell'uno
dei marchesi nel secondo libro della *Volgare eloquenza* dicendo nel

84 e perachela] **Min** e per aqela

92 volentieri] **Min** ad ogni proposito

93 di] **Min** *added later above* fa] **Min** dice 93–94 dell'uno dei marchesi]

Min ¹del marchese ²→ **T**

¹³Each numeral is underlined and accompanied respectively by 'I', 'II', and 'III'.

car. 18. Eccì ancora il saporito e venusto, il quale, e di alcuni, che
 così disopra via pigliano la Retorica come e_
 La lodevole discretione del Marchese d'este, e la sua prepa-
 rata Magnificentia fa esso a tutti esser diletto.

Per gli tre precedenti capitoli habbiamo, credo, a bastanza di-
 mostrate le cagioni del nascimento, et dello augumento della poesia
 volgare; onde tempo è di passare avanti a dire delle altre cose, che
 richiede l'ordine del presente trattato.

100

Chapter VIII

[21v] 1. Havendo le rime, come s'è detto, fermata nel parlar volgare
 la sua propria habitatione, et per tanto servendo egli come di mate-
 ria alla formatione de' versi rimati, non sarà, se non bene il farne
 tal discorso, che servirà principalmente al particolare della nostra
 intentione, i quali non ad ogni volgare, ma solamente ad alcuni, et
 specialmente al nostro intendiamo di adattare questi insegnamenti
 dell'arte del rimare. Nella qual cosa si conviene sapere, che lingua

5

95 locutioni] **Min** ¹locationi? ²→ **T**

96 e] **Min** *added later above*

102 delle] **Min** ¹le ²→ **T**

1 parlar volgare] **Min** volgare

2 per tanto] **Min** *added later above*

4 principalmente al particolare] **Min** non solo pel generale, ma per lo particolare
 ancora

5 solamente ad alcuni, et] **Min** *added later in margin*

6 al] **Min** il

7 lingua] **Min** *added later above*

10

volgare si può doppiamente considerare, ciò è strettamente, e largamente; strettamente solo s'intende la propria favella del loco natio di ciascuno, come il volgare modonese, largamente la favella intelligibile a più città, come l'italiano, et può essere a più nationi, come lo schiavone. Della prima sorte sono tanti i volgari che non se ne può dar numero certo; della seconda sono molti; però lasciando del tutto gli infiniti da parte de' quali non è scienza, de i molti ancora scieglieremo quei soli, che si trova per scrittura essere stati anticamente ricettacolo delle rime, et questi così scelti ridurremo sotto tre schiere distinte l'una dall'altra con questa insegna, che nella prima schiera staranno tutti quei, che nello affermare cheché sia costumano di dire "oil", nella seconda quei, che dicono "oc", nella terza quei, che dicono "si". Secondo la quale tripartita divisione disse Dante nel canto XXXIII dell'*Inferno* a disegnare Italia:

15

20

Ai Pisa vituperio de le genti

Del bel paese la, dove'l Sì sona.

9 propia] **Min** ¹propria ²→ **T**

10 il] **Min** *added later*

12-13 sono ... certo;] **Min** i volgari sono infiniti, de' quali non è scienza 12
che] **Min** *originally cont.* di tutti

14 de' quali non è scienza] **Min** *added later in margin*

15 si] ¹si ²io ³**T** trova] **Min** ¹trovo ²→ **T**

16 rime] **Min** *originally cont.* e sono fra sé quasi fratelli da una medesima origine né del tutto simili, né totalmente dissimili

20 Secondo] **Min** con disse Dante] **Min** ^acomprese ^bdisegnò Dante in generale le tre lingue, la francesca, la provenzale, et l'italiana così nel *Convito*, come nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza*, et disse ancora [^a car. XI..14. | lib. p.^o cap. 8^o. | car. 6.30. et | cap. 9. car. 6..]

2. Della maggioranza de i quali tre volgari simili con alcuna
dissimiglianza non hebbe il medesimo Dante ardimento di dar giu-
dicio se non timidamente nel primo libro della *Volgare eloquenza*
dicendone queste parole:

25

car. 8. Veramente ciascuna di queste tre parti, con largo testimonio
[22r] | si difende; La lingua di OI allega per se che per lo suo piu
facile, e piu dilettevole volgare tutto quello, ch'e stato tra-
dotto, overo ritrovato in prosa volgare e suo, cioe la Bibbia,
i fatti de i troiani, e de i Romani, le bellissime favole del Re
Artu, e molte altre historie e dottrine. L'altra poi argomen-
ta per se, cioe la lingua d'oc, e dice, che i Volgari eloquenti
scrissero i primi poemi in essa, si come in lingua piu per-
fetta, e piu dolce, come fu Piero di Alvernia, et altri molto
antiqui Dottori. La terza poi ch'e degli Italiani, afferma per
dui privilegi esser superiore, il primo e, che quelli, che piu
dolcemente, e piu sottilmente hanno scritti poemi, sono stati
suoi domestici, e famigliari, cioe Cino da Pistoia, e lo amico
suo; Il secondo e, che pare, che piu si accostino alla gram-
matica, la quale e commune, e questo a coloro, che vogliono
con ragione considerare, par gravissimo argomento.

30

35

40

24 tre] **Min** *deleted and rewritten above* 24–25 simili ... dissimiglianza] **Min**
added later above and with a different pen

25 il medesimo] **Min** esso

26 primo] **Min** *added later in margin*

35–36 piu perfetta] **Min** *effaced then rewritten*

45

3. Per le quali preminenze disopra alligate solevano gli antichi nostri volgaristi dilettarsi di havere cognitione di questi volgari d'oc et di oil non meno che del suo proprio, come ne appaiono segnali in Dante, che nel canto XXVI del *Purgatorio* ci lasciò scritti alquanti versi in provenzale dicendo

50

Tan mabellis vostre cortes deman.
Quezieu non puese ni vueill a vos cobrir col resto, che segue

Et nella canzone delle tre lingue.

Rim. ant. car. 25..

Ahi faulx ris porque trai aves
oculos meos?

55

Et appresso il Petrarca nella canzone

Lasso me, ch'i non so in qual parte pieghi

Dove egli cita quel principio d'una canzone provenzale:

Dreiz e raison es quieu chant, em demori.

46 non meno che] **Min** così bene, come

47 ci lasciò scritti alquanti] **Min**¹ fa dire molti ² compone

48 in provenzale] **Min**¹ in provenzale ² provenzali ³ → **T** dicendo] **Min**^a da

^b ad ^c in persona di Arnaldo Daniello

50–51 Quezieu ... segue] **Min** added later in margin

52 lingue] **Min** originally cont. , la quale comincia

58 es] **Min** added later above

[22v] Et più largamente ancora nel *Mappamundi* di Fatio degli | Uberti
quando nel cap. C.º scrive più versi in lingua francesca dicendo:

60

car. 66.. Dieus vos sault fu il primo suo dire
E vous soies, fis ie, le bien venus
Vago di domandare, e lui udire.

car. 69.. E così in lingua provenzale nel cap. CIIII.

Noi troviamo u romeo andando, il quale
Io salutai ne la nostra favella,
Ed e rispose a me in provenzale.
Amic, fiz ieu, sabes de ren novella.
OC, respont il, ara la guerre fort
An lo Rei dAragons e de Castella.

65

70

Anzi tanto se ne dilettarono alcuni, che ne lasciarono il proprio
linguaggio, come fece Ser Brunetto fiorentino, maestro di Dante,
componendo il suo *Tesoro* nella parlatura francesca; et come fecero
Sordello mantovano, Alberto marchese Malaspina, Folchetto det-
to di Marsiglia, Lanfranco Cicala, et molti altri, che essendo italia-

75

68 de ren] **Min** vos dir

72 fiorentino,] **Min** *originally cont.* et

73 componendo] **Min** che scrisse parlatura francesca] **Min** ¹francesca par-
latura ²→ **T**

75 di] **Min** *the i seems to have been effaced*

ni poetarono in provenzale, secondo che si vede ancora per le loro composizioni.

4. Per lo esempio, et autorità de i quali essendomi io per gli tempi passati dilettato di leggere, et d'intendere, per quanto ho potuto, gli scrittori franceschi, et provenzali hora ancora nel trattare delle rime ho voluto parlarne non pur come huomo d'Italia, ma etiandio come francesco e come provenzale, raccogliendo, osservando et adducendo ragioni, et esempi là ove mi è parso, che si sia si convenuto farlo, per maggior chiarezza dell'arte, che cerchiamo, del rimare nel nostro volgare di lingua di sì. | Sopra la proprietà, e denominatione del [23r]

80

85

76 loro] **Min** *added later above*

78–79 essendomi ... dilettato] **Min** , ancor io ^aet ^bper gli tempi passati mi sono dilettato

80 hora ancora] **Min** ¹et hora ²→ **T**

82 come] **Min** *added later above*

83 sì] **Min** *added later in margin*

84 per maggior chiarezza] **Min** ^{1a}per ^bsolamente per ^cper maggior chiarezza ^{2a}Non ^bNon già per intentione di ^ainsegnare ^bammaestrare altrui a dir per rima in questi volgari [italia]ni [*unreadable erased word*], ma solamente per maggior chiarezza ³→ **T** 84–85 nostro ... sì] ¹volgare d'Italia ²nostro volgare 'nostro' *was effaced and then rewritten*

85–94 Sopra ... decisione] ¹, a cui principalmente ^aintendo ^bs'intende d'applicarla nel presente trattato. ²Ma perciocché non mi è ignota la lite della proprietà di questo volgare longamente agitata fra i moderni toscani dall'una parte, et gli altri huomini d'Italia dall'altra, io per non fare in ciò pregiudicio [23r] ad alcuno, dico, et dichiaro che'l volgare, nel quale intendo che habbiano da sonare le nostre rime, si è quello, che risuona nelle composizioni de i buoni, et approvati scrittori, da' quali lo prenderemo per nostro uso, chiamandolo per hora "volgare delle scritture", poscia che fin qui pende la lite con qual nome si debba chiamare, la quale quando sarà terminata, et decisa, allhora si potrà poi nominarlo "toscano", o "fiorentino", o "lombardo", o con altro nome conveniente alla decisione.

qual volgare pendendo lite fra toscani, e lombardi, io non volendo in ciò far pregiudicio ad alcuno fin ad hora dico, et dichiaro, che'l volgare, nel quale intendo, che habbiano da sonare le nostre rime si è quello, che hanno usato i buoni, et approvati scrittori d'Italia, da i quali lo prenderemo per nostro uso, chiamandolo tratanto con Dante volgare "nobile, et illustre", poscia che fin qui ne pende lite con qual nome si debba chiamare, la quale se mai sarà terminata, e decisa, allhora si potra poi nominarlo "toscano", et ancora "fiorentino", come vogliono alcuni, o con altro nome conveniente alla decisione.

90

Chapter IX

[23v] 1. Io non per altra cagione ho detto nel precedente capitolo di volere solamente havere in consideratione in questo trattato i linguaggi d'"oil", d'"oc", e di "si", se non perché gli trovo essere stati anticamente nobilitati sopra gli altri per compositioni di buoni, e valenti scrittori; la memoria de' quali merita veramente di essere rinovellata là dove si tratti dell'arte del rimare, acciò che nel conoscer le rime si conoscano ancora insieme i rimatori, che le annobilirono: onde per gli seguenti capitoli di questo primo libro io ne porrò brevemente un catalogo non di tutti, ma de i più nobili per quanto n'ho potuto ritrarre dalle memorie antiche et moderne.

5

2. Nel qual conto a buona ragione si deono mettere avanti i franceschi, come quelli, che furono i primi, che osarono servirsi della

10

90 con Dante] **Min** added later above

1 ho detto] **Min** mi è parso di dire

2 linguaggi] **Min** volgari

3 d'"oil"] **Min**¹ di "oil"² → **T**

4 sopra gli altri] **Min** added later above

9 per quanto] **Min** secondo

Bocc. *Amor. Vis.* loro loquela volgarmente scrivendo molte cose, et specialmente tro-
vando le belle favole, che quasi una ombra d'istoria¹⁴ dir si pos-
15 sono, del nobile re Artù, et degli erranti cavallieri della sua tavola
Annali di Fr. car. 51.. rotonda; La quale preminenza per altro non gli avvenne, se non che
havendo Carlo Magno portato per suo valore in Francia lo 'mpe-
Petr. nelle op. lat. car. 276.. 8. rio, vi portò¹⁵ ancora lo studio delle lettere, istituendo l'università
20 di Parigi a' conforti di Alcuino¹⁶ suo maestro; onde appresso quei
valenti huomini per propria gloria, et a beneficio di chi latino non
sapea prima scrissero in prosa suoi libri volgari, i quali chiamarono
"romanzi", de' quali intese Dante quando disse nel XXVI canto del
Purgatorio:

Versi d'amore, e prose di Romanzi

25 Soverchio tutti.

3. Ma lasciando le prose da parte, per venire agli scrittori de'
versi, credo di poter dire con verità che in Francia sia stato il nu-
mero de' poeti molto minore anticamente, che a' tempi nostri, et
de' nostri padri, o che almeno di tanti non se ne possa ritrovare me-
30 moria, perciocché da cento anni poco più, o poco meno in qua sono

16 rotonda] **Min**¹ritonda²→ **T**

21 prima] **Min** *added later above* in prosa] **Min** *added later above*

volgari] **Min**¹in volgare²→ **T**

22 "romanzi"] **Min** *originally cont.* per le ragioni, che si diranno al suo loco

intese Dante quando disse] **Min**¹Dante fa mentione²→ **T**

30 perciocché] **Min** veramente

¹⁴Underlined.

¹⁵Underlined (the line extends to the second letter of 'ancora').

¹⁶Underlined from *di* to the third letter of *Alcuino*.

dall'arte poetica francese	sorti dal fonte della poesia francesca Maistre Alain Chartier, Mai-	[24r]
et <i>Quintil oratian.</i>	stre Arnoul Greban, Cristina con Castel suo figliuolo, Maistre Pierre Hurion, Georges de Haynault, Guillaume Alexis, le Moine delyre, Messire Nicole, oreme, Ian Marion Mâcaut, Ian le Maire, Villon, Meschinot, Moulinet, Cretin, Margarita regina di Navarra, sorella	<u>35</u>
Dalle opere di C. M.	del bon re Francesco; Ian Marot col figliuolo, Saint Gelais, Sceve, Salel, Heroët, Peletier, Pierre Ronsard, Caron, Francois Habert, La	
Dal libro di M. ^{ro} Alano.	Perriere, Coquillart, Le Conte d'Altinois, Iodelle, Bellay, Sibillet, Octavian de Cognac, Papillon, Villas, Boissonné, Messire Charles Fontaine, Sagon, Thenot, Chappui, La Hueterie, Rabelais, Brodeau, et molti altri; de' quali tutti volendosi narrare le qualità, et le opere di ciascuno in particolare si potrebbe fare la historia longa, se io non havessi determinato tralasciare di ciascheduna gente i più moderni, de' quali ancora è fresca la memoria, et dire solamente degli antichi quel tanto, che haverò creduto essere degno di memoria.	<u>40</u>
	4. Fra i quali il primo, che mi occorre, si è Roberto figliuolo di Ugo Ciappetta, coronato re di Francia negli anni di nostra salute 990, persona dotta, et buon rimatore in latino secondo la costuma di quei tempi, che fu quelli, che disse dello Spirito Santo:	<u>45</u>
	Veni sancte spiritus	<u>50</u>
<i>Rat. divin. off.</i> car. 38.	Et emitte celitus	
	35–36 Margarita ... Francesco;] Min <i>this section is between pencilled square brackets written with a pencil, perhaps hinting at an intention to remove it</i> 35	
	regina] Min <i>cont. vecchia</i>	
	37 Pierre] Min <i>added later above</i>	
	42 in particolare] Min <i>added later above</i>	
	43 ciascheduna gente] Min ¹ ciascuno linguaggio ² → T	
	45 degno di memoria] Min ignoto a molti	

Lucis tuae radium.

Et di cui si conta, che pregato da Costanza sua moglie a volere
Ann. di Fran. car. 77.. dire di lei alcuna cosa in rima fece di San Dionigi et de i compagni
55 Rustico, et Eleuterio la lode, che comincia:

O Constantia martirum laudabilis.

Onde la donna, che latino non sapea, si rimase lieta, et appagata
credendosi, che di lei l'havesse fatta.¹⁷

60 5. Segue il re di Navarra citato da Dante nel libro della Volgare
Eloquenza in due canzoni l'una delle quali incomincia:

car. 7. De fin amor sovent sen e bonté; l'altra:

car. 18. Redamon que in mon cor repaire.

65 Il qual Re di Navarra non specificato per nome da Dante deb-
biamo | creder che fosse Tebaldo conte di Campagna, e di Bria, che
successe nel reame di Navarra al re don Sancho fratello di Margari-
rita sua madre correndo gli anni 1237 overo Tebaldo suo figliuolo
che successe al padre negli anni 1270, et morì nel 1272, a cui succe-
dette Henrico suo fratello, del quale rimase una sola figliuola detta

car. 120.
*Ann. di Fran. car. 108. et Ann.
di Arag. car. 100.. lib. 3°. cap.
22.*

65–66 Margarita] **Min** *Added later above. Note that this is a conjectural reading based on BC, as the page is too damaged to make out the name*

66 correndo ... 1237] **Min** ¹negli da Cristo nato ^a1237 ^banni 1237 ²correndo gli
di nostra salute anni 1237

68 del quale] **Min** di cui

¹⁷Cf. **Min** IV, 2, line 77.

Giovanna maritata in Filippo re di Francia cognominato¹⁸ “il Bello”,
così resta, che d’uno di questi tre, che furono di nazione francesca,
fossero le due canzoni, et specialmente del primo, o dell’ultimo, po-
sciaché di questi due fa Dante medesimo mentione ancora nella sua
Comedia, come di re valenti, e dotati d’ogni bontà.

Inf. canto. 22. “Famiglia del
buon re Tebaldo”.
Purg. can. 7. “con colui, che si
benigno aspetto”.

70

6. Altre canzoni non ho, che portino seco il nome dell’autore,
ben mi ricorda di haverne vedute alquante scritte in un libro antico
provenzale con titolo sopra di *Cantiones Francigenae*; ma che ne
posso io dire di più, non sene sapendo i nomi degli scrittori?

Cl. M. car. 581. et 582. et

75

7. Però me ne passo a dire dell’Ennio de’ Franceschi cioè di
Guillaume de Loris, il quale essi hanno per padre della loro poesia
volgare; questi dintorno a gli anni di nostra salute 1230 diede prin-
cipio a scrivere in rima, et per modo di visione un suo libro d’amore
intitolandolo.

Mol. 35.. 34.

80

Mol. car. 3. 47.

Cest le Romant dela Rose
Ou tout lart damour est enclose.

8. Il qual libro si rimase imperfetto per la sopravvenuta morte del
suo autore, ma dipoi quaranta anni appresso fu condotto alla sua per-
fettione per un Iehan Clopinel de Meun sur Loire, et hoggidi si legge
in istampa non solo in rima, ma traslatato ancora settanta due anni

Mol. 2..27. et
126.9.

85

69 cognominato] **Min** detto

73 come ... bontà] **Min**¹ come di re ^abenigni ^bvalenti? ^adi ^be di molto valore. ²come
di re valenti, e pieni di bontà ³→ **T**

80 volgare] **Min** *added later above*

¹⁸The right margin is damaged and this has caused the loss of the final ‘o’ of ‘cognominato’.

90

sono di versi in prosa per Moulinet di Haynault, et ridotto allegoricamente d'amor lascivo a senso morale, et honesto; | Et allhora fu [25r]

la fantasia del libro così trovata buona, che molti appresso volendo trattar d'amore indirizzarono le opere loro sotto simili fintioni, et ti-

...sig. car. 134..

toli, come chi fece *Le Chastel de Ioie*; *Le Iardin de Plaisance*, *La fontaine damour*, *L'hospital damour*, et altre operette tali; ma s'egli

Mar. Eq. car. 15..

95

Mol. car. 124.21.

hebbe degli amatori, hebbe ancora de i riprensori, ché Maistre Iehan Ierson maestro in teologia et cancelliere di Parigi nel 1430 a richiesta di certe dame compose contra lui un suo libretto intitolato.

Mar. Eq. car. 12.

App. delle *Cron.*

lib.15. car. 286.

Reprobation du Romant de la Rose. Et Martin Franc già segretario di

Mar. Eq. car. 12. et 13.

papa Felice quarto prima Duca di Savoia nel suo *Campion de dames*

100

libro distinto in cinque parti, et dedicato al duca Filippo di Borgogna

dà grossamente all'arme contra l'autore del romanzo chiamandolo

“villain”, “palliard”, “ribaud”, solamente per havere osato dir male

delle donne in certa parte del libro incidentemente.

9. Un altro Romanzo antico, si ritrova scritto con titolo tale:

90–97 Et allhora ... intitolato.] **Min** Questo libro per la sua maledicentia contra le donne ha così bene havuto de' riprensori, come degli amatori, ché Maistre Iehan Iarson fine Teologo a richiesta di alcune nobili dame compose un libretto intitolato *Reprobation du Romant de la Rose*.

Et Martin ^aFranch ^bFranch già segretario di quelli che si disse papa Felice quarto in un suo libro detto *Campion de Dames*, dedicato a Filippo duca di Borgogna biasima agramente l'autore di tal libro fin con chiamarlo “villain” “palliard”, “ribaud” in gran colera: 90 allhora] **Min** *added later above*

91 buona,] **Min** *originally cont.* da molti

96 maestro in teologia] **Min** ¹teologo eccellente ²→ **T** et cancelliere ... 1430] **Min** *added later above*

97 contra lui] **Min** *added later above*

104 antico] **Min** *cont.* scritto nei tempi, che ancora erano in essere i frieri del tempio

Lusg. car. 135.. *Le Romant dela Chastelaine du Vergi.* 105

Nel quale si conta un compassionevole caso d'amore di due amanti,
i quali si amavano così segretamente, che del loro amore non era
consapevole anima viva, se non un cagniolino gentile ministro dei
loro piaceri, che gli tornarono finalmente in tristi pianti; la quale
historia vien toccata da Fatio degli Uberti nel cap. CIII, dove dice:

110

car. 69. Vidi in Pitui la tomba di que due
Che s'amar tanto, che si puo dir cierto

Che l'una Tisbe, l'altro Piram fue

Dolcie mi fu elloro amor coperto

Quando l'intesi, e l'andar el venire

115

Del cagniol, ch'era tanto accorto, e sperto

Ma poi che gli sospir venni ad udire

Del gran lamento, e la piatosa morte

Che ciascun fecie, qui nol sapre dire

Quanto mi dolse de dui amanti forte.

120

[25v] car. 69.13. **10.** Fa mentione il medesimo Fatio nel preallegato capitolo di un
Ugo di Alvernia, il quale dopo lo havere cercate molte parti del mon-
do finalmente n'andò vivo all'inferno per commandamento di Carlo
Martello, dove vide varii tormenti, et varii tormentati alla maniera
di Dante, secondo che racconta il suo libro, il quale comincia:

125

Lib. di Al. M. Signor Barons Dieus vos soit in garant

108 cagniolino] **Min**¹cagnolino²→ **T** ministro] **Min**¹ministri²→ **T**

110 toccata] **Min**¹tocca²→ **T**

121 un] **Min** added later above

Si vos condue tot a suen sauvamant
Vos vodroie dire chanzon molt avenant
De Karle Martiaus lempereor di Franc.

130

Alla quale novella havendo riguardo Fatio disse.

car. 69. 25. Perch'e mi trasse alhora in Alverno,
Ed io, per amor d'Ugo cio m'agrada,
Che per amor di Carlo andò in Inferno.

car. 62. **11.** Derros, qui son engien essart

135

Mist en vers faire de Renart

Così comincia un libro antico scritto a penna, pel quale appare il prenominato Derros haversi preso spasso di far versi delle astutie della volpe per modo di apologo nominando le bestie per certo nome, come per gratia d'esempio "Nobles" il leone, il lupo "Isengri", il montone "Belin", "Tiber" il gatto, et così gli altri animali con altri nomi. Del qual libro io non ne haverei fatta mentione, se in leggendo le canzoni provenzali non v'havessi trovato spesso cotali nomi et novelle, chenti pone, e racconta l'antedetto romanzo, come in un serventese di Peire Cardenal, dove dice

145

Las amairitz quincolpar las vol

137 astutie] **Min** malitie

138 nome] **Min** *the last letter shows signs of some elaboration*

139 Isengri] **Min** ¹Isengrin ²→ **T**

140 Tiber] **Min** ¹Tibert? ²→ **T**

142 spesso] **Min** *added later above*

Il che sarà fine del presente capitolo, per potere appresso più largamente ricercare i trovatori di Provenza, che al suo tempo ebbero nome di sapere ben dire in rima.

150

Chapter X

[26r] 1. La lingua provenzale antica, non è del tutto francesca, né del tutto spagnuola, ma si bene misturata dell'una, et dell'altra, et con certe sue proprietà, che la fanno essere lingua da per sé, differente dalle altre; la quale anticamente fu di grande honore non solo a' suoi del paese, che ben l'usarono, ma parimente ancora a gli stranieri, che n'ebbero cognitione, come si manifesta per quel loco delle *Ciento* car. 33. *novelle antike* alla novella LXXX, ove si dice così:

5

Messere Migliore Abbati di Firenze si andò in Cicilia al Re Carlo, per impetrar gratia ke sue case non fossero disfatte; Il cavaliere era molto bene costumato, e ben seppe cantare, e seppe il Provenzale oltre misura ben proferere.

10

Ma questa hoggidi si vede essere ignota non che a gli stranieri, ma etiandio a i provenzali medesimi; onde a me si è convenuto apprendere senza maestro quel tanto, che ne so, per forza di rincontri al modo delle ziffere. Et è certo maraviglia come sia potuta così andare in oblivione, havendo havuta tanta copia di buoni scrittori in rima.

15

2. De' quali vogliono che Peire dalvernhe fosse il primo buon

146 Respondon] **Min** ¹Respon ²→ **T** disengri] **Min** ¹disan... ²→ **T**

car. 78.. trovatore, il quali¹⁹ si fu del vescovato di Clarmon avenente huomo della persona, savio, e leterato, et molto accarezzato da signori, et dalle donne di quei tempi; ma questo hebbe egli in se, che volentieri lodava sé medesimo, et gli altri dispregiava. Onde dice dopo lo havere parlato di molti altri men che bene:

20

Peire dalvernhe a tal votz,
Que chanta de sobre e de sotz,
E sei so son dous e plazen,
E pueis es maistre de totz.
Ab cun pauc esclarzis los motz
Capenas nuills hom los enten.

25

Visse al mondo longamente, et nel fine della vita si diede a fare penitenza, nel qual tempo fece una bella canzone della Vergine che comincia:

30

car. 80.

Dompna dels Angels Reina
Esperansa dels crezens
Segon que maondal sens
Chan de vos lenga romana
Car nuills hom iust²⁰ ni pecaire
De vos lauzar nos deu taire
Car sos sens meills lapareilla

[26v]

35

21 dice] **Min** *originally cont.* in un serventese

22 men che bene:] **Min** *added later in empty space below the line*

¹⁹*Sic.*

²⁰A hole on the page has caused the fall of 'u'.

Romans, o lenga latina.

Mich. car. 88.. **3.** Venne appresso Giraut de Borneill di Lemosino latinamente 40
Benv. car. 126. 10. detto “Giraldus Brunellus” da Benvenuto da Imola, poeta di moralità
Volg. el. car. 16. 7. più tosto, che d’amore; il quale hebbe voce di avanzare gli altri tut-
ti; ma tale opinione viene dannata da Dante quando dice nel XXVI
canto del *Purgatorio* in proposito di Arnaldo Daniello:

Versi d’amor e prose di Romanzi 45
Soverchiò tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti,
Che quel di Lemosì credon che avanzi;
A voce piu, che al ver drizzan li volti,
E cosi ferman sua opinione
Prima, ch’arte, o ragion per lor s’ascolti. 50

Benv. car. 126.7. “Quel di Lemosì” s’intende Giraldo, quel medesimo, di cui disse
il Petrarca ne i *Trionfi*:

cap. 4° del *Trionfo d’Amore* E’l vecchio Pier d’Alvernia, con Giraldo.

Mich. car. 32.
Benv. car. 126. 6. **4.** Arnaut Daniel fu del vescovato de Peiregors d’un castello, che 55
ha nome Ribairac al tempo del bon conte Raimondo Berlinghieri di
Provenza, il quale havendo imparato ben lettere prese una maniera
di poetare in care rime, onde tanto viene esaltato dal Petrarca, e da
Dante, che lo preferiscono a tutti gli altri rimatori nel cantar d’amo-

45 amor] **Min** ¹amore? ²→ **T**

57 poetare] **Min** trov...

60

re; ma le sue canzoni non sono niente facili da intendere, et se ne trovano alcune essere state anticamente chiosate di commento latino per maggiore intelligentia; nondimeno è pur vero, che le cose sue sono di buona in|ventione, et ch'egli meritamente si dee stimare fra tutti il primo; di cui sarà bello sapere quello, che ne racconta Benvenuto da Imola sopra il XXVI canto del *Purgatorio* di Dante, dove dice:

[27r]

65

Hic dum senuisset in paupertate fecit Cantilenam pulcherrimam, quam misit per nuntium suum ad Regem Franciae, Angliae, et alios principes occidentis, rogans ut quemadmodum ipse cum persona iuverat eos delectatione, ita ipsi cum fortuna sua iuvarent eum utilitate; cum autem nuncius reportasset multam pecuniam dixit Arnaldus nunc video quod deus non vult me derelinquere, et continuo sumpto habitu monastico parcissimae vitae semper fuit.²¹

70

5. Beltramo dal Bornio, et Arnaldo Daniello furono così amici, che ambedue si chiamavano insieme “Dezirat”, come nota una chiosa sopra la chiusa della sestina di Arnaldo:

75

Arnautz tramet son chantar dongla e doncle
Ab grat de leis, que de sa veria larma,
An Dezirat, cab pretz dins cambra intra.

80

Questi si fu un gentil castellano de Peiregors signore del castello

²¹Cf. VII, 1, 12.

d'Altaforte, huomo valente, e buon guerriero, ma di natura inquieto,
che sempre stette in guerra co' suoi vicini, né mai lasciò stare in
pace il re di Francia col re d'Inghilterra, né il conte de Peitieux con
Novel. ant. car. 9. il conte di Lemotges, né il conte di Peiregors; et etiandio mise alle
mani insieme il re Giovanni con il re Arrigo suo padre d'Inghilterra;
onde a buona ragione fu posto da Dante nel 28 canto dello *Inferno*
fra gli scommettitori facendo a lui dire di sua bocca: 85

E perche su di me novella porti
sappi, ch'io son Beltram dal Bornio, quelli
Che diedi al Re Giovanni i mai conforti. 90
Io feci il padre, e'l figlio in se ribelli.

car. 9. et 20.. Hebbe oltra ciò ardimento di vantarsi, ch'egli havea più senno,
[27v] | che niuno altro, come conta il Maestro delle *Ciento novelle antike*,
et come appare per lo principio di una sua canzone, dove dice:

Lib. asc. car. 157.
D. Volg. el. car: 16. 6. Ar es ben dretz, que vailla mos chantars, 95
E mos bos sens, e mos sotilz trobars.

Et sì come egli fu di spirito altiero, e martiale, così cantò le arme
con alto stile su questa maniera:

Lib. in asc. car. 255.. No puesc mudar cun chantar non esparia
Pueis oc e non ha mes fuec e trach sanc. 100

93 che] **Min** di *on fol. 27r* conta] **Min** added later above

6. Ancora Rigaut de Barbezill fu buon cavallier d'arme, et buon
 rimatore, di cui si conta nelle *Cento novelle antiche* benché sotto al-
 tro nome, che riscaldato d'allegrezza di havere havuto il pregio del
 torneamento si lasciò trarre di bocca il nome di quella, ch'egli ama-
 va per amore, che fin allhora haveva tenuto celato nominandola lei
 nelle sue canzoni "Meills de dompna", et sé stesso "Mais damic".

105

Novella LXIII. car. 26.

Lib. sleg. car. 32.

Onde la donna sdegnata adiratamente l'accommiatò da sé, né poi
 per prieghi di nessuno si volle piegare a fargliene perdono, se non
 con patto, che le facesse gridare mercé a cento baroni, a cento caval-
 lieri, a cento dame, et a cento damigelle, che tutti gridassero a una
 boce "mercé", e non sapessero a cui la si chiedere. Allhora Rigaut
 come huomo di buono ingegno si pensò che si appressava il dì del-
 la Candelara, nel quale si faceva gran festa al Puei di Nostra Dama
 in Provenza, ove sarebbe la sua donna, et tanta buona gente, quan-
 to ella addomandava, che gridassero "mercé", et alhora face in tal
 soggetto una sua canzonetta, la quale io ho voluto qui porre del mo-
 do appunto, che l'ho trovata scritta fralle altre sue canzoni, attento
 massimamente che la stampata nel libro delle predette novelle è così
 guasta, et imperfetta, che non se ne può trarre sentimento alcuno.

110

115

101–103 Ancora... nome,] **Min** ¹Ancora Rigaut de Barbezill fu buon cavallier
 d'arme, et buon rimatore, come si conta nel libretto delle *Cento* ^a*novelle* ^b*novelle*
antiche, benché sotto altro nome, ²**T**

104 trarre] **Min** uscire

105 tenuto] **Min** *added later above* 105–106 nominandola ... amic".] **Min**
added later in margin

112 buono ingegno] **Min** spirito

115 addomandava] **Min** ¹addimandava? ²→ **T**

[28r]	Autressi com lorifans,	<u>120</u>
	Que can chai nos pot levar	
	Troli autre ab lur cridar	
	De lur votz lo levon sus,	
	Et ieu vueill segraquel us,	
	Car mos mesfatz es tan greus e pesans,	<u>125</u>
	Que si la cort del Puei, el ric bobans,	
	El verai pretz dels leials amadors	
	Nom relevon, iamaís non serai sors.	
	Quil denhesson per me clamar merse	
	Lai, on iutiar, ni razo nom val re.	<u>130</u>
	E sieu per los fis amans	
	Non puesc mon ioi recobrar	
	Per tostems lais mon chantar	
	Car de mi noi a ren plus	
	Ans viurai com lo reclus	<u>135</u>
	Sols ses solatz, caitals es mos talans	
	Car ma vida mes enueis, et afans,	
	E gaugz mes dols, e plazers mes dolors.	
	Quieu non soi ges dela maneira dors,	
	Que qui bel bat, nil te vil ses merse	<u>140</u>
	Adoncx engraisa, e meillure, reve.	
	A tot lo mon soi clamans	
	De mi e de trop parlar,	
	E sieu pogues contrafar	
	Fenicx, que non es mas us,	<u>145</u>
	Que sart, e pueis resor sus,	

120 Autressi] **Min** ¹Atressi ²→ **T**

Marserieu, car tant sui malanans
 E mos fols digz mensongiers, e truans
 Resorzera ab sospirs, et ap plors
150 Lai on beutat es, e iois, e valors.
 En que non faill mas un pauc de merse
 Que non hi son aiustat tuit li be.
 Ben sai camors es tan grans
 Que leu mi pot perdonar
155 Sieu failli per sobramar
 Ni renhei com le Magus
 Que ditz quel era Iesus,
 E volc volar al ciel otracuidans,
 E Dieus baiset lergueill e lo sobrans,
160 Mas mos ergueills non es ren mai amors
 Perque merses mi deu faire secors
 Quen maint luec es on razos vens merse
 E luec on razo, ni dreit pro non te.
 Ma chansos mer drogomans
165 Lai, on ieu non aus anar
 Ni ab dreitz hueills esgarar,
 Tant soi forfaitz et aclus,
 Ni ia hom nomen escus
 Meills de dompna, que fugit ai dos ans
170 Ar torn a vos doloros e plorans.
 Aissi col Sers, que cant a fait lonc cors
 Torna murir al bruit dels cassadors,

 149 ap] **Min** pl...

 152 be] **Min** ¹ber? ²→ **T**

Aissi torn ieu dompnen vostra merse,
Mais vos non cal, que damor nous sove.

La quale canzonetta Rigaut salito in loco eminente, onde poteva essere udito da tutti, cantò molto pietosamente allora che la chiesa²² era più piena di gente, onde tutti ad una boce incominciarono a gridare “mercé”, così la donna gli fece il perdono, et lo ricevette nella sua gratia, come era di prima.

175

[29r] 7. Folchetto, ch’a Marsiglia il nome ha dato
Et a Genova tolto, et a l’estremo
Cangiò per miglior patria habito e stato.

180

Così scrisse il Petrarca nel quarto capitolo del *Trionfo d’Amore*; a dechiaratione del qual loco basterà sapere, ch’egli fu figliuolo di un mercatante Genovese detto ser Alfonso, che lo lasciò molto ricco di avere, ma Folchetto lasciando lo esercizio del padre intese in pregio, et in valore, et a praticare per le corti, onde molto fu grato al re Riccardo d’Inghilterra, al conte Ramondo di Tolosa, et al signor di Marsiglia; alla fine infastidito del mondo si rendé frate, et prima fu fatto abbate di una badia, ch’è in Provenza, detta Lo Torondet, dipoi Vescovo di Tolosa, ove finì sua vita; per la quale conversione si trova posto²³ da Dante fra gli spiriti beati nella spera di Venere al nono canto del *Paradiso*. Et perché Monsignor Bembo ne parla nelle sue prose, come di “dolcissimo poeta”, non sarà se non bene

185

190

189 infastidito] **Min** ¹fastidito ²→ **T**

192 spera di] **Min** stella di

²²The right margin is damaged and this has caused the fall of the last two letters of the word.

²³The word is preceded by an open square bracket which is not closed anywhere.

195

gustare una delle sue canzoni a dimostrare che ciò sia vero:

Tan mabelis lamoros pensamens,

Que ses vengutz en mon fin cor asire,

Que noi pot nuills autre pens caber

Ni mais negus nomes dous, ni plazens,

200

Cadoncx viu sas, can mausizol sospire

E fin amors malevia mon martire

Quem promet ioi, mas trop lom dona len,

Cap bel semblan ma trainat loniamen

Ben sai que tot can fauc es dreit niens,

205

Ieu quen puesc als, samor me vol ausire,

Cazessien ma donat tal voler,

Que ia non er vengutz, ni el no vens,

Vengutz si er, quaucis man li consire

Tot soavet, car de leis, cui dezire,

[29v]

210

Non ai secors, ni dautra nolaten,

Ni dautramor no puesc aver talen.

Per so dona nous am saviamens,

Car vos soi fis, et a mon ops traire

E vos tem perdre, e mi non puesc auner

215

Eus cug nozer, e soi a mi nozens,

Perso mon mal nous aus mostrar, ni dire,

Mas a lesgart podetz mon cor devire,

Quieus cug dir, mas eras men repen

E port els hueills vengonha, et ardimen.

214 E vos tem] **Min** Eu cug

216 mon] **Min** *added later above*

Bona dona, sius platz, siatz sufrens 220
 Del be, quieus vueill, quieu soi del mal sufrire,
 E pueis lo mals nom poira dan tener,
 Ans er semblan quel partam engalmens,
 E sa vos platz quen outra part me vire
 Partes de vos la beutat, el dous rire, 225
 El dous parlar, que menfolis mon sen,
 Pueis partir mai de vos mon essien.
 Catotz iorns mes plus belle, plus plazens,
 Person vueill mal als hueills, ab queus remire
 Car no volgra iaus poguesson vezer, 230
 Ca mon dan vezon trop sotilmens,
 Mas dans non mer, car sivals nom nazire
 Ans es mos pros dona, perquieu malbire,
 Si mausizetz, que nous essara gen,
 Car lo mieu dan vostres er eisamen. 235
 Trop vos am mais dona quieu non sai dire,
 E si anc iorn aic dautramor dezire,
 Nomen penet car aus am per un sen
 Car ai proat autrui captenemen
[30r] Ves Nemze vai chansos, qui ques nazire, 240
 Que gaug nauran per lo mieu essien
 Las tres donas, a cui ieu te prezen.

8. Pietro Vidale fu di Tolosa, huomo nato per solazzo delle corti
 de i signori del suo tempo, che trahevano gran piacere del suo can-

230 no] **Min** non

233 es mos] **Min** mes tan perquieu] **Min** ¹perquiau? ²→ **T**

245 tare et delle follie, ch'egli diceva, et faceva; delle quali l'una fu, che
essendo andato oltra mare, di là ne menò una greca, che gli fu data
per moglie in Cipro con fargli a credere ch'era nepote dello impe-
radore di Gostantinopoli, et che per lei doveva di ragione havere lo
250 'mperio; per la qual cosa egli si faceva chiamare "imperadore", et la
moglie "imperadrice", e portava arme, e catedra imperiale, e si mise
a far navigli spendendovi ciò che poteva guadagnare con animo di
andare a conquistare lo imperio. Un'altra se ne conta, che nel tem-
po, ch'egli amava la Loba de Puei Nautier disopra nominata, voleva
per amore di lei essere chiamato "Lupo", per arme portava un lu-
255 po, e continuamente andava vestito di pelle di lupo, onde un giorno
fu per essere dilacerato da cani nella montagna di Cabaretz. Anco-
ra per tristezza della morte del conte Raimondo di Tolosa tagliò le
code e le orecchie de suoi cavalli, et a sé et a' suoi servitori fecesi
radere i capelli della testa, lasciandosi crescere le onghie, e la barba
260 e se ne andò lungamente così dolente a modo d'un pazzo. Le quali
tre novelle serviranno per un saggio delle qualità dell'huomo, di cui
faremo conto che sia detto a bastanza, specialmente havendone già
parlato in uno altro loco più sopra.

265 9. Gauselmo Faidit si fu d'un borgo del vescovato di Lemosino
detto Uzercha, il quale fece al suo tempo di buone canzoni, ma la
peggior voce haveva, per cantarle, che huomo del mondo, et era della

250 e] **Min** ancor

257 tristezza] **Min** l...

260–261 Le quali ... dell'huomo,] **Min** Et doverà bastare questo tanto per un
saggio della qualità dell'huomo

264 Lemosino] **Min** ¹Lemosini ²→ **T**

266–267 della persona] **Min** *originally cont.* huomo

[30v] persona grosso oltra modo, e disadatto, giocatore, e goloso | et hebbe una moglie detta Guilliema Monia non men grossa di lui, la quale si menava dietro per le corti, per le quali se ne andò longamente, che ne egli, ne le sue canzoni non erano gradite, né volute; finalmente fu messo in pregio, et in honore dal marchese Bonifatio di Monferrato, che si compiacque di lui et delle cose sue, et lo fece conoscere alle genti, di cui per ciò fa Gauselmo sovente mentione nelle sue canzoni, come la, dove dice:

270

Mich. car. 17. et 18.

Chanso vai ten tost, e corren
Al pros Marques, de cui es Monferratz,
Dill que greu mes, car lai non soi tornatz.

275

Et in un'altra canzone:

Lib. asc. car. 67.

Chansos vai ten dreit per Mon Elian
En Monferrat, e di mal pro Marques
Quen breu verai lui, el comte de Bles,
Car tut lor fach son de bella semblansa,
E digatz llen leialmen ses duptansa,
Que mos conortz mi reten sai tan gen,
Per quieu estauc quieu nols vei plus soven.

280

285

268 Guilliema] **Min** Guillel...

269 longamente] **Min** più di venti anni

271 Bonifatio] **Min** ¹Bonifacio? ²→ **T**

272 et delle ... sue] **Min** *added later in margin*

273 per ciò] **Min** *added later above*

279 Chansos] **Min** ¹Chasos ²→ **T**

10. Quando il Petrarca disse nel quarto capitolo del *Trionfo d'Amore*:

E'l men famoso Arnaldo

Mich. car. 28.. et 32.

290

È verisimile ch'egli intendesse di Arnaut de Marueill, che fu della medesima contrada che il Daniello, del Vescovato di Peiregors, huomo avenente della persona, tutto che fosse di povera generatione, il quale fece al suo tempo di buone canzoni, et cantava bene, et leggeva bene romanzi; non di meno essendo stati fra' provenzali ancora altri trovatori di questo nome non sarà senza proposito farne ricordo qui sotto brevemente, come di

295

11. Arnaut Plages, di cui fu la canzone, che comincia:

Mich. 17.

Ben es razos quieu retraia
Una chansoneta gaia.

12. Et di Arnaut catalans, che disse per la prima stanza d'una sua canzone: **[31r]**

300

Lib. asc. 127.

Lan can vinc en Lombardia
Una bella donna pros
Me dis per sa cortesia
Maintz bells plazers amoros,
Et aissi rizen iogan

305

299 per] **Min** added later above

Dels bells semblanz, quem fazia,
Ieu cum fols traissim enan
Alques plus, que nom tanhia.

13. Et ancora di Arnaut Tintinhac, il quale in una sua canzone,
che comincia:

310

Lo ioi comens en un bel mes
En la meillor sazo delan.

Disse nella chiusa:

De Tintinhac a la valor
Qui fes lo vers nomenatiu.

315

14. Quando ancora disse “l’uno e l’altro Raimbaldo”, s’ha da intendere senza dubbio per l’uno de i due, Raimbaldo di Vaqueiras, che fu buon compositore, et cantò per Beatrice in Monferrato, et chiamavala nelle sue canzoni “Bel Cavalliere”, come quando dice in una chiusa di una sua canzone.

320

Bel cavalier en vos ai mesperansa,
Car vos es del mon la plus prezans,
E la plus pros nom mi deu esser dans,
Car vos mi des conseil, e fort fermansa.

Il quale Raimbaldo fu figliuolo di un povero cavallier di Provenza del castello di Vaqueiras, et fattosi giuolare fu messo in credito

325

per Guglielmo del Baus prencipe d'Aurenga, con cui si stette longamente, dipoi partito dal prencipe sen venne in | corte del marchese [31v]
Bonifatio di Monferrato, il quale lo fece cavalliere, et gli diede gran
330 terra, e rendite nel tenimento di Saloniche; de' quali benefici ricevuti
fa Raimbaldo istesso honorata memoria ne i seguenti versi:

Valen Marques senher de Monferrat
A Dieu grazisc, car vos a tant onrat,
Que mais aves mes, e conques, e dat
335 Com ses corona dela crestiandat;
E laus en Dieu, que tant ma enansat,
Que bon senhor ai molt en vos trobat,
Que maves gen noirit et adobat,
E fait gran be, e de bas aut poiat
340 E de nien fait cavalier prezat
Grazit en cort, e per donas lauzat.

15. Per l'altro si può intendere o Raimbaut di Aurenga, che parimente fu buon trovatore, et amò per amore non Beatrice di Monferrato, ma la contessa di Urgel figliuola del marchese di Busca, per
345 rispetto della quale disse nel fine d'una sua canzone:

Er vueill preiar
Vers ab ditz clar
Que lai en Urgel taprezen.

344 contessa] **Min** *originally cont.* l...

345 d'una] **Min** della

16. Overo Raimbaut deira, che s'intese in donna Sancha di Aragon, la quale essendo, per ritornarsene in Catalogna con madonna Naudiarz, che ritornava a casa dopo la morte del signore di Marsiglia suo marito, Raimbaldo pregò nella sottoscritta stanza il conte di Provenza, che non la lasciasse andare, ma la ritenesse in sua corte, dicendo così:

350

[32r] Coms Proensals, si sen vai dompna Sancha,
Nous tenrem mais per gaillart, ni per pro
Tan²⁴ com farem, si sai ab nos sestancha,
Nil faitz laisser per Proensa Arago,
Queil dompna es bella, e cortesa, e francha,
E gensera tota nostra maiso.
Ben aia lalbres, don nais tan bella branca,
Caital com tanh ad avinen faiso
Es de beutat bruna, vermeilla, e blanca.

355

360

17. Tre furono similmente gli Amerighi fra' provenzali per quanto io ho potuto ritrovare, ciò è:

365

18. Aimeric de Belenuei, che fu di Bordales d'un castello, che ha

349 che] **Min** il quale

364 Amerighi] **Min** *originally cont.* trovatori

²⁴The following lines, from BEdT 155,22, were mistakenly written here continuing from fol. 24v which is part of the same bifolium and then effaced:

Ves Nemze vai chansos quiques nazire

Que gaug nauran per lo mieu essien

Las tres donas a cui ieu te prezen.

370

nome Lespaza, e fece canzoni buone, e belle di una donna di Guascogna detta Gentil de Rius, per lo cui amore si stette longamente nel paese, poi se n'andò in Catalogna, et là si morì. E per testimonianza, ch'egli fosse buon poeta basterà credo sapere, che sia stato allegato da Dante nel libro della *Volgare eloquentia* in quella canzone, che comincia:

Nulls hom non pot complir adreitamen

So, qua en cor.

375

Ma specialmente fu gran protettore di donne, e d'amore, come dimostra in una sua canzone contra Alberto marchese Malaspina, che detto haveva mal d'amore, la quale incomincia

Tant es damor onratz sos seignoratges

Que noi cap negus malvatz usatges

380

E car Nalbertz es de dompnas salvatges

No tanh com fals remaigna entre lor.

19. Et Aimeric de Peguillan citato parimente da Dante in una [32v]

car. 18. 25. canzone, che dice:

Mich. car. 17.

Sicom lalbre, que per sobrecargar

385

Franh si mezeus, e pert son fruit, e se

Ai ieu perdut ma bella done me

367–368 Guascogna] **Min** Guasp...

368 lo cui] **Min** added later above

369 E] **Min** added later above

E mos engenhs ses fraitz per sobramar.

Questi fu di Tolosa, onde partito per tema d'inimicitie particolari, et andato in Catalogna col favore di Guilliemo di Berguedam s'introdusse in corte del re d'Aragon, di cui dice gran bene nelle sue canzoni, et del re Alfonso di Castiglia. All'ultimo se ne venne in Lombardia ricettato dal marchese Guilliemo Malaspina, di cui disse in una canzone

390

Asc. 72. Le pros Guillem Malaspina soste
Ioi, e donnei, cortezia, e me.

395

Ma sopra tutti lodò Beatrice d'Este quella, che fu figliuola del marchese Aldobrandino, et maritata in Andrea re di Ongheria nell'anno 1235, della quale in un loco dice:

Asc. car. 73. Na Biatritz dest anc non vi plus bel flor,
Ni de vostre temps non trobei meillor,
Tant es bona com plus lauzar vos vueill
Ades i trob plus de ben, que non sueill.

400

In un altro

Asc. 73.. Na Biatritz tant es de bon pretz ferma,
Que vostre pretz nos camia nis desferma

405

394 Guillem] **Min** Guillel...

397–398 nell'anno 1235] **Min** *added later in margin*

404 Biatritz] **Min** bi...

Anz pueiades, e mos chantz o referma.

Ancora in un altro

Asc. 72. Bel Parago on hom plus soven ve
Na Biatritz e plus li vol de be.

410

Et più:

Mich. car. 16.. Na Biatritz nous sabria
Tan lauzar cous covenria.

20. Ancora uno Aimeric de Sarbat di cui sono le canzoni, che **[33r]**
cominciano:

415

Lib. asc. car. 132.. Fins, e leials donna ses tot enian, et
Can si cargal ram de vert fueill. et
Eissamen mas chansos
Com lAlauzeta fai.

420

21. De gli Ughi fu l'uno Uc de samsir a i tempi del conte Ra-
mondo di Tolosa, che fece di molte canzoni, et fralle altre quella,
che comincia:

Loniamen ai atenduda
Una razon avinen,
Don fezes chanso plazen,

Mich. car. 66.

Mas encar nomes venguda. 425
 Doncx si vueill de la razo,
 Que ai, far vera chanso,
 Ella sera megpartida,
 Chanso ioioze marida,
 Lauzan del be, cai agut, 430
 E planhen, car lai perdut.

22. L'altro Uc de Pena di un castello del Genovese, che fu giocolare, et cantava le canzoni altrui, et fecene ancora delle sue come quella che dice:

Mich. car. 67.. Totz aitals mi soi, com sueill, 435
Francx, e fis, et amoros.

Sicil. car. 2.. 23. Il terzo Uc lo Brus conte dela Manoha, di cui si leggono
alquante canzoni.

Lib. sleg. car. 61. 24. Il quarto Uc de Bersie, che in certe sue stanze mostra di essersi crociato per andare oltra mare con l'imperadore Federico, al qual passaggio invita il marchese di Monferrato, et un Folquet de Rotmans con le dette stanze. 440

[33v] 25. Et fu Folchetto Rotmans di Vianes, d'un borgo, che ha nome Rotmans, giocolare favorito in corte, et di bel solazzo, buon maestro di serventesi, et di stanze, come nella seguente fatta in materia del predetto passaggio: 445

437 lo Brus ... Manoha] **Min** Brunenc

443 Rotmans] **Min** added later above

Lib. sleg. car. 67.. En chantan vueill quem digatz
Senher En Blacatz,
Se vai lemperaire
450 Vas la terra, on Deus fo natz,
Vos quen pensatz,
O quen cuiatz faire?

455 **26.** Appresso gli Ughi detti disopra porremo ancora Uget de Mataplana, un valente barone di Catalogna, et buon trovatore, di cui abbiamo un serventese a Ramondo de Miraval, che comincia:

Lib. sleg. car. 67.. Dun sirventes mes pres talens,
Que razos mo mostra, e mo di,
E cant er faitz, tenral cami
Tot dreit a Miraval correns.

460 **27.** Di Ramondo di Miraval fu detto disopra nel V capitolo chi egli fosse, e donde, qui solamente si ha da sapere, ch'egli parti da sé la moglie, ch'era bella, e gentile, e poetessa, sotto cagione che non si convenia, che fossero in uno albergo due trovatori, et questo fece egli con disegno d'introdursi in casa un'altra donna, ch'egli amava, la
465 quale in quel punto si maritò; et così Miraval si rimase senza moglie, et senza amica, della quale follia Ughetto lo ne castiga nel predetto serventese.

470 **28.** Molti furono i Guilielmi, che a i suoi tempi cantarono in rima appresso i Provenzali fra' quali fu Guilielmo de Cabestanh, del contado di Rossiglione, et signore del castello di Cabestanh, buon caval-

lier d'arme, pregiato da tutta la gente, et molto amato dalle donne, che molto fu buon rimatore.

[34r] 29. Guilielmo di Saint Leidier un ricco castellano di Velaic del vescovato del Puei Sancta Maria huomo honorato per arme, et per larghezza, et per poesia, di cui si leggono molte canzoni di assai buona inventione

475

30. Et ancora Guilielmo di Balaon gentilhuomo nella contrada di Mompoliere, huomo di buoni costumi, e buon trovatore.

Ma perciò che di questi tre si è fatta mentione altrove in contando i loro amori, qui non se ne dirà altro, per potere procedere avanti a far memoria degli altri di questo nome, de' quali le compositioni sono pervenute a mia notitia, et sono:

480

31. Guilielmo di Berguedam, di cui il Maestro delle *Cento novelle antiche* conta una così fatta novella:

novel. 42. car 18.

Guglielmo di Bergdam fue nobile cavaliere di Provenza al tempo del conte Raimondo Berlinghieri. Uno giorno avvenne ke cavalieri si vantavano, e Guglielmo si vanto ke non avea niuno nobile uomo in Provenza kennon li avesse fatto votare la sella e giacciuto con sua mogliera, et questo disse in udienza del conte. el conte rispose. Or mee? Guglielmo disse. Voi singnior io lo vi diro. fecie venire suo destriere sellato, et cinghiato bene li sproni in pie mise il pie nella staffa, e quando fu ammannato parlo al conte e disse: Voi singniore ne metto,

485

490

472 rimatore.] **Min** *originally cont.* ^aet ^bdella cui morte per mano di Ramondo di Castel Rossiglione ^afu ^bsi narrò l'istoria di sopra nel V capitolo.

473 Guilielmo] **Min** Così *effaced and replaced on same line*

493 singniore] **Min** sg...

495

ne traggo. e monta a cavallo e sprona e va via. Il conte sadiroe
molto que non venia a corte. Un giorno si ragunaro donne a
uno nobile convito, mandaro per Guglielmo di Bergdam ella
contessa vi fu e dissero. or ci di Guglielmo perke ai tu cosi
onite le donne di Provenza. Cara la comperrai. Katuna avea
uno mattero sotto. Quella ke parlava disse vedi Guglielmo ke
per la tua follia ti convien morire. E Guglielmo parlo e disse
vedendo kelli si era sorpreso di una cosa vi prego donne per
amore kemmi facciate un dono. Le donne risposero domanda
salvo kennon domandi tua scampa. Allora Guglielmo parlo
e disse. Donne io vi prego per amore ke qual di voi ella piu
putta mi dea in prima. Allora luna riguardo laltra non si trovo
ki prima li volesse dare, e cosi scampo a questa volta.

500

505

Lib. sleg. car. 90.

Ma non fu guari più modesto in vantarsi de questo medesimo, [34v]
nelle sue canzoni sì come appare per quella che comincia:

Trop ai estat souz coa de mouton.

510

dove dice

Gen li pauzei los cornz el capiron.

32. Guilielmo de Salanhac, che mostra che cantasse per la con-
tessa de Burlatz figliuola del conte Ramondo di Tolosa, percioch'e-

507 modesto] **Min** rispettivo

508 nelle sue ... appare] **Min**¹ sì come appare nelle sue canzoni² → **T**

512 Guilielmo] **Min** Guililmo² → **T**

gli dice nella chiusa d'una sua canzone:

Mich. car. 9. Pros comtessa sobre nom avetz ver 515
Car gen Burlatz, e metetz vostraver,
E faitz tezaur de fin pretz benestan,
Cautra dompna del mon non val aitan.

33. Guilielmo Magret, che fece la canzone:

Mich. car. 10. Aiga pueia contramon 520
Ab fum, ab netbla, et ab ven.

Mich. car. 9.. et 87. **34. Guilielmo de Biaais, o de Biarn, di cui habbiamo una canzone**
che artificiosamente corre per tutte le stanze con le otto ultime pa-
role de i versi prese nella prima stanza del modo della quale si fara
mentione al suo loco. 525

Mich. XI. **35. Guilielmo de Dur Fort de Caors, di cui si leggono due ser-**
ventesi.

36. Guilielmo Montanago poeta morale nelle sue canzoni, delle
quali l'una comincia:

Mich. car. 12. Nuills hom no val, ni deu esser preztatz, 530
Saitan, can pot, en valor non enten.

516 vostraver] **Min**¹vostramor²→ **T**

528 morale] **Min** *originally cont.* e gran lodatore del re di Castiglia.

Lib. sleg. car. 55.

37. Guilielmo de saint Grigori, che fece una sestina ad imitatione di quella di Arnaldo Daniello servendosi della sorte de i versi, et delle medesime parole finali a suo proposito.

535

38. Guilielmo de la Tor, che propose a Sordello una questione [35r]
tale per maniera di tenzone:

Mich. car. 91.

Uns amicx et unamia
Sordel aun si un voler,
Calur semblan non poiria
Luns ses lautre ioi aver,
E si lamiga moris,
Aisi que lamicx o vis,
Que no la pot oblidar,
Cal seria meills a far
Pres lieis viure o murir,
Digatz daiso vostralbir.

540

545

39. Guilielmo Figera che fu Dottore, scrittore di serventesi, e maldicente, onde ne rilevò sul viso un fregio, come gli rimproverano Aimeric de Piguillan con questa stanza:

550

Lib. sleg.
car. 71.. et 80..

Anc tan bella espazada
No cuit com vis,
Com det Nauzers sus el vis

533 Daniello] **Min** added later above

534 medesime] **Min** added later prolonging the line into the margin

543 Que no la pot oblidar,] **Min** added later in margin

547 che] **Min** added later above

Anguilem gauta segnada,
Quel vis lo feri tan fort,
Cun petit na lun oill tort,
El cill, que sol aver negrer a blanc,
El cais plus ros de scarlate de sanc.

555

Et Sordello con quest'altra:

Si tot massail de serventes Figera
Ab sa lenga falsa e mensongieira,
Soffrir lom tanh, tal paor ai nom feira
Ab lespada, ab quel feri Nauziers;
Car no llin valc capiros, ni viseira,
Que dela galta no llen fezes cartiers,
E pois nac patz ferma daital maneira,
Canc noill costet metzinar dos deniers.

560

565

[35v] 39a. Guilielmo del Bauz Prencipe d'Aurenga appellato Ingle-
se, di cui si leggono stanze in risposta per le rime a Raimbaldo de
Vaqueiras, et ad Ugo de samsir, che l'havevano provocato.

Lib. sleg. car. 63.. et 74..

40. Ma de i Guglielmi sia detto assai, che tempo è di passare ad
altri.

570

Mich. car. 2. et 68..

41. Fra' quali mi occorre Maestro Miquel dela Tor de Clarmon
dalvernha, che al suo tempo raccolse in un libro molte rime d'altri
trovatori, et ne scrisse ancora delle sue in soggetto del suo amore di
cui dice in una canzone:

575

560 mensongieira] Min ¹mensongieira ²→ T

En Narbone era plantatz
Lalbre, quem fara murir,
Et en Monpeslier es cazatz
En molt bon luec senes mentir.

580

42. Fu ancora un Bertrams dela Tor, a cui il Dalfino dalvernia
mandò la seguente stanza per Mauret suo Giullare:

Lib. sleg. car 63.

Mauret Bertran a laisada
Manens, e ricx, esasatz
Valor, don fo mout onratz,
E lanar dautrencontrada,
E soiorna ala tor,
E tien faucon, e Austor
E cre far Pasqua, o Nadal,
Quant son vint dins son ostal.

585

590

Beltramo gli rispose così per le rime

Mauret al Danfin agrada
Quem digatz queu son malvatz
El reproviers es vertatz
De cal seignor tal maisnada
Queu fui bons tant, quant aic bon seignor

595

*25

²⁵ this asterisk perhaps hints at an intention on Barbieri's part to add a line here.

Que a lui plac, ni so tenc ad onor

Aras Mauret pos el no val

Sieu era bons tenria so a mal.

[36r] **43.** Daude de Pradas fece di molte canzoni amoroze, et fece ancora un libretto in rima intitolato.

600

Mich. car.

46.. et 98.. *Romans dels Auzels cassadors*, il quale comincia

Daude de Pradas non soblida,

Pueis que sens e razos len covida.

Que non fassa un bon solatz

Per si, e per sels a cui platz.

605

44. Fu trovatore ancora un Bernart de Pradas, che cominciò una sua canzone:

Mich. car. 58.

Si tot mai pres un pauc de dan,

Per tan no serai recrezens,

Quieu no malegre, e non chan

Malgrat dels ianglos maldizens.

610

Mich. car. 84.
Vedi lib. sleg. car. 78. **45.** Gui, Netbles, Peire fratelli, et Elias loro cuggino tutti cognominati Duisel da un loro castello, che haveano in Lemosino, furono tutti e quattro trovatori, che Guido faceva buone canzoni, Elias buone tenzoni, Netbles le male tenzoni, e Piero²⁶ rispondea a tutti per le rime.

615

²⁶Underlined, possibly to connect it with 'vedi lib. sleg.' etc.

620 Guido fu calonico de Bruide, et si intese in madonna Margarita dal Busso, et nella contessa di Monferran, delle quali fece sue canzoni per un tempo, ma venendo in quelle parti il legato del papa gliene fece coscienza, et lo fe' giurare di lasciare per lo avvenire l'amore, e'l canto.

Lib. sleg. car. 62. Elias si stava ad un suo loco detto Casluz povero di biada e di vino, et quando venivano a lui forestieri, egli faceva loro honore di belle 625 accoglienze, et davagli bel solazzo con recitargli sue canzoni e sue stanze in loco di gran corredi, onde Gauselm Faidit ne fece una cosi fatta stanza per scherno dicendo:

630 Ben auria obs pans e vis
A Casluz, tant es ses umor,
Merce del paubre trobador,
Ques manens de gabs, e de ris,
Que sei solatz son grans copas dargen
Eill sirventes segalas, e formen
E sas canons es vestir vert ab var;
635 A lui sen an qui vol ben soiornar.

Mich. car. 25.. **46.** Bernart de Ventadorn fu di Lemosino del castello di Ventadorn **[36v]** huomo di povera generatione figliuolo di un fornaio, ma bello della persona, cortese, e costumato, che seppe ben poetare, e ben cantare; prima cantò della viscontessa moglie del suo signore di Ventadorno, della quale si era innamorato, et ella di lui; dipoi della duchessa di Normandia, che parimente amò per amore fin ch'ella si maritò nel re Henrico d'Inghilterra; onde Bernardo ultimamente se n'andò al conte Ramondo di Tolosa, et con lui si stette finché 'l con-

640

te morì, per la cui morte egli di dolore si rende all'ordine Dedalon,
dove finì sua vita.

645

Mich. car. 81.

47. Pons de capduill, di cui si parlò più sopra nel quinto capitolo,
si fu un gentil barone del Puei Sancta Maria, che seppe ben poetare,
ben sonare la viola, e ben cantare, e fu buon cavallier d'arme, bel
parlatore, molto costumato, grande e bello della persona, ma scarso
forte, e cupido di havere, del qual difetto se ne sapeva gentilmente
coprire con le belle accoglienze, et col fare honore di sua persona;
questi amò per amore madonna Nalazais de Mercuer, come si è detto,
per tutto 'l tempo ch'ella visse, morta lei, levò la croce, e si passò
oltra mare, dove si morì.

650

Mich. car. 72.

48. Di Ramondo di Miraval, che fu gran compositore, et grande
amatore di donne al suo tempo, mi ricorda di havere assai parlato
altrove, dove mi rimetto per più piena informatione delle sue qualità.

655

49. Lafranc Cigala fu de' nostri d'Italia, ma compose canzoni in
provenzale, come quella in lode della Vergine, che comincia:

Mich. car. 25.

En chantan daquest setgle fals
Ai maintobra perduda,
Don cre aver pena mortals,
Si merses no maiuda.
Perque mos chans si muda,
E vueill lofrir
Lai, don venir
Mi pot complida aiuda,

660

665

644 per la ... morte] **Min** et ordine] **Min** ¹ordini ²→ **T**

650 gentilmente] **Min** ben

651 belle] **Min** buone

Sol no sia irascuda
La Maire Dieu, cui mos chantar saluda.

670 Et quest'altra di madonna Nalais de Vidallana, che dice: [37r]

Lib. sleg. car. 84. Tan franc cors de dompna ai trobat
A Villafranca, e tan plazen
Que macuilli tan francamen,
Que de franc ma sos sers tornat.

675 Mich. car. 52. **50.** Raimon Vidal de Bezaudu non solo fu trovatore, ma compose ancora in prosa il libro intitolato *Las rasos de trobar*. et sue canzoni furono:

Entrel Taur, el doble signe, et
Bel mes can lerba reverdis.

680 Mich. car. 44.. **51.** Perol fu un povero cavalliere dalvernia d'un castello, che ha nome Perol, al pié di Roccafort, e si stava col Dalfino dalvernia, che lo vestiva, et gli dava cavalli, et arme, hor haveva il detto Dalfino una sorella bella, et avenente moglie di Bernardo di Mercuer detta Saill de Claustra, la quale Perol amava, et ella lui, et finalmente montò tanto il fatto del loro amore, che'l Dalfino se ne ingelosì, et partì
685 Perol da se, il quale non si potendo mantenere per cavalliere si si fece giuolare, et n'andò per le corti de' signori cantando, et sonando alla Viola le sue canzoni, che questo era appunto il mestiero di coloro, che a quei tempi si chiamavano giullari, o giuolari.

688 di] **Min** ¹de... ²→ **T**

Sicil. car. 3..

52. Elias Cairel fu de Peiregors, et cercò la maggior parte della terra habitata, seppe ben letere, e molto fu sottile in rimare, et in ciò, ch'egli volle dire, o fare, ma per lo disdegno, ch'egli hebbe de' baroni, et del secolo, non fu gradito secondo che l'opera sua valeva; et mostra che fosse innamorato in Grecia per gli sottoscritti versi:

690

Mich. car. 39.

Vers tost e corren ten passa
Tot dreg lai en terra grega
Madona sill platz tentenda,
Cautra res nom pot erebre.²⁷

695

Lib. sleg. car. 30. 32.

53. Ancora Elias Fonsalada fu del vescovato de Peiregors de Barriarac, sua professione fu di giuolare, et d'huomo di corte, migliore nondimeno per contar novelle, che per rime, nelle quali assai loda il re di Aragon, come quando dice:

[38v]

Del Rei dAragom ve talans
Quel veza, que sos pretz es grans.

700

54. Miglior poeta fu Elias de Bariol, come appare dalle sue canzoni, delle quali l'una comincia:

705

696 lai] **Min** added later above

706 delle] **Min** ne...

²⁷The bottom right of fol. 37r reads "Ancora Elias_", suggesting us that at some point Barbieri decided to include the first two paragraphs of fol. 38v right after the section on Elias Cairel. These two paragraphs are marked on 38r by oblique lines on the margins. This order, which puts all the Elias in a group, is also reflected by the other manuscript.

Asc. car. 36. Ben deu hom son bon seinhor
Amar e servir
Et onrar et obezir
A tota sonor.

710

Mich. car. 60. **55.** Peire Cardenal là da i tempi del secondo Federico, et del re [37v]
San Luigi di Francia fu scrittore di serventesi, che a modo di sermoni
biasimano il male, et confortano al bene, come si è quello di costui
medesimo, che comincia:

715

De Sirventes faire nom tueill,
E dirai vos razon perque.
Car azir tort aisi, com sueill,
Et am dreit, si com fis anse;

720

E qui caia autre trezor,
Ieu ei leialtat en mon cor_
Tant, quenemic men son li desleial,
E si per so maziron nomen cal.

Mich. car. 3.. **56.** Ne i medesimi tempi molti ne scrisse un Marcabrus, ma con
minor leggiadria, e dignità, che fu come un Burchiello fra' proven-
zali.

725

57. Luquet Cataluze fece un serventese della contesa del re Man-
fredi, di Carlo d'Angiò, et di Coradino per lo Reame di Cicilia, che
comincia

Mich. 15. et 51.. Cora quieu fos marritz, e consiros

Per dan de pretz, que cascuns relenquia

730

Auram conort e sui gais e ioios.

Car iois e pretz revenra ques perdia.²⁸

Mich. car. 12.. **58.** Guirardo lo Ros, che fu del tempo del Dalfino dalvernia, fu
quelli, che disse:

Veus la derreira chanso

735

Que iamais auziretz de me.²⁹

Mich. 39.. **59.** Guiraut despanha fece canzoni in provenzale, come quella,
che comincia:

Sieu en Pascor non chantava, et

Qui en pascor non chanta non par gais.

740

[38r] **60.** Cadenet fu buon poeta, di cui si trovano molte canzoni, et
seppe sì bene celarsi in amore, che si diceva ch'egli s'intendeva in
un loco, et egli amava in un altro, onde dice:

733 Guirardo] **Min**¹Guirardo²→ **T** del] **Min**¹dal²→ **T**

742 s'intendeva] **Min** amava

743 egli] **Min** *added later in margin* amava] **Min** s'intendeva

²⁸This paragraph was originally written after the paragraph on Girardo lo Ros, but was then moved before it by placing an 'a' in the left margin (and, symmetrically, a 'b' by the paragraph on Guirardo). This order is then kept in **BC**.

²⁹Originally collocated before the paragraph on Luquet Cateluze, then re-ordered.

Mich. car. 44..

Lauzengiers grazidaus sia

745

Lonor, quem faitz ab mentir,

Catotz faitz cuidar, e dir,

Quieu am tal per drudaria,

On anc iorn non aic mon voler,

Et ab mentir cobratz lo ver.

750

Lib. sleg. car. 68..

61. Gui de Cavaillon si fu un gentil barone di Provenza signor di Cavaillon, largo, e cortese, avenente della persona, e molto amato dalle donne sì che fu creduto ch'egli fosse drudo della contessa Garsenda moglie che fu del conte di Provenza; questi non solo fece di buone tenzoni, et di buone stanze, ma fu ancora buon cavallier d'arme, e buon guerriere, il quale trovandosi assediato in Castelno-
755 vo, per lo conte Ramondo di Tolosa guerreggiato da' francesi per la chiesa come fautore degli heretici albigesi scrisse fuora due stanze:

Doas cotblas farai en aquest son

Queu trametrai an Bertram dAvignon. et il resto che segue.

760

62. Il quale Beltramo di Avignone detto Bertram Folcon era parimente poeta, et gli rispose per le rime dicendo

Lib. sleg. car. 68..

Ia no creirai den Gui de Cavaillon

Quentrels Franceis empenga son Leon.

761 gli] **Min** added later above

63. In quei tempi medesimi Pistoleta fece sue canzoni, il quale appare che fosse signor di castello per quel ch'egli dice in una sua canzone:

765

Mich. car. 68.. Dompna mon cor e mon castel vos re
E tot cant ai car es bella e pros.

[38v] 64. Peire Raimon de Toloza fece molte canzoni, et buone, che si ritraggono alla maniera di Arnaldo Daniello, et fu questi molto cosa de' marchesi Malispini, onde disse:

770

Mich. car. 50. Chanso vai mi tost retrar
Azaura mala, e dim al bon marques,
Messer Colrat quen lui a tans de bes
Percom lo deu sobre totz apelar. et

775

Asc. car. 125. Ia nom tenran fossat ni mur,
Que ma chanso
Non port al valen, et al pro
Guillem Malaspina, ques guitz
De pretz, cuns non beill conraditz.

780

65. Poiol di Provenza fa due canzoni di Uguetta sua amica, che con una sua sorella si erano rendute monache a saint Pons, dicendo

764 Pistoleta] **Min** before writing the poet's name, Barbieri had written one (now unreadable) letter, which he effaced

772 retrar] **Min** ¹retraire ²→ **T**

777 chanso] **Min** originally cont. non port

Mich. car. 52..

Sil mal damor mausi no mes nozens
No sai hueimais on men querre socors
Pueis rendudas si son las doas flors
Bonas a Dieu, et al setgle plazens.

785

66. Furono ancora trovatori Azemar Augier, che disse:

[39r]

Mich. car. 53.

Eram vai meills que non sol.

car. 55.

67. Azeimar de Roca Fichá, di cui è la canzone

790

Si amors fos conoisens.

55..

68. Raimbaut dalvernhe, che chiuse una sua canzone con dire:

Saquesta chanso a midons plai
Ieu ai encor quen fassa mai.

69. Albertet de sestaro celebratore di casa Malaspina:

795

Asc. car. 90..

Soms per onratz faitz ufaniers
Ni per esser bos cavaliers
Deu estar entrels pros cabals
Guilems Malaspina es aitals.

70. Alegret, che fece quell'aspro serventese;

799 fece] **Min** added later above

Asc. car. 86..

Ara paraisson llaubre sec

800

E brunisson l'alemen.

Et della sua donna più versi di rime accoppiate, come

Dompna cavetz la senhoria

De ioven e de cortezia.

Mich. car. 58..

71. Bertran de Lamano molto buon poeta s' per canzoni, come per serventesi, delle compositioni del quale se ne alleggeranno alcune a suo tempo e loco.

805

72. Le Monges de Ponsibot o de Poi Cibot molto leggiadro rimatore in far canzoni di versi corti, come la seguente stanza.

Lib. sleg. car. 26.

Merces es e chausimens

810

Dumil sorzer, e ausar,

E lorgoill sobrier baissar,

Donc faill amor vostre sens,

Car me, cui trobatz vencut,

Umil, e de bona fe

815

Decaszetz anc se,

E leis, que vira lescut

Vas vos, e vas me,

E nous vol, nius blan,

No voletz destreinher tan;

820

801 l'] **Min**¹ li?² → **T**

802 di rime] **Min** added later above

Que lorgoill baisses,

E vas vos sumilies.

73. Fu ancora Le Monge de Montaudon, il quale hebbe ardi- [39v]
mento di censurare i trovatori del suo tempo in un servente³⁰, che
comincia:

825

Asc. car. 203.

Pos Peire dalvernha chantat

Dels' trobadors, que son passat,

Chanterai eu mon escien

Daquels, que pueis si son levat,

830

E non maion ges cor irat,

Sieu lor crois mestiers lur repren.

74. E poi che si è cominciato a dire di persone di chiesa, si trova-
no ancora stanze e canzoni: Del Prebost de Valensa, del Prebost de
Noaillac, e del Vescovo de Clermon, che ne fece una corrente tutta
sotto una rima di sei stanze.

Mich. car. 49.

Lib. sleg. car. 52. 61.. 81.

835

Asc. car. 186..

Mich. car. 13..64.88.92.

75. Furono ancora molti rimatori nobilisti, come il re Riccardo
d'Inghilterra, Ianfre Rudel conte di Blaia, di cui si parlò nel capitolo
quinto,³¹ lo Vescoms de saint Antonin, Albert Marques Malaspina,
Il Dalfin dalvernhe, lo coms de Rodes lo coms de Blandra. lo coms

824 censurare] **Min** sord...

835 stanze] **Min** *originally cont.* al tempo del re Filippo terzo di Francia

839 Il] **Min** *added later on the same line*

³⁰*Sic.*

³¹While Jaufre Rudel is nowhere to be found in *Min's* version of Chapter 5, he is included after
Guilhem de Balaon in *BC*.

de Proensa, et lo coms de Tolosa, de' quali tutti si leggono versi per
 rima, che si tralasciano per brevità, sicome ancora per la medesi-
 ma cagione porremo nudamente questi altri, senza dirne altro che i
 loro nomi, e cognomi, come Ramberti de Bovalel. Giraut del Luc.
 Augier de Vianes, Bernart Marti, Raimon Iorda, Rostanh Domer-
 gues. Granet. Sercalmont; Jordan de Borneill de cofolenc; Peire de
 casals, Bernart de la Barsa, Perdigo, Peire Guilem, Rainaut de pon;
 Nazemar de Peiteus Faidig de Belestar; Turcs Malecs. Peire Peli-
 tiers, Ioannez dal Buisson, Carn et onгла, Lanza Marques, Nicoletz
 de Turrin. Savaris de Mauleo, Berengiers de Palaiol, Berengiers de
 Poiz Rengez. Berengiers de Poinuent, Aulivier dela mar, Bonifaci
 de castellana. Durantz Sartor de Paernas. Enozils de Cadals. Fabres
 duxel. Gui Figera. Lantelmet de leguillon. Montans sartre. Peire Bre-
 mont Ricas novas. Peire Milo, Peire de Blai. Peire Roger. Raimon
 de Tors de Marseilla. Le Trobair de Villa Arnaut, et forse molti al-
 tri, ch'io non so nominare; per opera dei quali huomini sono state le
 rime annobilate nel volgare di languadoc, specialmente dall'anno di
 nostra salute 1200 fin all'anno 1300.

[40r] 76. Ma delle donne, che tra' provenzali furono poetesse, come
 fra' greci Saffo, Corinna, e Telesilla, non è ragionevole rinovellar-
 ne di alcune la memoria? sì veramente; incominciando da madonna
 Maria de Ventadorn, la più pregiata donna, che mai fosse in Lemosi-
 840
 845
 850
 855
 860

840 et lo] **Min** *added later above*

841 per] **Min** di

858 tra'] **Min** ¹fra' ²→ **T**

860 di alcune] **Min** parimente sì veramente;] **Min** *originally cont.* onde
 così faremo

no, et quella, che più fece di bene, et più si guardò di mal fare, e fu da
Lib. siciliano car 2.. Dio honorata di bel corpo avenente senza maestria; era suo cavallier
il conte dela Manoha detto Ugo il bruno, col quale venne un giorno
865 sul ragionarne una questione, che'l conte diceva, che l'amante dee
havere altrettanto di signoria, et di commandamento sopra la donna
amata, quanto ella sopra lui, et madonna Maria difendeva, che non,
onde trovandosi allhora in sua corte Gui duisel ella sopra tal piato
gli scrisse la seguente stanza

870 Mich. car. 70.. Gui duisel ben peza de vos,
Car vos es laisatz de chantar
Ancar vos hi volgra tornar;
E car sabetz daitals razos,
Ieu vos deman, si den far engalmen
875 Dona per drut, can lo i quer franchamen,
Com el per lieis, tot can tanh azamor,
Segon lo dreit, quentendon amador.

77. Segue la contessa de Dia con una sua canzone in dolersi
del suo vago non men bella, che la pistola di Saffo a Faone, che
880 comincia:

Mich. car. 68. et Asc. car.
136.. A chantar mes daco quieu non volria

862–863 fu ... honorata] **Min** Dio honorò
863 era] **Min** ¹one unreadable effaced letter ²Ella teneva per
865 sul ragionarne una] **Min** (unreadable word) ad una
866 altrettanto] **Min** ¹tanto ²→ **T**
876 lieis] **Min** lei

Tan mi rancur di lui, cui soi amia,
Car ieu lam mais de nuilla ren, que sia,
Ves lui nom val mersedes, ni cortezia,
Ni ma beutatz, ni mos pretz, ni mos sens,
Cautressi sui enganade traia.
Com degresser si fos dezavinens.

885

78. Appresso diremo di donna Lombarda, che fu di Tolosa gentile, e bella, et di buone maniere, la quale seppe ben poetare facendo belle stanze, | et amoroze; del cui valore havendo udito ragionare Bernardo Narnautz fratello del conte di Armignac se ne venne a Tolosa per vederla, poi senza dirle altro montò a cavallo, per tornarsene in suo paese, lasciando che le fossero date alcune stanze, le quali cominciano:

Lib. sleg. car. 57.

[40v]

890

Lombard volgreu esser per na Lombarda,
Qualamanda nom platz tan, ni Guiscarda.

895

Alle quali donna Lombarda rispose così:

Nom volgrauer per Bernard na Bernarda
E per Narnautz Narnauda appellada.
E gran mersedes seigner car vos agrada
Cab tal doas domnas mavetz nominada.

900

79. Delle due donne disopra nominate Alamanda fu tale, che Giraldo di Borneill non si sdegnò di chiederle consiglio con la seguente

891 Armignac] **Min** ¹Armignacco ²→ T

stanza:

905 Lib. sleg. car. 45. Sieus quier conseil bellamigalamanda
Per dieu lom datz, com coitos lous demanda,
Carar ma ditz vostra dompna truanda,
Que fort son lain eissitz de sa comanda,
E zo, quem det, mestrai er, em desmanda;
910 Quem conseillatz?
Capauc lo cors dins dira nom abranda,
Tan fort en son iratz.

Et ella così gli rispose per le rime:

915 Per Dieu Giraut ges aissi tost airanda
Volers damic nos fai, ni nos garanda,
Car se lus faill, lautre coven que blanda,
Que nuills destricx entre lor no sespanda
E selaus ditz daut preg que sia landa,
Vos lan crezatz,
920 E plaza vos lo bes, el mals, sil manda
Caissi seretz amatz.

80. Guiscarda fu di Borgogna sorella di Guiscard de bel ioc, **[41r]**

Sicil. car. 38.. il quale la maritò in Lemosino nel visconte di combron; et perciò
ch'ella era donna di gran pregio, et di gran beltà molto se ne ralle-
925 grarono tutti i valenti huomini del paese, et fra gli altri Beltram del
Bornio ne fece la seguente stanza dicendo:

Ai Lemozins franca terra cortesa
Mout mi saup bo, car tals honors ve creis
Ensegnamens, cortesia, e larguesa
Valors, e pretz, solatz, dons, e dompneis, 930
E qui pros es, e de proesas feis,
Mal estara, si ara non pareis,
Puois na Guiscarda nos est sai tramesa.

81. Natibors, una donna di Provenza d'un castello detto Sarenom seppe dir per rima, et fece la seguente stanza, che mandò al suo amatore: 935

Bels dous amics ben vos puesc en ver dir
Que anc non fo quieu estes ses desir,
Pos vos conuc, nius pris per fin amaire,
Ni anc no fui quieu non agues talan 940
Bels dous amics quieu soven nous vezes,
Ni anc no fo sasons, que men pentis,
Ni anc no fo si vos nanes iratz,
Quieu agues ioi troque fozetz tornatz.

Lib. sleg. car. 60.

82. Havendo un Gigo de Tornenquera fatto gran fallo contra madonna Almucs de castelnovo, di cui era stato cavalliere, et amico longamente, et non osando di andargliene a dimandare perdono Niseus de Capion la pregò per lui con la seguente stanza dicendo: 945

929 larguesa] **Min**¹larguessa²→ **T**

933 tramesa] **Min**¹tramessa²→ **T**

950 Dompna nalmucs si ous plagues
Beus volgra preiar daitan
Que lira el mal talan
Vos fezes fenir merces
De lui, que sospire planh [41v]
E muor languen es complanh
955 E quier perdon humilmen
Queus fatz per lui sacramen
Si tot li voletz fenir
Quel si gart meills de faillir.

960 Et donna Almucs, che voleva bene a Gigo, et a cui rincresceva
ch'egli non venisse a dimandarle perdono rispose così per le rime.

Dompna Niseus sieu sabes
Quel se pentis delengan,
Quel a fait ves mi tan gran,
Ben fora dreitz quieu nagues
965 Merces, mas a mi nos tanh,
Posque del tort no safranh,
Nis pentis del faillimen,
Que naia mais chausimen;
Mas, si vos faitz lui pentir,
970 Leu podetz mi convertir.

959 donna] **Min** added later above

83. Et perciò che il presente capitolo e proceduto in lunghezza forse ancor più che non comporta una sola lettione, faremo conto che sia detto assai de i rimatori, et delle rimatrici di Provenza.

Chapter XI

1. Egli si può ben dire con verità che'l Petrarca giudiciosamente [42r] pose da sezzo i rimatori siciliani, ma non perciò mi rimarrò io di farne mentione di alcuni di loro, almeno per dare alcun saggio a quei, che vivono hoggidi, della maniera di quei primi tempi, quando le rime cominciarono ad essere in pregio per le corti de i re di Cicilia, che se ne dilettarono;

5

2. et sarà il primo messer Guido delle Colonne giudice messinese et per honore del dottorico, et per essere stato nominato da Dante come buon poeta nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza*, dove sono citate due sue canzoni la prima stampata ancora nel libretto delle *Rime antiche*:

10

Rim. ant. car 223. Amor che longamente m'hai menato.

L'altra che dice

Triss. car. 32.. Ancorche laigua per lo foco lasse

La sua grande freddura

Non muteria natura

S'alcun vasello in mezzo non vi stasse

15

1 Egli ... verità] ¹In verità io confesso ²Egli si può dire con verità ³→ T

3 loro,] **Min** originally cont. se non per altro

5 cominciarono ad essere] **Min** furono

20

Anzi averria senza troppo dimura
Che lo foco stutasse
O che l'aigua seccasse
Ma per lo mezzo l'uno, e l'altro dura.

3. Il secondo sarà messer Piero delle Vigne del Regno, detto il [42v]

Gio. Villani car. 45.. 49.

46. 41. *Vita d'Ezelino.*

Dante *Inf.* canto 13.

25 Fran.^{co} da Buti car. 57.1.

gran cancelliere; segretario di tanta autorità appresso lo imperadore
Federico il secondo, che più volte scrisse, e rispose a lettere il sì e'l
no, come allui pareva, perciò Dante nel XIII canto dello *'nferno* lo
induce a dire di sé medesimo.

Io son colui, che tenni ambo le chiavi
Del cor di Federigo.

22–26 Il secondo ... medesimo] **Min** Un^aaltra altra^baltra se ne trova ancora, che
comincia: [◁ Sicil. car. 20..]

Zoiosamente canto,
E vivo in allegrezza,
Ca per la vostranza
Madonna gran zoi sento,
Seo travaiai cotanto,
Or azo reposanza
Ben aza desianza,
Ke vera complimento.
Con tutt'ol mal talanto tornan zoi;
Adonca allegrezza veni poi,
Undeo mallegro de grandardimento
Cun zorno vene che val plui di cento.

24–25 a lettere ... no] **Min** ¹il sì e'l non a lettere ²→ **T** 24 e'l] **Min** et

Veggasi quello che ne dice
Benvenuto nella
carta portata da Ferrara.

Ma finalmente accusato per invidia di havere rivelati alcuni segreti a papa Innocentio venne in disgratia dello imperadore il quale lo fece abacinare, onde egli appresso per disdegno si diede la morte; et per maggior notitia del caso, et dello stile di quei tempi mi piace di porre qui sotto una sua pistola latina, ch'egli scrisse compiangendosi della sua disgratia:

30

Epistola Petri de Vineis

35

Nella fine del libro di me.
Marco Polo.

Qui quondam placidis Zephris navigabam, quem mitis aura per maris altitudinem prospere deducebat, nunc opposito mihi austro in pelago sum demersus, Unde flebilis heu mestos cogor inire modos, mutata sunt siquidem gaudia in moerores, nam venit ex sola prosperitate dolor, tristitia serenitas offuscata induit meos vultus, deiecitq(ue) a me omnem materiam gaudiorum, et veris elegi fletibus ora rigant, erapta est siquidem corona de capite meo, et factus sum similis servorum servus, qui quondam fueram dominator; et sicut color albus erat nunc est contrarius albo, praevaluit Asinus in Leonem, et inde bestia factus homo, non putat esse virum, heu patior telis vulnera facta meis, quos tanq(uam) filios educaui, et me ipsum multotiens distribui propter ipsos, sed res fidei periit, umbraq(ue) sola manet; considerate ergo quomodo mihi precavere potui, cum nulla pestis sit efficacior ad nocendum q(uam) familiaris inimicus, hanc (enim) fallaciam filius altissimi non potuit evitare, quem Iudas mercator pessimus

40

45

50

31 abacinare] **Min** ¹bacinare? ²abbacinare ³→ **T**

32 dello] **Min** per

42 erapta] **Min** *something unreadable followed 'erapta', but was effaced*

55

osculo tradidit in manus iudeorum, non sine lachrymis rogo,
ut recordemini fratris vestri, quem fortuna depressit, qui se-
det in vinculis tenebrarum, et cui mors est viver(e,) vita mori,
et ut breviter concludam, est omnibus solatiis destitutus.

Di questo Pier delle Vigne adunque è stampata nel libretto delle **[43r]**
Rime antiche la canzone:

60

car. 114. Uno possente sguardo
Coralmente m'ha feruto.

Ma d'altre ancora se ne trovano non stampate come quella:

65

Triss. car. 52.. Amando con fin core, e con speranza
Di gran gioia fidanza
Donommi amor piu, ch'io non meritai,
Che m'inalzoe coralmente damanza,
Dala cui rimembranza
Lo mio coraggio non diparto mai.

70

4. Terzi saranno quei, che per la dignità loro si doveano porre nel
primo loco, ciò è il predetto Federigo secondo, che fece la canzone
stampata fralle *Rime antiche*:

Poi che ti piace amore.

56 et] **Min T** originally written twice

5. Et il re Enzo suo figliuolo, di cui parimente si legge in istampa
la canzone, che comincia

S'eo trovasse pietanza.

[44r] Et altre ancora non stampate come:

75

75 Et altre ancora non stampate come:] **Min** Ma perciocché la stampata si trova
molto difettiva, sarà bene di stenderla qui tutta del modo, ch'io l'ho trovata scritta:

Seo trovasse pietanza
Encarnata figura,
Merze le cheggeria,
Kalo meo male dessalleviamento;

E bem fazo accordanza
Enfra la mente pura,
Kel pregar mi varria
Veggendo lumel meo azagimento.

E dico, oime lasso
Spero trovar mercede?
Certol meo cor nol crede,
Keo sono isventurato
Plui domo ke sia nato,
So ken ver mi pieta verria crudele.

Crudele e spietata
Verria per me pietate,
E contra sua natura
Secondo zo, che mostral meo destino,
E merce adirata
Plena dimpietate,
cheo tale vintura
Keo pur deservo, a cui servir non fino.
Per meo servir non veo

[43v]

Che zoi mi se naccresca
Ansi me se refresca,
Pene dogliosa morte
Ciascun giorno piu forte
La ond io sento perir lo meo sanare.

Ecco pena dogliosa
Ken fral meo cor abonda
E sparge enfra li membri
Si cha zascun de ve sopercla parte
Giorno non ho di posa
Si comel mare e londa.
Core che non si smembri?
Esci di pene, e dal corpo ti parti [*underlined, and e da mi ti diparte. is written in margin. Perhaps meant to be a variant, rather than a replacement?*]

Chassai val meio unora
Morir, che pur penare
Poi che non po campare
Homo, che viven peni
Ni gauzo li saveni
Ni pensamento, che da ben sapprenda.

Tutti quei pensamenti,
chel spirito meo divisa,
Sunu pene, duluri
Sinzalligrar, che nulli saccumpagna

E di manti tormenti

[44r]

Abundu in mala guisa,
chil natural caluri
Ho perduto tantul cor batti e lagna.
^aHor ^bor si pu dir ^adamanti ^bda manti
Chi e zo chi nu muri
Poi chai segnatul cori?

Sicil. car. 2.

Alegri cori plenu

Di tutta beninanza

Suvegnau, seu penu

Per vostra inamuranza,

Chil nu vi sia in placiri

di lassarmi muriri

Talimenti,

Chiu vamo di buon cori, e lialmenti.

80

[44v] 6. Seguiranno appresso Iacopo d'Alentino detto "il notaro" per
eccellenza nell'arte sua, di cui si è la canzone:

85

Rispondo chi lu segna

In quil mumentul stagna

Nu per miu ben, ma per la sua virtuti.

La virtuti chi lavi

Dalciri me guariri

Alingua dir nu lausu

Per gran timenza cha zu nullisdegni

Pero prego suavi

Pieta chi mova giri

E faza in lui ripausu

E merci umilmenti si saligni

Si chi sia piatura

Ver mi, chi nu mi voglia

Murir sillanda coglia

Che sol viuri mi plaze

Per lei servir mirazi

Plu chi per altri bini chi mavegna.

Madonna dir vi vollio.

D. canto 24 del. *Purg.*

Benv. car. 114..30.

Rim. ant. car. iii..

Volg. el. car. 9.. 28.

Stampata fralle *Rime antiche*, et citata da Dante nel libro della

Volgare eloquenza.

7. Rinaldo d'Aquino citato similmente da Dante nella canzone:

Volg. el.

90

car. 9..29. et 18. 27.

Per fin amore vo si lietamente.

Il quale ancora ne fece un'altra, che comincia:

Triss. car.

Guidardone aspetto havere.

8. Matteo da Messina, di cui vogliono alcuni che fosse la canzo-

ne:

Triss. car. 28..

95

Sicil. car. 10..

Gioiosamente canto,

E vivo in allegrezza,

Ca per la vostramanza

Madonna gran gioi sento.

Et così

100

Tris. car 52..

La bene aventureosa innamoranza

Tanto mi stringe, e tiene,

Che d'amoroso bene m'assicura.

Dunque non fa lo mio cor soperchianza

93-94 vogliono alcuni che fosse la canzone] **Min** è la canzone

Se ismisuratamente
Di voi donna valente s'inamura.

105

9. Messer Rinieri da Palermo, che disse:

Tris. car. 52. Amore havendo intieramente voglia
Di satisfare ala mia inamoranza
Di voi madonna fecemi gioioso.

Sicil. car. 4. **10.** Lanfranco Maraboto, di cui habbiamo una canzone che co-
mincia:

110

Longo tempo ho servuto
Amor veraisementi.

Sicil. car. 37.. **11.** Garibo, che così diede principio ad una sua:

Per vui donna tutte l'hore
Lo meo core sta pensoso.

115

Titles and marginalia apparatus

Chapter IV

Rejected:¹ par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 1r), left margin: IIII [*chapter number*]
par. 2, l. 80 (fol. 3r), right margin: car 68.] **Tir missing**

¹Chapter numbering in margin has been replaced with centered titles.

par. 2, l. 83 (fol. 3r), right margin: car. 294] **Tir** 9

par. 2, l. 125 (fol. 3v), right margin: dice] **Tir** disse

Chapter V

Rejected: par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 5r), left margin: V [*chapter number*]

par. 1, l.6 (fol. 5r), left margin: Son. 253.] **Tir** P. II. Son. 25

par. 3, l.29 (fol. 5r), left margin: car.] **Tir** cart. *Rejected:* par. 4 l. 28
(fol. 5r), left margin: Novella I²

par. 4 l. 47 (fol. 5v): damage to the right side of the page caused the
loss of the two letters of ‘Bou’, which I have supplied.

Rejected: par. 5, l. 48 (fol. 6r), left margin: Novel. 2^a. **Tir** Novel. II

Rejected: par. 6, l. 92 (fol. 7r), left margin: Novel. 3^a. **Tir** Novel. III

Rejected: par. 7, l. 140 (fol. 9v), left margin: Novel. 4^a. **Tir** Novella
IV

Rejected: par.8, l. 162 (fol. 7v), left margin: Novel. V. **Tir** Novella
V

Rejected: par. 9, l. 247 (fol. 5v), left margin: Novel. VI.

Rejected: par. 10, l. 274 (fol. 9v), left margin: Novel. VII.

Rejected: par. 11, l. 305 (fol. 10v), left margin: Novel. VIII.

Rejected: par. 12, l. 360 (fol. 11r), left margin: Novel. IX

Rejected: par. 13, l. 438 (fol. 12v), left margin: X^a.

Rejected: par. 14, l. 482 (fol. 13r), left margin: XI.

Rejected: par. 14, l. 552 (apparatus) (fol. 14r), left margin: XII.

Chapter VI

Rejected: par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 15r), left margin: Cap. VI.

²These notes are purely meant to re-order content.

Chapter VII

Rejected: par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 19v), left margin: Cap. VII.

par. 3, ll. 13–45 (fol. 20r), left margin: *the margin is torn*

Chapter VIII

Rejected: par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 21v), left margin: Cap. VIII

Chapter IX

Rejeced: par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 23v), left margin: IX. par. 2, l. 16 (fol. 23v), left margin: 51..] 52.

par. 3, l. 31 (fol. 24r): the left margin is damaged, and I have supplied the first letter of ‘dell’arte’ and ‘et’, as well as most of ‘poetica’ and ‘francese’.

par. 8, ll. 93–99 (fol. 25r), left margin: the same damage has impacted the margin here. I was unable to reconstruct ‘...sig’ (l. 93); I supplied the first letter to ‘Mar.’ (94), ‘Mol.’ (95), ‘Mar.’ (96), ‘App.’ (97), ‘lib.’ (98).

par. 7, l. 77 (fol. 24v), left margin: 35.. 34.] *effaced and rewritten*

par. 8, l. 96 (fol. 25r), left margin: 13] *effaced and rewritten*

Chapter X

Rejected: par.1, l. 1 (fol. 26r), left margin: cap. X°.

par. 3, ll.40–43 (26v), left margin: the margin is damaged. I have supplied the first letters for ‘Mich.’ (40) and *Volg.* (43).

par. 10, l. 288 (fol. 30v), left margin: 28..] *originally cont.* 38..

par. 49, ll. 671–80 (fol. 37r), left margin: the margin is damaged. I have supplied the first letters for ‘Lib.’ (671), ‘Mich.’ (675), and ‘Mich.’ (675).

par. 52, ll. 690–95 (fol.37r), left margin: the margin is damaged. I have supplied ‘Sicil.’ (690) and ‘Mich.’ (695). It cannot be excluded that before the 3 in the margin of line 690 there was another number.

par. 62, l. 762, left margin (fol. 38r): the margin is damaged. I have supplied ‘Lib.’

par. 78, l. 890 (fol. 40v), left margin: lib.] *originally cont. car.*

Chapter XI

Rejected: par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 42r), left margin: XI.

par. 5, l. 76 (fol. 44r), left margin: the margin is damaged. I have supplied the first letter for ‘Sicil.’.

BC

[Chapter VI]

[1r] 8. che¹ una gru volante nel cielo, della quale ambasciata essendosi Gauselmo assai meravigliato venne per chiarirsene a trovare madonna Naudiartz, et le dimandò, che cosa havebbe voluto significare ciò, che gli havea mandato dicendo del picciolo uccello, et della gru. La donna l'accorse molto amorosamente, et rispose "Gauselmo la pietà, ch'io ho di voi, mi ha fatto ciò dire, perche io so che Mad. Maria non vi ama, se non per cortesia, et per le lodi, che voi le date in cantando, la quale si è rispetto a voi come la gru volante nel cielo, ma io sarò come il picciolo uccello, che haverete nel pugno per fare, e per dire ciò che vi sarà in piacere, se lasciandola lei, vorrete accostarvi a me, che desidero di essere amata da tale huomo, quale voi sete, che mi metta in pregio, et in fama". Gauselmo udendo le parole et vedendo gli amorosi sembianti, et la piacevolezza della donna, ch'era giovane, e bella, rispose lietamente ch'era presto di

5

10

3 le] **Min BC** ¹la ²→ **T** dimandò] **Min** inchiese **BC** inchiese

6 perche] **Min** perch'

10 sarà in piacere] **Min** piacierà

13 le] **Min** queste vedendo] **Min** veggendo

14 rispose lietamente] **Min** subito rispose ch'era presto] **BC** *effaced and rewritten*

14 giovane] **Tir** giovane

¹ Because of the loss of the first part of *BC*, the text begins halfway through the eighth chapter.

15 fare sì, come ella gli diceva. “Adunque”, disse ella, “voi n’anderete,
et sì farete una canzone, nella quale cortesemente prenderete com-
miato da madonna Maria dicendo di havere posto il vostro amore in
altra donna, da cui attendete miglior guiderdone del vostro servire”.
Gauselmo senza altro pensare se n’andò, et fece in tal soggetto una
20 canzone, della quale qui sotto sarà la prima stanza:

Tant ai sufert loniamen greu afan,
Que si stes mais que nom naperseubes,
Morir pogra tost e leu, sim volgues,
Cala bella non preira ia dolors,
25 En cui mala fos beutatz, e valors
Don regardan part forsatz mon coratge, [1v]
E pos li platz, segrai autre viatge,
Mas lieis non cal, ni no so ten a dan
De perdre me, nils bels digz de mon chan.

30 La canzone uscì fuori, et fu cantata da molti sì che pervenne a
notitia di madonna Maria, la quale si rallegrò molto del commia-
to preso di quel modo per opera della gentildonna sua amica. Ma

15–16 “Adunque”, ... et] **Min** “Adunque, voi n’andrete” disse ella et

18 altra donna] **Min** un’altra

20 della quale] **Min** di cui sarà] **Min** porremo

28 lieis] **Min** lies

30 La] **Min** questa

31 si rallegrò molto] **Min** nell’animo suo restò molto contenta

28 Mas] **Tir** Ma

Gauselmo Faidit tornato a madonna Naudiartz le narrò come fatto
haveva il suo commandamento, ché s'era partito dallo amore di ma-
donna Maria, ed in lei haveva messo 'l core, il senno, et il sapere,
et la pregò, che per amore volesse fargli e dire de i piaceri piacenti,
ch'ella gli havea promesso. La donna con un buon viso rispose, e
disse; "Gauselmo egli è vero, che voi sete troppo valente, et troppo
pregiato huomo, siché non ha donna al mondo, ch'amar volesse, la
quale non si dovesse tenere appagata di voi per amadore, e per ser-
vitore, perciò che voi sete padre, e maestro di valore, et di cortesia;
Ma ciò ch'io vi dissi, e promisi non fu per intentione, ch'io havessi
d'amarvi per amore, ma per trarvi della prigione, ove eravate, et di
quella speranza, che havevate havuta ben sette anni, percioché io sa-
peva bene la volontà di madonna Maria, che vi menava per parole;
nelle altre cose io voglio bene essere vostra amica, per servirvi in
ciò, che vi piacerà comandarmi". Quando Gauselmo intese questo

35

40

45

33 Faidit] **Min** *missing* tornato] **Min** *cont.* a capo d'una stagione 33-34
fatto haveva] **Min** haveva fatto

35 '1] **Min** lo **BC** ¹lo ²→ **T**

36 per amore] **Min** *missing*

37 con un buon viso] **Min** di buonaria

40 amadore] **Min** amatore

41 valore] **Min** valor

42 ch'io] **Min** che io intentione] **Min** volontà

43 d'amarvi] **Min** di amarvi

44 ben] **Min** più di

45 per parole] **Min** *cont.*, et con promesse senza pensamento di attenervi cosa
alcuna

39 ch'] **Tir** che

43 della] **Tir** dalla

per risposta molto ne fu tristo, e dolente, et cominciò a gridare mercè
alla donna, che no'l volesse di questo modo uccidere, ingannare, e
50 tradire, ella rispose, che non l'uccideva punto né l'ingannava, anzi **[2r]**
che tratto l'havea d'inganno, et di morte, et altre assai parole disse
in tal soggetto; per le quali veggendo Gauselmo ch'ella non era
acconcia a far cosa, ch'egli volesse si partì da lei, et si pensò di ri-
tornare nello amore di madonna Maria dimandandole perdono del
55 fallo commesso contra lei, et per tale effetto fece una canzone che
comincia:

Non alegra chans, ni critz
Dauzels mon fel cor engres,
Ni no sai perquem chantes.
60 Nim perdes
Mos motz, car ben los perdria,
Sieu dizia
Quem valgues
Ves midons precx, ni merses,
65 Que nos tanh ges.

48 molto ... dolente] **Min** se fu tristo et dolente non e da dimandare

49–50 ingannare, e tradire] **Min** né tradire, né ingannare

50 non ... punto] **Min** già non l'uccideva

51–52 et altre assai parole disse in tal soggetto; per le quali] **Min** In somma le
parole furono molte, ma finalmente

52 per le quali] **BC** Alla fine Gauselmo] **BC** *effaced and repeated in right
margin*

53–54 ritornare] **Min** tornare

54 nello amore] **Min** nell'amore

Ia ill sia per mi queritz
Perdos, tant li soi faillitz.

Amore di Folchetto di
Marsiglia

9. Folchetto di Marsiglia faceva sue canzoni di madonna Nala-

Mich. car. 35

zais di Roccamartina moglie del signore di Marsiglia la quale egli
amava, et ella gli sofferiva cotale amore per la gran lode, che ne
traheva finché prese sdegno contra lui per sospetto ch'egli s'inten-

70

[2v] più sperare né bene, né amore. Per lo qual commiato Folchetto si
rimase tristo, e dolente, et lasciò per un tempo solazzo, e canto. Ul-
timamente essendosi andato a condolarsi della sua disavventura alla
moglie di Guglielmo di Mompoliere detta l'imperadrice, figliuola

75

69 di Roccamartina] **Min** de Roca Martina del] **Min** d'Imberal signore]

Min signor

70 cotale] **Min** tale

71 finché] **Min** Ma finalmente 71-72 ch'egli s'intendesse] **Min** ch'egli non
s'intendesse

72 Mad.] **Min** Madonna

73 da se] **Min** *missing*

74 de'] **Min** di de'] **Min** di preghi] **Min** prieghi

77 condolarsi] **Min** lamentare

78 Mompoliere] **Min** Monpeslier figliuola] **Min** per esser figliuola

66 Ia] **Tir** La

69 moglie del signore di Marsiglia] **Ih** *effaced* **Tir** *missing*

71 prese] **Tir** preso

72 in una sua cognata sorella del marito] **Ih** **Tir** altra donna

78 Mompoliere] **Tir** Monpolier

80

dello imperadore Emanuel donna di gran valore, ella lo confortò,
che perciò non si dovesse disperare et lo pregò che per suo amore
volesse cantare, et egli allhora fece una canzone, che comincia:

Tant mou de corteza razo

Mos chantars, que noi dei faillir,

Enans hi dei meills avenir

85

Canc non fis, e diraus co,

Que lemperairitz men somo,

E plagram fort, que men gequis,

Sill mo sufris,

Mas car ill es sime rais

90

Densenhamen

Nos cove cal sieu mandamen

Sia mos sabers flacx, ni lens,

Ans tanh que doble mos engens.

Amore di Guglielmo di saint

95

Leidier.

10. Guglielmo di saint Leidier s'intese nella sorella del Dalfino
d'Alvernia, moglie del visconte di Polonhac detta per nome "la Mar-
chessa", della quale fece molte buone canzoni, et chiamavala "Bel-

Mich. car. 63.

79 dello imperadore] **Min** dell'imperadore

96 della quale] **Min** di cui buone] **Min** bone

83 que] **Tir** che

85 co] **Tir** so

86 lemperairitz] **Tir** lamperairitz

87 plagram] **Tir** plegram

95 moglie del visconte di Polonhac] **lh effaced Tir missing**

tramo” nel suo cantare; il cui amore si conta ch’egli guadagnò per questo modo, che havendola longamente amata, lodata, et servita, [3r] ella, che nol voleva ritenere per cavalliere, né per | servitore gli hebbe un giorno a dire in buon proposito che di lei non sperasse havere né bene, né amore, salvo se non facesse, che’l visconte suo marito gliel commandasse, et ne la pregasse, per le quali parole Guglielmo non si sgomentò punto, ma si diede a pensare, come potesse fare che’l visconte pregasse la donna, che dovesse accettarlo per amadore; finalmente si accordo fra sé medesimo di fare una canzone, nella quale il marito dicesse alla moglie, che lo dovesse amare. Hora il visconte molto si diletta delle canzoni di Guglielmo, e molto le cantava volentieri. Egli adunque havendo fatta la canzone la mostrò al visconte, et gli contò la ragione perché fatta l’havea tacendosi i nomi delle persone, il quale havendone sentito gran piacere l’apparò a mente, et appresso havendone contato l’argomento alla moglie lela cantò tutta dal principio alla fine. La quale ricordandosi di quello, che detto e promesso havea bene notò, et bene intese il tutto, né

100

105

110

97 il cui amore] **Min** l’amore della quale

99 ella] **Min** la donna

100 in buon proposito] **Min** *missing*

103 non ... ma] **Min** tutto sgomentato fu per lasciar l’impresa, pur aguzzandogli amor lo ’ngegno

105 si] **Min BC** sì si

109 contò] **Min** narrò 109–110 tacendosi i nomi delle] **Min** senza nominare le

112 lela] **Min BC** gliele

113 havea] **Min** haveva

108 volentieri] **Tir** volentieri

115

volle mancare del conveniente, che in quei tempi si riputava gran
fellonia, a Guglielmo di saint Leider ricevendolo per cavalliere, et
per servitore sì come gli havea promesso. Hor della bene aventurata
canzone la prima stanza fu questa:

120

Dompna ieu vos sui mesatgiers
Et el vers entendetz de cui
E salut vos de part selui,
Cui vostre ioi alegre pais,
E dic vos de be ver hueimais,
Vostre mesatges vertadiers
Serai del vers, qui quel vos chan.

125

Amore di Guglielmo
Capestaing

11. Guglielmo di Capestaing s'inamorò d'una gentildonna mo-
glie di un gran barone del paese detto Ramondo di Castel Rossi-
glione, la quale aggradì l'amor suo di modo, che fece suo cavallier
di lui, et lungo tempo ebbero insieme gioia l'uno dell'altro. Della
qual cosa havendo preso finalmente alcun sospetto Ramondo di Ca-
stel Rossiglione s'ingelosì della moglie, et la serrò, et fece guardare

Lib. sicil. car. 1. [3v]

130

114 si riputava] **Min** era tenuto a
116–117 Hor della bene aventurata canzone] **Min** Della sopradetta benaventurata
117 questa] **Min** *missing*
127 la quale] **Min** di cui era vassallo; la donna allo 'ncontro
129 avendo ... sospetto] **Min** essendo stato avertito
130 serrò ... guardare] **Min** fece serrare, et guardare

118 ieu] **Tir** ie
122 de ... hueimais] **Tir** be de ves lui mais
125 d'] **Tir** di

dentro una torre, onde Guglielmo non la potendo vedere, et godere,
come soleva, viveva in gran tristezza, et d'amorosa passione fece
una canzone, che comincia:

Li dous consire,
Quem donamor soven 135
Donam fan dire
De vos maintz vers plazen,
Pensan remire
Vostre cors car e gen,
Cui ieu dezire 140
Mais que non fauc parven.
E si tot mi deslei,
Per vos, ges nous abnei,
Cades ves vos soplei
Ab francha benvolensa. 145
Dompna, en cui beutatz gensa,
Maintas vetz oblit mei
Queu lau vos e mersei.

La quale canzone fu cagione della sua morte, et perciò di lui disse
il Petrarca: 150

131 et] **Min** ne

132 viveva] **Min** se ne viveva d'amorosa passione fece] **Min** fece di pas-
sione **BC** ¹su questa cotale passione ²→ **T**

144 vos] **Tir** uvs

146 beutatz] **Tir** beutaz

148 Queu] **Tir** Que

E quel Guglielmo
 Che per cantar ha'l fior de suoi di scemo

155

Perciò che havendola Ramondo udita, et tenendo fermamente,
 che di sua moglie l'havesse fatta | il fece venire a parlamento seco **[4r]**

160

fuora del castello di Capestaing, et ivi l'uccise facendogli tagliare la
 testa, et trarre il cuore del petto, et ogni cosa mettere in un carniero.

Dipoi ritornato a casa fece il cuore arrostire, e portarlo in tavola, et

alla moglie il fece mangiare a non saputa. Il quale quando ella heb-
 be mangiato Ramondo levatosi in piede le disse, che quello, ch'ella

mangiato havea, si era stato veramente il cuore di Guglielmo di Ca-
 pestaing, dimandandole, s'egli era stato buono a mangiare, et per

segnale di ciò le fece vedere la testa. La quale havendo la donna ri-
 conosciuta rispose come forsennata, ch'egli era stato sì buono, et sì

saporoso, che giamai altra vivanda non le torrebbe il sapore della

165

bocca, che basciata le havea il cuore di Guglielmo di Capestaing;

il che udendo Ramondo mise mano alla spada, per correrle sopra,

ma la donna fuggendo all'uscio d'un balcone sì si lasciò cadere giù

a basso, e ruppesi il collo. Questo maleficio si seppe per tutta Ca-

talogna, e per le terre del re di Aragona, dove ne fu fatto per tutto

153 havendola Ramondo udita] **Min** havendola udita Ramondo tenendo]

Min credendo

156 cuore] **Min** cuor

157 Dipoi] **Min** Indi

155 fuora] **Tir** fuori

165 basciata] **Tir** lasciata

gran lamento, et essendosi messi insieme i parenti di Guglielmo, et della donna, et con esso loro i valenti cavallieri, ch'erano in caso di amore, guerreggiarono Ramondo di Castel Rossiglione a fuoco, et a sangue. Et il re di Aragona havendo inteso il fatto gli disfece tutti i suoi castelli, et fecelo morire in prigione. La donna, et Guglielmo ambedue insieme furono sepelliti in un monumento dinanzi alla porta d'una chiesa del borgo, ch'è nel piano di Rossiglione, et durò una stagione, che i leali amanti de i paesi all'intorno huomini e donne venivano ogni anno a fargli l'annovale, et a pregare Iddio per le anime loro.

170

175

[4v] 12. Ramondo di Miraval fu un povero cavaliere del paese di Carcassona, che non havea se non la quarta parte del castello di Miraval, nel quale non stavano quaranta persone, ma per lo suo bel trovare, et perché seppe più d'amore, et de i piacenti detti, che corrono tra gli amadori, che nessuno altro fu molto honorato, et tenuto caro per lo conte Ramondo di Tolosa, il quale era quelli, che gli dava cavalli, et arme, e vestimenti, per lo re Pietro d'Aragon, pel visconte

Mich. car. 73.

180

185

Amori di Ramondo di Miraval

170 lamento] **Min** corrotto

171 i valenti] **Min** tutti i valenti

172 di amore] **Min** d'amore

173 di Aragona] **Min** d'Aragona gli disfece] **Min** vi andò in persona, et prese Ramondo, e gli disfece

174–175 Guglielmo] **Min** Guglielmo di Capestaing

175 monumento] **Min** monumento

177 una stagione] **Min** un tempo

178 et a pregare] **Min** pregando

186 vestimenti] **Min** i vestimenti, che gli bisognavano

178 a fargli ... et] **lh** *effaced* **Tir** *missing*

186 d'] **Tir** di

de Bezers, per Beltramo di Saisac, e per tutti i gran baroni di quella
contrada; e non era nel paese nessuna gran donna, che non deside-
190 rasse, e non si penasse che Ramondo di Miraval le volesse bene per
amore, perciò che egli le sapeva più honorare, e più far gradire, che
nessuno altro huomo. Hor è da sapere, che in quel tempo era in Car-
cassese una gentil donna avenente, bella, e cortese detta per nome
la Loba di Puei Nautier moglie d'uno cavaliere di Cabaretz, ricco e
195 poderoso, in cui s'intendevano tutti i valenti huomini, e molti gran
baroni della contrada, come il conte di Fois, Olivier di Saisac, Pietro
Roggier di Mirapeis, Amerigo di Monretal, et ancora Pietro Vidale;
ma sopra tutti l'amava Ramondo di Miraval, e molto la esaltava in
cantando, et in parlando, et ella per le gran lodi, ch'egli le dava mo-
strava d'aggradire i suoi preghi, et ritenevalo solo basciando et con
200 buone parole, ma non gli haveva amore alcuno, e ciò, che gli diceva

188 nel paese ... donna] **Min** nessuna gran donna nel paese

189 bene] **Min** *added later above*

191 huomo.] **Min** *cont.* Di molte adunque fu vago, et di molte fece canzoni, ma
d'una basterà far mentione

192 cortese] **Min** cortese, volonterosa molto di pregio, et di honore

193 d'uno cavaliere] **Min** di un cavallier

194 in cui] **Min** nella quale valenti huomini] **Min** huomini di valore

196 di Mirapeis] **Min** de Mirapeis di Monretal] **Min** de Monreial Vi-
dale] **Min** Vitale

187 Bezers] **Tir** Beziers

189 penasse] **Tir** pensasse

193–194 moglie ... poderoso] **Ih** *effaced* **Tir** *missing*

195 di] **Ih** de

196 di Mirapeis] **Ih** de Mirapois di Monretal] **Tir** di Monreal

199 basciando] **Ih Tir** con atti cortesi,

era per inganno, perciò che ella voleva tutto'l suo bene al conte di
Fois tanto, che fatto lo ne havea suo drudo, et alla fine men cauta-
[5r] mente operando si fece palese il fatto | della lor drudaria, onde fu
subito discaduta di pregio, e di honore, ché a quei tempi si haveva
per morta ogni donna, che facesse suo drudo d'alto barone, et fra gli
altri Pietro Vidale ne fece una mala canzone, che comincia:

205

Molt ai mon cor felo
Per lieis; que mala fo.

Così Miraval ne sentì gran dispiacere, et hebbe volontà di darsi a
mal dire di lei, ma poi si pensò, che meglio era, ch'egli s'ingegnasse
d'ingannarla lei, sicome ella haveva ingannato lui, e cominciò a scu-
sarla per tutto, et a sostenerla del fatto del conte di Foies; quando la
Loba intese, che Miraval la difendeva del male, ch'ella havea com-
messo con tutta la tristezza, che haveva, si rallegrò alquanto, perciò
che di lui haveva ella maggior paura, che di nessuno altro. Perciò

210

215

201 ella] **Min** *missing* tutto'l] **Min** tutto il
202 fatto ... havea] **Min** lo havea fatto
203–204 fu subito] **Min** disubito fu
204 di honore] **Min** d'honore
206 Vidale] **Min** Vitale che comincia] **Min** nella quale disse
208 Per ... fo.] **Min** *cont. with ll. 409–416*
209 gran] **BC** ¹un gran ²→ **T**

202 lo ne havea] **BC** ¹lo havea ²→ **T** drudo] **Ih Tir** amante
203 della lor drudaria] **Ih Tir** del loro amore
204 havea] **Tir** havea
211 havea] **Tir** havea
215 nessuno] **Tir** nessun'

220

fattolo venire a sé piangendo lo ringratiò del mantenimento, che le faceva, e gli disse, “Miraval, se io mai hebbi pregio, e valore, né cortesia, né cosa alcuna di buono, tutto ciò mi è da voi venuto, del quale bene se io non ve ne ho fin qui rimeritato, io non me ne sono già rimasa per difetto di buona volontà ma per una parola, che voi poneste in una vostra canzone, quando diceste:

225

Bona donna nos deu damar gequir,
E pos tant fai cazamor sabandona
No sen cug trop, ni massa non o tir,
Que meins en val totz faitz, quil dessazona.

230

Onde io attendeva di farvi piacere, ma con honorata cagione, accioché voi l’haveste più caro; hora conoscendo quale amico voi mi sete al bisogno difendendomi contra tutti del falso biasimo, che mi hanno messo addosso i miei nimici, io per voi mi voglio torre a tutti, e darmi a voi solo per fare, e per dire ciò, che | vi sarà in piacere”. [5v]
Miraval mostrandone grande allegrezza accettò il dono della Loba, et hebbe da lei ciò che gli piacque, et poco appresso si partì del suo amore, essendosi innamorato di una gentildonna moglie del conte di

220 difetto di buona volontà] **Min BC** non calere

221 poneste] **Tir** portaste

224 tir] **Tir** lir

225 dessazona] **Tir** dessanzona

226 farvi piacere] **lh Tir** accettarvi per amante

231 il dono] **lh Tir** l’amore

232–233 et ... amore] **lh Tir** et poi poco appresso se ne parti

233–234 moglie del conte di Menerba] **lh effaced Tir missing**

Menerba detta Gent Esquiü de Menerba, et fece allhora la canzone:

Sieu en chantar soven 235
Nomatur, ni maten,
Non cuiden que sabers
Men failla, ni razos,
Ni talans amoros,
Quel plus de mos volers 240
Es en ioi, et en chan,
E de razon ai tan,
Que chantar en poiriasatz
Mas tot can sai, no vueill sapchatz.

Amore di Pons di Capdueill.

13. Pons de Capdueill amò per amore madonna Nalazais de Mer-
cuer figliuola di Bernardo di Anduza uno honorato barone della Mar-
ca di Provenza, e moglie di un gran conte di Alvernia, dalla quale
era parimente amato, e molto gioiosamente passavano insieme i loro
amori. Con la quale stando egli in tanta allegrezza entrò in un folle
pensiero di voler provare se la donna l'amava di cuore, quasi non gli

Mich. car. 82..

245

250

245 Capdueill] **Min** Capduill

246 di Anduza] **Min** danduza uno honorato] **Min** un'honorato

247 di Alvernia] **Min** d'Alvernia

250 di cuore] **Min** da dovero

234 Esquiü] **Tir** Esquieu

237 cuiden] **Tir** cuidetz

247 e moglie ... Alvernia] **Ih effaced Tir missing**

255

bastassero le tante dimostrazioni che già ne haveva in mano; et cominciò a far sembiante di havere portato il suo amore altrove, et che poco homai di lei si curasse. Quando madonna Nalazais vide, che Pons de Capdueill, cui ella haveva tanto amato, et tanto honorato, si era senza cagione dallei partito, et dato altrui, n'ebbe tanto sdegno, che unque poi non fu persona, a cui parlasse, né dimandasse di lui, et | s'altri gliene parlava, non gliene dava risposta vivendosi tuttavia [6r] in gran festa e trionfo. Allhora il folle amante veggendo la donna che non si dava nessuna malinconia del suo partire, né gli mandava letera, né messo, si accorse di havere mal fatto, et dopo l'havere a lei mandato più volte lettere, e messi, ch'ella non volle pur accettare, né udire, fece finalmente una canzone, che dice nella prima stanza:

260

Aissi com sel, ca pron de valedors,

Eill faillon tuit, ia tant non er amatz

251 già ne haveva] **Min** n'havea di certe 251–252 et cominciò] **Min** così cominciò

252 havere] **Min** haver

253 homai] **Min** *missing* si curasse] **Min** gli calesse

254 Capdueill] **Min** Capduill haveva] **Min** havea

255 dallei partito] **Min** partito dell'amor suo et dato] **Min** e s'era dato

258 e] **BC** *added later above* 258–259 la donna che] **Min** veggendo che la donna

260 messo] **Min** messaggio **BC** ¹messaggio ²**T** havere] **Min** haver 260–

261 a lei mandato più volte] **Min** più volte mandato a lei

262 finalmente] **Min** *missing* nella prima stanza] **Min** *missing*

253 si curasse] gli calesse **lh**

254 tanto] **Tir** *missing*

263 pron] **Tir** prou

En la sazón, ques desaventuratz, 265
 Me faill ma dompna, car conois camors
 Me fai per lieis murir a greu turmen.
 E sill pogues faire nuill faillimen,
 Ves mil feira, mas meins en val, so cre
 Bars, que dechai selui, que vencut ve. 270

Questa sua canzone non gli valse nulla, però ne rifece un'altra,
 che comincia:

Qui per nessi cuidar
 Fai trop gran faillimen,
 A dan li deu tornar, 275
 E sami mal en pren,
 Ni ma donam dechai,
 Bes tanh, que tal folia
 Ai fait, perqueu devria
 Morir dire, desmai. 280

Né quest'altra parimente non gli giovò, ché madonna Nalazais
 non volea credere a nessun partito ch'egli avesse finto così, per
 provarla; onde per ultimo rimedio se n'andò a madonna Maria da

267 Me] **Min** Mi lieis] **Min** lies
 271 però] **Min** pecio
 282 credere] **Min** creder
 283 onde ... rimedio] **Min** Ultimamente

270 dechai] **Tir** dec lai
 277 dechai] **Tir** dec lai

285

Ventadorno, alla viscontessa di Monferran, et alla viscontessa dal
Busso, et le condusse seco tutte e tre a Mercuer a Madonna | Nalazais [6v]
a dimandarle per lui mercé, che volesse rendergli la gratia sua; a'
preghi delle quali donne ella gli perdonò il suo fallo, e lo redintegrò
nel suo amore.

Amore di Guglielmo di

290

Balaon.

14. Tale, e maggior follia fece Guglielmo di Balaon amando una
gentildonna del vescovato di Gavauda detta per nome madonna Gu-
glielma de Iavais moglie di Pietro di Iaviac, da cui era parimente
amato, et ne haveva ogni suo piacere per conto d'amore. Hor have-
va Guglielmo un suo compagno chiamato Pietro di Bariac, il quale
havendo una sua amica detta madonna Viernetta vennero in cruc-
cio insieme per alcuna cagione sì, ch'ella diede a Pietro malamente
commiato, né più voleva ascoltarlo, né con esso lui havere a fare in

Lib. Sicil. car. 1..

295

284 Ventadorno] **Min** Ventadorn di] **Min** de 284–285 dal Busso] **BC**
added later in margin

285 condusse ... tre] **Min** tutte tre le menò Madonna] **Min** Mad.

287 donne] **Min** *missing*

288 nel suo amore.] **Min** nell'amor suo, ond'egli fu il più allegro huomo del
mondo, e disse bene, che mai più non farebbe una tal pazzia.

289 Guglielmo] **Min** Guilielmo amando] **Min** il quale amava

290–291 Guglielma] **Min** Guilielma

293 Guglielmo] **Min** Guilielmo

294–295 vennero ... insieme] **Min** venne con esso lei in cruccio

295 diede a Pietro] **Min** gli diede

296 esso] **Min** *missing*

284 Monferran] **Tir** Monferrand

285 Mercuer] **Tir** Mercover

287 redintegrò] **Tir** reintegrò

290 Gavauda] **Tir** Gevauda

291 Iavais] **Tir** Joviac moglie di Pietro di Iaviac] **Ih** *effaced* **Tir** *missing*

conto alcuno; onde egli non poteva durare di affanno, et di amorosa passione; ma pur finalmente per opera di Guglielmo di Balaon la donna si mitigò, et lo rimise nella sua gratia di prima. Della quale riconciliatione Pietro di Bariac fu tanto allegro, ch'egli hebbe a dire, che in questo punto haveva sentita gioia maggiore, che non sentì nel primo acquisto dello amore di madonna Viernetta. La qual cosa non potendo credere Guglielmo di Balaon si dispose di voler provare, se la gioia del ricuperare amore era così grande, come diceva Pietro di Bariac suo compagno, e finsesi di essere forte adirato con madonna Guglielma, e longamente stette senza volere andare in loco, dove ella fosse, e senza mandarle né letera, né ambasciata. La donna, che molto l'amava di cuore, gli mandò sue letere piene d'amore, e messo fidato a sapere la cagione, per la quale egli si stesse di venirla a vedere; ma Guglielmo non volle accettare sue letere, né udire suo messo, anzi lo fece accommiatare del castello villanamente; il messo [7r] ritornato contò il tutto alla donna. La quale | di nuovo gli mandò un suo cavaliere consapevole del loro amore a dimandare perché fosse

300

305

310

297 onde egli] **Min** ond'egli 297–298 di amorosa] **Min** d'amorosa

298 ma] **Min** *missing*

300 ch'egli hebbe] **Min** c'hebbe

302 dello amore] **Min** dell'amore

303 Guglielmo] **Min** Guilielmo

304 ricuperare] **BC** ¹recuperare? ²→ **T**

306 Guglielma] **Min** Guilielma longamente stette] **Min** stette longamente

310 Guglielmo] **Min** Guilielmo accettare] **Min** accettar udire] **Min** udir

311 messo] **Min** messaggio **BC** ¹messaggio ²**T**

306 longamente] **Tir** lungamente

311 del] **Tir** dal

315

così turbato seco, ché s'ella havea fatta cosa, che l'havesse offeso, si proferiva di farne l'ammenda al suo senno di lui. Guglielmo rispo-

320

se, che dire non gliene voleva la cagione, la quale ella sapeva bene ch'era tale, che non le si richiedeva ammenda. Per la qual risposta non sapendo la donna, che si pensare, se ne stava in gran malinconia. Finalmente havendo inteso, che Guglielmo era venuto a Iaviac dicendo di andare in peregrinaggio, et era smontato a casa di un bor-

325

ghese suo amico, senza lasciarsi vedere a corte, ella quando ogniuno si fu andato a dormire, se'n venne allo albergo, dove era alloggiato, e facendosi menare al letto, ove egli giaceva, gli si gittò dinanzi in ginocchione dimandandogli perdono, se in conto alcuno l'havesse offeso, facendosi avanti per volerlo basciare; ma Guglielmo ostinato, e fellone più che mai la ripinse indietro, et battendola la cacciò via da se. Per la qual villania la donna se ne ritorno trista e grama, pentita di ciò che'l soverchio amore le havea fatto fare, e con animo

315 farne l'ammenda] **Min** starne ad ammenda Guglielmo] **Min** Egli

317 le si] **Min** *missing* ammenda] **Min** alcuna ammenda

319 Iaviac] **Min** Ioviac

324 l'havesse] **Min** l'havea

325 facendosi] **Min** e si fece

328 soverchio] **Min** soverchio

314 havea] **Tir** avesse

317 si] **Tir** se

319 Iaviac] **Tir** Joviac

320–321 borghese] **Ih** *effaced with the same ink as the later hand but a different form of erasure compared to his usage*, **Tir** *missing*

325 facendosi ... basciare] **Ih** *effaced* **Tir** *missing*

326 ripinse] **Tir** respinse et battendola] **Ih** *effaced* **Tir** *missing*

327 ritorno] **Tir** tornò

deliberato di mai più non pensare in lui, et di non volerlo vedere,
né udire. Guglielmo di Balaon, a cui pareva di havere homai troppo 330
fatto, si levò la mattina per tempo, et se ne venne al castello et man-
dò dicendo a madonna Guglielma, che le volea parlare, per renderle
conto della sua follia; ma la donna piena di sdegno, et di mal talen-
to no'l volle vedere, né udire, ma gli fece dar commiato, et gittarlo
fuora del castello; onde egli tardi accorto del suo errore, e pentito 335
della sua follia se n'andò come un matto sospirando, e piangendo, e
sopra questo soggetto fece una disperata canzone, che comincia:

Lo vers mou merseian ves vos
Dona, no per tal quieu entenda
Que de mi merse vos prenda 340
[7v] Tant es lo forfaitz cabalos,
Car ges perdos no si atanh,
Mas pos mi mezeis ai perdut,
E vos, quem faitz plus esperdut,
Sim pert mas paraulas nom tanh. 345

La qual canzone fu portata a madonna Guglielma per Bernardo

330–331 homai troppo fatto] **Min** fatto assai
332 mandò dicendo] **Min** fece dire Guglielma] **Min** Guilielma volea]
Min voleva 332–333 per ... follia] **Min** *missing*
334 ma] **Min** anzi
337 sopra questo soggetto] **Min** per questa cagione questo soggetto] **BC**
¹questa ragione ²→ **T**
346 Guglielma] **Min** Guilielma

335 tardi] **Tir** tardo
337 soggetto] **Tir** *missing*

di Anduza, che la pregò caramente a volere far perdono a Guglielmo del suo fallo, prendendone primamente quella vendetta, che a lei paresse. Ella rispose, a Bernardo, che a i suoi prieghi non poteva mancare di compiacere, et che per suo amore era contenta di perdonargli con prenderne prima vendetta, la quale vendetta fosse tale, che Guglielmo si trahesse l'onghia del più lungo dito della mano, et gliele portasse a donare; Bernardo riferì il tutto a Guglielmo, il quale incontente, senza altro pensare si fece legare il dito, et trarne fuori l'onghia a gran tormento. Poi montato a cavallo con Bernardo di Anduza se ne venne a Ioviac a madonna Guglielma, et gittatolesi a' piedi le chiese perdono, et le presentò l'onghia del dito, la quale ella prese perdonandogli la nescia sua follia. Et è gran mercé d'un huomo, quando ha gran bene, et va cercando il male, che lo trova sì, come fece Guglielmo di Balaon.

14a.² Iaufre Rudel signor di Blaia s'inamorò per fama della contessa di Tripoli, senza mai haverla veduta, et stretto da amore si mise

347 a volere] **Min** che volesse 347–348 Guglielmo] **Min** Guilielmo

348–349 a lei paresse] **Min** paresse a lei

353 gliele] **Min** gliela

356 Anduza] **Min** Andusa Ioviac] **Min** Iaviac Guglielma] **Min** Guilielma

360 Guglielmo] **Min** Guilielmo

347 Anduza] **Tir** Anduze

352 onghia] **Tir** unghia

353 gliele] **Tir** gliela

355 onghia] **Tir** unghia

357 onghia] **Tir** unghia

362 stretto] **lh Tir** astretto

²Paragraph missing from **Min**.

Blaia. in mare in habito di pellegrino, per andarla a vedere, ma soprapreso nel viaggio da mortale infermità fu là portato da' marinari già in punto di morte, ma sentendosi chiamare, e toccare dalla contessa,
[8r] che'l venne a vedere, aperse gli | occhi, et parve rivenire ringratian-
dola, che gli havesse renduta la vita, nelle cui braccia nondimeno si morì poco appresso; et quindi è che'l Petrarca disse di lui nel quarto capitolo del *Trionfo d'amore*:

365

Gianfre Rudel, ch'uso la vela, e'l remo

370

A cercar la sua morte.

Della quale historia sono seminati alquanti versi per le sue canzoni, ch'egli fece di questo suo amore, come quando dice:

Quel cor ioi dautramor non a

Mich. car. 14.

Mai daisella, que anc non vi

canz. 4. st. 2^a.

375

et:

Amor de terra londana

car. 14. canz. 3^a. st. 2a.

Per vos totz lo cors mi dol

E non puesc trobar metzina

Tro vengal vostre reclam.

380

et:

Entre Grec, e trasmontana

come disopra.

372 quale] **Tir** qual

379 puesc] **Tir** puec

Volgra esser ins el mar.

et:

385

Ai car mi fos lai pelegris

Sique mos fatz, e mos tapis

car. 14., canz. 6. st. 2.

Fos pels sieus bels hueills remiratz.

Cap. VI. *Dell'Avanzamento delle Rime per gli Amori de i nostri poeti d'Italia.*

1. Per le cose di là da' monti non ci mancherebbono di molti altri esempi somministrati dalle delitie di quei tempi, et dall'usanza del paese, che ancor dura, ma le dodici precedenti historie disopra narrate nel V capitolo doveranno bastare a dar saggio degli incitamenti c'ebbero gli oltramontani a far montare le rime in alto nel cantar d'amore. | De i nostri minor numero, e più casti amori abbiamo da raccontare nel presente capitolo, perciocché la maniera d'Italia nel conversare non comportò loro una tanta libertà di fare, et di dire co-

[8v]

361–387 Jaufre ... remiratz] **Min** *missing*

2 dall'usanza] **Min** dalla usanza

4 nel V capitolo] **Min** *missing*

6 De] **Min** Ma de abbiamo] **Min** si haveranno

7 nel presente capitolo] **Min** *missing* perciocché] **Min** *cont.* se ben furono molti e tutti paiono dir d'amore, non per ciò di tutti, ma di pochi sono scritti gli innamoramenti, e

386 fatz] **Tir** futz

se tali alla scoperta di modo che si possano sapere gli amori di tutti quei, che paiono cantar d'amore; nondimeno così fervidamente ne cantarono quei pochi, de' quali si farà qui sotto mentione, che per opera loro le rime italiane paiono havere tolta la gloria del rimare ad ogni altro volgare.

10

Amori di Dante Alighieri.

2. E per cominciare da Dante padre e maestro dell'arte del dire per rima, egli sentì fin da fanciullo le fiamme d'amore, come raccontano il Boccaccio nella sua vita, et Benvenuto da Imola sopra il XXX° canto del Purgatorio con le sottoscritte parole:

15

Sed ad pleniorum cognitionem eorum, quae dicuntur hic, et in capitulo sequenti de ista Beatrice, volo te scire, Quòd cum quidam Fulcus Portunarius honorabilis civis Florentiae de more faceret celebre convivium Kal. Maii convocatis vicinis cum dominabus eorum, Dantes tunc puerulus novem annorum secutus patrem suum Aldigherium, qui erat unus de numero convivarum, vidit a casu inter alias puellas puellulam filiam praefati Fulci, cui nomen erat Beatrix, aetatis octo annorum, mirae pulchritudinis, sed maioris honestatis, quae subito intravit cor eius ita, quod nunq(uam) postea recessit ab eo, donec illa vixit, sive ex conformitate complexionis, et morum, sive ex singulari influentia coeli. Et cum aetate con-

20

25

9–10 tali ... d'amore;] **Min** missing

10 ne] **Min** missing

11 qui sotto] **Min** missing

14 E] **Min** et,

15 per] **Min** in

21 celebre] **Tir** celebrari

30

tinuo multiplicatae sunt amorosae flammae, ex quo Dantes
totus deditus illi quocunq(ue) iret pergebat, credens in oculis
eius videre summam foelicitatem, pro qua lachrymas, vigi-
lias, et infinitas tulit poenas, tamen hic amor honestissimus
semper fuit, ut nunq(uam) apparuerit signum libidinosi actus

35

in amante, vel amata.

Del quale suo amore egli medesimo scrisse un libretto intitolato **[9r]**
Vita nuova, nel quale viene a spiegare in parte i suoi amorosi ave-
nimenti, mentre che narra le ragioni, che lo mossero a fare i sonetti,
e le canzoni, che sono nel primo libro delle *Rime antiche*, de' quali
40 avvenimenti basterà per hora porre qui sotto il sogno, ch'egli ne fece,
del modo appunto, che si trova scritto nel preallegato libretto, dove
dice:

car. 9. lin. 5.

45

Et peroche quella fu la prima volta, che le sue parole si mos-
sero per venire alle mie orecchie, presi tanta dolcezza, che
come inebriato mi parti dalle genti, et ricorsi al solingo luogo
d'una mia camera, et posemi a pensare di questa cortesissi-
ma, et pensando di lei mi sopragiunse uno soave sonno, nel
quale m'apparve una maravigliosa visione, Che a me pareva
vedere una nebula di colore di fuoco, dentro dalla quale io
50 discerneva una figura d'uno signore di pauroso aspetto a chi
la guardasse, et pareami con tanta letitia quanto a se, che mi-
rabil cosa era, et nelle sue parole diceva molte cose, le quali

15–36 egli ... amore] **Min missing** 36 scrisse] **Min cont.** del suo amore
39 sono] **Min cont.** stampate 39–41 de' quali ... scritto] **Min ll.** 41–43

io non intendea, se non poche, tralle quali io intendea queste
EGO DOMINUS TUUS. nelle sue braccia mi pareva vedere
una persona dormire ignuda, salvo che involta mi pareva in
un drappo sanguigno leggiermente; la quale riguardando io
molto intentivamente, conobbi ch'era la donna della salute,
la quale mi haveva il giorno dinanzi degnato di salutare; Et
nell'una delle mani mi pareva, che questi tenesse una cosa,
la quale ardesse tutta, et pareami, che mi dicesse queste pa-
role VIDE COR TUUM; Et quando egli era stato alquanto,
pareami, che disvegliasse questa, che dormia, et tanto si sfor-
zava per suo ingegno, che le faceva mangiar questa cosa, che
in mano gli ardeva, la quale ella mangiava dubitosamente.
Appresso cio poco dimorava, che la sua letitia si convertia
in amarissimo pianto, et cosi piangendo si ri|coglieva questa
donna nelle sue braccia, et con essa mi pareva, che se ne gisse
verso il cielo, ond'io sosteneva si grande angoscia,chel mio
deboletto sonno non pote sostenere, anzi si ruppe, et fui di-
svegliato, et immantinentemente cominciai a pensare, et trovai, che
l'hora, nella quale mi era questa visione apparita, era stata la
quarta della notte; Siche appare manifestamente, che ella fu
la prima delle nove ultime hore della notte. Pensando io a

55

60

65

[9v]

70

53 tralle] **Min** tra le

56 riguardando io] **Min** io riguardando

58 haveva] **Min** havea

69 pote] **Min** potè

73-74 a cio] **Min** accio

64 dubitosamente] **Tir** dubbiosamente

69 et] **Tir** e

75

cio, che mi era apparito proposi di farlo sentire a molti, li quali erano famosi trovatori in quel tempo; et con cio fosse cosa ch'io havessi gia veduto per me medesimo l'arte del dire parole per rima proposi di fare uno sonetto, nel quale io salutassi tutti li fideli d'amore, et pregandoli, che giudicassero la mia visione scrissi a loro cio, ch'io havea nel mio sonno veduto, et cominciai allhora questo sonetto.

80

A ciascuna alma presa, e gentil core,
Nel cui conspetto viene il dir presente,
In cio, che mi riscrivan suo parvente
Salute, in lor signor, cioè amore.

Rim. ant. car. 4.

85

Gia eran quasi che atterzate l'hore
Del tempo, ch'ogni stella e piu lucente,
Quando m'apparve amor subitamente,
Cui essenza membrar mi da horrore.
Allegro mi sembrava amor tenendo

90

Mio core in mano, e ne le braccia havea
Madonna involta in un drappo dormendo.
Poi la svegliava, e d'esto core ardendo
Lei paventosa humilmente pascea,
Appresso gir lo ne vedea piangendo.

95

Dopo la morte di Beatrice, nel tempo del suo esiglio si inamo-

75 con cio] **Min** concio

84 cioè] **Min** cio e

95 esiglio] **Min** esilio

92 esto] **Tir** esso

rò parimente d'una giovinetta lucchese come egli tocca nel XXIII
canto del *Purgatorio* in persona di Bonagiunta da Lucca dicendo:

[10r] Femina e nata, e non porta ancor benda
 comincio ei, che ti fara piacere
 La mia citta, come c'huom la riprenda.

100

La quale accenna nel predetto loco sotto nome di "Gentucca":

 Ei mormorava, e non so che Gentucca
 Sentiva io.

 Sicome appresso nel canto XXXI la nomina Pargoletta forse con
nome sinonimo di Gentucca:

105

 Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso
 Ad aspettar piu colpi o Pargoletta,
 O altra vanita con si breve uso

 Della quale intese similmente nella chiusa della canzone, che
comincia:

110

96 d'una] **Min** di una

101 La quale ... "Gentucca"] **Min** Il cui nome fu Gentucca, come nel detto loco

104 Sicome ... nomina] **Min** La quale egli appresso nel canto XXXI fa nominare
a Beatrice la] **BC** *added later above*

105 Gentucca] **Min** *cont.* là ove dice per modo di riprensione

109–119 Della ... marmo.] **Min** et nel fine della canzone Io son venuto al punto
dela rota car. 35.. Se in pargoletta fia per cuore un marmo.

Io son venuto al punto della rota.

dicendo così:

Canzone hor che sara di me nel'altro

Rim. ant. car. 36..

Tempo novello, e dolce, quando piove

115

Amore in terra da tutti li cieli,

Quando per questi gieli

Amore e solo in me, e non altrove?

Saranne quello, che dun huom di marmo,

Se in Pargoletta fia per cuore un marmo.

120

3. Guido Cavalcanti mostra che fosse innamorato in Toscana per

Amore di Guido Cavalcanti. una sua ballata, che comincia:

Perch'io no spero di tornar giamai

Rime ant. car. 70..

Ballatetta in Toscana,

Va tu leggiera, e piana

125

Dritto ala donna mia,

Che per sua cortesia

Ti fara molto honore.

120 Guido Cavalcanti] **Min** Guido di messer Cavalcante Cavalcanti, il qual Dante in alcun loco chiama primo degli amici suoi, che fosse innamorato] **Min** di essere stato innamorato

123 Ballatetta] **BC** ¹Ballattetta ²→ **T**

125 ala] **Min** alla

122 giamai] **Tir** giammai

[10v] La qual donna si può credere, che fosse quella, della quale fa Dante mentione nella sua *Vita nuova* quando dice:

Io vidi venire verso me una gentildonna, la qual era di famosa beltade, et fu già molto donna di questo primo amico mio, il nome di questa donna era Giovanna, Salvo che per la sua belta, secondo ch'altri crede, imposto l'era per nome Primavera, et così era chiamata.

car. 18.. lin. 24.

130

Pel suo primo amico intende Dante Guido Cavalcanti, ché così lo nomina chiaramente in un altro loco, di cui fu donna Monna Giovanna detta Primavera. Onde ragionevolmente si potrebbe sospettare, che la ballata prima nel secondo libro delle *Rime antiche* attribuita a Dante fosse più tosto di Guido

Vita nuova car. 9.. lin. 14.

135

car. 16.

Fresca Rosa novella
Piacente Primavera
Per prata, e per rivera
Gaiamente cantando

140

128–129 La qual ... dice:] **Min** Ma chi fosse questa sua donna se ne viene in cognitione per alcune parole scritte da Dante nella sua *Vita nuova*, che sono:

130 me] **BC** *added later above* gentildonna] **Min** gentil donna

135–137 Pel ... Primavera.] **Min** *missing* (cf. l. 127)

137 Onde] **Min** Per la qual cosa

138 ballata] **Min** canzonetta

139 attribuita ... Guido] **Min** fosse più tosto di Guido Cavalcante, che di Dante, a cui si attribuisce:

139 di] **lh Tir** *cont.* detto

Vostro fin presio mando a la verdura.

145 Amore di Lappo Gianni.

4. Di questa madonna Giovanna, et di Beatrice sua, et della
donna di Lappo Gianni ancora parlò Dante in un sonetto a Guido
Cavalcanti:

Guido vorrei che tu e Lappo, ed io

Rim. ant. car.

Fossimo presi per incantamento,

150

E messi in un vassel ch'ad ogni vento

Per mare andasse a voler vostro, e mio,

Si che fortuna, od altro tempo rio

Non ci potesse dare impedimento,

Anzi vivendo sempre in noi talento

155

Di stare insieme crescesse il Desio

E monna Vanna, e monna Bice poi,

[11r]

Con quella su il numer de le trenta

Con noi ponesse il buono incantatore.

E quivi ragionar sempre d'amore,

160

E ciascuna di lor fosse contenta,

Si come credo, che sariamo noi.

144 a la] **Min** ala

145–147 Di questa ... Cavalcanti:] **Min** Della donna di Lappo Gianni si trova
fatta menzione nel seguente sonetto di Dante a Guido Cavalcanti:

155 il] **Min** 'l

157 de le] **Min** dele

161 come] **Min** cont. io

Quella su il numer de le trenta era senza dubbio la donna di Lap-
po terzo compagno; per intelligentia del qual loco fa bisogno sape-
re quello, che racconta Dante medesimo nel libretto della sua *Vita
nuova*, dove dice:

car.

165

Dico che in questo tempo, che questa donna era schermo di
tanto amore, quanto dalla mia parte, mi venne una volonta
di voler ricordare lo nome di quella gentilissima, et accom-
pagnarlo di molti nomi di donne, et specialmente del nome
di questa gentil donna, et presi gli nomi di sessanta le piu
belle donne della citta, ove la mia donna fu posta dall'altis-
simo Sire, et composi una pistola sotto forma di serventese,
la quale io non scrivero, et non havrei fatto mentione, se non
per dir quello, che componendola maravigliosamente aven-
ne, cioe che in alcun altro numero non sofferse il nome della
mia donna stare, se non in sul nono tra' nomi di queste donne.

170

175

Sul numero adunque del trenta dovea essere caduta la donna di

162 de le] **Min** dele

163–164 per intelligentia ... sapere] **Min** perché molto bene s'intendevano fra
loro, et si ha da riferire a

165 dice] **Min** scrive così

170 gentil donna] **Min** gentildonna

174–175 avvenne] **Min** avvenne

175 cioe] **Min** cio e

177 essere] **Min** esser

173 havrei] **Tir** n'havrei

174–175 avvenne] **Tir** avvenne

176 in sul] **Tir** in un sol

180

Lappo Gianni, sì come Beatrice sul numero del nove, del cui proprio nome non si può avere notizia, poichè Dante la volle solamente circoscrivere come di sopra, sapendo di dovere essere inteso da gli amici che s'intendevano fra loro a cenno.

[11v] Amore di Messer
Cino da Pistoia.

5. Ma che diremo dell'amoroso messer Cino? Quello veramente,
che ne disse Dante suo amico,

Che pigliar si lasciava ad ogni uncino.

Rime ant. car. 135.

185

Ma s'egli ci rispondesse a noi, come rispose a Dante:

Un piacer sempre mi lega, e discioglie,

Rim. ant. car. 135..

Nel qual convien, ch'a simil di biltate

Con molte donne sparte mi diletta

190

Et si volesse sapere di questo suo piacere il nome e la patria,
si troverebbe che la donna sua si fu di Pistoia, come chiarisce la
canzone:

La dolce vista, e'l bel guardo soave.

Rim. ant. car. 61..

Et che'l suo nome fu Selvaggia, secondo la commune opinione,

178 Gianni] **Min** missing 178–181 del cui ... cenno.] **Min** et chi potesse vedere la sopradetta pistola si farebbe chiaro del suo nome.

180 essere] **BC** added later above

182 veramente] **Min** certamente

183 amico,] **Min** cont. cioè

185–193 Ma s'egli ... nome] **Min** see lines 185–96

et secondo monsignor Bembo, che disse nelle sue stanze

Questa fe' Cino poi lodar Selvaggia.

195

La quale opinione può esser nata da i versi del Petrarca nel 4°
cap. del *Trionfo di amore*, che sono:

Ecco Dante, e Beatrice; ecco Selvaggia,

Ecco Cin da Pistoia, Guitton d'Arezzo.

Come se'l Petrarca havesse così voluto accoppiare insieme Cino,
et Selvaggia, come haveva accoppiati Dante, e Beatrice. Al che non
osando io di contraddire per riverenza di coloro, che hanno portata, e
portano questa opinione dirò solamente, che'l dubitare di ciascuna
cosa non è senza utilità, et tanto maggiormente, ché di Selvaggia si
trova fatta menzione da' provenzali come di donna d'altro loco, che
di Pistoia, et di tempo alquanto sopra l'età di Cino, come da Amerigo
di Belenuei, che la fa d'Aura Mala dicendo:

200

205

Si Salvaia es tan pros d'Aura Mala.

Lib. slegato car. 42. e 42..

194 sue] **Min** *missing*

200 Come ... voluto] **Min** quasi chel Petrarca volesse così

204 et] **Min** e 204–205 si trova] **Min** trovo

205 donna] **BC** *added later in margin*

206–209 da Amerigo ... Corrado:] **Min** *see* 195–204

199 Pistoia,] **lh Tir** Pistoia

201 haveva] **Tir** havea

Et figliuola d'un signor Corrado:

210

No son fillas den Corrat lo seignor.

Et come da Ugo di Sansir, che disse:

car. 76. [12r]

Na Salvaga daitan siatz certaia
Que lonramens de vos me fai plazer
Lombardia, e la Marcha, e Toscanaia.

215

Parimente da Lanfranco Cicala in questi versi:

car. 86..

Que vos es tant enamoratz
De na Salvaia la valen.

I quali tutti furono di molti anni inanzi a Cino et senza dubbio dentro dal 1250, nel qual tempo egli forse non era ancora nato; onde bisognerà dire che altra Selvaggia, o d'altro nome fosse la donna di Messer Cino, nella qual cosa io me ne rimetto a più diligenti investigatori di me.

220

6. Notissimo, e cantatissimo sopra tutti è l'amore di Messer Fran-

211 Et come ... disse] **Min** Della quale parla similmente uno Ugo di Sansir dicendo

215–222 Parimente ... me.] **Min** *see* 210–18 215 Cicala] **BC** G...

223 è] **Min** *cont.* stato

212 Salvaga] **Tir** Salvaja

219 ancora] **Tir** ancor

cesco Petrarca con madonna Laura, della quale scrisse tante rime così in vita come in morte, che pur è maraviglia, come nessuno potesse mai dubitare di questo suo amore. Et nondimeno Jacopo della Colonna suo singolarissimo signore, et amico voleva che l'amor suo di Laura fosse una fintione, per havere materia di poetare, intendendo il nome di Laura per la laurea poetica, alla quale aspirava con ogni studio, sì come suonano le parole del Petrarca medesimo scritte nella XX^a. pistola del secondo libro delle *Famigliari*, là ove dice:

225230

car. 220.. lin. 1.

Quid ergo ais? finxisse me mihi speciosum Laureae nomen,
 ut esset et de qua ego loquerer, et propter quam de me multi
 loquerentur; Rem autem veram in animo meo Lauream nihil
 esse, nisi illam poëticam, ad quam aspirare me longum,
 et indefessum studium testatur, de hac autem spirante Laureae,
 cuius forma captus videor, manu facta esse omnia, ficta
 carmina, simulata suspiria.

235

[12v] Contra la quale imputatione di fingardia egli sene difende per questo modo:

240

224 scrisse tante rime] **Min** tante rime scrisse

225 pur è] **Min** pare

228 havere] **Min** haver

231 delle] **Min** cont. cose

238 carmina] **BC** suspiria

239 Contra la] **Min** Dalla egli] **Min** missing sene] **Min** se ne

225 maraviglia] **Tir** meraviglia

230 medesimo] **Tir** medesimo

245

In hoc uno, vere ut iocareris, simulatio esset utinam, et non furor, sed crede mihi, nemo sine magno labore diu simulat, laborare autem gratis, ut insanus videaris, insania summa est. Adde quod aegritudinem gestibus imitari bene valentes possumus, verum pallorem simulare non possumus, tibi pallor, tibi labor meus notus est.

250

Per la testimonianza delle quali sopradette parole dovendosi ripetere vero, e non finto l'amore del Petrarca potrà ciascuno per sé medesimo vederne gli avvenimenti notati qua e là sparsamente per le sue rime, che gli fece scrivere amore.

Amore del Boccaccio.

7. Il Boccaccio più di ogni altro fu palesatore del suo amore, parlandone in versi, et in prosa più apertamente, che non si sarebbe convenuto alla conservatione dell'honore della donna amata, che fu di schiatta reale, figliuola naturale del re Roberto terzo re di Napoli della casa Angioina, il cui nome proprio era Maria, ma fu dal Boccaccio nominata per nome di Fiammetta ne i suoi libri, molti de' quali egli compose per amor di lei. La quale mostra che morisse inanzi a lui per lo seguente sonetto direttivo a Dante già morto:

Filocopo. car.

255

Dante, se tu ne l'amorosa spera

Rime di diversi autori

260

com'io credo, dimori riguardando

car. ii

La bella luce, la qual gia cantando

Altra volta si trasse la, dov'era;

249 avvenimenti] **Min** avvenimenti sparsamente] **Min** *missing*

253–254 che fu] **Min** la quale era

257–272 La quale ... salita] **Min** *missing*

250 che gli] **Ih** → chegli

Se per scambiar fallace vita a vera
Amar non se n'oblia, io ti dimando
Per lei di gratia cio, che contemplando 265
A far ti fia assai cosa leggiera.

[13r] Io so che infra l'altre anime liete
Del terzo ciel la mia Fiammetta vede
L'affanno mio dopo la sua partita,
Pregala, se'l gustar dolce di Lete 270
Non la mi ha tolta, in loco di mercede,
Ch'a se m'impetre tosto la salita.

8. Fatio degli Uberti contemporaneo de i predetti due poeti amò

Amore di Fazio degli Uberti. per amore Madonna Rosa de' Malaspini moglie del conte Federico
da Montefeltro in Urbino, come egli tocca nel suo *Mappamundi* al 275
cap. LXII dicendo: car. 40. lin. 31.

Seguendo a di a di il mio camino
Ascoli vidi, Fermo, e Recanata
Ancona, Fano, Arimino, et Urbino.
Nel'ultima citta, ch'e qui nomata, 280
Trovai quel vago sol, trovai la rosa,

273 predetti] **Min** pre detti

274 per amore] **Min** *missing*

275 come] **Min** sì come

280 nel'] **Min** Ne l'

264 oblia] **Tir** obblia

274–275 moglie ... Montefeltro] **lh** *effaced* **Tir** *missing*

275 *Mappamundi*] **Tir** Dittamondo

285

Che sopra l'un di Malispini e nata.
Hor s'alcuna favilla in te riposa
D'amor lettore, pensa qual divenni,
Che la mia mano qui notar no l'osa.

Per riguardo del quale amore disse ancora nella chiusa d'una sua canzone:

Canzon creata a l'ombra d'una Spina
Dolce d'amor, che a gli occhi m'e si vaga.

290

Et questo fin qui sia detto a dimostrare quanto profittassero in quei tempi le rime per cagione degli amori delle donne, che agguzzarono gli ingegni degli amanti a far sentir cantando le lode loro, et le amorse sue passioni.

Cap. VII. *A narrare per opera, et favore di quali huomini grandi montassero le rime in pregio.*

1. Hora si ha da dire del giovamento, che fecero alla volgar poesia i favori degli huomini grandi; ma perciò che lungo sarebbe a voler dire di tutti quei, che posero a questo fatto mano aiutatrice so-

[13v]

283 Hor] **Min** Or

286–289 Per riguardo ... vaga.] **Min** see 268–89

292 sentir] **Min** sentire lode] **Min** lodi

1 volgar] **Min** vulgar

3 voler] **Min** missing

282 di Malispini] **Tir** de' Malaspini

289 che] **Tir** ch'

lamente si toccherà di alcuni, che si trovano per scrittura haver posto più particolar studio a beneficio di questa arte del dire per rima in diversi volgari.³

5

Conte Raimondo di Provenza. 2. Nel qual soggetto è da sapere in prima quello, che faceva fare in sua corte il conte Raimondo di Provenza, raccontato dal maestro delle *Cento novelle antiche* nella novella LXVIII dove dice così: car. 26.

I cavalieri, e donzelli, ke erano giulivi, e gai si facciano di belle canzoni el suono el motto, e quattro approvatori erano stabiliti, ke quelle, ke aveano valore, facciano mettere in conto, ellaltre a killavea fatte diciano kelle migliorasse.

10

Il "buon re" Guglielmo di Sicilia. 3. Fu già stagione, dice Dante nel libro *della Volgare eloquenza*, che tutto quello, che si componeva per gli huomini d'Italia in rima si chiamava siciliano, perciò che prima usciva nelle corti de i re di

15

Lib. p°. cap. 12. car.9. lin.9.

5 dire] **Min** dir 5-6 in diversi volgari] **Min** *missing*

7 in prima] **Min** *missing*

9 nella novella ... così] **Min** con le sottoscritte parole

10 e] **BC** *added later above*

14 dice] **Min** come testimonia nel] **Min** *cont.* primo *Volgare*] **Min**
Vulgare

15 d'Italia] **Min** italiani **BC** *added later above*

16 perciò che] **Min** perciòché

5 questa] **Tir** quest'

9 LXVIII] **Tir** LXIII

³Barbieri leaves some horizontal space between these two sentences. I have interpreted this as an intention to begin a new paragraph, as the presence of a title on the left margin suggests as well.

20

Cicilia, i quali furono prima normandi, poi di Soavia della casa di Stoffen discendenti di Federico il Barbarossa. Della prima schiatta uscì quelli, che fu detto il “bon re” Guglielmo, il qual soprannome si dava unicamente a i precipi benigni, humani, cortesi, liberali, et amici de’ buoni, et virtuosi huomini; di questo bon re Guglielmo Normando si trova scritto nel commento di Francesco da Buti sopra il XX° canto del Purgatorio, come segue appresso:

25

Questo Re Guilielmo fue uno homo iusto, et ragionevole, et amava li suoi sudditi di diletione regale, la quale fa differenza dalla iniqua volonta tirannica, et teneali in tanto trastullo, pace, e diletto | che si potea stimare un paradiso terrestre; Costui era liberalissimo, non era cavaliere, ne d’altra conditione homo, che fosse in sua corte, o che passasse per quella contrada, che da lui non fosse proveduto, et era lo dono proportionato a sua vertude; Ben tenea elli questa regola entro li

car. 316.

[14r]

30

17 i quali] **Min** che
 18 discendenti] **Min** discendenti il] **Min** *missing*
 19 detto] **Min** sornomato **BC** ¹sornomato ²cognominato
 20 unicamente] **Min** solamente
 21 huomini;] **Min** *cont. with ll. 21–27* Guglielmo] **Min** Guilielmo
 27 e] **Min** et che si potea] ¹**BC** stimare un
 28 cavaliere] **BC** ¹cavalli... ²→**T**
 31 ;] **BC** .

17 Soavia] **Tir** Savoja
 19 quelli] **Tir** quello bon] **Tir** buon
 20 unicamente] **Tir** anticamente benigni] **Tir** *missing*
 21 bon] **Tir** buon
 30 proveduto] **Tir** proveduto

homini di corte, che selli veniva uno cattivo, o mal parlante
 homo di corte in sua corte incontanente era conosciuto per
 quelli, che sopra cio erano posti, et incontanente li era dona- 35
 to roba, et altri doni, perche havesse cagione di partirsi; se
 erano tanto conoscenti sisi partivano, se non, cortesemente li
 era dato commiato. Et selli veniva uno virtudioso, et curiale,
 a questo era similmente donato, ma continuo lo teneano in
 speranza di maggior dono, e con cotali genti erano si legati,
 che raro si partiano. Per la qual regola in essa corte si trova- 40
 va d'ogni perfettione gente; Quivi erano li buoni dicitori in
 rima d'ogni conditione, quivi erano li excellentissimi canta-
 tori, quivi erano persone d'ogni solazzo, che si puo pensare,
 vertudioso, et honesto; in questa corte era tanta pace, tanta
 tranquillita, chelli habitanti, et sudditi notavano in allegrezza. 45

4. Di quei di Soavia non fa bisogno dire altro, per argomentare,
 che portassero favore alle rime, se non che di loro medesimi si leg-
 gono ancora hoggidì in istampa canzoni da non sprezzare secondo
 la maniera di quei tempi.

Rime ant. car. 115. e 116.

I marchesi d'Este. 5. Ma dalla prenarrata regola del bon re Guilielmo non fu guari 50
 differente lo stilo, che tennero i marchesi d'Este in Ferrara nel rice-

36 sisi] **Min** si si
 37 selli] **Min** s'elli
 48 ancora] **Min** ancor
 51 che tennero] **Min** tenuto da

32 selli] **Tir** selle

vere, et cimentare gli huomini di corte per avanzamento della cosa
delle rime, come si trova scritto incidentalmente | in una prosa di lin- [14v]
gua provenzale posta dinanzi ad un libretto di stanze scelte, ch'essi
55 chiamano *Coblas triadas*, la quale io porrò qui sotto nel suo proprio
linguaggio del modo appunto, che la vi ho trovata; et dice così:

Maistre Ferari fo da Feirara e fo giullar et intendet meill de
trobar proensal que negus om que fos mai en Lombardia e
meill entendet la lenga proensal e sap molt be letras e scri-
60 vet meill quom del mond e feis de molt bos libres e de beill
cortes om fo dela persona e bons om fo a Deo e volontera
servit as baros et as cavalers, e tostemps stet en la casa dest
e quan venia que li Marches feanon festa e cort e li giullar li
venian que sentendean dela lenga proensal anavan tuit a lui
65 e clamavan lor maistre e salcus lin venia que sentendes meill
que i altri e que fes questios de son trobar o dautrui e Maistre

Libro slegato car. 5..

52 et cimentare] **Min** e nello accarezzare cimentare] **BC** provare

54 scelte] **BC** *added later above*

57 intendet] **Min** intendez

60 quom] **Min** chom

62 et] **Min** e cavalers] **Min** chavalers

63 quan] **Min** qan que] **Min** qe

64 a] **Min** ab

65 que] **Min** che meill] **Min** meil

66 que] **Min** che que] **Min** che

59 e] **Tir** :

66 questios] **Tir** quesivs

Ferari li respondea ades. sique li era per un canpio en la cort del Marches dest. Mas non fes mais que dos canzos e una Retruensa, mais Serventes e coblas fes el asai delas meillor del mon e fe un estrat de totas las canzos dels bos trobadors del mon, e de cadaunas canzos o serventes tras I coblas, o II o III aquelas que portan las sentenzas delas canzos co son tut li mot triat et aquest estrat escrit isi denan et en aquest estrat non volc meter nullas de las soas coblas mais cel de cui es lo libre len fet scriure perche fos recordamen de lui. e maistre Ferrari quand el era ioven sentendet in una dona chac nom madona Turcha e per aquela dona fe el de moltas bonas

70

75

-
- 67 sique] **Min** Siche
68 que] **Min** che canzos] **Min** cancos
69 coblas] **Min** cobles meillor] **Min** meilor
70 totas] **Min** tutas canzos] **Min** cancos
71 cadaunas] **Min** chadaunas I] **Min** unas
72 II] **Min** deus III] **Min** tres aquelas] **Min** aqelas que] **Min** che
 las sentenzas] **Min** lasentenzas
73 aquest] **Min** aqest aquest] **Min** aqest
74 non] **Min** num volc] **Min** vol de las soas] **Min** delassoas cel]
Min qel
75 len fet] **Min** lin fi perche] **Min** per che recordamen] **Min** recordament
76 el era] **Min** elera ioven] **Min** zoven
77 per aquela] **Min** perachela moltas] **Min** molt

-
- 67 li] **Tir** l'
69 Serventes] **Tir** Serventos
70 totas] **Tir** totes
75 len fet] **Tir** lui fit

80

causas. e quan venc quel fo veill pauc anava atorn mais quel
 anava a Trevis a meser Giraut da Chamin et a sos filz et illi
 fasian grand honor el vesian | voluntera, e molt laquilian ben
 eli donavan voluntera per la bontat de lui, e per lamor del
 Marches dest.

[15r]

85

Per la quale particolare affettione, e cura de i sopradetti signori,
 et d'altri montarono le rime in pregio, et i fautori di quelle si guada-
 gnarono l'amore degli scrittori, che volentieri pigliavano occasione
 di parlarne honoratamente, come fa Dante nel secondo libro della
Volgare eloquenza nel formare i modi del dire, scrivendo così:

90

Ecci ancora il saporito, e venusto, il quale e di alcuni, che
 così disopra via pigliano la Retorica come e:
 “La lodevole discrezione del Marchese d'Este, e la sua pre-
 parata magnificentia fa esso a tutti esser diletto.”⁴

78 quan] **Min** qan venc] **Min** ven quel] **Min** chel veill] **Min** veil
 quel] **Min** chel
 83–84 e cura de i sopradetti signori, et d'altri] **Min** di questa arte
 84 d'] **BC added later above**
 86 parlarne honoratamente] **Min** dirne tutto 'l bene, che poteano Dante]
Min cont. dell'uno dei marchesi
 87 nel formare ... così] **Min** dicendo nel formare le locutioni

78 venc] **Tir** veno
 79 sos] **Tir** so illi] **Tir** ille
 89 e] **Tir missing**

⁴The paragraph ‘La lodevole... diletto’ was written before ‘Ecci... come è’ and then they were reorde-
 red by writing ‘B’ and ‘A’ respectively, and by tracing lines to where they were supposed to go.

Ma per gli tre precedenti capitoli essendosi a bastanza dimostrate le cagioni del nascimento, et dello augumento della volgar poesia, tempo è di passare avanti a dire delle altre cose, che richiede l'ordine del presente trattato.

95

Cap. VIII. *De i volgari, che si hanno da avere in consideratione nel presente trattato per conto delle rime.*

1. L'ordine del presente trattato richiede, che servendo propriamente la favella volgare come di materia alla formatione de i versi rimati, si venga hora alla specificatione di quai volgari fra i molti che ci sono, si habbia da tenere principalmente conto in questa no-
[15v] stra trattatione. Nella | qual cosa fa bisogno sapere, che per lingua
volgare si può strettamente intendere la propria, e natural favella del loco natio di ciascuno, come il volgare modonese, o largamente la intelligibile a più città, come l'italiano, et può essere a più nationi, come lo schiavone. Della prima sorte sono tanti i volgari, che non

5

92 Ma] **Min missing** essendosi] **Min** habbiamo, credo,

93 volgar poesia] **Min** poesia volgare; onde

1-5 L'ordine ... trattatione.] **Min ll.** 1-7

2 favella] **BC** parlatura

5 fa bisogno] **Min** si conviene che] **BC** pe... per] **Min missing**

6 può] **Min cont.** doppiamente considerare, ciò è strettamente, e largamente strettamente] **BC added later in margin** intendere] **Min** solo s'intende

propria] **Min** propia e natural] **Min missing**

7 o] **Min missing** 7-8 largamente la intelligibile] **BC** la intel...

9 che] **Min cont.** di tutti

9 sorte] **Tir** sorta

10 se ne può dar numero certo, delle altre sono molti. Però lasciando
del tutto gli infiniti da parte, de' quali non è scientia, dei molti an-
cora scieglieremo quei soli, che si trovano per scrittura essere stati
anticamente ricettacolo delle rime, et havere havuti scrittori degni
di memoria, da' quali sono stati coltivati, e messi in pregio. I quali
15 volgari brevemente si possono ridurre sotto una tripartita divisione
distinti l'uno dall'altro con questa insegna, che nella prima schie-
ra risegneremo tutti quei, che nello affermare cheché sia costumano
di dire "oil", nella seconda quei, che dicono "oc", nella terza quei,
che dicono "si". Sotto la quale divisione si vengono generalmente
20 a comprendere tutti i volgari di Francia, di Provenza, di Cicilia, et
d'Italia, che sono i volgari, che anticamente hanno havuti scrittori, et
de i quali intendiamo di tener conto nel presente trattato, seguendo il
modo di Dante, che ne ragionò mediante la sopra detta divisione, in
conformità della quale scrisse ancora nel canto XXXIII dello *nferno*
a disegnare Italia:

Volg. eloq. p°. libro cap. IX.

Car. 6..

Ai Pisa vituperio dele genti

10 delle altre] **Min** della seconda
11 scientia] **Min** scienza dei] **Min** de i
12 trovano] **Min** trova
13–16 et havere ... altro] **Min** et questi così scelti ridurremo sotto tre schiere
distinte l'una dall'altra
17 risegneremo] **Min** staranno
19–24 Sotto ... ancora] **Min** secondo la quale tripartita divisione disse Dante
19 generalmente] **BC** *added later above*
24 dello *nferno*] **Min** dell'inferno
26 dele] **Min** de le

26 Ai] **Tir** Ahi

Del bel paese la, dove'l Sì sona.

2. Et in verità hanno questi volgari insieme una certa con-
Dante nel sup.^{to} loco. venevolezza, quasi a modo di fratelli nati d'una origine simi-
li fra loro con alcuna disimiglianza. Della maggioranza de i
[16r] quali non | hebbe Dante medesimo ardimento di dar giudizio
se non timidamente nel primo libro della *Volgare eloquenza*
dicendone queste parole:

30

cap. X.

Hora essendo in tre parti diviso, come disopra e detto, il no-
stro parlare, nella comparatione di se stesso, secondo, ch'egli
e tripartito, con tanta timidita lo andiamo ponderando, che ne
questa parte, ne quella, ne quell'altra habbiamo ardimento di
preporre, se non in quello SIC, che i grammatici si trova-
no haver preso per adverbio di affirmare, la qual cosa pare,
che dia qualche piu autorita a gli italiani i quali dicono SÌ_
Veramente di queste tre parti ciascuna con largo testimonio
si difende. La lingua di OI allega per se, che per lo suo piu
facile, e piu dilettevole volgare tutto quello, che e stato tra-
dutto, overo ritrovato in prosa volgare e suo, cioe la Bibbia,

35

40

28–30 Et in ... disimiglianza.] **Min** *missing* 28–29 convenevolezza] **BC** *originally cont.* fra loro

31 quali] **Min** *cont.* tre volgari simili con alcuna dissimiglianza Dante medesimo] **Min** il medesimo Dante

34–40 Hora ... SÌ_] **Min** *missing*

41 Veramente] **Min** *cont.* ciascuna ciascuna] **Min** *missing*

43 che e] **Min** ch'e

40 gli] **Tir** gl'

42 OI] **Tir** OIL

45 i fatti de i Troiani, e de i Romani, le bellissime favole del Re
Artu, e molte altre historie, e dottrine. L'altra poi argomenta
per se, cioe la lingua d' OC, e dice, che i volgari eloquenti
scrissero i primi poemi in essa, si come in lingua piu per-
50 fetta, e piu dolce, come fu Piero di Alvernia, et altri molto
antiqui Dottori. La terza poi, che e degli Italiani afferma per
dai privilegi esser superiore; il primo e, che quelli, che piu
dolcemente, e piu sottilmente hanno scritti poemi, sono stati
suoi domestici, e famigliari, cioe Cino da Pistoia, e lo amico
suo; Il secondo e, che pare, che piu s'accostino alla gramma-
55 tica la quale e commune, e questo a coloro, che vogliono con
ragione considerare, par gravissimo argomento

3. Per le quali preminenze disopra allegate solevano gli antichi
nostri volgaristi dilettersi di haver cognitione de i volgari d'oc et
d'oil, non meno che | del suo proprio tramettendone alcuna volta ne [16v]
60 i loro poemi, come fece Dante nel XXVI canto del *Purgatorio* in

50 che e] **Min** ch'e

54 s'accostino] **Min** si accostino

57 allegate] **Min** alligate

58 haver] **Min** havere de i] **Min** di questi

59 d'oil] **Min** di oil

60–61 fece ... Daniello] **Min** ne appaiono segnali in Dante, che nel canto XXVI
del *Purgatorio* ci lasciò scritti alquanti versi in provenzale

47 d'] **Tir** di

48 si come] **Tir** siccome

51 privilegi] **Tir** privilegj

55 commune] **Tir** comune

58 dilettersi] **Tir** delettarsi d'oc] **Tir** di oc

persona di Arnaldo Daniello dicendo:

Tan mabellis vostre cortes deman
Quezieu non puesc ni vueill a vos cobrir
col resto che segue.

Et nella canzone delle tre lingue, che comincia

65

Ahi faulx ris pourque traï aves
Oculos meos?

Rime antiche car. 25.

Dove dice nella chiusa:

Canson vos pogues ir per tot le mond,
Namque locutus sum in lingua trina,
Ut gravis mea spina
Si saccia per lo mondo, ogn'huomo il senta
Forse pieta n'havra chi mi tormenta.

70

Et come fece il Petrarca nella canzone:

Lasso me, ch'i non so in qual parte pieghi

75

65 che comincia] **Min** *missing*

68–73 Dove ... tormenta.] **Min** *missing*

74 come fece] **Min** appresso

63 Quezieu] **Tir** Ch'jeu puesc] **Tir** puque

69 pogues] **Tir** pogres

Trapponendo quel principio di canzone provenzale:

Dreitz e raison es quieu chant em demori.

Et più allongo ancora Fatio degli Uberti nel suo *Mappamundi* quando pose più versi in lingua francesca dicendo nel capitolo centesimo

80

Dieus vos sault fu il primo suo dire,

car. 66..

E vous soies, fis ie, le bien venus

Vago di domandare, e lui udire

Et così continua francescamente parlando per molti versi. Come fa parimente in lingua provenzale nel capitolo CIIII.

85

Noi troviamo u romeo andando, il quale

car. 69..

Io salutai ne la nostra favella,

Ed e rispose a me in provenzale

76 Trapponendo] **Min** dove egli cita di] **Min** d'una

78 allongo] **Min** largamente 78–79 Fatio ... *Mappamundi*] **Min** nel *Mappamundi* di Fatio degli Uberti

79 quando pose] **Min** quando nel cap. C.° scrive 79–80 nel capitolo centesimo] **Min** *missing*

82 vous] **BC** vos

84 Et così ... versi.] **Min** *missing* 84–85 Come fa parimente] **Min** E così

77 em demori] **Tir** d'amors

78 allongo] **Tir** a lungo 78–79 *Mappamundi*] **Tir** Dittamondo

86 troviamo] **Tir** trovammo u] **Tir** un

Amic, fiz ieu sabes de ren novella

OC, respont il, ara la guerre fort

An lo Rei daragons, e de Castella.

90

[17r] Anzi tanto se ne dilettarono alcuni, che ne lasciarono il proprio linguaggio, per scrivere nell'altrui volgare, come fece ser Brunetto fiorentino componendo il suo *Tesoro* nella favella francesca, et come fecero Sordello mantovano, Alberto marchese Malaspina, Lanfranco Cicala da Genova, et altri molti, i quali essendo italiani poetarono in provenzale, sicome si vede ancora per le loro compositioni.

95

4. Per lo esempio, et autorità de' quali essendomi io per gli tempi passati dilettato di leggere, e d'intendere, per quanto ho potuto, gli scrittori franceschi, et i provenzali, hora ancora nel trattare delle rime ho voluto parlarne non pur come huomo d'Italia, ma etiandio come francesco, e provenzale raccogliendo, osservando, et adducendo ragioni, et esempi là ove mi è parso, che si sia convenuto farlo.

100

89 ren] **BC** ¹re ²→ **T**

93 per scrivere ... volgare] **Min** *missing*

94 fiorentino] **Min** *cont.* maestro di Dante favella] **Min** **BC** parlatura

95 Malaspina,] **Min** *cont.* Folchetto detto di Marsiglia,

96 da Genova] **Min** *missing* altri molti] **Min** molti altri i quali] **Min**
che

97 sicome] **Min** secondo che

98 de'] **Min** de i

99 e] **Min** et

100 i] **Min** *missing*

102 e] **Min** *cont.* come

90 respont] **Tir** respons

105 Ben è vero, e fin ad hora così dico, e dichiaro, che principalmente
ho presa la penna in mano a nome del nostro volgare d'Italia, per
scrivere dell'arte del rimare, secondo i nostri modi, volendo che tut-
to quello, che se ne dirà per gli altri volgari habbia solamente da
servire a bene essere, et a maggiore intelligenza delle cose nostre.
Della proprietà, et denominatione del qual nostro volgare vertendo
110 lite fra toscani, e lombardi mossa già per messer Claudio Tolomei, et
messer Gabriele Cesano dall'una parte, et dall'altra per messer Gio-
van Giorgio Trissino, et messer Hieronimo Mutio, io non volendo
in ciò far pregiudicio ad alcuno dico similmente et dichiaro, che'l
volgare, nel quale intendo, che habbiano da sonare le nostre rime,
115 si è quello, che hanno usato i buoni, et approvati scrittori d'Italia,
da i quali lo prenderemo per nostro uso, chiamandolo tratanto con
Dante "volgare nobile", et "illustre", | poscia che fin qui ne pende [17v]
lite con qual nome si debba chiamare, la quale, se mai sarà termi-
nata, et decisa, allhora si potrà poi nominarlo "toscano", et ancora
120 "fiorentino", come vogliono alcuni, overo "lombardo", o con altro
nome conveniente alla decisione.

104–108 Ben è ... nostre.] **Min** per maggior chiarezza dell'arte, che cerchiamo,
del rimare nel nostro volgare di si

106 rimare,] **BC** *a letter was written after it and then effaced*

109 Della] **Min** Sopra la nostro] **Min** *missing* vertendo] **Min** pendendo

110–112 mossa ... Mutio,] **Min** *missing*

113 dico similmente] **Min** *finadhora* dico

119 et] **Min** e

120 overo "lombardo",] **Min** *missing*

107 solamente] **Tir** solo

111–112 Giovan] **Tir** *missing*

Cap. IX. De gli scrittori franceschi.

1. Non per altra cagione ho detto nel precedente capitolo di volere solamente havere in consideratione i volgari d'oil, d'oc, et di sì, se non perché si trovano essere stati anticamente nobilitati, et arricchiti sopra gli altri per compositioni di buoni, et valenti scrittori, la memoria de' quali merita veramente di essere rinovellata là dove si parli dell'arte del rimare, accioché con la cognitione delle rime, si conoscano ancora insieme i rimatori che le annobilirono. Onde per gli seguenti capitoli di questo primo libro io ne porrò brevemente un catalogo non di tutti, ma de i più nobili, per quanto io n'ho potuto ritrarre dalle memorie antiche.

5

10

2. Nel qual conto a buona ragione si deono mettere avanti i franceschi, come quelli, che furono i primi, che osarono servirsi della loro loquella volgarmente scrivendo molte cose, et specialmente trovando le belle favole, che si possono dire una ombra di historia, del nobile re Artù, et de' suoi cavallieri erranti, et così dell'imperadore

Bocc. *Vis. Amorosa.*

15

1 Non] **Min** Io non

2 consideratione] **Min cont.** in questo trattato volgari] **Min** linguaggi
et] **Min** e

3 si trovano] **Min** gli trovo 3-4 et arricchiti] **Min missing**

4 et] **Min** e

6 parli] **Min** tratti accioché] **Min** acciò che con la ... delle] **Min** nel
conoscer le

9 io] **Min missing**

10 antiche] **Min cont.** et moderne

14 si possono ... historia] **Min** che quasi una ombra d'history dir si possono

15 de' suoi ... erranti] degli erranti cavallieri della sua tavola rotonda 15-16
et così ... gesta.] **Min missing**

15 dell'imperadore] **Tir** dello 'mperadore

Carlo Magno, e de i suoi paladini. La quale prerogativa per altro non gli avvenne, se non che havendo il sopradetto Carlo Magno portato per suo valore in Francia lo 'mperio, vi portò ancora lo studio delle
 51.. letere | istituendo l'università di Parigi a' conforti di Alcuino suo [18r]
 maestro. Onde appresso procedendo lo studio quei valenti huomini per propria gloria, et a beneficio di chi latino non sapea prima si diedero a scrivere libri in prosa volgare, i quali chiamarono "romanzi", de' quali intese Dante quando disse nel XXVI canto del *Purgatorio*:

Ann. di Francia car. 276 lin. 8.

20
 Petr. nelle opere lat. car. 276..

lin. 8. E Polid. Verg. car. 106.

lin. 20.

Versi d'amore, e prose di Romanzi.

25 Detti notabili in Francia.

3. Nelle quali prose havendo essi da principio posto studio maggiore, che nella cosa de' versi non sarà maraviglia, che in Francia sia stato il numero de' poeti molto minore anticamente, che a' tempi nostri, et de' nostri padri, perciocché dal tempo di maestro Alano Chartier in qua, il quale fu segretario del Re Carlo settimo et ottimo

16 e ... paladini] **BC** et di sua gesta prerogativa] **Min** preminenza

17 il sopradetto] **Min** missing **BC** added later

20 procedendo lo studio] **Min** missing

21–22 si diedero ... volgare] **Min** scrissero in prosa suoi libri volgari

24 Romanzi.] **Min** cont. in line below

25–26 Nelle quali ... maraviglia] **Min** Ma lasciando le prose da parte, per venire agli scrittori de' versi, credo di poter dire con verità

28 padri,] **Min** cont. o che almeno di tanti non se ne possa ritrovare memoria

28–30 dal... poeta] **Min** da cento anni poco più, o poco meno in qua **BC** non da molto più di cento anni in qua

17 che] **Tir** perchè

poeta, sono surti del fonte della poesia francesca: 30

Molinet d'Haynault.

Maistre Arnoul Greban.

Cretin.

Cristina con

Ian Marot col

Castel suo figliuolo

Figliuolo.

Dall'arte poetica francese, e
da *Quintil oraziano*

Maistre Pierre Hurion.

Saint-Gelais.

Dalle opere di Cl. Mar. 35

Georges de Haynault.

Sceva.

Dal libro di mr. Alano.

Guillaume Alexis

Salel.

Le Moine delyre.

Heroët.

Messire Nicole.

Peletier.

Oreme.

Pierre Ronsard.

40

Ian Martin.

Macaut.

Caron.

Ian le Maire.

Francois Habert

Villon.

La Perriere.

Meschinot.

Coquillart.

45

[18v] Le conte d'Altinois

Messire Charles Fontaine.

Iodelle.

Sagon.

Bellay

Thenot.

Sibillet

Chappui

Octavian de Cognac.

La Hueterie

50

30 surti del] **Min** sorti dal francesca:] **Min** *originally cont.* Maistre Alain Chartier.

33 Ian] **Tir** Jean

39 Messire] **Tir** Messir

41 Ian] **Tir** Jean

43 Ian] **Tir** Jean

50 Octavian] **Tir** Octavien

Papillon.

Rabelais.

Villas.

Brodeau.

Boissoné

Margarita Regina di Navarra sorella del Bon re Francesco.

55

Et molti altri, de' quali tutti volendosi narrare le qualità, et le opere di ciascuno in particolare, si potrebbe fare l'istoria longa, se io non havessi determinato di tralasciare di ciascheduna gente i più moderni, et dire solamente degli antichi quel tanto, che n'ho trovato degno di memoria.

60

4. Fra i quali il più antico possiamo credere che sia Roberto figliuolo di Ugo Ciappetta coronato re di Francia negli anni di nostra salute 990 persona dotta, e buon rimatore, di cui nondimeno non si trovano altre rime, che in latino, come quella dello Spirito Santo

Rat. Divin. off. car. 38.

Veni sancte Spiritus

65

Et emitte coelitus

Lucis tuae radium. col resto che segue.

56 l'istoria] **Min** la historia

57 di] **Min** *missing* 57–58 moderni,] **Min** *cont.* de' quali ancora è fresca la memoria

58 n'ho trovato] **Min** n'haverò creduto

60 più antico ... sia] **Min** il primo, che mi occorre, si è

62 990] **Min** CMXC e] **Min** et 62–63 di cui ... quella] **Min** in latino secondo la costuma di quei tempi, che fu quelli, che disse

65 coelitus] **Min** celitus

66 col resto che segue.] **Min** *missing*

54 Bon] **Tir** buon

56 longa] **Tir** lunga

Di questo re Roberto si conta negli *Annali di Francia*, che pre- car. 77
gato da Costanza sua moglie a volere comporre di lei alcuna cosa,
fece di San Dionigi, et de i compagni Rustico, et Eleuterio la lode,
che comincia: 70

O constantia martirum laudabilis.

Onde la donna, che latino non sapea, sì si rimase appagata cre-
dendosi, che di lei l'havesse fatta.

Tebaldo re di Navarra. 5. Segue il re di Navarra citato da Dante nel libro della *Volgare* [19r]
eloquenza in due canzoni, l'una delle quali incomincia: 75

De fin amor sovent sen e bonté. car. 7.

L'altra:

Redamon quen mon cor repaire. car. 18.

Il qual re di Navarra non specificato per nome da Dante dobbia-
mo noi credere, che fosse Tebaldo conte di Campagna, et di Bria, 80

67 Di questo re Roberto] **Min** Et di cui si conta negli *Annali di Francia*]

Min missing

68 comporre] **Min** dire alcuna cosa] **Min** cont. in rima **BC** added later in
margin

72 sì] **Min** missing rimase] **Min** cont. lieta, et

78 quen] **Min** que in

79–80 dobbiamo] **Min** dobbiamo

80 credere] **Min** creder et] **Min** e

72 sì] **Tir** missing

che negli anni del Nostro Signore 1234 succedette nel reame di Navarra al re don Sanchio suo zio per le ragioni di donna Margarita sua madre.

Ann. di Fran. car 108.

Ann. di Aragon lib. 3°. cap.

22. e cap. 81. car. 100.. e 140..

Il Monaco di Arras

6. Mi ricorda di havere già veduto in un gran libro provenzale cinquanta canzoni con questo titolo sopra:

85

Istae sunt cantiones Francigenae n.ro L.

Le Monie dArras.

Il qual libro di presente si trova nella libreria ducale di Ferrara.

Clem. Mar. car. 581. e 582.

Guglielmo di Loris.

7. Altre canzoni non mi sovieni di havere lette di antico poeta, però mene passo a dire dello Ennio de' franceschi, cioè di Guillaume de Loris, il quale essi tengono per padre della loro poesia volgare. Questi d'intorno a gli anni di nostra salute 1230 diede principio a scrivere in rima un suo libro d'amore intitolandolo:

Mol. car. 35.. lin. 34.

90

Cest le Romant de la Rose

81–83 che negli ... madre.] **Min** *ll.* 63–72

84–88 mi ricorda ... Ferrara.] **Min** *see lines* 73–76

85 titolo] **BC** int..

89 Altre ... poeta,] **Min** *missing, see line* 77

90 mene] **Min** me ne

91 tengono] **Min** hanno

93 rima] **Min** *cont.* et per modo di visione

94 de la] **Min** dela

86 n.ro] **Tir** n.

87 Monie] **Tir** Moine

88 libreria] **Tir** libreria

92 a] **Tir** *missing*

Gian de Meun.

8. Il qual libro si rimase imperfetto per la sopravvenuta morte del suo autore, ma poi quaranta anni appresso fu condotto a perfezzione per Iehan Clopinel de Meun sur Loire, et hoggidi si legge in istampa [19v] non solo in rima, ma traslatato anco|ra di versi in prosa per Molinetto di Haynault, et ridotto allegoricamente d'amor lascivo a senso morale, et honesto. Et allhora fu la fantasia del libro cosi trovata buona, che molti appresso volendo trattar d'amore drizzarono le opere loro sotto simili fintioni, et titoli. Come chi fece *Le Chastel de Ioie*, *Le Iardin de Plaisance*, *La Fontaine damour*, *L Hospital damour*, et altre operette tali. Ma se'l predetto libro hebbe degli amatori, ancora non gli mancarono i riprensori, che Gian Gerson eccellente maestro in teologia, et cancelliere di Parigi a richiesta di certe dame gli fece contra un suo libretto intitolato:

et car. 24.. lin. 23. e
car. 56.. lin. 23. e 48.
e car. 57. lin.9. e 28.

Mol. car. 2.. lin. 27.
e car 126. lin. 9.

Lib. del Linsig. car. 134..
Mario Eq. car. 18..

100

105

Molin. car. 24. lin. 21.
Mario Eq. car. 12.
Fu nel 1430. Suppl. delle
Cron. lib. 15 car. 286.

Reprobation du Romant de la Rose.

97 poi] **Min** dipoi a] **Min** alla sua
98 per] **Min cont.** un
99 ancora] **Min cont.** settanta due anni sono Molinetto] **Min** Moulinet
102 drizzarono] **Min** indrizzarono
104 *L Hospital damour*] **Min cont.** *L'hospital damour*
105 se'l predetto libro] **Min** s'egli 105–106 ancora ... mancarono] **Min** hebbe
ancora de
106 Gian Gerson] **Min** Maistre Iehan Ierson eccellente] **Min missing**
107 Parigi] **Min cont.** nel 1430 107–108 gli fece contra] **Min** compose contra
lui

110

Et Martin Franco già segretario di papa Felice quarto prima duca di Savoia, nel suo *Campion des dames* libro distinto in cinque parti, et dedicato al duca Filippo di Borgogna dà grossamente all'arme contra l'autore del romanzo chiamandolo "villain", "paillard", "ri-baud" solamente per havere egli osato di tassare le donne in certa parte del libro incidentemente.

Mario Eq. car. 12. e 13.

115

9. Un altro romanzo antico senza nome di autore si trova scritto con titolo tale

Le Romant dela Chastelaine du Vergi.

120

Nel quale si conta un compassionevole caso d'amore di due amanti, i quali si amavano così segretamente, che del loro amore non era consapevole anima viva, se non un cagnuolino gentile ministro de i loro piaceri, che gli tornarono finalmente in tristi pianti, et si diedero ciascuno la morte di sua mano. La quale historia tocca Fatio degli Uberti nel capitolo CIII del suo *Mappamundi* con i seguenti suoi versi dicendo:

125

Vidi in Pitui la tomba di que due,

[20r]

110 Franco] **Min** Franc

114 egli] **Min missing** di tassare le] **Min** dir male delle

116 senza ... autore] **Min missing**

121 cagnuolino] **Min** cagniolino 121–122 de i] **Min** dei

122–123 et si ... mano.] **Min missing**

123 tocca] **Min** vien toccata da

124 del suo *Mappamundi*] **Min missing** 124–125 con i ... dicendo] **Min** dove dice

Che s'amar tanto, che si puo dir cierto
 Che l'una Tisbe, l'altro Piram fue.
 Dolcie mi fu elloro amor coperto
 Quando l'intesi, e l'andar e'l venire 130
 Del cagniol, ch'era tanto accorto, e sperto.
 Ma poi che gli sospir venni ad udire
 Del gran lamento, e la piatosa morte,
 Che ciascun fecie, qui nol sapre' dire
 Quanto mi dolse de dui amanti forte. 135

10. Fa mentione il medesimo Fatio nel preallegato capitolo di Ugo di Alvernia, il quale per commandamento di Carlo Martello dopo lo havere cercate molte, et diverse parti del mondo n'andò ancora vivo allo Inferno, dove vide varii tormenti, et varii tormentati alla maniera di Dante, come racconta il suo libro scritto a penna, il quale comincia: 140

Seignor Barons Dieus vos soit in garant,
 Si vos condue tot a suen sauvamant
 Vos vodroie dire chanzon molt avenant

127 cierto] **BC** ¹certo ²→ **T**

130 e'l] **Min** el

134 sapre'] **Min** sapre

136 di] **Min** *cont.* un

137–139 per commandamento ... inferno] **Min** dopo lo havere cercate molte parti del mondo finalmente n'andò vivo all'inferno

140 come] **Min** secondo che scritto a penna] **Min** *missing*

143 sauvamant] **Tir** saunamant

I versi di Fatio sopra tal novella sono questi:

Perch'e mi trasse alhora in Alverno,

car. 69. lin.23.

Ed io, per amor d'Ugo cio m'aggrada,

Che per amor di Carlo ando in inferno.

11. In un altro libro antico pur scritto a mano si leggono nel principio questi versi:

Derros, qui son engien essart

car. 62..

Mist en vers faire de Renart.

Dove appare il prenommato Derros haversi preso spasso di far versi delle astutie della volpe per modo di apologo, nominando le bestie tutte per certo nome, come per esempio "Nobles" il leone, il lupo "Isengri", il montone "Belin", "Tiber" il gatto, et così gli altri animali con altri nomi. Del qual libro non haverei io qui fatta menzione, se in leggendo gli scrittori provenzali non vi havessi tro- [20v]

146 I versi ... questi:] **Min** Alla quale novella havendo riguardo Fatio disse.

150–151 In un ... versi:] **Min** *missing*

154 Dove] **Min** Così comincia un libro antico scritto a penna, pel quale

156 tutte] **Min** *missing* per] **Min** *cont.* grazia d'

158–159 non haverei ... menzione] **Min** io non ne haverei fatta menzione

159 gli scrittori] **Min** le canzoni vi] **Min** v' 159–160 trovati] **Min** trovato spesso

156 come per esempio] **Tir** *missing*

vati cotali nomi, et novelle, chenti pone, e racconta il prenominato
autore, come in un serventese di Peire Cardenal:

160

Las amairitz quincolpar las vol

Mich. car. 59..

Respondon be ala lei d'Isengri.

Che sarà fine del presente capitolo, per potere appresso più largamente ricercare i trovatori di Provenza, che al suo tempo ebbero nome di sapere ben dire in rima.

165

Cap. X. *De i trovatori provenzali.*

1. La lingua provenzale antica non è del tutto francesca, né del tutto spagnuola, ma si bene misturata in parte dell'una, et dell'altra, et con certe sue proprietà, che la fanno essere lingua da per sé, differente dalle altre. La quale anticamente fu di grande honore non solo a i suoi del paese, che l'usarono, ma parimente ancora a gli stranieri, che n'ebbero cognitione, come si manifesta per quel loco delle *Cento novelle antiche* alla novella LXXX.

5

160–161 prenominato autore] **Min** l'antedetto romanzo

161 Cardenal] **Min cont.** dove dice

163 d'Isengri] **Min** disengri

164 Che] **Min** Il che

2 in parte] **Min missing**

5 i] **Min missing** che] **Min cont.** ben

7 *Cento novelle antiche*] **Min** *Ciento novelle antike* LXXX] **Min cont.** ove si dice così

1 lingua] **Tir** lingua

3 lingua] **Tir** lingua

10

Messere Migliore Abbati di Firenze si andò in Cicilia al Re Carlo, per impetrar gratia ke sue case non fossero disfatte; Il cavaliere era molto bene costumato, e ben seppe cantare, e seppe il Provenzale oltre misura ben proferere.

15

Ma questa hoggidì si vede essere ignota non solo agli stranieri, [21r] ma etiandio ai provenzali medesimi, onde si conviene apprendere senza maestro per chi vuole, con l'aiuto d'altre lingue, et per forza di rincontri al modo delle ziffere. Et è certo maraviglia come sia potuta così andare in oblivione, essendo stata havuta così cara appresso gli antiqui, et havendo havuta tanta copia di buoni scrittori in rima.

Pier d'Alvernia.

2. De' quali vogliono che Peire d'Alvernhe fosse il primo buon trovatore, il quale fu del Vescovato di Clarmon, avenente huomo della persona, savio, e leterato, et molto accarezzato da i signori, et dalle donne di quei tempi, ma questo hebbe egli in sé, che volentieri

Mich. car. 78..

20

12 solo] **Min** che
13 ai] **Min** a i si conviene apprendere] **Min** a me si è convenuto apprender
14 per chi vuole] **Min** quel tanto, che ne so con l'aiuto d'altre lingue, et]
Min missing
16-17 essendo ... et] **Min missing**
18 d'Alvernhe] **Min** dalvernhe
19 quale] **Min** quali (*sic*)
20 i] **Min missing**
21 volentieri] **Min** volentieri

15 come] *Barbieri had written come twice, lh removes the second*
16 così andare] **lh Tir** andare così
19 Vescovato] **Tir** vescovado
20 leterato] **Tir** letterato
21 volentieri] **Tir** volentieri

lodava sé medesimo, et gli altri dispregiava, come quando disse:

Peire dalvernhe a tal vutz

Que chanta de sobre, e de sotz,

E sei so son dous, e plazen,

25

E pueis es maistre de totz,

Ab cun pauc esclarzis los motz,

Capenas nuills hom los enten.

Visse al mondo longamente, et nel finire della vita si diede a fare penitenza, nel qual tempo fece una bella canzone della Vergine, che comincia:

30

car. 80.

Dompna dels Angels Reina

Esperansa dels crezens,

Segon que maondal sens,

Chan de vos lenga romana;

35

Car nuills hom iust, ni pecaire

De vos lauzar nos deu taire,

Car sos sens meills lapareilla

Romans, o lenga latina.

22 come quando disse] **Min** Onde dice dopo lo havere parlato di molti altri men che bene

29 longamente] **Tir** lungamente

34 maondal] **Tir** mandal

36 pecaire] **Tir** peccaire

40

[21v] Giraldo
di Borneill.

3. Venne appresso Giraut de Borneill di Lemosino poeta di moralità più tosto, che d'amore; il quale hebbe voce di avanzare gli altri tutti; alla quale opinione non acconsentendo Dante dice nel XXVI canto del *Purgatorio* parlando di Arnaldo Daniello:

Mich. car. 78..

Volg. el. car. 16. lin. 7.

Versi d'amore, e prose di Romanzi

45

Soverchio tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti,

Che quel di Lemosì credon che avanzi.

Per “quello di Lemosino” s'intende Giraldo di Borneill, quel medesimo, di cui disse il Petrarca nel quarto capitolo del *Trionfo d'Amore*:

Benv. car 26. lin. 9.

50

El vecchio Pier d'Alvernia, con Giraldo.

40 Lemosino] **Min** *cont.* latinamente detto “Giraldus Brunellus” da Benvenuto da Imola,

42–43 alla quale ... parlando] **Min** ma tale opinione viene dannata da Dante quando dice nel XXVI canto del *Purgatorio* in proposito

46 avanzi.] **Min** avanzi; *and cont. in following lines*: A voce piu, che al ver drizzan li volti, | E cosi ferman sua opinione | Prima, ch'arte, o ragion per lor s'ascolti.

47 Per “quello di Lemosino”] **Min** “Quel di Lemosì” di Borneill] **Min** *missing*

48–49 nel quarto ... d'Amore] **Min** ne i *Trionfi*

50 El] **Min** E'l

40 Giraut] **Tir** Giraud

4. Arnaut Daniel fu del vescovato di Peiregors d'un castello, che ha nome Ribairac al tempo del bon conte Raimondo Berlinghiere di Provenza, il quale havendo imparato ben lettere prese una nuova maniera di poetare in care rime, onde tanto viene esaltato dal Petrarca, et da Dante, che lo preferiscono a tutti gli altri rimatori nel cantare d'amore; ma le sue canzoni sono così difficili da intendere, che alcune si trovano essere state anticamente chiosate di commento latino per maggiore intelligentia. Non di meno è pur vero, che le cose sue sono di buona inventione, et ch'egli si dee meritamente stimare il primo fra tutti. Di cui è bello sapere quello che ne racconta Benvenuto da Imola sopra il XXVI canto del *Purgatorio*, dove dice di Arnaldo:

5560

car. 126. lin. 15.

Hic cum senuisset in paupertate fecit cantilenam pulcher-
rimam, quam misit per nuntium suum ad Regem Franciae,
Angliae, et alios principes occidentis, rogans ut quemadmo-

65

51 di] **Min** de
52 Berlinghiere] **Min** Berlinghieri
53 nuova] **Min** *missing*
55 et] **Min** e 55–56 cantare] **Min** cantar
56–57 sono ... trovano] **Min** non sono niente facili da intendere, et se ne trovano alcune
58 Non di meno] **Min** nondimeno
59 si dee meritamente] **Min** meritamente si dee
60 il primo fra tutti] **Min** fra tutti il primo è] **Min** sarà
61 *Purgatorio*] **Min** *cont.* di Dante 61–62 di Arnaldo] **Min** *missing*
63 cum] **Min** dum

52 Ribairac] **Tir** Ribariac Berlinghiere] **Tir** Berlinghieri
58 intelligentia] **Tir** intelligenza

dum ipse cum persona iuverat eos delectatione, ita ipsi cum fortuna | sua iuarent eum utilitate. Cum autem nuncius reportasset multam pecuniam dixit Arnaldus nunc video quod deus non vult me derelinquere, et continuo sumpto habitu monastico parcissimae vitae semper fuit.

[22r]

70

Beltramo dal Bornio.

5. Bertran de Born, et Arnaldo Daniello furono così amici, che insieme si chiamavano l'un l'altro "Dezirat", come nota una chiosa sopra la chiusa della sestina di Arnaldo, che dice:

Arnautz tramet son chantar dongla e doncle
Ab grat de leis, que de sa veria larma
An Dezirat, cab pretz dins cambra intra.

Mich. car. 33..

75

Questi si fu un gentil castellano di Peiregors signore del castello d'Altaforte, huomo valente, et buon guerriero, ma di cervello inquieto, che sempre hebbe guerra co' suoi vicini, né mai lasciò stare in pace il re di Francia col re d'Inghilterra, né il conte de Peitieu con il

Lib. sicil. car. 38..

80

71 Bertran de Born] **Min** Beltramo dal Bornio
72 insieme] **Min** ambedue l'un l'altro] **Min** insieme
73 che dice] **Min** *missing*
77 di] **Min** de
78 Altaforte] ¹Alta... ²T et] **Min** e cervello] **Min** natura
79 hebbe] **Min** stette in

74 doncle] **Tir** donche
76 dins] **Tir** dim
80 Peitieu] **Tir** Poitou

conte di Lemotges, né il conte di Peiregors, et etiandio fece ribello il re Giovanni al re Riccardo suo padre di Inghilterra. Per la qual cosa fu posto da Dante ragionevolmente fra gli scommettitori nel XXVIII canto dello *Inferno* facendo dire a lui di sua bocca: Novel. ant. car. 9.

Et perche su di me novella porti, 85
Sappi, ch'io son Beltram dal Bornio quelli
Che diedi al Re Giovanni i mai conforti.
Io feci il padre, el figlio in se ribelli.

Hebbe oltra ciò ardimento di vantarsi, ch'egli havea piu senno, che niuno altro, come conta il Maestro delle *Cento novelle antiche*, et come appare per lo principio d'una sua canzone, dove dice: car. 9. e 10.. 90

Ar es ben dretz que vailla mos chantars Lib. dalle asc. car 157.

81–82 fece ... Riccardo] **Min** mise alle mani insieme il re Giovanni con il re Arrigo

82 di Inghilterra] **Min** d'Inghilterra Per la qual cosa] **Min** onde a buona ragione

83 ragionevolmente] **Min** missing

84 *Inferno*] **Min** cont. fa gli scommettitori

85 Et] **Min** E

90 *Cento novelle antiche*] **Min** *Ciento novelle antike*

91 d'una] **Min** di una

81 Lemotges] **Tir** Lemoges

82 Riccardo] **lh Tir** Henrico

85 su] **Tir** tu

91 sua] **Tir** missing

E mos bos sens, e mos sotilz trobars.

[22v] Et sì come egli fu di spirito altiero, e martiale, così cantò le arme
con alto stile su questa maniera:

Volg. el. car. 16. lin.6.

Lib. in asc. car 155.

No puesc mudar, cun chantar non esparia

Pueis Oc, e non ha mes fuec, e trach sanc.

Rigaldo di Berbezill.

6. Ancora fu Rigaut de Berbezill buon cavallier d'arme, e buon
rimatore, del quale si conta nelle *Cento novelle antiche*, benché sotto
altro nome, che riscaldato d'allegrezza di haver vinto il pregio di un
torneamento si lasciò trarre di bocca il nome di colei, ch'egli amava
per amore, che fin allhora haveva tenuto celato nominando lei nelle
sue canzoni

Novella LXIII. car. 26.

100

Meills de Dompna

105

et sé medesimo

Mais damic

Lib. sleg. car. 32.

98 fu Rigaut ... Berbezill] **Min** Rigaut de Barbezill fu e] **Min** et

99 del quale] **Min** di cui

100 haver vinto] **Min** havere havuto di un] **Min** del

101 colei] **Min** quella

102 nominando] **Min** nominandola

105 medesimo] **Min** stesso

93 sens] **Tir** sons

Onde la donna adiratamente l'accommiatò da sé, né poi per prieghi di nessuno si volle piegare a fargliene perdono, se non con patto, ch'egli le facesse gridare mercé a cento baroni, a cento cavallieri, a cento dame, et a cento damigelle, che tutti gridassero “mercé” ad una boce, e non sapessero a cui la si chiedere. Allhora Rigaut si pensò, che si appressava il dì della Candelara, nel quale si faceva gran festa al Puei di Nostra Dama in Provenza, ove sarebbe la sua donna, et tanta buona gente, quanto ella addomandava, che gridassero “mercé”, et allhora fece in tal soggetto una sua canzonetta; la quale io ho voluto qui porre tutta intiera del modo appunto che l'ho trovata scritta fralle altre sue canzoni, per essere la stampata nel libro delle predette novelle così guasta, et imperfetta, che non se ne può trarre alcun sentimento; ma così si deve riformare come segue:

110

115

[23r]

Autresi com Lorifans,

120

107 donna] **Min** cont. sdegnata

109 ch'egli] **Min** che

110–111 “mercé” ... voce] **Min** a una boce “mercé” 110 “mercé”] **BC**¹merci

²→ **T**[*The word, extending into the margin, seems to have been added later.*]

111 Rigaut] **Min** cont. come huomo di buono ingegno

114–115 mercé] **BC**¹merci ²→ **T**

115 allhora] **Min** alhora

116 tutta intiera] **Min** missing

117 per essere] **Min** attento massimamente che

118 novelle] **Min** cont. è

119 ma così si deve riformare come segue] **Min** missing

120 Autresi] **Min** Autressi

111 boce] **Tir** voce

113 al] **Tir** nel

119 deve] **Tir** dee

Que can chai nos pot levar,
 Tro li autre ab lur cridar
 De lur votz lo levon sus,
 Et ieu vueill segraqueu us,
125 Car mos mesfatz es tan greus, e pesans,
 Que si la Cort del Puei, el ric bobans,
 El verai pretz dels leials amadors
 Nom relevon, iamaís non serai sors,
 Quil denhesson per me clamar merse
130 Lai, on iutiar, ni razo nom val re.
 E sieu per los fis amans
 Non puese mon ioi recobrar,
 Per tos tems lais mon chantar,
 Car de mi no i a ren plus,
135 Ans viurai com lo reclus,
 Sols, ses solatz, caitals es mos talans,
 Car ma vida mes enveis, et afans,
 E gaugz mes dols, e plazers mes dolors,
 Quieu non soi ges de la maniera dors,
140 Que qui bel bat, nil te vil ses merse
 Adonc engraisa, e meillure, reve.
 A tot lo mon soi clamans

122 Tro li] **Min** troli

133 tos tems] **Min** tostems

134 no i] **Min** noi

130 iutiar] **Tir** iutias

132 puese] **Tir** puese

133 Per] **Tir** Par

De mi, e de trop parlar,
 E sieu pogues contrafar
 Fenicx, que non es mas us, 145
 Que sart, e pueis resorsus,
 Marserieu, car tant sui malanans,
 E mos fols digz mensongier, e truans
 Resorzera ab sospirs, et ap plors
 Lai, on beutat es, e iois, e valors, 150
 En que non faill mas un pauc de merse
 Que non hi son aiustat tuit li be.
 [23v] Ben sai camors es tan grans
 Que leu mi pot perdonar,
 Sieu failli per sobramar, 155
 Ni renhei com le Magus,
 Que ditz quel era Iesus,
 E volc volar al ciel otracuidans,
 E Dieus baiset lergueill e lo sobrants;
 Mas mos ergueills non es ren mai amors, 160
 Perque merses mi deu faire secors,
 Quen maint luec es on razos vens merse,
 E luec on razo, ni dreit pro non te.
 Ma Chansos mer drogomans
 Lai, on ieu non aus anar 165

146 resorsus] **Min** resor sus

152 hi son] **BC** *written, effaced, and rewritten*

145 mas] **Tir** mes

149 ap] **Tir** ab

160 ergueills] **Tir** orgueills

170

Ni ab dreitz hueills esgarar,
Tant soi forfaitz et aclus,
Ni ia hom nomen escus
Meills de Dompna, que fugit ai dos ans
Ar torn a vos doloros e plorans
Aissi col sers, que cant a fait lonc cors
Torna murir al bruit dels cassadors,
Aissi torn ieu dompnen vostra merse,
Mais vos non cal, que damor nous sove.

175

Questa canzonetta Rigaut salito in loco eminente, onde poteva essere udito da tutti cantò molto pietosamente allhora che la chiesa era più piena di gente; onde tutti ad una boce incominciarono a gridare “Mercé!”; così la donna gli fece il perdono, et lo ricevette nella sua gratia, come era di prima.

180 Folchetto di Marsiglia.

7. Scrisse il Petrarca nel quarto capitolo del *Trionfo d'Amore*: [24r]

Folchetto, ch'a Marsiglia il nome ha dato,
Et a Genova tolto, et a l'estremo
Cangiò per miglior patria habito, e stato.

175 Questa] **Min** La quale

176 allhora] **Min** alhora

180 Scrisse ... *d'Amore*:] **Min** *missing*

183 stato.] **Min** *cont. below* Così scrisse il Petrarca nel quarto capitolo del trionfo d'Amore;

167 forfaitz] **Tir** fortfuitz

170 Ar] **Tir** Ar

174 damor] **Tir** clamor

176 chiesa] **lh Tir** piazza della d(*etta*) chiesa

A dechiaratione del qual loco si convien sapere, che Folquet de
Marseilla fu figliuolo di un mercatante genovese detto ser Alfonso,
che lo lasciò molto ricco d’havere, ma Folchetto non volendo segui-
re lo exercitio del padre intese in pregio, et in valore, et si mise a
praticare per le corti, onde molto fu grato al re Riccardo d’Inghil-
terra, et al conte Ramondo di Tolosa, et al suo signore di Marsiglia,
la moglie del quale amò per amore, et fece di molte canzoni amorse
al suo tempo; alla fine, infastidito del mondo si rendé frate, et prima
fu fatto abbate d’una badia, ch’è in Provenza detta Lo Torondet, di-
poi vescovo di Tolosa, dove finì sua vita. Per la quale conversione
dice il Petrarca ch’egli “cangiò habito, et stato”, et Dante lo ripose
fra gli spiriti beati nella spera di Venere al nono canto del *Paradiso*.
Ma perché monsignor Bembo parla di lui nelle sue prose come di
“dolcissimo poeta”, non sarà se non bene gustare la sottoscritta sua
canzone per un saggio della dolcezza delle sue rime.

185

190

195

Tan mabelis lamoros pensamens,

184 si convien] **Min** basterà 184–185 che Folquet de Marseilla] **Min** ch’egli
186 d’havere] **Min** di havere 186–187 non volendo seguire] **Min** lasciando
187 si mise] **Min** *missing*
189 et] **Min** *missing*
190–191 la moglie ... tempo;] **Min** *missing*
192 d’una] **Min** di una
193 dove] **Min** ove
194 dice ... ripose] **Min** si trova posto da Dante
196 Ma] **Min** Et parla di lui] **Min** ne parla
197–198 la sottoscritta ... rime] **Min** una delle sue canzoni a dimostrare che ciò
sia vero

200

Que ses vengutz en mon fin cor asire,
Que no i pot nuills autre pens caber
Ni mais negus nomes dous, ni plazens
Cadoncx viu sas, can mausizol sospire

[24v]

205

E finamors malevia mon martire,
Quem promet ioi, mas trop lom dona len
Cap bel semblan ma trainat loniamen.
Ben sai que tot can fauc es dreit niens,
Ieu quen puesc als, samor me vol auscire?
Cazessien ma donat tal voler,

210

Que ia non er vengutz, ni el no vens,
Vengutz si er, quaucis man li consire
Tot soavet, car de leis, cui dezire
Non ai secors, ni dautra nolaten,
Ni dautramor no puesc aver talen.

215

Per so dona nous am saviamens,
Car vos soi fis, et a mon ops traire,
E vos tem perdre, e mi non puesc aver,
E us cug nozer, e soi a mi nozens,

201 no i] **Min** noi

204 finamors] **Min** fin amors

208 auscire?] **Min** ausire;

214 no] **BC** non

216 soi] **BC** sai

217 aver] **Min** auner

218 E us] **Min** Eus

203 mausizol] **Tir** mausizal

208 auscire] **Tir** ausire

211 quaucis] **Tir** qu aucir

Per so mon mal nous aus mostrar, ni dire,
 Mas a lesgart podetz mon cor devire, 220
 Quieus cug dir, mas eras men repen,
 E port els hueills vergonha, et ardimen.
 Bona dona, sius platz, siatz sufrens
 Del be, quieus vueill, quieu soi del mal sufrire,
 E pueis lo mals nom poira dan tener, 225
 Ans er semblan quel partem engalmens,
 E sa vos platz quen outra part me vire
 Partes de vos la beutat, el dous rire,
 El dous parlar, que menfolis mon sen,
 Pueis partir mai de vos mon essien. 230
 Ca totz iorns mes plus belle plus plazens
 Person vueill mal als hueills, ab queus remire.
[25r] Car no volgra iaus poguesson vezer,
 Camon dan vezon trop sotilmens,
 Mas dans non mer, car sivals nom nazire, 235
 Ans es mos pros dona, perquieu malbire,
 Si mausizetz, que nous essara gen,
 Car lo mieu dan vostres er eisamen.
 Trop vos am mais dona quieu non sai dire,

219 Per so] **Min** perso

231 Ca totz] **Min** Catotz

232 hueills] **BC** huiei...

234 Camon] **Min** Ca mon

235 sivals] **BC** ¹sival ²→ T

237 mausizetz] **Tir** mausizets

238 vostres] **Tir** vostre

240

E si anc iorn aic dautramor dezire,

No men penet caraus am per un sen

Car ai proat autrui captenemen.

Ves Nemze vai chansos, qui ques nazire,

Que gaug nauran, per lo mieu essien,

245

Las tres donas, a cui ieu te prezen.

Pietro Vidale.

8. Peire Vidal fu di Tolosa, huomo nato per solazzo delle corti

de i signori del suo tempo, che trahevano gran piacere del suo can-

tare, et delle follie, ch'egli diceva, et faceva; delle quali l'una fu,

che essendo andato una volta oltra mare, di là ne menò una greca,

250

che gli fu data per moglie in Cipri, con fargli a credere ch'ella era

nepote dello imperadore di Gostantinopoli, et che per lei doveva di

ragione havere lo 'mperio. Ond'egli si faceva chiamare "imperado-

re", et la moglie "imperadrice", e portava arme, e catedra imperiale,

e misesi a far navigli spendendovi ciò, che poteva guadagnare, con

255

disegno di andare a conquistare lo imperio. Contasi ancora, che nel

tempo, ch'egli amava la Loba de Puei Nautier, voleva | per amore [25v]

241 No men] **Min** Nomen caraus] **Min** car aus

246 Peire Vidal] **Min** Pietro Vidale

249 una volta] **Min** *missing*

250 Cipri] **Min** Cipro ella] **Min** *missing*

252 Ond'] **Min** Per la qual cosa

254 misesi] **Min** si mise

255 disegno] **Min** animo Contasi ancora] **Min** Un'altra se ne conta

256 Nautier] **Min** *cont.* disopra nominata

251 nepote] **Tir** nipote Gostantinopoli] **Tir** Costantinopoli

252 `mperio] **Tir** imperio

256 Nautier] **Tir** Nausier

di lei essere chiamato “Lupo”, per arme portava un lupo, et si vestiva di pelle di lupo, onde un giorno ne fu per essere dilacerato da’ cani nella montagna di Cabaretz. Per tristezza della morte del conte Ramondo di Tolosa fece tagliare le code, et le orecchie de’ suoi cavalli, et fece radere a sé, et a’ suoi servitori tutti i capelli della testa, lasciandosi crescere le onghie, e la barba, et se n’andò lungamente così dolente a modo di un pazzo. Le quali tre attioni ci doveranno bastare per un saggio delle qualità dell’uomo.

260

Gauselmo Faidit.

9. Gauselm Faidit si fu d’un borgo del vescovato di Lemosino detto Uzercha, il quale fece al suo tempo di buone canzoni, ma la peggior voce haveva per cantarle, che huomo del mondo, et era della persona grosso oltre modo, e disadatto, giocatore, e goloso, et hebbe una moglie detta Guglielma Monia non meno grossa di lui, che si menava dietro per le corti; per le quali se n’andò longamente, che né lui né le sue canzoni non erano gradite, né volute; finalmente la sua

265

270

257–258 si vestiva] **Min** continuamente andava vestito

258 ne] **Min** *missing*

259 Cabaretz.] **Min** *cont.* Ancora

260 Ramondo] **Min** Raimondo fece tagliare] **Min** tagliò et] **Min** e

261 fece ... tutti] **Min** a sé et a’ suoi servitori fecesi radere

262 et] **Min** e

263–264 attioni ... bastare] **Min** novelle serviranno

264 dell’uomo] **Min** *cont.* , di cui faremo conto che sia detto a bastanza, specialmente havendone già parlato in uno altro loco più sopra

269 Guglielma] **Min** Guilliema Monia] **BC** *The o was perhaps written over another letter* meno] **Min** men che] **Min** la quale

270 n’] **Min** ne

271 lui] **Min** egli 271–272 la sua ... del] **Min** fu messo in pregio, et in honore dal

265 Gauselm] **Tir** Gauselmo

sorte il condusse in corte del marchese Bonifatio di Monferrato, che
si compiacque di lui, et delle cose sue, et lo mise in pregio, e 'l fece Mich. car. 17. e 18.
conoscere alle genti: di qui è, che Gauselmo spesso ne fa mentione
nelle sue canzoni, come là, dove dice:

275

Chanso vai ten tost, e corren
Al pros Marques, de cui es Monferratz
Dill que greu mes, car lai non soi tornatz

et in una altra canzone:

280

Chansos vai ten dreit per mon Elian
En Monferrat, e dim al pro Marques
Quen breu verai lui el conte de Bles,
Car tut lor fach son de bella semblansa.
E digatz llen leialmen ses duptansa,
Que mos conortz mi reten sai tan gen
Per quieu estauc, quieu nols vei plus soven.

Lib. in asc. car. 6.

[26r]

285

Arnaldo di Marueill

10. Quando il Petrarca disse nel quarto capitolo del *Trionfo d'A-*
more:

273 et lo mise in pregio] **Min** *missing* e 'l] **Min** et lo
274 di quei ... fa] **Min** di cui per ciò fa Gauselmo sovente
279 una] **Min** un'
281 dim al] **Min** di mal

280 per] **Tir** par
286 estauc] **Tir** essauc

E'l men famoso Arnaldo.

Si può credere, ch'egli intendesse di Arnaut de Marueill più che Mich. car. 28., e 32. 290
di nessuno altro, che fu della medesima contrada, che'l Daniello, del
vescovato di Peiregors, huomo avenente della persona, tuttoché fos-
se di povera generatione, il quale fece al suo tempo di buone canzoni,
et cantava bene, et leggeva bene romanzi; nondimeno essendo stati
fra' provenzali ancora altri di questo nome, non sarà senza ragione 295
il farne ricordo qui sotto brevemente, come di:

Arnaldo Plages. **11.** Arnaut Plages, del quale fu una canzone che comincia: Mich. car. 57.

Ben es razos quieu retraia
Una chansoneta gaia.

Arnaldo catalans. **12.** Et di Arnaut Catalans, che disse per la prima stanza d'una 300
sua canzone: Lib. in asc. car. 127.

Lan, can vinc en Lombardia
Una bella dona Pros
Me dis per sa cortesia

290 Si può credere] **Min** È verisimile 290–291 più ... altro] **Min** *missing*
291 che'l] **Min** che il
292 avenente] **BC** ¹avente ²→ **T** tuttoché] **Min** tutto che
294 nondimeno] **Min** non di meno
295 altri] **Min** *cont.* trovatori ragione] **Min** proposito
296 il] **Min** *missing*
297 del quale] **Min** di cui una] **Min** la

291 che'l] **Tir** che

305

Maintz bells plazers amoros,
Et aissi rizen iogan
Dels bells semblanz, quem fazia
Ieu com fols traissim enan
Alques plus que nom tanhia.

310

Arnaldo Tintignac.

13. Et ancora di Arnaut Tintinhac che disse:

Mich. car. 71. [26v]

Lo ioi comen en un bel mes
En la meillor sazo delan.

14. Quando ancora il medesimo Petrarca disse:

L'uno e l'altro Raimbaldo.

315

Raimbaldo di Vaqueiras.

Per l'uno de i due intese Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, che fu buon
trovatore et cantò per Beatrice in Monferrato, chiamandola nelle sue
canzoni "Bel cavalier", come nella chiusa di una sua canzone:

Mich. car. 41..

310 che disse] **Min** il quale in una sua canzone, che comincia
312 delan] **Min cont.** Disse nella chiusa: | De Tintinhac a la valor | Qui fes lo
vers nomenatiu.
313 il medesimo Petrarca] **Min missing**
315 Per ... intese] **Min** s'ha da intendere senza dubbio per l'uno de i due
Raimbaut de] **Min** Raimbaldo di
316 trovatore] **Min** compositore chiamandola] **Min** et chiamavala
317 Bel cavalier] **Min** Bel cavaliere **BC** ¹Bel... ²Bel cavallier ³→ **T** come]
Min cont. quando dice

305 Maintz] **Tir** Mainz

316 in] **Tir** di

Bel cavalier en vos ai mesperansa,
Car vos es del mon la plus prezans,
E la plus pros nom mi deu esser dans
Car vos mi des conseil, e fort fermansa.

320

Et fu Raimbaldo figliuolo di un povero cavaliere di Provenza del 40.
castello di Vaqueiras, il quale fattosi giuolare fu messo in credito
per Guglielmo del Baus prencipe d'Aurenga, dal quale essendosi
partito venne in corte del Marchese Bonifatio di Monferrato, che
lo fece cavaliere, et diedegli gran terra, e rendite nel tenimento di
Saloniche. De i quali benefici ricevuti fa Raimbaldo istesso honorata
mentione ne i seguenti versi:

325

Valen Marques senher de Monferrat,
A Dieu grazisc, car vos a tant onrat,
Que mais aves mes, e conques, e dat,
Com ses corona de la crestandat.
E laus en Dieu, que tant m a enansat,

42..

330

322 Et fu Raimbaldo] **Min** il quale Raimbaldo fu cavaliere] **Min** cavallier
323 il quale] **Min** et
324 dal quale essendosi] **Min** con cui si stette longamente, dipoi
325 partito] **Min** cont. sen che] **Min** il quale
326 diedegli] **Min** gli diede
327 i] **Min** missing
328 mentione] **Min** memoria
333 m a] **Min** ma

329 senher] **Tir** senhor
332 crestandat] **Tir** Crestianadat

335

Que bon senhor ai molt en vos trobat,

Que maves gen noirit, et adobat

E fait gran be, e de bas aut poiat,

[27r]

E de nien fait cavalier prezat

Grazit en cort, e per donas lauzat.

Raimbaldo di Aurenga

340

15. Per l'altro si può intendere o Raimbaut d'Aurenga, che fu parimente buon trovatore, et amò per amore la contessa di Urgel figliuola del Marchese di Busca, per rispetto della quale disse nel fine d'una sua canzone:

Mich. car. 70..

Er vueill preiar

Vers ab ditz clar

345

Que lai en Urgel taprezen.

Raimbaldo Deira

350

16. Overo Raimbaut Deira, che s'intese in donna Sancha di Aragon, la quale essendo per andarsene in Catalogna con madonna Naudiarz, che ritornava a casa dopo la morte del signor di Marsiglia suo marito, Raimbaldo pregò nella sottoscritta stanza il conte di Provenza, che la ritenesse in sua corte dicendo così:

Libro sicil. car. 38.

339–340 fu parimente] **Min** parimente fu

340 amore] **Min cont.** non Beatrice di Monferrato, ma

347 andarsene] **Min** ritornarsene

348 signor] **Min** signore

350 che] **Min cont.** non la lasciasse andare, ma

345 taprezen] **Tir** saprezen

350 dicendo] **Tir missing**

Coms Proensals si sen vai dopna Sancha,
 Nous tenrem mais per gaillart, ni per pro
 Tan com farem, si sai ab nos sestancha,
 Nil faitz laisser per Proensa Arago
 Queil Dompna es bella, e cortesa, e francha,
 E gensera tota nostra maiso.
 Ben aia lalbres, don nais tan bella branca,
 Caital com tanh ad avinen faiso
 Es de beutat bruna, vermeilla, e blanca.

355

17. Degli Amerighi tre ne ho trovati io fra' provenzali, de' quali
 tutti si leggono cose dette in rima, cioè:

360

[27v] Amerigo di
 Bellenuci.

18. Aimeric de Belenuci, che fu del territorio di Bordella d'un
 castello che ha nome Lesparre, e fece canzoni buone, e belle d'una
 donna di Guascogna detta Gentil de Rius, per lo cui amore si stette
 un tempo nel paese, poi se n'andò in Catalogna, et là si morì. Et
 per testimonianza, ch'egli fosse buon poeta, basterà credo sapere,
 ch'egli sia citato da Dante in una sua canzone, che comincia:

Mich. car. 53..

365

Volg. el. car. 18. lin. 24.

Lib. in asc. car. .105.

351 dopna] **Min** dompna

360–361 Degli Amerighi ... cioè] **Min** Tre furono similmente gli Amerighi fra'
 provenzali per quanto io ho potuto ritrovare, cioè è

362 del territorio ... Bordella] **Min** di Bordaes

363 Lesparre] **Min** Lespaza e] **BC** *effaced then rewritten*

365 un tempo] **Min** longamente Et] **Min** E

367 citato] **Min** stato allegato Dante] **Min** *cont.* nel libro della *Volgare*
eloquentia una sua] **Min** quella

351 Proensals] **Tir** Proensal

Nulls hom non pot complir adreitamen

So, ca en cor.

370 Amerigo di Peguillan.

19. Aimeric de Peguillan citato parimente da Dante in una canzone che dice:

Volg. el. car. 18. lin. 25.

Si com lalbre, que per sobrecargar

Mich. car. 17.

Franh si mezeus, e pert son fruit, e se

Ai ieu perdut ma bella done me,

375

E mos engenhs ses fraitz per sobramar.

Questi fu di Tolosa, onde partito per tema di nemicitie particolari, et andatosene in Catalogna si introdusse in corte del re d’Aragon col favore di Guglielmo di Berguedam; ultimamente se ne venne in Lombardia ricettato da Guglielmo Malaspina marchese di cui disse in una canzone:

380

Le pros Guillem Malaspina soste.

369 ca] **Min** qua cor] **Min cont. with ll. 374–80**

370 Aimeric] **Min** Et Aimeric

372 Si com] **Min** Sicom

376 nemicitie] **Min** nimicitie

377 andatosene] **Min** andato Catalogna] **Min cont.** col favore di Guilliemo di Berguedam

378 col favore ... Berguedam] **Min** di cui dice gran bene nelle sue canzoni, et del Re Alfonso di Castiglia ultimamente] **Min** all’ultimo

379 Guglielmo ... Marchese] **Min** dal marchese Guilliemo Malaspina

368 Nulls] **Tir** Nuls

Ioi e donnei, cortezia, e me.

Ma sopra tutti lodò, et esaltò donna Beatrice d'Este quella che
fu figliuola del marchese Aldobrandino, et maritata in Andrea re di
Ongheria l'anno 1235 della quale dice in un loco

385

Na Biatritz dest anc non vi plus bel flor

Lib. in asc. car. 73.

Ni de vostre temps non trobei meillor

[28r]

Tant es bona com plus lauzar vos vueill

Ades i trob plus de ben que non sueill.

Amerigo di Sarbat.

20. Et Aimeric de Sarbat, di cui sono le canzoni che cominciano:

Lib. in asc. car. 132..

390

Fins, e leials donna ses tot enian, et

Can si cargal ram de vert fueill, et

Eissamen mas chansos

Com lalauzeta fai.

Ugo di Samsir.

21. Degli Ughi fu l'uno Uc de Samsir a i tempi del conte Ramon-

395

383 et esaltò donna] **Min** *missing*

390 Et] **Min** Ancora uno

394 lalauzeta] ¹BC ¹lau... ²T

395 Degli] **Min** De gli

385 Ongheria] **Tir** Ungheria

390 Et Aimeric] **Tir** Americ Sarbat] **Tir** Sarlat

do di Tolosa, che fece più canzoni, et fra le altre questa seguente:

Loniamen ai atenduda

Una razon avinen

Don fezes chanso plazen,

400

Mas encar nomes venguda.

Mich. car. 66.

Doncx si vueill de la razon,

Que ai far vera chanso,

ella sera megartida

Chanso ioiose marida,

405

Lauzan del be, cai agut,

E planhen, car lai perdut.

Ugo di Pena.

22. L'altro Uc de Pena d'un castello, ch'è sul Genovese, et essendo giocolare cantava le altrui canzoni, et ne fece ancora delle sue, come quella, che dice:

Mich. car. 67..

396 più] **Min** di molte fra le] **Min** fralle questa seguente] **Min** quella,
che comincia

401 razon] **Min** razo

404 ioiose] **Min** ioioze

407 ch'] **Min** del 407–408 et essendo] **Min** che fu

408 giocolare] **Min** cont. et altrui canzoni] **Min** canzoni altrui ne fece]

Min fecene

400 encar] **Tir** encor

401 vueill] **Tir** vueil

402 ai] **Tir** missing

405 Lauzan] **Tir** Lanzan

407 de] **Tir** da sul] **Tir** nel

Totz aitals mi soi, com sueill

410

Francx, e fis, et amoros.

Ugo il Bruno. **23.** Il terzo Uc lo brus conte de la Manoha, che fu cavaliere di madonna Maria da Ventadorno, di cui si leggono alquante canzoni ne i libri provenzali. Lib. sicil. car. 2..

[28v] **24.** Il quarto Uc de Bersie, che in certe sue stanze mostra di essersi crociato per andare oltra mare con lo imperadore Federico, al qual passaggio invita il marchese di Monferrato, et un Folquet de Rotmans con le dette stanze. Lib. sleg. car. 61.

Folchetto di Rotmans **25.** Et fu Folquet Rotmans, di cui habbiamo incidentemente fatta mentione, di Vianese d'un borgo, che ha nome Rotmans, giuolare favorito in corte, et di bel solazzo, buon maestro di serventesi, et di stanze, come nella seguente fatta in materia del predetto passaggio, dove dice: 420

En chantan vueill quem digatz

412 de la] **Min** dela 412–413 che fu ... Ventadorno] **Min** *missing*

413 alquante] **BC** ¹alquanti ²→ **T**

414 ne i libri provenzali] **Min** *missing*

416 lo imperadore] **Min** l'imperadore

419 Folquet] **Min** Folchetto 419–420 di cui ... mentione] **Min** *missing*

420 Vianese] **Min** Vianes giuolare] **Min** giuolare

423 dove dice] **Min** *missing*

416 crociato] **Tir** crucciato

418 Rotmans] **Tir** Romans

419 Rotmans] **Tir** Romans

420 Rotmans] **Tir** Romans

425

Senher En Blacatz,
Se vai lemperaire
Vas la terra, on Deus fo natz,
Vos quen pensatz,
O quen cuiatz faire?

430

Ughetto di Mataplana.

26. Appresso gli Ughi detti disopra soggiugneremo ancora Uget de Mataplana, un valente barone di Catalogna, et parimente buon trovatore, di cui habbiamo un serventese a Ramondo de Miraval, che comincia:

Libro sleg. car. 67..

435

Dun sirventes mes pres talens,
Que razos mo mostra, e mo di,
E cant er faitz tenral cami
Tot dreit a Miraval correns.

Ramondo di Miraval.

27. Del qual Raimon de Miraval fu detto disopra nel quinto capitolo chi egli fosse, et donde, qui solamente si ha da sapere un bello inganno che gli fu fatto, che havendo egli partita da sé la moglie, ch'era bella, et gentile, et poetessa, sotto cagione, che non si conve-

Mich. car. 75.

440

430 soggiugneremo] **Min** porremo

431 parimente] **Min** *missing*

435 razos] **BC** ¹Ro... ²razon ³T

438 Del qual ... de] **Min** Di Ramondo di

439 et] **Min** e 439–440 un bello ... partita] **Min** ch'egli parti

441 et] **Min** e et] **Min** e

431 de] **Tir** da

[29r] nia che fossero in uno albergo due trovatori, et questo con disegno d'introdursi in casa una, ch'egli amava, la quale si maritò in quel punto, et la moglie si rimase con un altro, a cui si era adherita con consenso del marito; et così Miraval si rimase senza moglie, et senza amica, della qual follia Ughetto lo ne castiga nel predetto serventese.

445

28. Molti furono i Guglielmi, che a i suoi tempi cantarono in rima appresso i provenzali, come:

Guglielmo di Capestagno. Guiliaume de Capestanh del contado di Rossiglione, et signore del castello di Capestainh buon cavaliere d'arme, pregiato da tutta gente, molto amato dalle donne, et molto buon rimatore.

450

Guglielmo di San Leidier 29. Guilaume de Saint Leidier un ricco castellano di Velaic del Vescovato del Puei Sancta Maria huomo honorato per arme, per

442 questo] **Min cont.** fece egli

443 una] **Min** un'altra donna 443–444 si maritò ... punto] **Min** in quel punto si maritò

444–445 et la ... marito] **Min missing**

446 qual] **Min** quale

447 Guglielmi] **Min** Guilielmi

448 come] **Min** fra' quali fu

449 Guiliaume] **Min** Guilielmo Capestanh] **Min** Cabestanh

450 Capestainh] **Min** Cabestanh cavaliere] **Min** cavallier tutta] **Min cont.** la 450–451 gente] **Min cont.** et

451 et molto] **Min** che molto fu

452 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo

453 arme] **Min cont.** et

443 la quale] **Tir** questa 443–444 quel punto] **Ih Tir** quell'istante

445 consenso] **Tir** contento

447 i] **Tir missing**

449 Guiliaume] **Ih** Guiliem **Tir** Guilem

452 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem

larghezza, et per poesia.

455 Guglielmo di Balaon

30. Guilaume de Balaon gentilhuomo nella contrada di Mompoliere huomo costumato, et buon trovatore.

De' quali essendosi fatta altrove mentione in contando i loro amori, qui non se ne parlerà più longamente, per potere procedere avanti a far memoria degli altri di questo nome, che sono:

460 Guglielmo di Berguedam.

31. Guilaume de Berguedam, di cui il Maestro delle *Cento novelle antiche* conta una così fatta novella:

Guglielmo di Bergdam fue nobile cavaliere di Provenza al tempo del conte Raimondo Berlinghieri. Uno giorno avvenne ke cavalieri si vantavano, e Guglielmo si vanto kennon avea niuno nobile uomo in Provenza kennon li avesse fatto

465

454 poesia] **Min** cont. di cui si leggono molte canzoni di assai buona inventione

455 Guilaume] **Min** Et ancora Guilielmo

456 costumato, et] **Min** di buoni costumi, e

457 De' quali ... mentione] **Min** Ma perciò che di questi tre si è fatta mentione altrove

458 parlerà più longamente] **Min** dirà altro

459 che] **Min** de' quali le compositioni sono pervenute a mia notitia, et

460 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo

462–463 al tempo] **BC** *originally written twice*

463 Berlinghieri] **BC** ¹Berlinghiere ²→ **T**

465 kennon] **Min** ke non

455 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem 455–456 Mompoliere] **Tir** Monpeliere

458 longamente] **Tir** lungamente

460 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem

463–464 avenne] **Tir** avvenne

464 kennon] **Tir** ke non

465 kennon] **Tir** ke non

[29v]

votare la sella e giacciuto con sua mogliera, et questo disse
in udiencia del conte. el conte rispose. or mee? | Guglielmo
disse. Voi singnior io lo vi diro. fecie venire suo destriere sel-
lato, et cinghiato bene li sproni in pie mise il pic nella staffa,
e quando fu ammannato parlo al conte e disse_ Voi singniore
ne metto ne traggo. e mo(n)ta a cavallo e sprona e va via. Il
conte sadiroe molto que non venia a corte. Un giorno si ragu-
narono donne a uno nobile convito, mandaro per Guglielmo
di Bergdam ella contessa vi fu e dissero. Or ci di Guglielmo
perke ai tu cosi onite le donne di Provenza. cara la comperrai.
katuna avea uno mattero sotto. Quella ke parlava disse vedi
Guglielmo ke per la tua follia ti convien morire. E Gugliel-
mo parlo e disse vedendo kelli si era sorpreso di una cosa vi
prego donne per amore kemmi facciate un dono. Le donne
risposero domanda salvo kennon domandi tua scampa. Allo-
ra Guglielmo parlo, e disse. Donne io vi prego per amore ke
qual di voi ella piu putta mi dea in prima. Allora luna riguar-
do laltra non si trovo ki prima li volesse dare, e cosi scampo
a questa volta.

Novel. 42. car. 18.

470

475

480

Né fu guari più modesto in vantarsi in canzoni, come quando

Lib. sleg. car. 81.

485

471 mo(n)ta] **BC** ¹molta ²→ **T**

472–473 ragunaron] **Min** ragunaro

485 Né] **Min** Ma non vantarsi] **Min** cont. de questo medesimo in]

Min nelle sue 485–486 come quando disse] **Min** si come appare per quella

che comincia: | Trop ai estat souz coa de mouton. | dove dice:

470 ammannato] ammanato **Tir**

480 kennon] **Tir** ke non

disse:

Gen li pauzei los cornz el capiron.

Guglielmo Salagnac.

32. Guilaume de Salanhac, che cantò per la contessa di Burlatz figliuola del conte Raimondo di Tolosa, di cui dice nella chiusa di una sua canzone:

Mich. car. 9.

490

Pros comtessa sobre nom avetz ver
Car gen burlatz e metetz vostraver
E faitz tezaur de fin pretz benestan
Cautra dompna del mon non val aitan.

495

Guglielmo Magret.

33. Guilaume Magret, che fece la canzone che comincia

Mich. car. 10.

Aiga pueia contramon
Ab fum, ab netbla, et ab ven.

488 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo cantò] **Min** mostra che cantasse di]
Min de
489 Raimondo] **Min** Ramondo di cui] **Min** percioch'egli 489–490 di
una] **Min** d'una
495 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo che comincia] **Min** *missing*

488 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem
495 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem

- [30r] Guglielmo de Biais, o de Biarn. 34. Guilaume de Biais, o de Biarn, di cui habbiamo una canzone che corre artificiosamente per tutte le stanze con le otto ultime parole de i versi prese nella prima stanza, del modo della quale altrove si ha da fare menzione al suo loco. Mich. car. 9.. ed 87. 500
- Guglielmo di Dur Fort. 35. Guilaume de Dur Fort de Caors, di cui si leggono due serventesi. Mich. car. 4..
- Guglielmo Montanago. 36. Guilaume Montanago poeta morale nelle sue canzoni delle quali l'una comincia: Mich. car. 12. 505
- Nuills hom no val, ni deu esser preztatz
Saitan, can pot, en valor non enten.
- Guglielmo di San Grigori. 37. Guilaume de saint Grigori, che fece una sestina ad imitatione di quella di Arnaldo Daniello, che comincia: Mich. car. 510
- Lo ferm voler quel cor mintra
-
- 498 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo
499 corre artificiosamente] **Min** artificiosamente corre
500–501 altrove ... fare] **Min** si farà
502 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo
504 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo
508 Guilaume] **Min** Guilielmo
509 di] **BC** *originally written twice* 509–510 che comincia ... mintra] **Min**
missing
-
- 498 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem
502 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem de] **Tir** da
504 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem
508 Guilaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem
510 mintra] **Tir** misura

Servendosi della sorte de i versi, et delle medesime parole finali,
come

Ben grant avolesa intra.

Lib. sleg. car. 55.

Guglielmo della Torre.

38. Guillaume dela Tor, che propose a Sordello una questione
tale per maniera di tenzone:

515

Uns amicx et unamia

Mich. car. 91.

Sordel aun si un voler,

Calur semblan non poiria

Luns ses lautre ioi aver.

520

E si lamiga moris

Aisi que lamicx o vis

Que no la pot oblidar

Cals seria meills a far

Pres lieis viure o murir

525

Digatz daiso vostralbir.

512–513 come ... intra] **Min** a suo proposito

514 Guillaume] **Min** Guilielmo dela] **Min** de la

514 Guillaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem

517 un] **Tir** *missing*

524 Pres] **Tir** Gres

39. Guillaume Figera, che fu dottore, scrittore di serventesi, e **[30v]**
 maldicente, onde ne rilevò sul viso un fregio, come gli rimproverano
 Amerigo di Peguillan con questa stanza:

Anc tan bella espazada

Lib. sleg. car. 71.. e 80..

No cuit com vis

530

Com det Nauzers sus el vis

An guilem gauta segnada,

Quel vis lo feri tan fort,

Cun petit na lun oill tort

El cill, que sol aver negrer a blanc

535

El cais plus ros de scarlate de sanc.

Et Sordello con questa altra:

Si tot massail de serventes Figera

Ab sa lengua falsa e mensongiera

Soffrir lom tanh, tal paor ai nom feira

540

Ab lespada, ab quel feri Nauziers.

Car no llin valc Capiros, ni viseira

526 Guillaume] **Min** Guilielmo

528 Amerigo di Peguillan] **Min** Aimeric de Piguillan

531 sus] **BC** ¹sul ²T

532 An guilem] **Min** Anguilem

537 questa altra] **Min** quest'altra

539 lengua] **Min** lenga

542 Capiros] **Min** capiros

526 Guillaume] **Ih Tir** Guilem

538 massail] **Tir** messail

545

Que dela galta no llen fazes cartiers,
E pois nac patz ferma daital maneira
Canc noill costet metzinar dos deniers.

40. Ma de i Guglielmi sia detto assai, et passiamo ad altri d'altri nomi diversi l'uno dall'altro secondo che mi si presenteranno dinanzi e prima.

Maestro Michele della Torre.

550

41. Maistre Miquel dela Tor, che raccolse al suo tempo in un libro molte rime d'altri trovatori, come egli dice nel principio di esso libro con queste sue parole:

Mich. car. 1 e 68..

Maistre Miquel de la Tor de Clarmon dalvernhe si escrius
aquest libre estant en Mon peslier. etc.

555

Et ne scrisse ancora delle sue in soggetto del suo amore, di cui dice in una canzone:

En Narbone era plantatz
L'albre, quem fara murir,
Et en Mon peslier es cazatz
En molt bon luec senes mentir.

544 pois] **BC** ¹peis ²T maniera] **BC** ¹mani...? ²→ **T**

545 deniers.] **Min** follows with par. **39a**

546 et passiamo] **Min** ché tempo è di passare 546–548 d'altri ... prima] **Min** missing

549 Maistre] **Min** Fra' quali mi occorre Maestro Tor] **Min** cont. di Clarmon dalvernha che raccolse ... tempo] **Min** al suo tempo raccolse

550–553 come egli ... peslier.] **Min** missing

558 Mon peslier] **Min** Monpeslier

[31r] Beltramo

della Torre.

42. Bertrams ancora della Torre⁵ suddito del Dalfino dalvernia,

a cui mandò il Dalfino la seguente stanza per uno suo giullare detto

Mauret:

Lib. sleg. car. 63.

560

Mauret Bertran a laisada

Manens, e ricx, esasatz

Valor, don fo mout onratz,

Elanar dautrencontrada,

E soiora a la tor,

E tien faucon, e Austor,

E cre far Pasqua, o Nadal,

Quant son vint dins son ostal.

565

570

. Et Beltramo gli rispose così per le rime.

560 Bertrams ancora della Torre] **Min** Fu ancora un Bertrams dela Tor sud-
dito ... dalvernia] **Min** *missing*

561 mandò il Dalfino] **Min** il Dalfino dalvernia mandò 561–562 uno suo
giullare detto Mauret] **Min** Mauret suo giullare

564 esasatz] **BC** ¹esatz ²T

566 Elanar] **Min** E lanar

571 Et] **Min** *missing*

560 Dalfino] **Tir** Delfino

561 Dalfino] **Tir** Delfino

⁵Barbieri had mistakenly written here, rather than on fol. 27r, the three final lines of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's 'epic letter' (BEdT 392, III) beginning on 26v, which is part of this same bifolium:

'E fait gran be, e de bas aut poiât,

E de nien fait cavalier prezat

Grazit en cort, e per donas lauzat.'

575

Mauret al Daufin agrada
Quem digatz queu son malvatz,
El reprovier es vertatz,
De cal seignor tal maisnada,
Queu fui bons tant, quant aic bon seignor,
E que a lui plac, ni so tenc ad onor,
Aras Mauret, pos el no val
Si eu era bons, tenria so a mal.

580

Dodone di Pradas.

43. Daude de Pradas, che fece canzoni amorse, et un libretto

intitolato:

Romans dels auzels cassadors, che comincia:

Mich. car. 46.. e 98..

Daude de Pradas non soblida,
Pueisque sens e razos len covida
Que non fassa un bon solatz
Per si, e per sels, a cui platz.

585

572 Daufin] **Min** Daufin

574 reprovier] **Min** reproviers

577 E] **Min** *missing, possibly noted with an asterisk*

579 Si eu] **Min** Sieu

580 che fece] **Min** che fece di molte un libretto] **Min** fece ancora un libretto
in rima

582 auzels] **Min** Auzels che] **Min** il quale

572 al] **Tir** ab

575 De] **Tir** Be

583 Daude] **Tir** Dode

[31v] Bernardo di Pradas.

44. Bernart de Pradas, che cominciò una sua canzone:

Si tot mai pres un pauc de dan,

Per tan no serai recrezens,

Quieu no malegre, e non chan

Malgrat dels ianglos maldizens.

590

Guido, Neble, Pietro, Elia -

Duisel

45. Gui, Netbles, et Peire fratelli, et Elias loro cuggino tutti co-

gnominati Duisel da un loro castello, che havevano in Lemosino, furono tutti e quattro trovatori, che Guido faceva le buone canzoni, Elias le buone tenzoni, Netbles le male tenzoni, et Pietro ricantava tutto ciò, che gli altri tre cantavano.

595

Guido fu calonico de Bruide, et s'intese in madonna Margarita dal Busso, et nella contessa di Monferran, delle quali fece sue canzoni per un tempo, ma venendo in quelle parti il legato del papa egli gliene fece coscienza, et lo fè giurare di lasciare per l'avenire l'amore,

600

587 Bernart] **Min** Fu trovatore ancora un Bernart

592 et] **Min** *missing*

594 le] **Min** *missing*

595 le] **Min** *missing* le] **Min** *missing* Pietro] **Min** Piero 595–596

ricantava ... cantavano] **Min** rispondea a tutti per le rime

599 egli] **Min** *missing*

600 l'avenire] **Min** lo avenire

587 Bernart] **Tir** Bernard

590 malegre] **Tir** malegra non] **Tir** no

592 fratelli, et] **Tir** *missing*

594 furono] **Tir** *missing*

e'l canto.

Elias si stava ad un suo castello detto Casluz povero di biada, e di vino, et quando venivano a lui forestieri, egli faceva loro honore di belle accoglienze, et davagli bel solazzo col cantar loro sue canzoni, et sue stanze in loco di gran conviti, onde Gauselmo Faidit ne fece una così fatta stanza per scherno dicendo:

605

Ben auria obs pans, e vis
A Casluz, tant es ses umor,
Merce del paubre trobador,
Ques manens de gabs, e de ris,
Que sei solatz son gran copas dargen
Eill sirventes segalas, e formen,
E sas cansons es vestir vert ab var
A lui sen an qui vol ben soiornar.

610

615 Bernardo da Ventadorno.

46. Bernart de Ventadorn fu di Lemosino del castello di Ventadorno huomo di povera generatione, figliuolo di un fornaio, ma bello della persona, cortese, et costumato, et seppe ben poetare, et ben cantare. Prima cantò della viscontessa moglie del suo signore di Ventadorno, della quale si era innamorato, et ella di lui; dipoi della

Mich. car. 25.. **[32r]**

602 castello] **Min** loco

604 col cantar loro] **Min** col recitargli

605 et] **Min** e conviti] **Min BC** corredi Gauselmo] **Min** Gauselm

615–616 Ventadorno] **Min** Ventadorn

617 et] **Min** e et] **Min** che et] **Min** e

605 conviti] *the correction might be by lh*

duchessa di Normandia, che parimente amò per amore finch'ella si
maritò nel re Henrico d'Inghilterra. Allhora Bernardo se n'andò al
conte Ramondo di Tolosa, et con lui si stette fin che'l conte morì;
per la cui morte egli di dolore si rendé all'ordine Dedalon, dove finì
sua vita.

620

Ponzio di capdueill.

47. Pons de Capduill, di cui si parlò più sopra nel quinto capitolo,
si fu un gentil barone del Puei Sancta Maria, che seppe ben dire per
rima, ben sonare la viola, e ben cantare, e fu buon cavallier d'arme,
bel parlatore, grande della persona, et molto costumato; ma scarso
forte, e cupido di havere, del qual difetto se ne sapeva gentilmen-
te coprire con belle accoglienze, et col fare honore di sua persona.
Questi amò per amore madonna Nalazais de Mercuer, come si disse.
Morta lei, levò la croce, et si passò oltra mare, dove si morì.

Mich. car. 81.

625

630

Lanfranco Cicala.

49. Lafranc Cigala fu de' nostri d'Italia, et genovese, ma com-
pose canzoni in provenzale, come quella in lode della Vergine, che
comincia:

Mich. car. 25.

635

En chantan daquest setgle fals

Ai mantobra perduda

Don cre aver pena mortals

620 finch'ella] **Min** fin ch'ella

621 Allhora Bernardo] **Min** onde Bernardo ultimamente

626–627 dire per rima] **Min** poetare

628 grande ... costumato] **Min** molto costumato, grande e bello della persona

630 con] **Min** *cont.* le

631 disse] **Min** si disse, per tutto'l tempo ch'ella visse

632 et] **Min** e morì.] **Min** *follows with a whole paragraph (47a)*

633 et genovese] **Min** *missing*

623 egli di dolore] **Tir** *missing* Dedalon] **Tir** di Dalon

640

Si merses no maiuda
Perque mos chans si muda

E vueill lofrir

[32v]

Lai, don venir

Mi pot complida aiuda,

Sol no sia irascuda

645

La Maire Dieu, cui mos chantar saluda.

Et quell'altra di madonna Nalais de Vidallana, che dice:

Tan franc cor de dompna ai trobat

Lib. sleg. car. 84.

A VillaFranca, e tan plazen,

Que macuilli tan francamen,

650

Que de franc ma sos sers tornat.

Ramondo Vidale.

50. Raimon Vidal de Bezaudu non solo fu trovatore, ma compose ancora il libro intitolato:

Las Rasos de trobar.

Et sue canzoni furono:

Mich. car. 52.

646 quell'altra] **Min** quest'altra

647 cor] **Min** cors

648 VillaFranca] **Min** Villafranca

652 ancora] **Min** *cont.* in prosa

641 vueill] **Tir** vueil

646 quell'altra di] **Tir** quell'altra in lode di

653 Las] **Tir** La

Entrel Taur, el doble signe, et

655

Bel mes can lerba reverdis.

Perolo di Alvernia.

51. Perol fu un povero cavaliere d'Alvernia d'un castello, che ha nome Perol al piè di Roccafort, e si stava col Dalfino d'Alvernia, che lo vestiva, et gli dava cavalli, et arme; hor aveva il Dalfino una sorella bella, et avenente, moglie di Bernardo di Mercuer, detta Saill de Claustra, la quale Perol amava, et ella lui, et montò tanto il fatto del loro amore, che'l Dalfino se ne ingelosì, et partì Perolo da sé, il quale non si potendo mantenere per cavaliere si si fece giuolare, et se n'andò per le corti de' signori cantando, et sonando alla viola le sue canzoni, ché questo era appunto il mestiero di coloro che a quei tempi si dicevano giullari, e giuolari.

Mich. car. 4.

660

665

Helia Cairel.

52. Elias Cairel fu de Peiregors, il quale cercò la maggior parte della terra habitata, et molto fu sottile in poetare, et in ciò, ch'egli

Sicil.car.7.. [33r]

659 il] **Min** cont. detto

661 et] **Min** cont. finalmente

662 Perolo] **Min** Perol

664 se] **Min** missing

666 dicevano] **Min** chiamavano e] **Min** o

667 il quale] **Min** et

668 habitata,] **Min** cont. seppe ben lettere, et] **Min** e poetare] **Min**
rimare

658 Dalfino] **Tir** Delfino

659 Dalfino] **Tir** Delfino

662 Dalfino] **Tir** Delfino Perolo] **Tir** Parolo

665 quei] **Tir** que'

667 Peiregors] **Tir** Peiragors

670

volle dire, o fare, ma per lo disdegno, ch'egli hebbe de' baroni del secolo, non fu gradito secondo che l'opera sua valeva. Et mostra ch'egli fosse innamorato in Grecia per gli sottoscritti versi:

Mich. car. 39.

Vers tost, e corren ten passa

Tot dreg lai en terra grega,

Madona, sill platz, tentenda,

675

Cautra res nom pot erebre.

Helia Fonsalada.

53. Ancora Elias Fonsalada del vescovato di Peiregors de Bariarac, et fu sua professione di giuolare, et d'huomo di corte migliore nondimeno per contar novelle, che per cantar rime, nelle quali nondimeno assai loda il re di Aragon, come quando dice:

Lib. sleg. car. 30. 32.

680

Del Rei daragom ve talans

Quel veza, que sos pretz es grans.

Helia di Bariol.

54. Elias de Bariol, che fu molto miglior poeta, come appare dalle sue canzoni, delle quali l'una comincia:

Asc. car 36.

Ben deu hom son bon seinhor

671 ch'egli] **Min** che

676 Fonsalada] **Min** cont. fu di] **Min** de

677 et fu sua professione] **Min** sua professione fu

678 cantar] **Min** missing

679 nondimeno] **Min** missing

682 Elias ... poeta] **Min** Miglior poeta fu Elias de Bariol

675 erebre] **Tir** rebre

Amar e servir

685

Et onrar, et obezir

A tota sonor.

Pietro Cardinale. **55.** Peire Cardenal là da i tempi del secondo Federico, che fu Mich. car. 60.

scrittore di serventesi, ne' quali a modo di sermoni si biasima il male, et loda il bene, come si fa in quello di costui medesimo, che incomincia:

690

[33v]

De Sirventes faire nom tueill,

E dirai vos razon perque,

Car azir tort aisi, com sueill.

Et am dreit, si com fis ancse,

695

E qui caia autre trezor,

Ieu ei leialtat en mon cor

Tant, quenemic men son li desleial,

E si per so maziron nomen cal.

Marcabruno. **56.** Marcabrus, che fu parimente scrittore di serventesi ma con Mich. car. 3..

700

688 Federico,] **Min** cont. et del Re San Luigi di Francia che] **Min** missing

689–690 ne' quali ... in] **Min** che a modo di sermoni biasimano il male, et confortano al bene, come si è

691 incomincia] **Min** comincia

700 Marcabrus ... serventesi] **Min** Ne i medesimi tempi molti ne scrisse un Marcabrus, scrittore] **BC**¹scrittori²→ **T**

692 tueill] **Tir** meill

minor leggiadria, e dignità, et fu questi come un Burchiello fra'
Provenzali.

705 Luchetto Cataluzzo. **57.** Luquet Cataluze, che fece un serventese della pugna del re Manfredi, di Carlo d'Angiò, et di Coradino per lo reame di Cicilia, il quale comincia: Mich. 15.. e 51..

Cora quieu fos marritz e consiros
Per dan de pretz, que cascuns relinqua
Aram conort, e sui gais e ioios
Car iois e pretz revenra ques perdia.

710 Girardone il Rosso. **58.** Girardo lo Ros del tempo del Dalfino d'Alvernia, che fu quelli che disse: Mich. car. 12.

Veus la Dereira chanso
Que iamais auziretz de me.

Giraldo di Spagna. **59.** Giraut despanha che fece canzoni in provenzale, come quel- Mich. 39..

701 et] **Min** che
703 che] **Min** *missing* pugna] **Min** contesa
705 il quale] **Min** che
707 relinqua] **Min** relenqua
708 Aram] **Min** Auram
710 Girardo] **Min** Guirardo Ros] **Min** che fu che] **Min** *missing*
712 Dereira] **Min** dereira
714 Giraut] **Min** Guiraut che] **BC added later above**

701 questi] **Tir** quasi
710 Girardo] **Ih** Giraut **Tir** Girot Dalfino] **Tir** Delfino
711 quelli] **Tir** quegli

la che comincia:

715

Sieu en Pascor non chantava,

et,

Qui en pascor non chanta non par gais.

Cadenetto. **60.** Cadenet, che si ben seppe celarsi in amore, che si diceva **[34r]**

ch'egli s'intendeva in un loco, et egli amava in un altro, onde dice: Mich. car. 44.. 720

Lauzengiers grazidaus sia

Lonor, quem faitz ab mentir,

Catotz faitz cuidar e dir,

Quieu am tal per drudaria,

On anc iorn non aic mon voler,

Et ab mentir cobretz lo ver.

725

Guido di Cavaglione **61.** Gui de Cavaillon, et questi si fu un gentil barone di Provenza Lib. sleg. car. 68..

signor di Cavaillon largo e cortese, avenente della persona, et molto

719 che si ben seppe] **Min** fu buon poeta, et seppe si bene

726 cobretz] **Min** cobratz

727 et questi] **Min** *missing*

728 et] **Min** e

716 Pascor] **Tir** Pastor

718 pascor] **Tir** pastor

720 egli] **Tir** *missing*

730

amato dalle donne sì che fu creduto ch'egli fosse drudo della contessa Garsenda, moglie del conte di Provenza, et era non meno buon rimatore, che buon cavallier d'arme, il quale trovandosi assediato in Castelnovo a servizio del conte Ramondo di Tolosa guerreggiato dalla chiesa come fautore degli heretici albighesi scrisse fuora due stanze dicendo:

735

Doas cotblas farai en aquest son
Queu trametrai an Bertram davignon.

Beltramo Folcone.

62. A cui Beltramo detto Bertram Folcon rispose per le rime cominciando così: Lib. sleg. car. 68..

740

Ia non creirai den Gui de Cavaillon
Quentrels Franceis empenga son leon.

730 moglie] **Min cont.** che fu 730–731 et era ... che] **Min** questi non solo fece di buone tenzoni, et di buone stanze, ma fu ancora

731 d'arme] **Min cont.** e buon guerriere trovandosi] **BC originally cont.** una volta

732 a servizio del] **Min** per lo

733 dalla] **Min** da' francesi per la

734 dicendo] **Min missing**

736 davignon.] **Min cont. below** et il resto che segue

737 A cui ... Folcon] **Min** Il quale Beltramo di Avignone detto Bertram Folcon era parimente poeta, et gli

738 cominciando così] **Min** dicendo

729 drudo della] **lh Tir** grato alla

730 moglie] **lh effaced Tir missing**

740 empenga] **Tir** empogna

Pistoletta **63.** Pistoleta, il quale appare che fosse signore di castello per gli Mich. car. 48..
seguenti versi:

Dompna mon cor e mon castel vos re
E tot cant ai car es bella e pros.

[34v] Pietro Ramondo. **64.** Peire Raimon, che molto si ritrasse alla maniera di Arnaldo Mich. car. 50. 745
Daniello, et fu celebratore di casa Malaspina, come quando disse:

Chanso vai mi tost retrar
Azaura Mala, e dim al bon Marques
Messer Colrat, quen lui a tans de bes,
Percom lo deu sobre totz apelar.

750

Albertetto di Sestaro. **69.** Albertet de Sestaro celebratore della medesima casa, dicen- Lib. asc. car. 90..
do:

741 Pistoleta] **Min** In quei tempi medesimi Pistoleta fece sue canzoni si-
gnore] **Min** signor 741–742 gli seguenti versi] **Min** quel ch’egli dice in una
sua canzone

744 ai] **BC** *written, effaced, and rewritten above*

745 che molto si ritrasse] **Min** di Toloza fece molte canzoni, et buone, che si
ritraggono

746 celebratore ... quando] **Min** questi molto cosa de’ Marchesi Malispini, onde

748 Marques] **Min** marques

750 apelar.] **Min** *cont. with paragraphs 65–68*

751 della medesima casa] **Min** di casa Malaspina 751–752 dicendo] **Min**
missing

745 alla maniera] **Tir** alle maniere

755

Som per onratz faitz ufaniers,
Ni per esser bos cavaliers,
Deu estar entrels pros cabals,
Guilems Malaspina es aitals.

Alegretto.

70. Alegret, che fece quell'aspro serventese:

Lib. in asc. car. 86..

Ara paraisson llaubre sec
E brunisson li alemen

760

Et della sua donna piu versi di rime accoppiate a due a due come:

Dompna cavetz la senhoria
De ioven, e de cortezia.

71. Bertran de Lamano molto buon poeta così per canzoni come
per serventesi.

Mich. car. 58..

765 Il Monaco di Ponsibot.

72. Le Monges de Ponsibot, o de Poicibot molto leggiadro rima-

Lib. sleg. car. 16..

753 Som] **Min** Soms

756 Malaspina] **BC** ¹m... ²→ **T**

759 li alemen] **Min** l'alemen

760 a due a due] **Min** *missing*

763 così] **Min** sì

764 serventesi] **Min** *cont.* delle composizioni del quale se ne allegheranno alcune a suo tempo e loco

765 Poicibot] **Min** Poi Cibot

754 cavaliers] **Tir** cavalliers

tore in far canzoni di versi corti, come la seguente stanza:

[35r] Merces es, e chausimens
Dumil sorzer, et ausar,
E lorgoill sobrier baissar,
Donc faill amor vostre sens 770
Car me, cui trobatz vencut,
Umil, e de bona fe,
Decazetz anc se,
E leis, que vira lescut
Vas vos, e vas me, 775
E nous vol, nius blan,
No voletz destrenher tan,
Que lorgoill baisses
E vas vos sumilies.

Il Monaco di Montaudon.

73. Le Monge ancora de Montaudon, il quale hebbe ardimento di 780
censurare i trovatori del suo tempo con un serventese, che comincia: Lib. in asc. car 103..

Pos Peire dalvernha chantat
Del trobadors, que son passat,
Chanterai eu mon escien
Daquels, que pueis si son levat, 785

768 et] **Min** e

773 Decazetz] **Min** Decaszetz

777 destrenher] **Min** destreinher

780 Le Monge ancora] **Min** Fu ancora le Monge

783 Del] **Min** Dels'

E non maion ges cor irat,
Sieu lor crois mestier lor repren.

74. D'altri huomini di chiesa si trovano ancora stanze, et canzo-
ni, come:

Mich. car. 49.

Lib. sleg. carte 52. 61.. 81.

790

Proposto di Valenza.
proposto di Noaillac
vescovo di Chiarmonte.

Del prebost de Valensa

Del prebost de Noaillac

Del vescovo de Clermon, che fece una canzone corrente tutta sotto
una rima, et di sei stanze.

75. Trovansene ancora di molti trovatori "nobilisti" per così dire,
come:

Mich. car. 13.. 64. 88. 92. Lib.

in asc. car. 186..

795

re Ricardo.

Del re Ricart d'inghilterra.

Gianfre Rudel.

Di Iaufre Rudel conte de Blaia

Visconte di S.^{lo} Antonino.

Del visconte di Saint Antonin

Alberto Marchese.

D'Albert Marques.

800

Dalfino d'Alvernia.

Del Dalfin dalvernhe,

787 mestier] **Min** mestiera lor] **Min** lur

788 D'altri huomini] **Min** E poi che si è cominciato a dire di persone

789 come] **Min** *missing*

791 Noaillac] **Min** *cont.* e

792 fece una canzone] **Min** ne fece una

793 et] **Min** *missing*

794 Trovansene ... dire] **Min** Furono ancora molti rimatori nobilisti

796 Del re Ricart] **Min** il re Riccardo

797 Di Iaufre] **Min** Ianfre Blaia] **Min** di cui si parlò nel capitolo quinto

798 Del visconte di] **Min** lo Vescoms de

799 D'Albert Marques] **Min** Albert Marques Malaspina

800 Del] **Min** Il

787 crois] **Tir** cors

Conte di Rodes. Del conte de Rodes
 [35v] conte di Biandra Del conte de Blandra.
 conte di Provenza Del conte de Provensa
 conte di Tolosa. Del conte de Tolosa.

Emblacato. D'Emblacatz un gran signore di Provenza.

805

De' quali tutti si leggono versi in rima, che si tralasciano per brevità;
 sicome ancora per la medesima cagione porremo nudamente questi
 altri senza ricordamento d'altra cosa che de i loro nomi, o cognomi
 per potere venire al fine del presente capitolo, et furono questi:

Ramberti de Boucalel.	Savaris de Mauleo.	<u>810</u>
Giraut del Luc	Berengiers de Palaiol.	
Augier de Vianes	Berengiers de Pois Renga.	
Bernart Marti	Berengiers de Poiuent.	
Raimon Iorda	Aulivier de la Mar.	

801 Del conte] **Min** lo coms

802 Del conte] **Min** lo coms

803 Del conte de Provensa] **Min** lo coms de Proensa

804 Del conte de Tolosa] **Min** et lo coms de Tolosa

805 D'Emblacatz un gran signore di Provenza] **Min** *missing*

806 in] **Min** per

808 ricordamento ... cosa] **Min** dirne altro de] **Min** *missing* o] **Min** e

809 per potere ... questi] **Min** come

810 Boucalel] **Min** Boualel

812 Pois Renga] **Min** Poiz Rengez

813 Poiuent] **Min** Poinuent

814 de la] **Min** dela

812 Renga] **Tir** Ronges

813 Poiuent] **Tir** Puivent

814 Iorda] **Tir** Jordan

<u>815</u>	Rostanh Domergues.	Bonifaci de Castellana.
	Granet.	Durans sartor de Paernas
	Sercalmont.	Enozils de cadals.
	Iordan de Borneill de	Fabres duxel.
	Cofolenc.	Gui Figera.
<u>820</u>	Peire de Casals.	Lantelmet del Aguillon.
	Bernart de la Barta.	Montans Sartre.
	Perdigò	Peire Bremont Ricas novas.
	Peire Guilem.	Peire Milo.
	Rainaut de Pon.	Peire de Blai.
<u>825</u>	Nazemar de Peiteus.	Peire Roger.
	Faidig de Belestar.	Raimon de Tors de Marseilla.
	Turcs Malecs.	Le trobair de Villa Arnaut.
	Peire Pelitiers	Et molti altri, per opera de' quali

815 Castellana] **Min** castellana

816 Durans] **Min** Durantz sartor] **Min** Sartor

817 cadals] **Min** Cadals

819 Cofolenc.] **Min** cofolenc

820 Casals] **Min** casals del Aguillon] **Min** de leguillon

821 Sartre] **Min** sartre

822 Perdigò] **Min** Perdigò

824 Pon] **Min** pon

828 Et] **Min cont.** forse altri,] **Min cont.** ch'io non so nominare quali]

Min cont. huomini

815 Domergues] **Tir** Damergues

822 Bremont] **Tir** Bremot

826 Faidig] **Tir** Faidit Belestar] **Tir** Belostar

827 Malecs] **Tir** Valeis

828 Pelitiers] **Tir** Pelisiers 828–832 Et molti ... 1300.] **Tir missing**

Ioannetz dalbuisson furono annobilate le rime
Carn et onglà. nel volgare di Lenguadoc specialmente
Lanza Marques. dall'anno di nostra Salute 1200
Nicoletz de Turrin. fin all'anno 1300.

830

[36r] 76. Ma delle donne, che furono fra' provenzali, quali tra' greci
Saffo, Corinna, e Telesilla, non debbiamo noi rinovellarne di alcune
parimente la memoria?

835

Madonna Maria da

Ventadorno.

Sì veramente, incominciando da madonna Maria de Ventadorn, la
più pregiata donna, che mai fosse in Lemosino, et quella, che più
fece di bene, et più si guardò di mal fare, honorata da Dio di bel
corpo avenente senza maestria. Hor era suo cavaliere il conte della
Manoha detto Ugo il Bruno, col quale venne un giorno in ragionan-
do ad una tale questione, che'l conte diceva l'amante dovere havere
altretanto di signoria, et di commandamento sopra la donna amata,
quanto ella sopra lui, et madonna Maria manteneva, che non. On-
de trovandosi allhora in sua corte Gui Duisel, ella sopra tal piato li

Lib. sicil. car. 2..

840

829 Ioannetz] **Min** Ioannez furono] **Min BC** sono state annobilate le
rime] **Min** le rime annobilate

833 furono ... tra'] **Min** tra' provenzali furono poetesse, come fra'

834 debbiamo noi] **Min** è ragionevole 834-835 di alcune parimente] **Min**
parimente di alcune

838 honorata da Dio] **Min** et fu da Dio honorata

839 Hor] **Min missing** cavaliere] **Min** cavallier

840-841 in ragionando ... tale] **Min** sul ragionarne una

841 l'amante dovere] **Min** che l'amante dee

843 manteneva] **Min** difendeva

832 Turrin] **Tir** Torrin

840 Manoha] **Tir** Mancoa

844 li] **Tir** gli

845

mandò la seguente stanza:

Mich. car. 90..

Gui Duisel bem pesa de vos,
Car vos es laisatz de chantar,
Ancar vos hi volgra tornar,
E car sabetz daitals razos.

850

Ieu vos deman, si deu far engalmen
Dona per drut, can lo i quer franchamen,
Com el per lieis tot, can tanh azamor,
Segon lo dreit, quentendon amator.

La contessa di Dia.

77. Segue la contessa de Dia con una sua canzone in dolersi

855

del suo vago non men bella, che la pistola di Saffo a Faone, che
comincia:

Mich. car. 68.. e Lib. in asc.
car. 136..

A chantar mes daco, quieu non volria,
Tan mi rancur de lui, cui soi amia,
Car ieu l'am mais de nuilla ren que sia,
Ves lui nom val merses, ni cortezia,
Ni ma beutatz, ni mos pretz, ni mos sens,
Cautresi sui enganade traia,
Com degresser, si fos dezavinens.

860

845 li mandò] **Min** gli scrisse

846 pesa] **Min** peza

850 deu] **Min** den

862 Cautresi] **Min** Cautresi

848 hi] **Tir** gi

[36v] Lombarda.

78. Appresso diremo di donna Lombarda, che fu di Tolosa gentile, e bella, et di buone maniere, la quale seppe trovare di belle stanze amoroze; del cui valore havendo udito ragionare Bernard Narnautz fratello del conte di Armignac, venne a Tolosa, per vederla, et vedutala, senza dirle altro montò a cavallo, per tornarsene in suo paese, lasciando che date le fossero alcune sue stanze, delle quali il principio si è:

865

Lib. sleg. car. 57.

870

Lombard volgreu esser per Na Lombarda,
Qualamanda nom platz tan, ni Guiscarda.

Alle quali stanze ella rispose dicendo

Nom volgraver per Bernard Na Bernarda
E per Narnautz Narnauda appellada
E gran merses seigner car vos agrada
Cab tal doas domnas mavetz nominada.

875

865 trovare di] **Min** ben poetare facendo stanze] **Min** *cont.* et
866 Bernard] **Min** Bernardo
867 venne] **Min** se ne venne 867–868 et vedutala] **Min** poi
869 date le fossero] **Min** le fossero date date] **BC** dopo la sua partita date
sue] **Min** *missing* 869–870 delle quali ... è] **Min** le quali cominciano
871 Na] **Min** na
873 stanze ella] **Min** Donna Lombarda dicendo] **Min** così
877 nominada] **BC** ¹nominanda ²→ T

876 seigner] **Tir** Signor

Alamanda. 79. Delle due donne disopra mentovate Alamanda fu tale, che
Girardo de Borneill non si sdegnò di chiederle consiglio in certo suo
880 caso d'amore con una sua stanza, che comincia:

Lib. sleg. car. 45.

Sieus quier conseill bellamigalamanda
Per Dieu lom datz, com coitatz lous demanda.

Et ella gliene diede il consiglio rispondendogli gentilmente per
le rime.

885

Guiscarda. 80. Guiscarda fu di Borgogna sorella di Guiscard del bel ioc,
il quale la maritò in Lemosino nel visconte di Combron, et perciò
ch'ella era donna di gran pregio, et di gran beltà molto se ne ralle-
grarono tutti i valenti huomini del paese, et fra gli altri Beltram del
Bornio ne fece la seguente stanza:

Lib. sicil. car. 38..

890

Ai Lemozins franca terra cortesa
Mout mi saup bo, car tals honors ve creis,
Ensegnamens, cortesia, e larguesa,
Valors, e pretz, solatz, dons, e dompneis,

[37r]

-
- 878 mentovate] **Min** nominate
879 de] **Min** di 879–880 in certo ... d'amore] **Min** missing
880 una sua] **Min** la seguente che comincia] **Min** missing
882 coitatz] **Min** coitos demanda.] **Min** cont. with ll. 907–12
883 gliene ... gentilmente] **Min** così gli rispose il] **BC** added later above
884 rime.] **Min** cont. with ll. 914–21
886 Combron] **Min** combron
889 stanza] **Min** cont. dicendo
-
- 879 si] **Tir** missing
885 del] **Tir** de

E qui pros es, e de proesas feis,

Mal estara, si ara non pareis

895

Puois na Guiscarda nos est sai tramesa.

Natibors. **81.** Natibors fu una donna di Provenza d'un castello detto Sare- Libro sleg. car. 60.
nom, che seppe dire in rima, et fece la seguente stanza, che mandò
al suo amante:

Bels dous amics ben vos puesc en ver dir

900

Que anc non fo, quieu estes ses desir,

Pos vos conuc, nius pris per fin amaire,

Ni anc no fui, quieu non agues talan

Bels dous amics quieu soven nous vezes

Ni anc no fo sasos, que men pentis

905

Ni anc no fo, si vos nanes iratz

Quieu agues ioi troque fozetz tornatz.

Niseus de Capion. **82.** Havendo un Gigo de Tornenquera fatto gran fallo contra
madonna Nalmucs de Castelnovo, di cui era stato cavaliere, et ami-

897 fu] **Min** *missing*

898 che] **Min** *missing* dire in] **Min** dir per

899 amante] **Min** amadore

905 sasos] **Min** sasons

909 Nalmucs] **Min** Almucs

900 puesc] **Tir** pux

901 estes] **Tir** esses

909 de] **Tir** da

910

co longamente, et non osando di andargliene a dimandare perdono,

Niseus de Capion la pregò per lui con la seguente stanza dicendo:

Lib. sleg. car. 60. e 60..

Dompna Nalmucs si ous plagues

Beus volgra preiar daitan

Que lira, el mal talan

915

Vos fezes fenir merces

De lui, que sospire planh.

E muor languen es complanh

E quier perdon humilmen

Queus fatz per lui sagramen.

920

Si tot li voletz fenir,

Quel si gart meills de faillir.

[37v] Nalmucs de
Castelnovo.

Et donna Nalmucs, che voleva bene a Gigo, et a cui rincresceva
ch'egli non venisse a dimandarle perdono, rispose così per le rime:

Dompna Niseus sieu sabes,

925

Quel se pentis del engan,

Quel a fait ves mi tan gran,

Ben fora dreitz quieu nagues

Merces, mas a mi nos tanh,

Posque del tort no safranh,

912 Nalmucs] **Min** nalmucs

922 Nalmucs] **Min** Almucs

925 del engan] **Min** delengan

910 longamente] **Tir** lungamente

911 Capion] **Tir** Cassion

Nis pentis del faillimen,
Que naia mais chausimen;
Mas, si vos faitz lui pentir,
Leu podetz mi convertir.

930

83. Et perciocché il presente capitolo è proceduto in lunghezza forse più, che non comporta una sola lettione, faremo ragione, che sia detto assai de i rimatori, et delle rimatrici di Provenza, per passare a i siciliani, che litigano co' provenzali dell'antichità delle rime.

935

Cap. XI. De i siciliani.

1. Vero è che'l Petrarca giudiciosamente pose da sezzo i rimatori siciliani, ma non perciò mi rimarrò io di farne mentione di alcuni di loro, per dare alcun saggio della maniera di quei primi tempi, quando le rime incominciarono ad essere in pregio per le corti de i re di Sicilia, che se ne diletтарono, et in ciò facendo andremo sciogliendo i più nobili dicitori, de' quali è pervenuta la memoria fin alla nostra età; fra' quali sarà:

cap. 4.º del *Trionfo d'Amore*.

5

934 perciocché] **Min** perciò che

935 forse] **Min cont.** ancor ragione] **Min** conto

936–937 per passare ... rime.] **Min missing**

937 siciliani] **BC** ¹siciliano ²→ **T**

1 Vero è] **Min** Egli si può ben dire con verità

3 loro,] **Min cont.** almeno saggio] **Min cont.** a quei, che vivono hoggidi,

4 incominciarono] **Min** cominciarono

5–7 in ... età] **Min missing**

7 fra' quali sarà] **Min** Et sarà il primo

5 facendo] **lh** facendo

[38r] Messer Guido delle Colonne 2. Guido delle Colonne giudice messinese citato da Dante nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza* in due canzoni, delle quali la prima si trova stampata nel libretto delle *Rime antiche*: car. 9. lin. 22. e car. 18. lin. 25. car. 113.

Amor che longamente m'hai menato.

L'altra non stampata: Triss. car. 31..

Ancor che laigua per lo foco lasse
La sua grande freddura
Non muteria natura
S'alcun vasello in mezzo non vi stasse,
Anzi averria senza troppa dimura
Che lo foco stutasse,
O che l'aigua seccasse,
Ma per lo mezzo l'uno e l'altro dura.

15

20

8 Guido] **Min** Messer Guido citato] **Min** et per honore del dottoratico, et per essere stato nominato Dante] **Min cont.** come buon poeta

9 in due] **Min** dove sono citate due sue delle quali] **Min missing** 9–10 si trova] **Min missing**

10 stampata] **Min cont.** ancora

12 non stampata] **Min** che dice

13 Ancor che] **Min** Ancorche

17 troppa] **Min** troppo

11 longamente] **Tir** lungamente

17 averria] **Tir** avverria

18 stutasse] **Tir** scutasse

Questi compose ancora in latino a modo di romanzi un libro della destruzione di Troia negli anni dalla natività di Cristo 1287 che poi fu recato in volgare per ser Filippo Ceffi notaio cittadino di Firenze negli anni 1324, et questo sia detto per giunta più tosto, che per necessità.

Nella libreria de i Castelvetri
scritto a penna.

25

Pietro delle Vigne.

3. Piero delle Vigne del Regno, detto “il gran cancelliere” segretario di tanta autorità presso lo imperadore Federico il secondo, che più volte scrisse, e rispose a lettere il sì e’l no, come allui pareva, perciò Dante nel XIII canto dello *’nferno* lo induce a dire di sé medesimo:

Gio. Vill. car. 45. ln.49
car.46. lin.4.

30

Vita d’Ezellino. Fran.^{co} da

Buti car. 57. lin. 1.

Io son colui, che tenni ambo le chiavi

Del cor di Federico.

Del quale ancora disse Benvenuto da Imola commentando il predetto loco:

[38v]

Petrus de Vineis magnus cancellarius Federici | Il floridus
dictator, de quo bene dictum est_

35

Hic redit in nihilum, qui fuit ante nihil.

Hic namq(ue) infimo genere ortus puta ex patre ignoto, et
matre muliercula abiecta, quae mendicando suam, et filii vi-

21–25 Questi ... necessità] **Min** missing

26 Piero] **Min** Il secondo sarà Messer Piero

27 presso] **Min** appresso

32 Federico] **Min** Federigo

27 Federico] **Tir** Federigo

31 Io] **Tir** I’ ambo] **Tir** ambe

40 tam inopem misere sustinebat; tandem misere post studium
literarum pauper a casu perductus ad imperatorem sacrum
palatium ingenio, et fortuna dives incoluit; tantumq(ue) pro-
cessu temporis imperiali favore, arte dictandi, et iuris civi-
lis peritia floruit, ut quasi illo tempore non habuerit parem,
45 ex quo in oculis Imperatoris factus est gratiosus, et charus.
magnae curiae protonotarius, consiliarius, iudex, et arcano-
rum conscius est factus; Cuius singularis familiaritatis apud
imperatorem fuit hoc mirabile signum, quòd in Neapolitano
palatio effigiatus erat Imperator, et Petrus, unus in solio, al-
50 ter in sede, populus autem ad pedes imperatoris procumbens
iustitiam in causis sibi fieri postulabat hi versibus_

Caesar amor legum Federice piissime regum
Causarum telas nostrarum, solve querelam.
Imperator autem videbatur dare tale responsum his aliis versibus_
55 Pro vestra lite censorem iuris adite,
Hic iura dabit, vel per me danda rogabit,
Vineae cognomen, Petrus est sibi nomen.
Cum autem esset in tanto culmine constitutus infamiam pro-
ditionis incurrit, ideo ab imperatore carceri datus, ac cecatus,
60 desperatus vitam finivit.

33–64 Del quale ... prigionie] **Min** ll. 29–34

45 charus] **Tir** clarus

51 hi] **Tir** his

53 querelam] **Tir** querelas

56 Hic iura] **Tir** Hic nam iura

57 Vineae] **Tir** Vineia

59 cecatus] **Tir** caecatus

Et accioché si vegga di quanto poco di cosa nelle lettere si faces-
sero meraviglia nella ignorantia di quel secolo, ho voluto soggiugne-
re una pistola latina del medesimo Pietro, ch'egli mostra di havere
scritta in prigione compiangendosi della sua disgratia:

[39r]

Epistola Petri de Vineis.

65

Nella fine del lib. di me.

Marco Polo.

Qui quondam placidis Zephiris navigabam, quem mitis au-
ra per maris altitudinem prospere deducebat, nunc opposito
mihi Austro in pelago sum demersus, unde_

Flebilis heu moestos cogor inire modos.

mutata sunt siquidem gaudia in moerores,

70

Nam venit ex sola prosperitate dolor.

tristitia serenitas offuscata induit meos vultus, deiecitq(ue) a
me omnem materiam gaudiorum_

Et veris elegi fletibus ora rigant.

erupta est siquidem corona de capite meo, et

75

factus sum similis servorum servis, qui quondam

fueram dominator, et sicut

Color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.

68 Austro] **Min** austro unde_] **Min** Unde *and no break nor typesetting for
the lines*

75 erupta] **Min** erapta

78 Color] **Min** color

63 havere] **Tir** haver

75 erupta] **Tir** erepta

Amando con fin core, e con speranza
Di gran gioia fidanza
Donommi amor piu, ch'io non meritai.

100

[39v]

Che m'inalzoe coralmente d'amanza,
Da la cui rimembranza
Lo mio coraggio non diparto mai.

Federico II imperatore.

4. Il predetto Federico imperatore, che fece la canzone stampata
fralle *Rime antiche*

car. 116.

105

Poiche ti piace Amore
Che eo deggia trovare,
Far onde mia possanza

Re Enzo.

5. Et il Re Enzo suo figliuolo, di cui parimente si legge in istampa
fralle dette *Rime* la canzone:

car. 115.

110

S'eo trovasse pietanza.

Et altre ancora non stampate, come:

Lib. sicil. car. 2.

101 d'amanza] **Min** damanza

102 Da la] **Min** Dala

104 Il predetto] **Min** Terzi saranno quei, che per la dignità loro si doveano porre
nel primo loco, ciò è il predetto Federico imperatore] **Min** Federigo secondo

107–108 ch'eo ... possanza] **Min** *missing*

110 fralle dette *Rime*] **Min** *missing*

107 Che] **Tir** Ch'

115 Allegru cori plenu
 Di tutta beninanza,
 Suvegnavi, s'eu penu
 Per vostra inamuranza,
 Chil nu vi sia in placiri
 Di lassarmi muriri talimenti,
 Chiu vamo di buon cori, e lialmenti.

120 Iacopo da Lentino, detto il Notaro. 6. Iacopo da Lentino detto "il Notaro" per eccellenza nell'arte sua, di cui si è la canzone

Dante nel canto 24 del *Purgatorio*.
 Benven. car. 114.. lin. 30

Madonna dir vi voglio.

Stampata fralle *Rime antiche*, et citata da Dante nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza*.

Rim. ant. car. 111..
Volg. el. car. 9. lin. 25

125 Rinaldo di Aquino. 7. Rinaldo d'Aquino citato similmente da Dante nella canzone.

Volg. el. car. car 9.. lin. 27. e
 18. lin. 2

Per fin amore vo si lietamente.

Il quale ne fece ancora un'altra che comincia

Triss. car. 17.. lin. 12.

-
- 113 Allegru] **Min** Alegri
 118 talimenti] **Min** on following line
 120 Iacopo da Lentino] **Min** Seguiranno appresso Iacopo d'Alentino
 122 voglio] **Min** vollio
 127 ne fece ancora] **Min** ancora ne fece
-
- 115 Suvegnavi] **Tir** Suvvegnavi

Guidardone aspetto havere.

Matteo da Messina. [40r]

8. Matteo da Messina, di cui vogliono, che fosse la canzone:

Gioiosamente canto,
E vivo in allegrezza
Ca per la vostranza
Madonna gran gioi sento.

Triss. car. 28..

Lib. sicil. car. 10..

130

Et così:

La bene avventurosa innamoranza
Tanto mi stringe, e tiene,
Che d'amoroso bene m'assicura

Triss. car. 52..

135

M. Rinieri da Palermo.

9. Messer Rinieri da Palermo, che disse:

Triss. car. 52.

Amore havendo intieramente voglia
Di satisfare a la mia innamoranza
Di voi madonna fecemi gioioso.

140

Lanfranco Maraboto.

10. Lanfranco Maraboto, di cui habbiamo una canzone che co-

129 vogliono] **Min** cont. alcuni

137 m'assicura] **Min** cont. with ll. 104–6

140 a la] **Min** ala **BC** alla

131 allegrezza] **Tir** allegrezza

135 bene] **Tir** breve avventurosa] **Tir** avventurosa

mincia:

Lib. sicil. car.4.

145

Longo tempo ho servuto
Amor veraisementi.

Garibo. **11.** Garibo, che così diede principio ad una sua:

Lib. sicil. car. 37..

Per vui donna tutte l'hore
Lo meo core sta pensoso.

Stefano Protonotaro. **12.** Stefano Protonotaro, del quale distenderemo qui sotto la se- Lib. sicil. car. 22..

150

guente canzone per uno esempio del puro volgare siciliano:

Pir meu cori allegrari
Ki multi longiamenti
Senza alligranza, e ioi damuri e statu
Mi ritorno in cantari,
Ca forsi levimenti
Da dimuranza turniria in usatu,
Di lu troppu taciri,
E quandu lomu a rasuni di diri,
Ben di cantari, e mustrari alligranza,
Ca senza dimustranza

[40v]

155

160

146 sua] **lh Tir** *cont.* canzone

150 uno] **Tir** un

154 ritorno] **Tir** ritorno

156 turniria] **Tir** turneria

159 alligranza] **Tir** allegranza

Ioi siria sempri di pocu valuri,
 Dunca ben de cantar onni amaduri.
 E si per ben amari
 Cantar iuiusamenti
 Homo, chi havissi in alcun tempu amatu, 165
 Ben lu diviria fari
 Plui dilittusamenti
 Eu, ki son de tal donna inamuratu,
 Dundi e dolci placiri,
 Preiu, e valenza, e iuiusu pariri, 170
 E di billici cutanta bondanza,
 Ki illu me pir simblanza
 Quandu eu la guardu, sintiria dulzuri
 Ki fa la Tigra in illu miraturi.
 Ki si vidi livari 175
 Multu crudilimenti
 Sua nuritura, ki illu a nutricatu
 E si bono li pari
 Mirarsi dulcimenti
 Dintru unu speclu, chi li esti amustratu, 180
 Ki lublia siguiri;
 Cusi me dolci mia donna vidiri
 Ken lei guardando metu in ublianza

169 Dundi] **Tir** Dunde

170 Preiu, ... pariri,] **Tir** *missing*

171 bondanza] **Tir** banitanza

177 nuritura] **Tir** meritura

185 Tutta altra mia intindanza,
 Si ki istanti mi ferì sou amuri
 Dun culpu, ki inavanza tutisuri.
 Di kieu putia sanari [41r]
 Multu legeramenti,
 Sulu chi fussi ala mia donna a gratu
190 Meu sirviri, e pinari,
 Meu duitu fortimenti
 Ki quando si rimembra di sou statu
 Nulli dia displaciri,
 Ma si quistu putissi adiviniri
195 Chamori la ferisse de la lanza,
 Che me fere mi lanza,
 Ben crederia guarir de mei doluri,
 Ca sintiramu engualimenti arduri.
 Purriami laudari
200 Damori bonamenti,
 Comomu da lui beni ammiritatu,
 Ma beni e da blasmari
 Amur virasementi
 Quandu illu da favur dalunu latu,
205 E lautru fa languiri,
 Ki si lamanti nun sa suffiriri
 Disia damari, e perdi sua speranza
 Ma eo sufro in usanza

184 Tutta] **Tir** Tutt'

186 inavanza] **Tir** inananza

204 Quandu] **Tir** Quando

Keo visto adessa bon suffrituri
 Vinciri prova, et aquistari hunuri. 210
 E si pir suffiriri
 Ni per amar lialmenti, e timiri
 Homu acquistau damur gran beninanza
 Digu aver confurtanza
 Eu, ki amu, e timu, e servi, a tutturi 215
 Cilatamenti plu, chi altru amaduri.

[41v] Lanzaloto. **13.** Lanzaloto poeta d'assai buona inventione, di cui si è lo in-
 frascritto sonetto:

Como lo sol lo zorno fa sclarire car. 35.
 Per la vertu dela gran claritate, 220
 Cosi me fan li vostri ochi sbaldire
 Quando amorosamente me guardate,
 E doname conforto de varire,
 Vedendo lo bel guardo, che me fate,
 Chel fructo de lo fror coven ensire 225
 Ma la radice da la potestate.
 Et eo per lo semblante donna spero
 Aver lo frutto dela zoi d'amore
 Credendo che di fin amor se mova
 Similmente, como dal doplero 230
 Se parte, quandellarde lo splendore,
 Per Deo Merze, chel bon servir me zova.

231 splendore] **Tir** splendore

Cap. XII *De' nostri Rimatori d'Italia.*

1. Alla maniera de' siciliani s'accostarono assai da principio gli antichi nostri rimatori, dalla quale si andarono poi tanto più discostando quanto furono migliori poeti, et più dotti. De' quali dovendosi hora far ricordo nel presente capitolo meritamente incominciaremo da messer Guido Guinicelli da Bologna, poichè Dante nel XXVI canto del *Purgatorio* ne fa così honorata mentione, che si degna nominarlo padre suo, et degli altri che mai:

5 Messer Guido Guinicelli.

Rime d'amor usar dolci, e leggiadre.

Et ancora nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza* magnificandolo il chiama "il Massimo Guido Guinicelli". Del quale parla similmente Benvenuto da Imola nel suo commento sopra il sopradetto canto dicendo:

car. 11. lin. 28. [42r]

10

Iste quidem fuit miles Bononiensis de clarissima familia principum vocatus Guido Guinocellus, Guinocelli enim fuerunt unum membrum de principibus pulsus de Bononia seditione civili, quia imperiales erant. Fuit ipse Guido vir prudens, eloquens, inveniens egregie pulchra dicta materna.

car. 123. lin. 50.

15

La quale espulsione di parte Ghibellina detta dei Lambertazzi

Cron. bol. car. 31.

2 poi] **Tir** *missing*

6 *Purgatorio*] **Tir** Purgatorio

14 Guinocellus] **Tir** Guinicellus Guinocelli] **Tir** Guinicelli

18 quale] **Tir** qual

in Bologna avvenne nell'anno di nostra salute 1270, nel qual tempo
Dante, che lo chiama "padre suo", era d'età d'anni cinque. 20

Hora dell'eccellentia dell'huomo nel dire per rima testimoniata da
Dante, et da Benvenuto, come disopra, rende parimente testimonian-
za quella nobile canzone stampata fralle *Rime antiche*:

Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore. car. 109.

Et altre ancora non stampate, come questa 25

Spesso di gioia nasce una encomenza Libr. sicil. car.

Che adduce dolore

Al core humano, e pargli gioi sentire,

E frutto nasce di dolce semenza,

Ch'e d'amaro sapore, 30

E spesshore l'ho visto adivenire.

Et queste altre due citate da Dante nel libro della *Volgare elo-*
quenza:

Madonna il fermo core. car. 4. lin. 2.

et 35

Tengo di folle impresa a lo ver dire. car. 18. lin. 26.

[42v] Guido Ghisliero. 2. De' bolognesi parimente nomina Dante nel predetto libro del-
la *Volgare eloquenza* Guido Ghisliero citando una sua canzone che car. 22. lin. 27.

comincia:

40

Di fermo sofferire.

Fabritio. **3.** E Fabritio, che cominciò una sua canzone

Lo mio lontano gire.

car. 11.. lin.4. e 22. lin. 29.

Ser Onesto. **4.** Et ser Honesto citandone la canzone:

car. 11. lin. 29. et 11. lin. 5.

Piu non attendo il tuo soccorso amore

45

Di cui habbiamo nel libretto delle *Rime antiche* una ballata, et alquanti sonetti a messer Cino da Pistoia.

car. 108.. e 136..

Tomaso ed Ugolino Bucciola
Faentini.

5. De' Romagnuoli nomina Tomaso, et Ugolino Bucciola faenti-

car. 10.. lin. 14. e 28.

Brandino Padovano.

ni, et con esso loro Brandino Padovano, i quali dice essersi accostati al polito volgare nelle sue compositioni.

50

Gotto Mantovano.

6. Commenda similmente un Gotto Mantovano, di cui scrive havere vedute di buone canzoni al suo tempo.

car. 23. lin.16.

Sordello.

7. Ma sopra tutti esalta Sordello gentilhuomo della detta città, di cui parla ancora magnificamente nel VI canto del *Purgatorio*; et fu Sordello, secondo che dice Bonamente Aliprandi nelle sue rime, de i visconti di Goito, il che si conferma da i libri provenzali, ne

car.11. lin. 6

Mario Equic. negli *Annali di Mantova*.

55

i quali si cognomina "Sordel de Goi". Né fu meno buon cavallier d'arme, che buon rimatore, conciosiacosaché alla corte di Francia vinse in un dì in campo di battaglia l'uno dopo l'altro due inghilesi,

Lib. sleg. car. 55.

Mar. Eq.

58 inghilesi] Tir Inglesi

et un borgognone. Ma di sue rime in lingua di sì non ho io fin qui
veduta cosa alcuna, ben n'ho vedute molte nel volgare di languadoc,
et fralle altre una canzone, che comincia.

Mich. car. 7. e

60

Lib. in asc. car. 112..

Aitan ses plus viu hom quan viu iauzens

Cautre viure nos deu vidappellar,

Perso mesfors de viure, de renhar

[43r] Ab ioi, per leis plus coratiozamens

65

Servir, quieu am, quar hom, que viu marritz

Non pot de cor far bos faitz, ni grazitz.

Doncs er merse, sim fai la plus grazida

Viure iauzen, pos als nom ten a vida.

Compose ancora un libro, del quale fa mentione Benvenuto nel
suo commento sopra il canto VI del *Purgatorio* dicendo:

70

Audio quod fecit librum, qui intitulatur Thesaurus Thesauro-
rum, quem nunq(uam) vidi.

car. 32.. lin. 52.

Nel qual loco narra il detto Benvenuto di Sordello una novella
tale:

75

Nunc poeta describit virum singularem compatriotam Virgi-
lii; ad cuius intelligentiam debes prius scire, quod hic novus
spiritus fuit quidam civis Mantuanus nomine Sordellus no-
bilis, et prudens miles, et, ut aliqui volunt, curialis, tempore

car. 32.. lin.10.

66 marritz] **Tir** smarritz

68 merse] **Tir** mercè

80

Eccirini de Romano, de quo audivi, non tamen affirmo, satis iocosum novum, quod breviter est talis formae;

85

Habebat Eccirinus quandam sororem suam valde veneream, de qua fit longus sermo Paradisi cap. nono, quae accensa amore Sordelli ordinavit caute quod ille intraret ad eam tem-

90

pore noctis per unum hostiolum posterius iuxta coquinam palatii in civitate Veronae, et quia in strata erat turpe voluptabrum porcorum, sive pocia brodiorum, ita ut locus nullo modo videretur suspectus, faciebat se portari per quendam servum suum usq(ue) ad hostiolum, ubi Cunicia parata recipiebat eum. Eccirinus autem hoc scito, uno sero subornatus sub specie servi trasportavit Sordellum, deinde reportavit,

95

quo facto manifestavit se Sordello, et dixit, Sufficit, de cetero abstineas accedere ad opus tam sordidum per | locum tam sordidum. Sordellus terrefactus suppliciter petivit veniam, promittens nunquam amplius redire ad sordem, tamen Cunicia maledicta retraxit eam⁶ in primum fallum, quare ipse timens Eccirinum formidatissimum hominum sui temporis recessit ab eo, quem Eccirinus, ut quidam ferunt, fecit postea trucidari.

[43v]

100 Frate Guittone d'Arezzo.

8. De i toscani frate Guittone d'Arezzo hebbe voce per un tempo appresso gli antichi di avanzare tutti gli altri rimatori. Contra la quale opinione Dante non senza sdegno proferì le seguenti parole nel suo libro della *Volgare eloquenza* dicendo:

96 eam] **Tir** eum

⁶Sic.

Cessino adunque i seguaci della ignorantia, che extolleno car. 18.. 5.

Guittone d'Arezzo, et alcuni altri, i quali sogliono alcune volte ne i vocaboli, et nelle costruttioni essere simili alla plebe. 105

Né parimente si potè astenere, che per simile modo non dicesse nel XXVI canto del *Purgatorio*

Così fer molti antichi di Guittone

Di grido in grido pur lui dandol pregio, 110

Fin che l'ha vinto il ver con più ragione.

Al quale ultimo verso hebbe senza dubbio il Petrarca riguardo quando disse nel 4° capitolo del *Trionfo di Amore*:

Guitton d'Arezzo,

Che di non esser primo par ch'ira haggia. 115

Di cui parlando Benvenuto da Imola sopra'l XXIII canto del *Purgatorio* dice così:

Iste vocatus est Frater Guittonus de Aretio pulcherrimus inventor in lingua materna non tam ratione stili, quam gravium car. 114.. lin. 32.

sententiarum, quibus usus fuit in nudis verbis, cuius librum

ego vidi. 120

110 dandol] **Tir** dando

116 XXIII] **Tir** XXVI.

Il libro habbiamo noi stampato fralle *Rime antiche*. | Et è tal- [44r]
mente vero questo, che disse Benvenuto delle sententie di fra Guit-
tone, che'l Petrarca medesimo non si vergognò di furargliene alcune,
come quando disse nel terzo capitolo del *Trionfo d'Amore*:

125

Cotale ha questa malitia rimedio
Come d'asse si trahe chiodo con chiodo.

Ché prima di lui havea detto frate Guittone in tal proposito:

Cotal rimedio ha questo aspro furore
Tale acqua suole spegner questo fuoco,
Come d'asse si trahe chiodo con chiodo.

130

Rim. ant. car. 91.

9. Per cagione adunque dello stilo non piaceva a Dante il dire di
frate Guittone d'Arezzo sì come non gli piacquero per la medesima
cagione Gallo Pisano, Mino Mocato sanese, Bonagiunta da Lucca,
et ser Brunetto da Firenze per havere scritto tutti ne i proprii volgari
delle loro città. Hora di Gallo Pisano, et di Mino Mocato non mi ri-
corda di havere mai letto cosa alcuna, se non quanto ne scrive Dante
nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza*.

Gallo Pisano.
Mino Mocato sanese.

Volg. el. car. X.

135

10. Ma di Bonagiunta Urbiciani da Lucca rende testimonianza
Benvenuto da Imola nel suo commento sopra il XXIII canto del
Purgatorio quando dice:

Bonagiunta Urbiciani da
Lucca.

140

Iste autem fuit Bonagiunta de Urbizanis vir honorabilis de
civitate Lucana luculentus orator in lingua materna, et fa-
cilis inventor rhythmorum, qui noverat authorem in vita, et

car. 114. lin. 32.

aliquando scripserat sibi.

145

Et si trova di lui stampata una canzone fralle *Rime antiche*, la quale comincia:

Ben mi credea in tutto esser d'amore

car. 110.

Certamente allungiato.

[44v] Et altre ancora non stampate come quella:

150

Quando veggio la riviera.

Triss. car. 17..

et quell'altra:

Novellamente amore.

24..

Ser Brunetto Latini.

11. Così di ser Brunetto Latini habbiamo quello, che ne conta Giovanni Villani nel libro VIII al X^o capitolo, cioè:

155

Nel detto anno (1295) morì in Firenze uno valente cittadino, il quale hebbe nome M. Brunetto Latini, il quale fu uno grande Filosofo, et fu sommo maestro in Rhetorica tanto in bene saper dire, quanto in bene dittare, et fu quelli, ched ispose la Rhetorica di Tullio, et fece il buono; et utile libro detto TESORO, e'l TESORETTO, et la CHIAVE del TESORO, et piu altri libri in Filosofia, et quello dei vitii, et delle virtu; et

160

156 uno] Tir un

165

fu dittatore del nostro commune; ma fu mondano huomo; Et de lui havemo fatta mentione, perche elli fu cominciatore, et maestro in digrossare i Fiorentini, et farli scorti in bene parlare, et in sapere guidare, et reggiere la nostra rep secondo politica.

170

Stando le quali buone qualità dell'huomo quanto alla dottrina Dante meritamente ne parlò come di suo maestro nel canto XV dello *'nferno*, et ancora per la sua mondanità lo ripose fra i peccatori violenti contra natura.

Di questo ser Brunetto racconta Benvenuto da Imola nel suo commento un caso notevole, che fu tale:

175

Ser Brunetus Latinus cum esset magnus notarius, et commississet unum parvum fallum in sua certa scriptura per errorem, quod poterat faciliter corrigere, voluit potius accusari, et infamari de falso, quàm revocare errorem suum, | ne videretur deliquisse per ignorantiam, unde propter hoc fuit coactus recedere de Florentia, et datum fuit sibi bannum de igne.

[45r]

180

Delle sue opere compose in rima il *Tesoretto*, come narra il sopradetto Benvenuto, il quale ne dice così:

Fecit et alium libellum, qui vocatus est Thesauretus, sive Thesaurus parvus in stilo rhythmico, et vulgari italico, in quo

166 rep] lh rep.^a

tractat de moribus hominum, de casibus, et mobilitate Fortu-
nae; de statu humano.

185

Compose ancora in terza rima per maniera di frottola un libretto
intitolato il *Pataffio* distinto in dieci capitoli, che comincia:

Squasimodeo, introcque, et a fusone.

Ne hai, ne hai, pilorci con mattana

Al can la tigna, egli e mazza marrone

190

La difalta parecchi a dana a dana

A cafisso, a busso, et a ramata,

Tutto cotesto e de la petronciana.

Et così di ser Brunetto sia detto assai, ché altro non so che dirne,
se non quel tanto, che se n'è detto disopra.

195

Dante Alighieri.

12. Ma di Dante Alighieri, che si fa suo discepolo, si potrebb
scrivere un libro intiero di lode perciocché egli fu padre, e maestro
del dire per volgare, et si fu quelli, che nobilitò le rime italiane sopra
ogni altro volgare, et aperse la via del ben dire a gli altri rimatori, che
seguitarono dopo lui. Della cui vita e costumi scrissero anticamente
il Boccaccio un libretto a parte, et Giovanni Villani un capitolo
al nono libro delle sue *Croniche fiorentine*; a i quali rimettendomi

200

car. 146.

[45v] io nel resto | solamente farò qui mentione delle opere sue di poe-
sia secondo la testimonianza de i prenominati scrittori, o del poeta
medesimo. Così adunque ne scrive il Boccaccio, et dice:

205

184 hominum] ¹hominibus ²→ hominum ³T

198 si] **BC** two effaced letters follow

194 so] **Tir** ho

210

Egli primieramente duranti ancora le lagrime della morte della sua Beatrice quasi nel suo vigesimo sesto anno compose in uno Volumetto, il quale egli intitolò VITA NUOVA, certe operette sicome sonetti, et canzoni in diversi tempi davanti in rima fatte da lui maravigliosamente belle, disopra da ciascuna partitamente, et ordinatamente scrivendo le cagioni, che ad quelle fare l'haveano mosso, et di dietro ponendo le divisioni delle precedenti opere. Et come che egli d'have-
re questo libretto fatto negli anni piu maturi si vergognasse molto, non di meno considerata la sua eta e egli assai bello, et piacevole, et maximamente a volgari.

215

220

Circa il qual volumetto è da sapere, che le operette sonetti, e canzoni sono in istampa, et fanno il primo libro delle *Rime antiche*, ma le cagioni, et le divisioni di esse, che servono come di commento, et s'ebbero già di casa i Frangipani, non si trovano stampate, ch'io sappia, in alcun loco.

225

Et Giovanni Villani in conformità di questo:

Fece in sua giovinezza il libro della Vita Nuova d'amore,

208 uno] **Tir** un

226 giovinezza] **Tir** giovinezza

e poi quando fue in esiglio fece da venti canzoni morali, e
d'amore molto eccellenti.

E dice più basso:

[46r] E cominciò uno commento sopra XIII delle sopradette sue 230
canzoni morali volgarmente, il quale | per la sopravvenuta mor-
te non perfetto si trova, se non sopra le tre, il quale, per quel-
lo, che si vede alta, bella, et sottile, et grandissima opera ne
uscita, peroche ornato appare d'alto dittato, et di belle ragioni
filosofice, et astrologice. 235

Similmente queste altre operette in rima sono comprese per la
maggior parte dal secondo, terzo, e quarto libro delle *Rime antiche*
stampate; et il commento sopra le tre canzoni si legge parimente in
istampa intitolato *Convito* dal suo autore per lo modo che appare nel
proemio dell'opera, ove dice: 240

Et se nella presente opera, la quale e convito nominata, et vo
che sia, piu virilmente si trattasse che nella Vita Nuova, etc.

Seguita Giovanni Villani dicendo:

231 volgarmente] **BC** ¹volgargamente ²→ **T**

227 esiglio] **Tir** esilio

230 commento] **Tir** comento

235 filosofice] **Tir** filosofiche astrologice] **Tir** astrologiche

245

Et fece la Commedia, ove in pulita rima, et con grandi e sottili questioni morali, astrologice, filosofice, et teologice, et con belle, et nuove figure, et comparationi compose, et trattò cento capitoli, overo canti dell'essere, e stato dell'inferno, et purgatorio, et Paradiso così altamente, come dire se ne possa, si come per lo detto suo trattato si può vedere, et intendere per chi è di sottile intelletto.

250

Nella fattura del qual poema l'autore medesimo manifesta quanta dottrina, tempo, e fatica, egli mettesse quando dice nel XXXV canto del *Paradiso*:

255

Se mai continga che poema sacro,
Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
Si che m'ha fatto per più anni macro,
Vinca la crudelta.

Ultimamente scrivene Giovanni così:

260

Altresi fece un libretto, che l'intitola DE VULGARI ELO-
QUENTIA, ove promette fare quattro libri, ma non se ne trova se non due forse per l'affrettato suo fine, ove con forte, et adorno latino, et belle ragioni riprova tutti i volgari d'Italia.

[46v]

244 ove] **Tir** dove

245 astrologice] **Tir** astrologiche filosofice] **Tir** filosofiche teologice]
Tir teologiche

254 che] **Tir** chel

Il Boccaccio così:

Compose uno libretto in prosa latina il quale egli intitolo De
Vulgari Eloquentia, dove intendea di dare dottrina a chi im-
prendere la volesse, del dire in Rima, et come che per lo detto
libretto apparisca lui havere in animo di dovere in cio com-
porre quattro libri, o che piu non ne facesse dalla morte so-
prapreso, o che perduti siano gli altri piu non appariscono che
due solamente.

265

270

car. 6. lin. 23.

Et Dante istesso nel *Convito* così:

Di questo si parlera altrove piu pienamente in uno libro, ch'io
intendo di fare, Dio concedente, Di Volgare Eloquentia.

Il libro, o più tosto parte di quello non latino, ma volgare si trova
stampato messo in luce, et dedicato ad Hippolito cardinale de' Me-
dici da un Giovanni Battista d'Oria, che sarà il fine delle opere di
poesia del poeta Dante Alighieri, che nato negli anni di nostra salute
1265 morì nell'anno 1321.

275

Guido Cavalcante.

13. A cui ragionevolmente possiamo dare per compagno Guido
di Messer Cavalcante Cavalcanti, chiamandolo esso Dante “primo
degli amici suoi”, et essendo detto da Benvenuto:

280

Vita nuova car. 9.

Alter oculus Florentiae tempore Dantis.

278 1265] **BC** added later above

264 intitulo] **Tir** intitolò

Del quale si trovano molte cose stampate fralle *Rime antiche*,
et specialmente quella bella | canzone della natura d'Amore, che car. 72. [47r]
comincia

285

Donna mi prega, perch'io voglio dire.

La quale così perfettamente contiene in sé tutta l'arte, come quella, che non solo ha piedi, e volte, ma ripercussioni ancora nel meglio de' versi, che a buona ragione poté dire l'autore di quella nella chiusa parlando a lei:

290

Tu poi sicuramente gir canzone
Dove ti piace, ch'io t'ho si adornata,
Ch'assai lodata sarà tua ragione
Da le persone, c'hanno intendimento,
Di star con l'altre tu non hai talento.

295

14. Et questa dicono essere stata commentata da Egidio Romano professore di filosofia, et da Dino del Bel Corbo medico fiorentino Mar. Eq. *Dello amore* car. 5.
per la molta dottrina del trattato.

Lappo Gianni. **15.** Lappo Gianni fu terzo compagno fra l'uno, et l'altro, come si può conoscere da quel sonetto di Dante:

300

Guido vorrei, che tu, e Lappo, et io *Rim. ant.* car. 135..
Fossimo presi per incantamento.

286 voglio] **Tir** voglia

288 meglio] **Tir** mezzo

Et da quell'altro di Guido a Dante:

Se vedi amore assai ti prego Dante 136.

In parte la ove Lappo sia presente. 305

Et è posto per l'uno de' conoscitori del buono volgare nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza* di cui habbiamo una canzone stampata nel libretto delle *Rime antiche*, la quale comincia: car. 10. lin.20.

Amor nuova, ed antica vanitate car. 106..

Tu fosti sempre, e sei gnudo com'ombra. 310

[47v] M. Cino da Pistoia.

16. Per la medesima ragione d'amicitia con Dante | seguita Messer Cino da Pistoia della famiglia de' Sigisbuldi prudentissimo iurisconsulto, et dolcissimo poeta nel cantar d'amore, come ne attesta Dante nel libro della *Volgare eloquenza* et il Petrarca nel sonetto fatto nella sua morte:

car. 16. lin. 8. 315

Piangete donne, e con voi pianga amore.

Le cui rime sono contenute dal quinto libro delle *Rime antiche*, et da un volumetto che va dattorno stampato a parte, dove io mi rimetto per più brevità.

17. Né si dee tacere di Guido Novello da Polenta signore di Ra- 320

306 buono] **Tir** buon

309 vanitate] **Tir** vanitade

314 *Volgare*] **Tir** Volg.

venna, appresso il quale si riparò Dante longamente ne i tempi del suo esiglio, né di Girardo, né di Guido da Castello, i quali tutti e tre furono rimatori. Di Guido Novello habbiamo fralle altre questa ballata.

Guido Novello da Polenta.

325

Novella gioia il core

Triss. car. 44.

Mi muove d'allegrezza,

Per la somma dolcezza,

Che tutt'hor sento per gratia d'amore.

Girardo da Castello.

18. Di Girardo da Castello quest'altra:

Triss. car. 44.

330

Madonna lo coral disio, ch'io porto

Nel piu dolente core,

Che mai sentisse amore

Mi stringe si, ch'io vorrei esser morto.

Guido da Castello.

19. Di Guido habbiamo solamente quello che ne dice Benvenuto

335

sopra quel loco di Dante nel XVI canto del *Purgatorio*.

“E Guido da Castel”.

Iste florebat in Regio tempore nostri poetae cum civitas illa

car. 81.. lin. 32.

esset in magno flore, et regeretur libere, fuit autem vir pru-

dens, et rectus, sani consilii, amatus, et honoratus, quia ze-

334 solamente] **BC** added later above

321 longamente] **Tir** lungamente

322 esiglio] **Tir** esilio

[48r] lator erat | Reip(*ublicae*) et protector patriae, licet alii tunc
essent potentiores in terra illa, fuit liberalis, cuius liberali-
tatem poeta expertus est semel receptus, et honoratus ab eo
in domo sua. Fuit etiam Guido pulcher inventor in rhythmo
vulgari, ut pulchre apparet in quibusdam dictis eius. 340

Dante da Maiano. **20.** Di Dante Alighieri fu contemporaneo ancora Dante da Ma-
iano, ma molto si ritrasse alla maniera de' siciliani nelle sue compo-
sizioni, che sono raccolte nel settimo libro delle *Rime antiche*, et nel
fine, come quel sonetto, nel quale dimanda interpretatione di certa
sua visione: 345

car. 141.

Provedi saggio ad esta visione, 350

E per merce ne trahi vera sentenza.

Dico una donna di bella fazzone,

Di cui el meo cor gradir molto s'agenzia,

Mi fe d'una ghirlanda donagione

Verde, fronzuta con bella accoglienza. 355

Appresso mi trovai per vestigione

Camiscia di suo dosso, a mia parvenza.

Alhor di tanto amico mi francai

Che dolcemente presila' abbracciare

Non si contese ma ridea la bella. 360

Cosi ridendo molto la basciai,

Del piu non dico, che mi fe giurare,

E morta che mia madre era con ella.

365 Chiaro Davanzati. **21.** Alla quale dimanda risposero non solo Dante l'Alighieri ma molti altri rimatori di quel tempo, come Chiaro Davanzati, che disse:

Amico proveduto ha mia intentione
A cio, che mi narrasti per tua scienza.

Guido Orlandi. Guido Orlandi dicendo: **[48v]**

370 Al motto dire dan prima ragione
Diraggio meo parere alla 'ncomenza.

Salvino Doni. **22.** Salvino Doni in questo modo:

Amico io intendo alla antica stagione,
Che Giusep da Giacobbo hebbe scienza.

Ricco da Varlungo. **23.** Ricco da Varlungo con dire:

375 Havuta ho sempre ferma openione
Depoi, ch'eo presi di voi canoscenza.

Ser Cione Ballione. **24.** Ser Cione Ballione, che cominciò

Credo nullo saggio a visione
Possa dire, o dar vera sentenza.

370 Diraggio] **Tir** Disaggio

376 Depoi] **Tir** Da poi canoscenza] **Tir** conoscenza

25. Le quali risposte tutte con la proposta sono stampate nel fine car. 142. 380
 del predetto libretto delle *Rime antiche*, per le quali appare i pre-
 nominati autori essere stati tutti ad un tempo; sicome pare che fosse car. 108.
 ancora Loffo Bonaguida, di cui si legge nel pre nominato libretto una
 ballata, che comincia:

Provato ho assai madonna di ciausire 385
 Vostra biltate, e lo piacer piacente
 Ma lasso solamente,
 Ch'io non la posso propriamente dire.

Dino di messer 390
 Lambertuccio. Et come fu Dino di messer Lambertuccio mentovato dal Boccac-
 cio nella *Vita di Dante* per famosissimo dicitore in rima; del quale
 sono le canzoni:

Poscia che dir conviemmi cio ch'io sento. e
 L'alma mia trista seguitandol core. e
 La foga di quell'arco che saperse.

Nel libro avuto dal
 Tagliapietra.
 Et è detto: "Dino di messer
 Lambertuccio Frescobaldi".

26. Ma perciocché nella commemoratione de' nostri poeti si è fin 395
 qui risegnata buona parte di quei che fiorirono inanzi a Dante, o con
 Dante, passeremo hora | all'età di messer Francesco Petrarca, il quale [49r]
 Mess.^r Francesco Petrarca.

391–394 sono... saperse.] BC nondimeno a me non mi ricorda di avere veduta
 cosa alcuna a' miei dì.

382 pare] **Tir** appare
 392 conviemmi] **Tir** convienmi

400 fu senza dubbio il fiore de i poeti del suo tempo, di tanta nominanza di eccellenza, per fare sonetti, et canzoni, che ancor dura, non essendo fin qui nato, chi sia stato bastante a togli la gloria della lingua. Le cui rime stampate nel suo canzoniero sono così comunemente note, che altro non fa bisogno dirne, se non che furono dallui medesimo scelte, et messe insieme del modo, che stanno et mandate al signor Pandolfo Malatesta, che lo ne havea richiesto, come appare
405 dalla nona epistola del XIII libro delle *Senili* direttiva al detto signor Pandolfo, dove dice:

410
415
420

Nugellas meas vulgares, quae utinam tuis manibus, tuis oculis, tuoq(ue) iudicio dignae essent, per hunc tuum nuncium ad te familiariter venientes videbis non patienter modo sed laete, non dubito cupideq(ue); Atq(ue) aliqua vel extrema bibliothecae tuae parte dignabere. Multa ibi comperies excusationis egentia, sed benigni censoris iudicium subiturae veniam non desperant. Ante omnia opusculi varietatem vagus furor amantium, de quo statim in principio agitur, ruditatem stili aetas excuset, nam quae leges magna ex parte adolescens scripsi, si excusatio ista non sufficit, excuset tuae petitionis authoritas, cui negare nil valeo. Invitus fateor hac aetate vulgari iuveniles ineptias cerno, quas omnibus, mihi quoq(ue), si liceat, ignotas velim; et si enim stilo quolibet ingenium illius aetatis emineat, ipsa tamen res senilem dedecet gravitatem. Sed quid possum? Omnia iam | in vulgus effusa sunt,

car 18.. lin.19.

[49v]

400 qui] **BC** added later above

402 note] **BC** Added later above

406 Pandolfo] **BC** Pala...

legunturq(ue) libentius; q(uam) quae serio postmodum validi-
rioribus annis scripsi. Quomodo igitur negarem tibi sic de
me merito tali viro, tam(que) anxie flagitanti; quae me invito
vulgus habet, et lacerat? Qualiacunq(ue) sint igitur non ha-
bes quod queraris, habes etenim quod petisti_

425

Tu modo te iussisse pater romane memento.

Inq(ue) meis culpis tu tibi da veniam.

ut ait Ausonius magnus ad Theodosium augustum. Ad hoc
et plebeios, atq(ue) incomptos apices scriptorum raritas ab-
solvat, qui hic famoso quondam studio, mirum dictu, fere
nulli sunt. Tarditatem vero scribentis inertia, et bellorum fra-
gor, diu haec ante missurus fueram nisi Mars circumtonans
vetuisset. In correctionem operis, si qua occurreret, mea excu-
set occupatio, qua obsessus feci haec per alios revideri. De-
niq(ue) exterioris habitus paupertatem mea excuset absentia,
profecto enim si fuisset praesens, dum in libri formam liga-
retur, et sericum tegmen, et fibulas saltem argenteas habuis-
set.

430

435

D'altre sue rime assai se ne trovano non stampate, ma tali, che
mostrano l'autore haver saputo giudiciosamente far scelta delle mi-
gliori, che si havessero da pubblicare per sue riducendole nel sopra-
detto volume mandato al signor Pandolfo.

440

Nelle opere sue latine car.

I *Trionfi* similmente non furono dallui publicati, ma trovati dopo la
sua morte in uno invoglio, per gli quali si può comprendere il Pe-

310.. lin. 5.

445

429 augustum] **BC** ¹agustum ²→ **T**

445 può] **BC** *added later above*

425 Qualiacunq(ue)] **Tir** Qualiacumque

trarca essere stato d'assai minor spirito in poema d'opera longa, et continuata, che ne le operette brevi dette grecamente Ἐιδύλλια.

[50r] Giovanni di

Boccaccio da Certaldo.

27. Al Petrarca soggiugneremo Giovanni di Boccaccio da Certaldo (per cognominarlo secondo un suo sonetto stampato dietro all'*Amorosa visione*) dove dice parlando alla sua Fiammetta:

450

Cara Fiamma, per cu' il core o caldo,
Que, che vi manda questa Visione,
Giovanni e di Boccaccio da Certaldo.

Et gliele soggiugneremo più tosto come suo familiare amico, che come poeta degno di secondarlo appresso, perciocché non fu da natura atto molto alla cosa de' versi; del qual difetto mostra che ancor egli si accorgesse, quando si consigliò di dare al fuoco le opere sue di poesia volgare, come narra il Petrarca nella seconda pistola del quinto libro delle *Senili* al Boccaccio medesimo dicendo:

455

460

Ait⁷ enim te prima aetate hoc vulgari stilo unice delectatum plurimum in eo curae, et temporis potuisse, donec quaerendi, legendiq(ue) ordine in mea eius generis vulgaria, et iuvenilia incidisses, tum vero tuum illum scribendi impetum refrixisse,

car. 332..

463 illum] **BC** *originally cont.* tuum

446 minor] **lh Tir** minore longa] **Tir** lunga

451 cu'] **Tir** cui o] **Tir** ho

454 gliele] **Tir** glielo

460 Ait] **Tir** ais enim] **Tir** etiam

⁷Sic.

nec fuisse satis in posterum a similibus stilum abstinere, nisi
iam editis odium indixisses, incensisq(ue) omnibus non mu-
tandis animo, sed delendi teq(ue) simul, et posteros tuorum
huius generis fructu operum spoliasses non aliam ob causam,
quàm quod illa nostris imparia iudicasses.

465

Della quale imparità ci può dar saggio specialmente un suo so-
netto, che pare essere stato fatto a concorrenza di quello del Petrarca:

470

Cesare, poichel traditor d'Egitto.

Il qual sonetto si trova scritto così:

Cesare, poi c'hebbe per tradimento

De l'egittian dottor l'horrate chiome _

Rim. di diversi aut. car. 23.

[50v]

Rallegrossi nel core, e'n vista come

475

Si fa qual che di novo e discontento.

E alhora ch'Annibal hebbel presento

Del capo del fratello, c'havea nome

Asdrubal ricopri sue gravi some

Ridendo ala sua gente, ch'era in pianto.

480

Per somigliante ciascun huom tal volta

Per atto allegro, o per turbato viso

Mostral contrario di cio,chel cor sente.

Pero s'io canto, et ne demostro riso

Fo per mostrare a chi mi mira, e ascolta,

485

479 Asdrubal] **Tir** Asdrabal

484 demostro] **Tir** dimostro

Ch'a dolor gravi i sia forte, e possente.

Hora delle opere di poesia volgare habbiamo di suo *La Teseida*, nella quale cantò le arme non cantate da nessuno altro inanzi a lui, sì come significa nella seguente stanza:

490

Poi ché le muse nude cominciare
Nel cospetto degli huomini ad andare,
Gia fur di que, che gia le esercitaro
Con bello stile, e ornato assai parlare,
Et altri in amoroso le operarò;

car. 65.

495

Ma tu o libro primo a lor cantare
Di Marte fai gli affanni sostenuti
Nel volgare latin piu non veduti.

Habbiamo ancora in ottava rima il *Philostrato* delle amoroze fatiche di Troilo innamorato di Griseida; et il *Nimphale di Fresole*, nel quale si contiene l'inamoramento d'Africo, et di Mensola, et i loro accidenti, e morte. *L'Amorosa visione* in terza rima, che sono certi trionfi peggiori assai di quelli del Petrarca. *L'Ameto*, o *Comedia delle | nimphe fiorentine*, dove allegoricamente sotto nome di nimphe dipigne le quattro virtù morali, et le tre teologiche. *La Ruffianella*, che comincia:

500

[51r]

505

Lib. scritto a penna

car. 41.

Venite pulcellette, et belle donne

490 muse nude] **Tir** nude muse

499 Griseida] **Tir** Briseida *Fresole*] **Tir** Fiesole

504 teologice] **Tir** teologiche

A me fanciulla udir piena di gloria
Per l'havuta vittoria
Ch'io ho da lo amore, et prenderete exemplo.

Et così alquante altre operette parte in istampa, et parte non stam-
pate, delle quali tutte sono stimate le migliori le ballate, che chiudo-
no le giornate del suo *Decamerone*.

510

Sennuccio del Bene.

28. Per ragione della medesima familiarità seguita Sennuccio
di Benuccio del Bene, a cui il Petrarca molto familiarmente scrisse,
et rescrisse, come i sonetti:

515

Sennuccio i vo che sappi in qual maniera.

et

Qui dove mezzo son Sennuccio mio,

et

Signor mio caro ogni pensier mi tira.

520

In risposta per le rime a quel sonetto di Sennuccio:

Oltra l'usato modo si rigira

Il verde Lauro ai qui, dov'io hor seggio.

Et lo nomina ancora fra' poeti amorosi nel quarto capitolo del
Trionfo di Amore, dove dice:

525

Sennuccio, e Franceschin, che fur si humani,
com' ogni huom vide.

29. Il compagno fu Franceschino degli Albizi, di cui si legge

Franceschino degli Albizi. *fralle Rime antiche* la ballata:

530

Per fuggir riprensione
Rifreno il mio talento
Volendo anzi contento
Far l'altrui torto, che la mia ragione.

car. 105.

[51v] Ricciardo di

30. Il cui figliuolo detto Ricciardo fu parimente poeta, del quale

Rime di diversi autori

535Franceschino degli Albizi.

ho vedute due canzoni non stampate l'una:

car.

Che fate donne, che non soccorrete
A confortare il pianto di costei?

l'altra

540

Io veggo lasso con armata mano
Amor a suo poder ver me venire
Per volermi ferire
A posta d'una donna, e morte darmi.

31. Di alquanti si trovano sonetti scritti al Petrarca, da i quali, et dalle risposte, si può credere che fossero suo' amici, come di:

Giacopo colonna. **Giacopo Colonna:**

545

Se le parti del corpo mio distrutte.

A cui risponde con quel sonetto:

Mai non vedranno le mie luci asciutte.

Giovanni de' Dondi. **Giovanni de' Dondi dicendo:**

Io non so ben, s'io vedo quel, ch'io veggio.

550

La risposta fu:

Il mal mi preme, e mi spaventa il peggio.

Geri Gianfigliacci. **Geri Gianfigliacci:**

Messer Francesco chi d'amor sospira.

Per risposta hebbe:

555

Geri quando tal hor meco s'adira.

Stramazzo da Perugia. **Stramazzo da Perugia:**

550 vedo] **Tir** veggio

554 chi] **Tir** che

La santa fiamma, dela qual son prive.

Il Petrarca rispose:

560

Se l'honorata fronde, che prescrive.

Rime di diversi autori. car.

[52r] Conte Ricciardo.

Conte Ricciardo, che scrisse:

25..

Benche ignorante sia, io pur ripenso.

Petrarca per risposta:

565

Conte Ricciardo quanto piu ripenso

Nel vostro ragionar.

Ser Amantio Albizi.

Ser Amantio di Landoccio Albizi senza risposta:

car. 16..

Occhi miei lassi homai vi rallegrate

Dove dice nell'ultimo terzetto:

Come contento sono hoggi altamente.

570

Poiche son giunto a quei, chel dolce Lauro

Orna le tempie del suo gran valore.

Menchino da Ravenna.

Menchino da Ravenna che disse:

car. 29..

558 santa] **Tir** tanta

Ama la madre, e'l padre il suo car figlio
Tutti ad un fine per diversi modi

La risposta:

575

Io fui fatto da Dio a suo simiglio.

M.^{ro} Antonio da Ferrara.

32. Maestro Antonio da Ferrara:

car. 14..

O novella Tarpea in cui s'asconde
Quell'eloquente, e lucido tesoro.

A cui il Petrarca risponde con quello:

580

Ingegno usato alle question profonde
Cessar non sai del tuo proprio lavoro.

Et fece questo maestro Antonio di buone cose al suo tempo, et
fralle altre una canzone al signore di Rimino, et al signore di Forlì
due vecchi cavallieri. I quali per alcuna cagione erano per condursi
a duello in campo di battaglia essortandogli a pace, et comincia:

585

Lib. scritto a penna car. 65.

Prima che il ferro arrossi i bianchi peli.

Et dice nella chiusa parlando alla canzone:

582 del] **Tir** dal

584 Forlì] **Tir** Furli

Et a ciascun di lor di questo motto

590

Che quello e poco dotto

Medico posto in basso intendimento

Che fa col ferro, e puo sanar d'unguento.

33. Ancora che'l Petrarca nella seconda pistola del quinto libro delle *Senili* assai cortegianamente si sforzi di far credere al Boccaccio, che suo sia il terzo loco nella cosa delle rime, più giustamente nondimeno pare che questo loco si debba dare a Fatio degli Uberti, il quale nelle canzoni più s'accostò alla leggiadria del Petrarca, et in poema di opera continuata fu come una scimia di Dante. Il poema si è un libro delle provincie del mondo distinto per capitoli in terza rima, dove egli così prende per maestro Solino, come Dante prese Virgilio, et Beatrice nella sua *Comedia*. Delle sue canzoni una sene trova fralle *Rime antiche*, che comincia:

595

Fatio degli Uberti.

600

Lasso che quando imaginando vegno

Altre sono scritte a penna, come:

605

S'io sapessi formar quanto son belli

Gli occhi di questa donna honesti, e vaghi.

et

Io guardo infra l'herbette per gli prati

Et veggo variar di piu colori

610

Rose, viole et fiori

car. 105.

Rim. di diversi autori

car. 3..

car. 20..

Per la vertu del ciel, che fuor li tira.

et

O voi, c'havete gli animi disposti

Ad ascoltar de le cose d'amore

Udite comel core

Tolto mi fu si, che piu non fu mio.

Lib. scritto a penna car. 94. e

162.

615

et

Nella mia prima eta pargola, e pura.

Mr. Francesco da

34. Di messer Francesco da Barbarino a me non mi ricorda di **[53r]**

Barbarino.

havere mai lette rime, ma Giovanni Boccaccio ne parla nel XV libro delle sue *Genealogie* al capitolo VI come di poeta eccellente in lingua volgare dicendone le seguenti parole:

620

car 112..

Memini insuper esto raro Franciscum de Barbarino traxisse
in testem hominem quidem honestate morum, et spectabili
vita laudabilem, qui etsi sacros canones longe magis, quam
poeticam noverit, non nulla tamen opuscula rhythmis vulgari
idiomate splendidis ingenii sui nobilitatem testantia edidit,
que stant, et apud Italos in pretio sunt.

625

619 messer] **BC** added later above

619 messer] **Tir** Ms. mi] **Tir** missing

622 lingua] **Tir** lingua

630 Giacopo e Pietro figliuoli di **35.** **Pone il medesimo Boccaccio Giacopo e Pietro figliuoli di** Nella *Vita di Dante*
Dante. Dante nel numero de' poeti volgari, de' quali Giacopo commentò, car. 13.
dicono, la *Comedia* del padre, et fece un capitolo in terza rima a Dopo'l comm. Di Fran.^{co} da
dimostrarne la continenza, che comincia: Buti car. 372.

O voi, che siete dal verace lume
Alquanto illuminati nella mente.

635 Mr. Bussone d'Agobbio. **36.** **Messer Bussone d'Agobbio ne fece un altro in tal soggetto**
dicendo: car. 371.

Peroche sia piu frutto e piu diletto
A quei, che si diletta di sapere
Del'alta comedia il vero intelletto.

640 M.^{ro} Simone Saviozzo da **37.** **Ancora un altro ne fece maestro Simone Saviozzo da Siena**
Siena. dove dice: Lib. scritto a penna car. 156.

Come per dritta linea l'occhio al sole
Non puo soffrir l'intrinseca sua spera,
Et riman vinto assai da quel che sole.

645 Ma questo ultimo non si trova in istampa come si leggono i due
primi.

[53v] **38.** **Rimatori sono stati pur del tempo del Petrarca:**

630 volgari] **Tir** missing

M. Lancilotto Angosolo. Messer Lancilotto Angosolo, che fece un sonetto:

13.. e 17..

Natura del'eta gioiosa e bella.

ed una canzone:

650

La gran virtu del'amorosa forza.

Al quale scrive esso Petrarca la pistola CIII dell'VIII libro delle
Famigliari col soprascritto:

Ad Lancelotum equitem Placentinum.

car.

Federico di M. Geri.

39. Federico di messer Geri, di cui è un sonetto:

car. 11..

655

Solo soletto pieno di pensieri

Vo' misurando spesso la campagna.

M. Bartolo de' Bicci.

Messer Bartolo de' Bicci fiorentino, che disse la sottoscritta bal-
latina:

car. 12.

Io non ardisco di levar piu gli occhi

660

In verso donna alcuna

Qual hor i penso quel che m'ha fatto una.

Nessuno amante mai con fermo core

Ne con puro volere

656 pensieri] BC ¹prensi? ²→ T

665

Donna servi com'io servia costei,
E quanto piu soggetto al suo valore
Credea merito havere,
Giovene novo fe signor di lei,
Ond'io bussando gli occhi dico omei

670

Non ne mirar nessuna
Che come questa forse inganna ogni una.

Niccolò Soldaniero.

40. Niccolò Soldaniero, che disse quest'altra:

car. 13..

E non e donna gioco
Tener chi ama con lusinghe in foco.

675

Non solo pasce lo'nfiammato core
La cosa amata per mostrarsi altrui;
Ma che e quel, che fa vivere amore?
Amar chi ama, e quel voler che lui,
Merce i son colui,

680

Amando te, cui ardi a poco a poco.

41. Matteo Corigliari da Bologna, che comincia così una sua: **[54r]**

Matteo Corigliari di Bologna.

Mille mercedi o donna, o mio sostegno
Che m'hai della tua gratia fatto degno.

Rime di diversi autori

car. 14..

Matteo di Landoccio Albizi.

42. Matteo di Landoccio Albizi, che diede principio ad una sua car. 10..

681 da] **Tir** di

683 gratia] **Tir** grazia

dicendo:

685

Ne morte, ne amor, tempo, ne stato
Ne vostra crudelta potria far ch'io
Altra donna mettesi nel cor mio.

M. Rosello de i Rosselli.

43. Messer Rosello de' Roselli, che cominciò una sua canzone:

Lib. scritto a penna car. 15.

Fiere selvaggie, inhabitati boschi.

690

Messer Antonio degli Agli.

Messer Antonio degli Agli da Firenze, che scrisse un capitolo
della vera amicitia cominciando:

car 26..

O padre eterno, onde a noi nasce e piove
Ogni lume, ogni gratia, onde l'amore
Primo al mondo s'infonde, o sommo Giove.

695

Mino di Vanni d'Arezzo.

44. Mino di Vanni d'Arezzo, che fece una canzone in aiuto
dell'Amore:

car.

Io son diletto di ciascun vivente.

Fran.^{co} Zanio da Pisa

45. Francesco Zanio da Pisa, che disse cominciando una canzo-
ne:

car. 50.

700

Poiche l'afflitta mia dogliosa vita

696 di] **Tir** da

Affannata di pene, et di martiri.

Domenico di ser Andrea da San Gemignano. **46. Domenico di ser Andrea di san Gemignano, che ne ne disse** car. 76..
quest'altra.

705 Libero arbitrio die'l nostro signore.

Mugnone Fatinelli da Lucca. **47. Mugnone Fatinelli da Lucca, di cui è un sonetto tale:**

Amico alcun non e, che altrui soccorra.

Manettino da Firenze. **48. Manettino da Firenze, che fa una canzone contra la povertà,** Vacch. car. 71. **[54v]**
la quale comincia:

710 O poverta cosi ti strugga Dio
Come tu se d'allegrezza nimica.

Matteo Friscobaldi da Firenze. **49. Matteo Friscobaldi da Firenze scrittore d'una canzone alla**
città sul garbo di quella del Petrarca alla Italia cominciando: car. 70.

Cara Firenze mia se l'alto iddio.

715 Pucciandone da Pisa. **50. Pucciandone da Pisa, che cominciò una canzone:** Triss. car. 25..

Madonna voi guardando senti amore

Che dentro da lo core

Mi fu molto piacente,

Cotanto humilmente

Inver me si mostroe.

720

Cecco d'Ascoli.

51. Cecco d'Ascoli, che fece il libro dell'*Acerba età* in certa sua rima, ma fu duro rimatore, et lontano dalla leggiadria di quei tempi del Petrarca essendo stato arso in Firenze nell'anno 1338, come racconta Giovanni Villani; Di cui nondimeno vogliono alcuni che fosse un capitolo di quartetti fatto a nome di una fanciulla, che dice nel principio:

car.

725

O specchio di Narciso, o Ganimede,

Lib. scritto a penna car. 108..

O Hippolito mio, o Polidoro,

Soccorremi, ch'io moro

Presa d'amor nela mia pura fede.

730

52. Ma posciaché hoggimai si sono nominati poeti a bastanza a dimostrare per quali huomini fossero messe anticamente in conto le rime italiane, hora solamente ci resta a nominare due poetesse, delle quali è passata la memoria fin a' nostri tempi per via di scrittura, l'una monna Nina donna di Dante da Maiano, | alla quale egli scrisse il sonetto stampato nel fine delle *Rime antiche*, che comincia:

Monna Nina.

[55r]

735

car. 141.

La lode, e'l pregio, el senno, e la valenza

C'haggio sovente audito nominare

Gentil mia donna di vostra plagiENZA

M'han fatto coralmente innamorare.

740

Ella rescrisse allui un altro sonetto per le rime dicendo:

car. 141.

Qual sete voi, si cara proferenza,
Che fate a me senza voi mostrare.
Molto m'agenzeria vostra parvenza
Perche meo cor podesse dechiarare. etc.

745

Gaia di Gherardo da Camino
signor di Trevigi.

53. L'altra quella Gaia figliuola del buon Gherardo da Camino,
della quale fa Dante menzione nel XVI canto del *Purgatorio* quando
dice di esso Gherardo:

Per altro sopranoime io nol conosco
S'io nol togliessi da sua figlia Gaia.

750

Il qual loco commentando, Fra Giovanni da Serravalle della Dio-
cesi di Rimini, et Vescovo di Fermo, che fu discepolo di Benvenuto,
et traslatò, e commentò in latino la *Comedia* di Dante a petitione di
certi prelati della Magna dice di Gaia le seguenti parole:

755

De ista Gaia filia dicti Boni Guerardi possent dici multae lau-
des, quia fuit prudens domina, literata, magni consilii, et ma-
gnae prudentiae, maximae pulchritudinis, quae scivit bene
loqui rhythmatice in vulgari.

760

54. Le quali sopradette parole chi le volesse bene applicare a
donna de' nostri tempi caderebbono tutte così attamente nella perso-

752 Fermo] **BC** Urbino

760 donna] **BC** persona

759 bene] **Tir** ben

[55v] na della signora Tarquinia Molza Perrina⁸ gentildonna nostra | Modonese, che se ne potrebbe fare un nobile parallelo dallei a Gaia per honore della presente età contro l'antica, et di Modona contro Trevigi. Ma non è stato mio proponimento di risegnare nel presente catalogo nessuno di questo secolo, però senza allargarmi più oltre nelle sue lodi homai imporrò fine al duodecimo capitolo, il quale chiuderà il primo libro dell'*Arte del rimare* di me Giovanni Maria de Barbieri.

765

767 *rimare*] **BC** ¹*rima* ²→ **T**

768 *de*] *Added later above* Barbieri] **BC** *originally cont.* cittadino modonese

761 Perrina] **Tir** Porrina

763 *contro*] **Tir** *cont.* nostra

765 *oltre*] **Tir** oltre

⁸*Sic.*

Paragraphematic variants introduced by lh

Chapter V

par. 8, line 3 (fol. 1r): le dimandò, che?

par. 8, ll. 5–6 (fol. 1r): Gauselmo la pietà?

par. 8, l. 6 (fol. 1r): io so che] io sò, che

par. 8, l. 8 (fol. 1r): la quale si è

par. 8, l. 8 (fol. 1r): rispetto a voi come] voi, come

par. 8, l. 8 (fol. 1r): la gru volante] la grù volante

par. 8, l. 9 (fol. 1r): ma io sarò come

par. 8, l. 10 (fol. 1r): dire ciò che] dire ciò, che

par. 8, l. 19 (fol. 1r): senza altro pensare] senza altro pensare,

par. 8, l. 19 (fol. 1r): se n'andò

par. 8, l. 20 (fol. 1r): qui sotto sarà

par. 8, l. 36 (fol. 1v): la pregò, che

par. 8, l. 38 (fol. 1v): egli è vero

par. 8, l. 42 (fol. 1v): ciò ch'io vi dissi] ciò, ch'io vi dissi,

par. 8, l. 42 (fol. 1v): e promisi non] e promisi, non

par. 8, l. 49 (fol. 1v): che no'l volesse

par. 8, l. 53 (fol. 2r): cosa, ch'egli volesse,

par. 9, l. 76 (fol. 2v): lasciò per un tempo par. 9, l. 79 (fol. 2v): ella

lo confortò

par. 10, l. 103 (fol. 3r): non si sgomentò

par. 10, ll. 103–4 (fol. 3r): fare che'l] fare, che'l

par. 10, l. 113 (fol. 3r): promesso havea bene] promesso havea, bene

par. 11, l. 177 (fol. 4r): durò una stagione

par. 12, ll. 200–1 (fol. 4v): diceva era per] diceva, era per

par. 12, l. 201 (fol. 4v): voleva tutto'l suo

par. 12, l. 210 (fol. 5r): pensò, che meglio era?
par. 12, l. 214 (fol. 5r): si rallegrò alquanto
par. 12, l. 231 (fol. 5v): accettò il dono par. 13, l. 253–54 (fol. 5v):
vide che Pons] vide, che Pons
par. 13, ll. 258–59 (fol. 6r): la donna che] la donna, che
par. 13, l. 287 (fol. 6v): perdonò il suo fallo
par. 14, l. 308 (fol. 6v): mandò sue lettere
par. 14, l. 312 (fol. 6v): contò il tutto
par. 14, l. 323 (fol. 7r): gittò dinanzi
par. 14, l. 327 (fol. 7r): trista e grama] trista, e grama
par. 14, l. 328 (fol. 7r): ciò che'l soverchio] ciò, che'l soverchio
par. 14, l. 331 (fol. 7r): levò la mattina
par. 14, ll. 331–332 (fol. 7r): et mandò dicendo
par. 14, l. 334 (fol. 7r): no'l volle vedere
par. 15, l. 364 (fol. 7v): fu là portato
par. 15, l. 365 (fol. 7v): contessa, che'l venne
par. 15, l. 368 (fol. 8r): è che'l Petrarca] è, che'l Petrarca
par. 15, l. 370 (fol. 8r): uso la vela] usò la vela
par. 15, l. 378 (fol. 8r): cors mi dol] cors mi dol,

Chapter VI

par. 1, ll. 8-9 (fol. 8v): dire cose tali] dire cose tali,
par. 2, l. 84 (fol. 9v): signor, cioè amore] signor, cioè, amore
par. 2, l. 88 (fol. 9v): mi da horrore] mi dà horrore
par. 2, l. 99 (fol. 10r): femina e nata] femina è nata
par. 2, l. 99 (fol. 10r): 10r porta ancor benda] porta ancor benda:
par. 2, l. 108 (fol. 10r): si breve uso] si breve uso.
par. 4, l. 148 (fol. 10v): tu e Lappo] tu, e Lappo

par. 4, l. 174 (fol. 11r): maravigliosamente avvenne, cioè] maravigliosamente avvenne, cioè

par. 6, l. 225 (fol. 12r): in vita come] in vita, come

par. 6, l. 225 (fol. 12r): pur è maraviglia

par. 8, l. 282 (fol. 13r): Malispini e nata] Malispini è nata

par. 8, l. 289 (fol. 13r): occhi m'e si] occhi m'è si

Chapter VII

par. 5, l. 88 (fol. 15r): il quale e] il quale è

par. 5, l. 89 (fol. 15r): Retorica come e] Retorica come è

Chapter VIII

par. 1, l. 3 (fol. 15r): fra i molti] fra i molti,

par. 2, l. 101 (fol. 17r): esempi là ove] esempi là, ove

par. 2, l. 101 (fol. 17r): mi è parso

par. 2, ll. 101–2 (fol. 17r): Ben è vero

par. 2, l. 112 (fol. 17r): si è quello

Chapter IX

par. 4, l. 68 (fol. 21v): video quod deus] video, quòd deus

par. 6, l. 88 (fol. 22r): padre, el figlio] padre, e'l figlio

Chapter X

par. 7, l. 190 (fol. 24r): amò per amore?

par. 7, l. 192 (fol. 24r): ch'è in Provenza

par. 19, ll. 383–84 (fol. 27v): quella che fu] quella, che fu

par. 22, l. 407 (fol. 28r): ch'è sul Genovese

par. 31, l. 467 (fol. 29v): rispose. or mee?] rispose, or mee?

par. 46, l. 622 (fol. 32r): fin che'l conte

par. 63, l. 743 (fol. 34r): mon cor e mon castel] mon cor, e mon castel

par. 63, l. 744 (fol. 34r): es bella e pros] es bella, e pros

Chapter XI par. 1, l. 1 (fol. 37v): vero è che'l] vero è, che'l

par. 1, l. 2 (fol. 37v): mi rimarrò io

par. 1, l. 6 (fol. 37v): è pervenuta la memoria

par. 1, ll. 6–7 (fol. 37v): alla nostra età

par. 3, l. 28 (fol. 38r): il sì e'l no] il sì, e'l no

Chapter XII

par. 19, l. 359 (fol. 48r): dolcemente presila' abbracciare] dolcemen-
te presila' abbracciare,

par. 38, l. 657 (fol. 53v): quel che m'ha] quel, che m'ha

par. 38, l. 660 (fol. 53v): servi com'io] servi, com'io

Titles and marginalia apparatus

Chapter V

par. 9, l. 68 (fol. 2r), margin: **Tir** Nov. VI

par. 10, l. 94 (fol. 2v), margin: **Tir** Nov. VII

par. 11, l. 125 (fol. 3v), margin: **Tir** Nov. VIII.

par. 12, l. 180 (fol. 4v), margin: **Tir** Nov. IX.

par. 13, l. 245 (fol. 5v), margin: **Tir** Nov. X

par. 14, l. 289 (fol. 6b), margin: **Tir** Nov. XI

par. 14, l. 289 (fol. 6b), right margin: 1..] **Tir** 1.

par. 14a, l. 361 (fol. 7v), margin: **Tir** Nov. XII

par. 14a, l. 382 (fol. 8r), right margin: come disopra.] **Tir** car. 14.

canz. 6. st. 2.

par. 14a, l. 386 (fol. 8r), right margin: car. 14.. ... 2.] **Tir missing**

Chapter VI

par. 2, l. 81 (fol. 9v), right margin: *Rim. ant.* car. 4.] **Tir missing**

par. 3, l. 121 (fol. 10r), left margin: Cavalcanti] ¹Cavalcante? ²→ **T**

par. 3, l. 122 (fol. 10r), right margin: 70..] **Tir 70.**

par. 3, l. 130 (fol. 10v), right margin: car. 18.. lin. 24.] **Tir missing**

par. 3, l. 136 (fol. 10v), right margin: *Vita nuova* car. 9.. lin. 14.] **Tir missing**

par. 5, l. 192 (fol. 11v), right margin: 61..] **Tir 61.**

par. 5, l. 208 (fol. 11v), right margin: 42..] **Tir 43.**

par. 5, l. 215 (fol. 12r), right margin: 86..] **Tir 86.**

par. 6, l. 231 (fol. 12r), right margin: car. 220.. lin. 1.] **Tir missing**

par. 7, l. 253 (fol. 12v), right margin: car.] **Tir missing**

par. 7, l. 260 (fol. 12v), right margin: ii] **Tir 4**

Chapter VII

title (fol. 13v): *a narrare*] **Tir missing**

par. 3, l. 16 (fol. 13v), right margin: car.9. lin.9.] **Tir missing**

par. 5, l. 57 (fol. 14v), right margin: 5..] **Tir 5.**

Chapter VIII

par. 1, l. 23 (fol. 15v), right margin: car. 16..] **Tir missing**

par. 2, l. 29 (fol. 15v), left margin: Dante nel sup.^{to} loco.] **Tir missing**

par. 3, l. 81 (fol. 16v), right margin: 66..] **Tir 66.**

par. 3, l. 86 (fol. 16v), right margin: 69..] **Tir missing**

Chapter IX

title (fol. 17v): scrittori] **lh cont.** e rimatori **Tir cont.** o rimatori

par. 2, l. 13 (fol. 17v), left margin: *Amorosa*] **Tir Amorose**

par. 2, l. 21 (fol. 18r), left margin: Verg. car.] *originally cont.* 20

par. 2, ll. 21–23 (fol. 18r), left margin: Petr. ... 20.] **Tir missing**

par. 2, ll. 34–36 (fol. 18r), right margin: Dall'arte ... Alano.] **Tir missing**

par. 5, l. 83 (fol. 19r), right margin: 100.. e 140..] **Tir 100. e 140**

par. 7, l. 89 (fol. 19r), right margin: 35..] **Tir 35.**

par. 8, l. 96 (fol. 19r), left margin: Gian] **Tir Jean**

par. 8, l. 97 (fol. 19r), right margin: lin. 23.] **Tir L. 23.**

par. 8, l. 97 (fol. 19r), right margin: 56..] **Tir 56.**

par. 8, l. 100 (fol. 19v), right margin: 2..] **Tir 2.**

par. 8, ll. 102–103 (fol. 19v), right margin: Lib. ... 18..] **Tir missing**

par. 8, ll. 106–108 (fol. 19v), right margin: Molin. ... 286.] **Tir missing**

par. 8, l. 110 (fol. 19v), right margin: Mario ... 13.] **Tir missing**

par. 10, l. 147 (fol. 20r), right margin: 23.] **Tir 25.**

par. 11, l. 152 (fol. 20r), right margin: 62..] **Tir 62.**

par. 11, l. 162 (fol. 20v), right margin: 59..] **Tir 59.**

Chapter X

par. 2, l. 21 (fol. 21r), right margin: 78..] **Tir 78.**

par. 3, l. 40 (fol. 21v), right margin: 78..] **Tir 78.**

par. 3, l. 41 (fol. 21v), right margin: *Volg.* ... 7.] **Tir missing**

par. 3, l. 47 (fol. 21v), right margin: Benv. ... 9.] **Tir missing**

par. 4, l. 62 (fol. 21v), right margin: car. ... 15.] **Tir missing**

par. 5, l. 74 (fol. 22r), right margin: 33..] **Tir 33**

par. 5, l. 77 (fol. 22r), right margin: 38..] **Tir** 38

par. 5, l. 81 (fol. 22r), right margin: *Novel. ... 8*] **Tir** *missing*

par. 5, l. 90 (fol. 22r), right margin: *car. ... 10..*] **Tir** *Nov. Antich.*
car. 9. et 10.

par. 6, l. 106 (fol. 22v), right margin: *sleg.*] **Tir** *seg*

par. 9, l. 280 (fol. 25v), right margin: *car. 6.*] **Tir** *carm. 67.*

par. 10, l. 290 (fol. 26r), right margin: 28..] **Tir** 28.

par. 14, l. 317 (fol. 26v), right margin: 41..] **Tir** 41.

par. 14, l. 329 (fol. 26v), right margin: 42..] **Tir** 42.

par. 15, l. 342 (fol. 27r), right margin: 70..] **Tir** 70.

par. 16, l. 346 (fol. 27r), right margin: *car. 38.*] *car. 38..?*

par. 18, l. 362 (fol. 27v), right margin: 53..] **Tir** 13.

par. 18, l. 363 (fol. 27v), left margin: *Bellenuei*] **Tir** *Belenuci*

par. 19, l. 370 (fol. 27v), left margin: *Peguilan*] **Tir** *Pequillan*

par. 20, l. 390 (fol. 28r), left margin: *Sarbat*] **Tir** *Sarlat*

par. 20, l. 390 (fol. 28r), right margin: 132..] **Tir** 132.

par. 22, l. 408 (fol. 28r), right margin: 67..] **Tir** 67.

par. 23, l. 412 (fol. 28r), right margin: 2..] **Tir** 2.

par. 25, l. 419 (fol. 28v), left margin: *Rotmans*] **Tir** *Romans*

par. 26, l. 433 (fol. 28v), right margin: 67..] **Tir** 67.

par. 31, l. 467 (fol. 29v), right margin: *Novel.*] **Tir** *Nov.*

par. 31, l. 485 (fol. 29v), right margin: 81.] **Tir** 91.

par. 35, l. 502 (fol. 30r), right margin: 4..] **Tir** 4.

par. 37, l. 513 (fol. 30r), right margin: 55.] **Tir** 51.

par. 39, l. 529 (fol. 30v), right margin: 71.. et 80..] **Tir** 71. et 80.

par. 41, l. 549 (fol. 30v), right margin: 68..] **Tir** 68.

par. 43, l. 582 (fol. 31r), right margin: 46.. et 98..] **Tir** 46. et 98.

fol. 32r, left margin: the margin is damaged. I have supplied the first

letter of 'Lanfranco'.

fol. 33r, left margin: the margin is damaged. I have supplied the first letter of 'Helia'.

par. 52, l. 667 (fol. 33r), right margin: 7..] **Tir** 7.

par. 56, l. 700 (fol. 33v), left margin: Marcabruno] **Tir** Marca Bruno

par. 56, l. 700 (fol. 33v), right margin: car. 3..] **Tir** car. 3.

par. 57, l. 703 (fol. 33v), right margin: 15.. et 51..] **Tir** 15. et 51.

par. 59, l. 714 (fol. 33v), right margin: 39..] **Tir** 37.

par. 60, l. 720 (fol. 34r), right margin: 44..] **Tir** 44.

par. 61, l. 727 (fol. 34r), right margin: 68..] **Tir** 68.

par. 63, l. 741 (fol. 34r), right margin: 48..] **Tir** 48.

par. 69, l. 751 (fol. 34v), right margin: 90..] **Tir** 90.

par. 70, l. 757 (fol. 34v), right margin: 86..] **Tir** 86.

par. 71, l. 763 (fol. 34v), right margin: 58..] **Tir** 58.

par. 72, l. 765 (fol. 34v), right margin: 16..] **Tir** 16.

par. 73, l. 781 (fol. 35r), right margin: 103..] **Tir** 103.

par. 74, l. 788 (fol. 35r), right margin: Mich. car. 49.] **Tir** *missing*

par. 74, l. 789 (fol. 35r), right margin: carte 52. 61..] **Tir** car. 52. 61.

par. 75, ll. 794–795 (fol. 35r), right margin: Mich. ... 186..] **Tir** *missing*

par. 75, l. 796 (fol. 35r), left margin: Ricardo] **Tir** Riccardo

par. 76, l. 836 (fol. 36r), right margin: 2..] **Tir** 2.

par. 76, l. 845 (fol. 36r), right margin: Mich. car. 90..] **Tir** *missing*

par. 77, l. 855 (fol. 36r), right margin: 68..] **Tir** 68.

par. 77, l. 856 (fol. 36r), right margin: 136..] **Tir** 136.

par. 78, l. 870 (fol. 36v), right margin: car.] **Tir** cart.

par. 80, l. 885 (fol. 36v), right margin: Sicil. car. 38..] **Tir** Sleg. car. 38.

par. 81, l. 897 (fol. 37r), left margin: Natibors.] **Tir** *missing*
par. 81, l. 897 (fol. 37r), right margin: Libro ... 60.] **Tir** *missing*
par. 82, l. 911 (fol. 37r), left margin: Capion] **Tir** Cassion
par. 82, l. 911 (fol. 37r), right margin: et 60..] **Tir** *missing*
par. 82, l. 923 (fol. 37v), left margin: Castelnovo] **Tir** Castelnuovo

Chapter XI

par. 2, l. 12 (fol. 38r), right margin: car. 31..] **BC** car. 113 **Tir** car.
31.
par. 2, l. 22 (fol. 38r), right margin: de i] **Tir** dei
par. 3, l. 29 (fol. 38r), right margin: car. 45.. ln.49] **Tir** car. 45. lin. 4
par. 3, l. 30 (fol. 38r), right margin: car.46. lin.4.] **Tir** *missing*
par. 6, l. 120 (fol. 39v), left margin: dalentino] **Tir** da Lentino
par. 6, l. 123 (fol. 39v), right margin: 111..] **Tir** 17.
par. 6, l. 124 (fol. 39v), right margin: 9..] **Tir** 9...
par. 6, l. 127 (fol. 39v), right margin: 17..] **Tir** 17...
par. 8, l. 129 (fol. 40r), right margin: 28..] **Tir** 28.
par. 8, l. 130 (fol. 40r), right margin: 10..] **Tir** 10.
par. 8, l. 135 (fol. 40r), right margin: 52..] **Tir** 52.
par. 10, l. 141 (fol. 40r), right margin: Triss. *effaced*
par. 11, l. 146 (fol. 40r), right margin: 37..] **Tir** 37.
par. 12, l. 149 (fol. 40r), right margin: 22..] **Tir** 22.
par. 13, l. 219 (fol. 41v), right margin: 35..] **Tir** 35.

Chapter XII

par. 1, l. 5 (fol. 41v), left margin: Messer Guido Guinicelli] **Tir** *mis-*
sing
par. 1, l. 9 (fol. 42r), right margin: 11.] **Tir** 4.

par. 1, l. 34 (fol. 42r), right margin: 4..] **Tir** *missing*

par. 3, l. 42 (fol. 42v), right margin: 11..] **Tir** 4.

par. 4, l. 43 (fol. 42v), right margin: 11.] **Tir** 4.

par. 4, l. 43 (fol. 42v), right margin: et 11. ... 5.] **Tir** *missing*

par. 5, l. 47 (fol. 42v), right margin: 10..] **Tir** 10

par. 7, l. 52 (fol. 42v), right margin: car. 11. lin. 6] **Tir** *missing*

par. 7, l. 61 (fol. 42v), right margin: asc. car. 112..] **Tir** ap. car. 111.

par. 7, l. 72 (fol. 43r), right margin: 32..] **Tir** 32.

par. 7, l. 76 (fol. 43r), right margin: 32..] **Tir** 32.

par. 8, l. 118 (fol. 43v), right margin: 114..] **Tir** 114.

par. 9, l. 132, right margin: *Volg.* ... X.] **Tir** *missing*

par. 10, l. 139 (fol. 44r), left margin: Urbiciani] **Tir** Urbiciani

par. 10, l. 151 (fol. 44r), right margin: 17..] **Tir** 17.

par. 10, l. 153 (fol. 44r), right margin: 24..] **Tir** 24.

par. 13, l. 281 (fol. 46v), right margin: *Vita* ... 9.] **Tir** *missing*

par. 15, l. 301 (fol. 47r), right margin: *Rim.*] **Tir** *Rime*

par. 15, l. 301 (fol. 47r), right margin: 135..] **Tir** 135.

par. 15, l. 309 (fol. 47r), right margin: 106..] **Tir** 106.

par. 18, l. 337 (fol. 47v), right margin: 81.. lin. 32] **Tir** 81... lin. 31.

par. 25, l. 389 (fol. 48v), left margin: Lambertuccio] **Tir** *cont.* Frescobaldi

par. 25, ll. 393–394, right margin: et è ... Frescobaldi”.] **Tir** *missing*

par. 26, l. 407 (fol. 49r), right margin: car. 18.. ... 19.] **Tir** *missing*

par. 29, l. 529 (fol. 51r), left margin: Albizi] **Tir** Albizzi

par. 30, ll. 534–535 (fol. 51v), left margin: di Franceschino degli Albizi] **Tir** Franceschini degli Albizzi

par. 31, l. 549 (fol. 51v), left margin: Giovanni de’ Dondi] **Tir** *missing*

par. 31, l. 561 (fol. 52r), right margin: 25..] **Tir** 25.
par. 31, l. 566 (fol. 52r), right margin: 16..] **Tir** 16...
par. 31, l. 566 (fol. 52r), left margin: Ser Amantio Albizi] **Tir** *missing*
par. 31, l. 572 (fol. 52r), right margin: 29..] **Tir** 19.
par. 31, l. 577 (fol. 52r), right margin: 14..] **Tir** 14.
par. 31, l. 586 (fol. 52r), right margin: penna] **Tir** *corta*
par. 33, l. 605 (fol. 52v), right margin: 3..] **Tir** 3.
par. 33, l. 608 (fol. 52v), right margin: 20..] **Tir** 20.
par. 33, l. 614 (fol. 53r), left margin: Mr.] **BC T** *added later above*
par. 34, l. 622 (fol. 53r), right margin: car 112..] **Tir** *missing*
par. 35, l. 630 (fol. 53r), right margin: car. 13.] **Tir** *missing*
par. 38, l. 648 (fol. 53v), right margin: 13.. et 17..] **Tir** 14. et 17.
par. 39, l. 655 (fol. 53v), left margin: M.] **Tir** *missing*
par. 39, l. 655 (fol. 53v), right margin: 11..] **Tir** 4.
par. 40, l. 672 (fol. 53v), right margin: 13..] **Tir** 13.
par. 41, l. 682 (fol. 54r), left margin: Corrigiari] **Tir** Corrigiari
par. 41, l. 683 (fol. 54r), right margin: 14..] **Tir** 14.
par. 42, l. 684 (fol. 54r), left margin: Albizi] **Tir** Albizzi
par. 42, l. 684 (fol. 54r), right margin: 10..] **Tir** 10.
par. 43, l. 689 (fol. 54r), left margin: de i] **Tir** dei
par. 43, l. 691 (fol. 54r), right margin: 26..] **Tir** 26.
par. 44, l. 696 (fol. 54r), left margin: di] **Tir** *missing*
par. 46, l. 703 (fol. 54r), left margin: da] **Tir** di
par. 46, l. 703 (fol. 54r), right margin: 76..] **Tir** 76.
par. 47, l. 706 (fol. 54r), left margin: Mugnone ... Lucca] **Tir** *missing*
par. 50, l. 715 (fol. 54v), right margin: 25..] **Tir** 25.
par. 51, l. 727 (fol. 54v), right margin: 108..] **Tir** 108.

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, B 3467

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1812. *ALI*

<<http://www.autografi.net/dl/resource/1301>> [accessed 25/02/23]

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutei 90 Inf. 26. *BML Online*

<<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOMTWWUI1A4r7GxMWcy>> [accessed 25/02/23]

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2814

Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.R.4.4. *Estense Digital Library*

<<http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/mss/i-mo-beu-alfa.r.4.4.html>> [accessed 27/04/23]

Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.S.5.1 (It. 284). *Estense Digital Library*

<<https://edl.beniculturali.it/beu/850010902>> [accessed 27/04/23]

Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.W.8.16. *Estense Digital Library*

<<https://edl.cultura.gov.it/item/koj80wq52x>> [accessed 28/04/23]

Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.W.8.17. *Estense Digital Library*

<<https://edl.cultura.gov.it/item/vmr9x6vrwd>> [accessed 28/04/23]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Français 1749. *Gallica*

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000801v>> [accessed 27/04/23]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Français 12473. *Gallica*

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60007960>> [accessed 27/04/23]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 12474. *Gallica*

<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000427q>> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginense Latino 1370. *DigiVatLib*

<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1370> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Barberiniano 4087. *DigiVatLib*

<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.4087> [accessed 25/02/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3197. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3197> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3199. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3199> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3205. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3205> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3206. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3206> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3207. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3207> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3208. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3208> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 4817. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4817> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 4831. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4831> [accessed 27/04/23]

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 7182. *DigiVatLib*
<https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.7182> [accessed 27/04/23]

Printed Sources

Primary

Alighieri, Dante. 1477–78. [*La Comedia*], ed. by Martino Paolo Nibia (Nidobeato), 3 vols (Milan: Ludovicus & Albertus Pedemontani). *Manchester Digital Collections*
<<https://www.digitalcollections.manchester.ac.uk/view/PR-INCUC-19561>> [accessed 27/04/23]

——— 1481. [*Commedia*], ed. by Cristoforo Landino (Florence: Nicolò della Magna). *Google Books*
<<https://books.google.it/books?id=6zCrZjoKhOQC>> [accessed 27/04/23]

——— 1529. *De la volgare eloquenzia*, ed. and trans. by Giovanni Giorgio Trissino (Vicenza: Ianiculo)

——— 1897. *Le rime di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. by Giovanni Mestica (Florence: Barbera)

- 1966–67. *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, ed. by Giorgio Petrocchi, 4 vols (Milan: Mondadori)
- 1994. *Commedia*, ed. by Giorgio Petrocchi (Florence: Le Lettere). *Biblioteca italiana* <<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/scheda/bibit000019>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1996. *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. by Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo and Bruno Nardi (Milan: Ricciardi). *Biblioteca italiana* <<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/scheda/bibit000018>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1996a. *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and transl. by Steven Botterill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- 1996b. *Vita nuova*, ed. by Guglielmo Gorni (Turin: Einaudi). *Biblioteca italiana* <<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/scheda/bibit000520>> [accessed 18/04/23]
- Arnaut Daniel. 1883. *La vita e le opere del trovatore Arnaldo Daniello*, ed. by Ugo Angelo Canello (Halle: Niemeyer). *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/lavitaeleopered00canello>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Atanagi, Dionigi (ed.). 1565. *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*, 2 vols (Venice: Avanzo). *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_spoDVMCMNxEC> [accessed 27/04/23]
- [Barbieri, Giovanni Maria]. 1568. *La Guerra d'Atila flagello di Dio* (Ferrara: De' Rossi). *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_qUbw8c0c8ugC> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1790. *Dell'origine della poesia rimata*, ed. by Girolamo Tiraboschi (Modena: Società Tipografica)
- 1843. *La Guerra d'Atila flagello di Dio*, ed. by Fortunato Cavazzoni Pedrini (Parma: Fiacadori). *British Library* <https://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100027412315.0x000001> [accessed 21/04/23]
- 1907. *Rime di G. M. Barbieri tratte dalle stampe e dai manoscritti*, ed. by Giulio Bertoni (Modena: Ferraguti)
- Bastero, Antonio. 1724. *La Crusca provenzale, ovvero, le voci, frasi, forme, e maniere di dire, che la gentilissima, e celebre lingua toscana ha preso dalla provenzale; arricchite, e illustrate, e difese con motivi, con autorità, e con esempi* (Rome: De' Rossi). *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/LaCruscaProvenzaleOvveroLeVoci>> [accessed 21/04/23]
- Bembo, Pietro. 1931. *Prose della volgar lingua*, ed. by Carlo Dionisotti (Turin: Utet)
- 1955. *Prose della volgar lingua*, ed. by Mario Marti (Padua: Liviana)

- 1966. *Prose e rime*, ed. by Carlo Dionisotti (Turin: Utet)
- 1987. *Lettere*, ed. by Ernesto Travi, 3 vols (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua)
- 2001. *Prose della volgar lingua. L'editio princeps del 1525 riscontrata con l'autografo Vaticano Latino 3210*, ed. by Claudio Vela (Bologna: CLUEB)
- 2002. *La prima stesura delle 'Prose della volgar lingua'. Fonti e correzioni: con edizione del testo*, ed. by Mirko Tavosanis (Pisa: ETS)
- 2003. *Gli Asolani*, ed. by Giorgio Dilemmi (Rome: Biblioteca Italiana). *Biblioteca Italiana* <<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/testo/bibit000035>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 2018. *Bembo ritrovato. Il postillato autografo delle Prose*, ed. by Fabio Massimo Bertolo, Marco Corsi, Carlo Pulsoni (Rome: Viella)
- Benvenuto de' Rambaldi da Imola. 1887. *Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam*, ed. by Giacomo Filippo Lacaïta, 5 vols (Florence: Barbèra)
- Bertran de Born. 1987. *Le seigneur-troubadour d'Hautefort. L'oeuvre de Bertran de Born*, ed. by Gérard Gouiran (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence)
- Biadene, Leandro (ed.). 1885. 'Las Rasos de trobar e Lo Donatz Proensals secondo la lezione del ms. Landau', *Studi di filologia romanza* I (1885), 335–402. *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/studjdfilologia01toriuoft>> [accessed 14/04/23]
- Boutière, Jean, and Schutz, Alexander H. (eds.). 1973. *Biographies des troubadours. Textes provençaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris: Nizet)
- Bramanti, Vanni (ed.). 2012. *Lettere a Benedetto Varchi, 1530–1563* (Rome: Vecchiarelli)
- Bruni, Leonardo. 1987. *Le vite del Dante e del Petrarca*, ed. by Antonio Lanza (Rome: Archivio Guido Izzì)
- Calmata, Vincenzo. 1959. *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, ed. by Cecil Grayson (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua)
- Camillo, Giulio. 2009. *Chiose al Petrarca*, ed. by Paolo Zaja (Rome-Padua: Antenore)
- Cariteo (Gareth, Benet). 1892. *Le rime di Benedetto Gareth detto il Chariteo secondo le due stampe originali*, ed. by Erasmo Percopo, 2 vols (Naples: Accademia delle Scienze). *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/rimesecondoledue00cariuoft>> [accessed 21/04/23]
- [Caro, Annibale]. 1558. *Apologia de gli academici di Banchi di Roma contra M. Lodovico Castelvetro da Modena [...]* (Parma: Viotto).

[Castelvetro, Lodovico]. 1559. *Ragione d'alcune cose segnate nella canzone d'Annibal Caro 'Venite a l'ombra de gran gigli d'oro'* (Modena: Gadaldini). *ProQuest*

<<https://www.proquest.com/books/ragione-dalcune-cose-segnate-nella-canzone/docview/2090344276/se-2>> [accessed 18/04/23]

Castelvetro, Lodovico. 1572. *Correttione d'alcune cose nel Dialogo delle lingue di Benedetto Varchi, et una giunta al primo libro delle Prose di M. Pietro Bembo dove si ragiona della vulgar lingua*

(Basel: [Perna]), 113–290. *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_wLEP195Yx68C> [accessed 18/04/23]

——— 1582. *Le rime del Petrarca brevemente sposte* (Basel: Sedabonis). *Internet Archive*

<https://archive.org/details/bub_gb__0HIxH3yBkEC> [accessed 18/04/23]

——— 1714. *Le prose di M. Pietro Bembo nelle quali si ragiona della Volgar Lingua [...] In questa nuova edizione unite insieme con le giunte di Lodovico Castelvetro*, ed. by Ottavio Ignazio Vitaliano,

2 vols (Naples: Raillard-Mosca). *Internet Archive*

<<https://archive.org/details/leprosedimpietro0102bemb>> [accessed 27/04/23]

——— 1727. *Opere varie critiche di Lodovico Castelvetro gentiluomo modenese non più stampate*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Bern: Foppens)

——— 1756. *Le rime del Petrarca brevemente esposte per Lodovico Castelvetro*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Venice: Zatta)

——— 1992. 'Commentary on first four sonnets of *Rvf*', ed. in Criscione, Maria Grazia. 1992. 'Una redazione ignota del commento di Lodovico Castelvetro ai primi quattro sonetti dei *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*', *Studi petrarcheschi* (n.s.), 9 (1992), 137–220

——— 1999. *Correttione d'alcune cose del 'Dialogo delle lingue' di Benedetto Varchi*, ed. by Valentina Grohovaz (Padua: Antenore)

——— 2004. *Giunta fatta al ragionamento degli articoli e de' verbi di Messer Pietro Bembo*, ed. by Matteo Motolese (Rome-Padua: Antenore)

——— 2015. *Lettere, rime, carmina*, ed. by Enrico Garavelli (Rome: Storia e letteratura)

——— 2015a. 'Annotations on the *Novellino*', ed. in Noto, Giuseppe. 2015. 'Un inedito di Ludovico Castelvetro: una nuova versione delle glosse al *Novellino*', *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 33 (2015), 9–40

[Castelvetro, Lodovico, jr.]. 1786. *Vita di Lodovico Castelvetro da Modena*, in Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scittori nati degli stati del serenissimo Signor Duca di Modena*, 6 vols (Modena: Società Tipografica), VI, 61–82

- Castiglione, Baldassarre. 1981. *Il libro del Cortegiano*, ed. by Amedeo Quondam and Nicola Longo (Milan: Garzanti). *Biblioteca Italiana* <<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/scheda/bibit000135>> [accessed 21/04/23]
- Colocci, Angelo. 2008. *Lo zibaldone colocciano Vat. lat. 4831. Edizione e commento*, ed. by Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)
- 2012. *Gli appunti linguistici di Angelo Colocci nel manoscritto Vat. lat. 4817*, ed. by Nadia Cannata Salamone (Florence: Accademia della Crusca)
- Crescimbeni, Giovan Mario. 1702–11. *Comentari intorno alla sua Istoria della volgar poesia*, 5 vols (Rome: De' Rossi)
- Davanzati, Chiaro. 1965. *Rime*, ed. by Aldo Menichetti (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua)
- The Donatz Proensals of Uc Faidit*. 1969, ed. by John H. Marshall (London: Oxford University Press)
- Doni, Anton Francesco. 2017. *I Marmi*, ed. by Carlo Alberto Girotto and Giovanna Rizzarelli (Florence: Olschki)
- Equicola, Mario. 1521. *Chronica di Mantua* ([Mantua]: [Bruschi]). *Google Books* <https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Chronica_de_Mantua/pFpTAAAACAAJ> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1999. *La redazione manoscritta del 'Libro de natura de amore' di Mario Equicola*, ed. by Laura Ricci (Rome: Bulzoni)
- 2018. *Libro de natura de amore*, ed. by E. Musacchio (Rome: Aracne)
- Fazio degli Uberti. 1952. *Il Dittamondo e le rime*, ed. by Giuseppe Corsi, 2 vols (Bari: Laterza)
- Gaucelm Faidit, 1965. *Les poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit, troubadour du XII^e siècle*, ed. by Jean Mouzat (Paris: Nizet)
- Gesualdo, Giovanni Andrea. 1541. *Il Petrarca colla spositione di misser Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo* (Venice: Nicolini). *Google Books* <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=_iIsAQAAMAAJ> [accessed 18/04/23]
- Gherardo, Paolo (ed.). 1544. *Novo libro di lettere scritte da i piu rari auttori et professori della lingua volgare italiana* (Venice: Comino). *Google Books* <https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Nuovo_libro_di_lettere_de_i_piu_rari_aut/R7JdAAAACA AJ> [accessed 18/04/23]
- Gualteruzzi, Carlo (ed.). 1525. *Le Ciento novelle antike* (Bologna: Benedetti). *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/LeCientoNouvelleAntike1525/>> [accessed 26/04/23]

- Guido delle Colonne. 2008. *Guido delle Colonne*, ed. by Corrado Calenda, in *I poeti della scuola siciliana*, ed. by Costanzo di Girolamo et al. (Milan: Mondadori), 53–108
- Jaufre Rudel. 1985. *Il canzoniere di Jaufre Rudel: edizione critica*, ed. by Giorgio Chiarini (L'Aquila: Japadre)
- Landino, Cristoforo. 2001. *Comento sopra la Comedia*, ed. by Paolo Procaccioli, 3 vols (Rome: Salerno)
- Latini, Brunetto. 1546. *Retorica di ser Brunetto Latini in volgar fiorentino* (Rome: Dorico)
- Marshall, John H. (ed.). 1972. *The Razos de Trobar and Associated Texts*, (London: Oxford University press)
- [Molinet, Jean]. 1503. *Cest le romant de la rose, moralise cler et net, translate de rime en prose* (? : Lyon)
- Monumenti* 1797 = Giovanni Battista Morandi [Giambattista Canonico Morandi] (ed.). 1797. *Monumenti di varia letteratura tratti dai manoscritti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli*, 2 vols, vol. I, 1 (Bologna: Istituto delle scienze). *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_ogrbAP6ibg0C> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Nicolò da Casola. 1941. *La Guerra d'Attila. Poema franco-italiano pubblicato dall'unico manoscritto della R. Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, ed. by Guido Stendardo (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese)
- Nostredame, Jean [Jehan] de. 1913. *Les vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux*, ed. by Camille Chabaneau and Joseph Anglade (Paris: Champion). *Gallica* <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4251z/>> [accessed 14/04/23]
- Il Novellino*. 2001, ed. by Alberto Conte (Rome: Salerno)
- Opuscoli inediti di celebri autori toscani l'opere dei quali sono citate dal Vocabolario della Crusca*. 1807–9, ed. by Luigi Fiacchi, 2 vols (Florence: Stamperia di Borgo Ognissanti)
- Peretti, Antonio and Cappelli, Antonio (eds.). 1866. *Parnaso modenese dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Modena: Vincenzi-Rossi). *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_q4N1ZxfFQf0C> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Petrarca, Francesco. 1553–54. *Il Petrarca novissimamente revisto, e corretto da m. Lodovico Dolce*, 2 vols (Venice: Giolito)
- 1996. *Triumphs*, ed. by Vinicio Pacca, in *Trionfi, Rime estravaganti, Codice degli Abbozzi* (Milan: Mondadori), 4–626

- Raimbaut de Vaqueiras. 1964. *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. by Joseph Linskill (The Hague: Mouton)
- Re Giovanni. 2008. *Re Giovanni*, in *I poeti della scuola siciliana*, ed. by Costanzo di Girolamo et al. (Milan: Mondadori), 109–25
- Ricoldo da Montecroce [Ricoldus Florentinus]. 1500. *Improbatio Alcorani*, ed. by Antonio de la Peña (Seville: Polono [Polonum])
- Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori (Giolito 1545)*, ed. by Franco Tomasi and Paolo Zaja. 2001. (Padua: Res)
- Sansovino, Francesco (ed.). 1569. *Diverse orationi volgarmente scritte da molti huomini illustri de' tempi nostri*, 2 vols, vol. I (Venice: Sansovino)
- Serafino Aquilano. 2002. *Strambotti*, ed. by Antonio Rossi (Parma: Guanda)
- Sordello da Goito. 1954. *Sordello, le poesie*, ed. by Marco Boni (Bologna: Palmaverde)
- Stengel, Edmund (ed.). 1878. *Die beiden Ältesten Provenzalischen Grammatiken. Lo Donatz proensals und Las Razos de Trobar* (Marburg: Elwert). *Internet Archive*
<<https://archive.org/details/diebeidenltest00stenuoft/>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Tiraboschi, Girolamo. 1781–86. *Biblioteca modenese o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli stati del serenissimo Signor Duca di Modena*, 6 vols (Modena: Società Tipografica)
- Tassoni, Alessandro. 1609. *Considerazioni sopra le rime del Petrarca* (Modena: Cassiani)
- 1620. *Dieci libri di pensieri diversi*, 10 vols (Carpi: Vaschieri). *Google Books*
<https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Dieci_libri_di_pensieri_diuersi_d_Alessa/2MENvcmyLXIC> [accessed 20/04/23]
- Tolomei, Claudio. 1996. *Il Cesano de la lingua toscana*, ed. by Ornella Castellani Pollidori (Florence: Crusca)
- Trissino, Giovanni Giorgio. 1986. *Scritti linguistici*, ed. by Alberto Castelvechi (Rome: Salerno)
- Varchi, Benedetto. 1730. *L'Ercolano*, ed. by Giovanni Gaetano Bottari [G. B.] (Florence: Tartini e Franchi)
- 1744. *L'Ercolano [...] colla Correzione ad esso fatta da Messer Lodovico Castelvetro; e colla Varchina di Messer Girolamo Muzio*, ed. by Anton Federigo Seghezzi and Gaetano Volpi, 2 vols (Padua: Comino). *Google Books*
<https://www.google.it/books/edition/L_Ercolano_dialogo_Colla_correzione_ad_e/VInC1dWbX-8C> [accessed 27/04/23]

- 1841. *Lezioni sul Dante e prose varie*, ed. by Aiazzi, Giuseppe and Lelio Arbib, 2 vols (Florence: Società editrice delle Storie del Nardi e del Varchi). *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_4wpSEE5hJHIC/> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1846. *L'Ercolano [...]. Con la Correzione di L. Castelvetro, e la Varchina di J. Muzio*, ed. by Pietro Dal Rio (Florence: Agenzia libraria)
- 1995. *L'Hercolano*, ed. by Antonio Sorella (Pescara: Libreria dell'Università)
- 2003. 'Lezione seconda sulla grammatica', ed. in Andreoni, Annalisa. 2003. 'La lezione seconda sulla grammatica di Benedetto Varchi', *Nuova Rivista di Letteratura Italiana*, VI, 1–2 (2003), 147–78
- 2004. 'Academic lecture on Rvf 132 "S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento?" and 'Academic lecture on Rvf 7 "La gola e 'l somno et l'otiöse piume', ed. in Bernard Huss 'zu RVF 132: S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento? | zu RVF 7: La gola e 'l somno et l'otiöse piume', in Bernard Huss, Florian Neumann, Gerhard Regn (eds.), *Lezioni sul Petrarca. Die 'Rerum vulgarium fragmenta' in Akademievorträgen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Lit), 25–57
- 2005. 'Academic lecture on Rvf XXIX', ed. in Girardi, Mariateresa. 2005. 'La lezione su "Verdi panni, sanguigni, oscuri o persi" (RVF. XXIX) di Benedetto Varchi Accademico Infiammato', *Aevum* 79, 3 (2005), 677–718
- 2017. 'Regole della grammatica provenzale', ed. in Gresti, Paolo. 2017. 'Le Regole della grammatica provenzale di Benedetto Varchi', *Studi linguistici italiani* 43 (2017), 24–56
- Vellutello, Alessandro. 1532. *Il Petrarca con l'espositione di A. Vellutello e con più utili cose in diversi luoghi di quella novissimamente da lui aggiunte* (Venice: Vitali)
- Villani, Giovanni. 1990. *Nuova cronica*, ed. by Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols (Parma: Guanda)

Secondary

- Afribo, Andrea. 2001. *Teoria e prassi della 'gravitas' nel Cinquecento* (Florence: Cesati)
- Alberigo DBI = Alberigo, Giuseppe, 'Beccadelli, Ludovico', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-beccadelli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-beccadelli_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 18/04/23]
- Al Kalak DBI = Al Kalak, Matteo. 'Rangoni, Fulvio', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fulvio-rangoni_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fulvio-rangoni_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 25/02/23]
- [Alvisi, Edoardo]. 1884. *Catalogo della libreria Pandolfini* (Prato: Giachetti)

- Andreoni, Annalisa. 2007. 'Questioni e indagini per l'edizione delle *Lezioni accademiche*', in *Benedetto Varchi 1503–1565*, ed. by Vanni Bramanti (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura), 1–24
- . 2012. *La via della dottrina: Le lezioni accademiche di Benedetto Varchi* (Pisa: ETS)
- Annunziata, Francesco Saverio. 2017. 'Federico II, l'Italia e le voci del *Midi*', in *L'Italia dei trovatori*, ed. by Paolo Di Luca and Marco Grimaldi (Rome: Viella), 1–33
- Antonelli, Armando, and Pedrini, Riccardo. 2001. 'Appunti sulla formazione socio-culturale del ceto funzionale del tempo di Dante: sondaggi su documenti e tracce', *Il carrobbio*, 27 (2001), 15–37
- Antonelli, Roberto. 2011. 'Italianistica', in *La Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana luogo di ricerca al servizio degli studi. Atti del convegno Roma, 11–13 novembre 2010*, ed. by Marco Buonocuore and Ambrogio M. Piazzoni (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 195–212
- Asperti, Stefano. 1995. *Carlo I d'Angiò e i trovatori. Componenti provenzali e angioine nella tradizione manoscritta dei trovatori* (Ravenna: Longo)
- . 2002. 'La tradizione occitanica', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo II.2: Il medioevo volgare. La circolazione del testo*, ed. by Piero Boitani, Mario Mancini, and Alberto Varvaro (Rome: Salerno), 521–54
- Asperti, Stefano, and Pulsoni, Carlo. 1989. 'Jean de Nostredame e la canzone *Razo e dreyt ay si.m chant e.m demori*', *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 7 (1989), 165–72
- Aurigemma, Marcello. 1977. 'Il gusto letterario di Mario Equicola nella prima parte del "De natura de amore"', in *Studi di letteratura e di storia in memoria di Antonio di Pietro*, ed. by Pietro Zerbi et al. (Milan: Vita e Pensiero), 86–106
- Avalle, d'Arco Silvio. 1993. *I manoscritti della letteratura in lingua d'oc*, ed. by Lino Leonardi (Turin: Einaudi)
- Avesani, Rino. 1972. 'Appunti del Colocci sulla poesia mediolatina', in *Atti del convegno su Angelo Colocci. Jesi 13-14 settembre 1969, Palazzo della Signoria* (Jesi: Amministrazione comunale), 109–32
- Bacci, Orazio. 1887. *Le 'Considerazioni sopra le rime del Petrarca' di Alessandro Tassoni* (Turin-Rome: Loescher). *Gallica* <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8858538>> [accessed 14/04/23]
- Bampa, Alessandro. 2017. 'Prodromi del cenacolo trobadorico genovese: i trovatori occitanici nei territori della Compagna', in *L'Italia dei trovatori*, ed. by Paolo Di Luca and Marco Grimaldi (Rome: Viella), 33–74

- Barberini, Fabio. 2020. 'Trovatori a Modena nel XIX secolo: il *Novellino provenzale* di Giovanni Galvani', *Acta Iassyensia comparationis*, 26, 2 (2020), 225–46
- . 2022. 'Angelo Colocci, Giulio Camillo e una cifra colocciana nel canzoniere *M*', in *Miscellanea di studi trobadorici e provenzali in onore di Saverio Guida*, ed. by Gerardo Larghi, Walter Meliga, Sergio Vatteroni (Modena: Mucchi), 41–48
- Barbiellini Amidei, Beatrice. 1999. *Alla luna: saggio sulla poesia del Cariteo* (Florence: La Nuova Italia)
- Barolini, Teodolinda. 1984. *Dante's Poets: Textuality and Truth in the Comedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press)
- Barsotti, Susanna. 2020. 'Uomini e libri. I canzonieri provenzali *A^a* e *N²*', in *Secondo fantasia. Studi per Corrado Bologna dalle allieve e dagli allievi della Scuola Normale Superiore*, ed. by Susanna Barsotti, Ilaria Ottria, Marina Zanobi (Pisa: ETS), 161–74
- . 2022. *Il canzoniere provenzale N2 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1910). Introduzione e edizione diplomatica* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore)
- Bec, Pierre. 2009. 'La postérité poétique de Jaufré Rudel et de son amour de loin', *Revue des langues romanes*, 113 (2009), 139–76
- Belloni, Gino. 1992. *Laura tra Petrarca e Bembo. Studi sul commento umanistico-rinascimentale al 'Canzoniere'* (Padua: Antenore)
- Beltrami, Pietro. 1996. 'Lo ferm voler di Arnaut Daniel: noterella per una traduzione', *Anticomoderno*, 2 (1996), 9–19
- Beretta, Andrea. 2021. 'Nuove ricerche sull'*Attila Flagellum Dei* di Nicolò da Càsola', *Zeitschrift für romanische philologie*, 137 (2021), 252–86
- Bergemann et al. 2019 = Bergemann, Lutz, Dönike, Martin, Schirrmeister, Albert, Toepfer, Georg, Walter, Marco, and Weitbrecht, Julia. 2019. 'Transformation: A Concept for the Study of Cultural Change', in *Beyond Reception. Renaissance Humanism and the Transformation of Classical Antiquity*, ed. by Patrick Baker, Johannes Helmuth, and Craig Kallendorf (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter), 9–25
- Bernardi, Marco. 2008. 'Per la ricostruzione della biblioteca colocciana: lo stato dei lavori', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 21–83

- 2008a. ‘Intorno allo zibaldone colocciano *Vat. lat. 4831*’, in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 123–67
- Bertelli, Sandro. 2018. ‘La *Commedia* di Dante alla corte degli Este (con una scheda paleografica su Anicio Bonucci falsario)’, *La bibliofilia*, 120, 3 (2018), 377–98
- Bertoni, Giulio. 1903. ‘Le postille del Bembo sul cod. provenzale K’, *Studi romanzi*, 1 (1903), 9–32. *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/studjromanzi03romagoog>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1904. ‘Noterelle provenzali VI-VII’, *Revue des langues romanes*, 47 (1904), 154–58
- 1905. *Giovanni Maria Barbieri e gli studi romanzi nel sec. XVI* (Modena: Vincenzi). *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/giovanmariabar00bertuoft>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1905a. ‘Giammaria Barbieri e Ludovico Castelvetro’, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 46 (1905), 383–400
- 1907. ‘Le manuscrit provençal D et son histoire’, *Annales du Midi* 19 (1907), 238–43. *Persée* <https://www.persee.fr/doc/anami_0003-4398_1907_num_19_74_6796> [accessed 26/04/23]
- 1911. *Il canzoniere provenzale di Bernart Amoros (sezione riccardiana)* (Freiburg: Libreria dell’università)
- 1911a. *Il canzoniere provenzale di Bernart Amoros (complemento Campori)* (Freiburg: Libreria dell’università)
- 1911b. Review of Santorre Debenedetti, *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento*, in *Romania*, 158 (1911), 335–41. *Persée* <https://www.persee.fr/doc/roma_0035-8029_1911_num_40_158_4639_t1_0335_0000_2> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1915. *I trovatori d’Italia. Biografie, testi, traduzioni, note* (Modena: Orlandini)
- 1917. ‘La sezione francese del manoscritto provenzale estense’, *Archivum romanicum*, I (1917), 307–410
- Bertoni, Giulio and Foligno, Cesare. 1906. ‘La Guerra d’Attila. Poema franco-italiano di Nicola da Casola’, *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 3rd series, 56 (1906), 77–158. *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/memoriellareal256real>> [accessed 26/04/23]
- Bertoni, Giulio and Jeanroy, Alfred. 1904. ‘A propos d’un chansonnier provençal’, *Annales du Midi*, 6 (1904), 347–49
- Bianco, Monica. 2008. ‘Quarantena guittoniana in un autografo di Domenico Venier’, *Medioevo romanzo* 32 (2008), 85–115

- Bologna, Corrado. 1987. 'Giulio Camillo, il canzoniere provenzale N2 e un inedito commento al Petrarca', *Cultura neolatina* 47 (1987), 71–98
- 1993. *Tradizione e fortuna dei classici italiani* (Turin: Einaudi)
- 1993a. 'Sull'utilità di alcuni "descripti" umanistici di lirica volgare antica', in *La filologia romanza e i codici. Atti del convegno - Messina - Università degli studi - Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia 19–22 dicembre 1991*, ed. by Saverio Guida and Fortunata Latella, 2 vols (Messina: Sicania), 531–87
- 2008. 'La biblioteca di Angelo Colocci', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 1–20
- Boni ED = Boni, Marco. 'Sordello', in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*
 <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sordello_\(Enciclopedia-Dantesca\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sordello_(Enciclopedia-Dantesca)/>) [accessed 18/04/23]
- Borghesi Cedrini, Luciana. 2002. 'Le traduzioni dal provenzale di Mario Equicola', in *La parola al testo. Scritti in onore di Bice Mortara Garavelli*, ed. by Gian Luigi Beccaria and Carla Martello (Alessandria: Dell'Orso)
- Borghesi Cedrini, Luciana and Meliga, Walter. 2014. 'La sezione delle tenzoni del canzoniere di Bernart Amoros', in *Dai pochi ai molti. Studi in onore di Roberto Antonelli*, ed. by Paolo Canettieri and Arianna Punzi (Rome: Viella), 273–87
- 2020. *Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana a, aII (2814); Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria aI (Campori γ.N.8.4: 11-13) (Intavolare. Tavole di canzonieri romanzi, I, 14)*(Modena: Mucchi)
- Bowra, Maurice. 1952. 'Dante and Arnaut Daniel', *Speculum*, 27 (1952), 459–74
- Brancato, Dario. 2018. 'Materiali inediti per la biografia intellettuale di Benedetto Varchi: il cod. Magliabechiano VIII.1444 della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze', *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 32 (2017), 231–48
- Brea, Mercedes. 2008. 'De los lemosini a los siculi, Dante, y Petrarca', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 245–65
- Brea, Mercedes and Fernández Campo, Francisco. 1998. 'El vocabulario provenzal-italiano de Angelo Colocci', in *Atti del XXI congresso internazionale di linguistica e filologia romanza*, ed. by Giovanni Ruffino, 6 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer), IV, 339–50
- Brunel, Clovis. 1935. *Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien Provençal* (Paris: Société des Publications romanes et françaises)

- Brunelli DBI = Brunelli, Giampiero, 'Fregoso, Federico', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/federico-fregoso_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/federico-fregoso_(Dizionario-Biografico)>) [accessed 25/04/23]
- Bruni, Francesco. 1969. *Sistemi critici e strutture narrative (Ricerche sulla cultura fiorentina del rinascimento)* (Naples: Liguori)
- Burke, Peter. 1972. *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London: Batsford)
- Burman CMR = Burman, Thomas E., 'Contra legem Saracenorum', in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500*, ed. by David Thomas. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_25269>
- Cabré, Miriam. 1999. 'Italian and Catalan Troubadours', in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 127–40
- Camboni, Maria Clotilde. 2021. 'Da molti desiderate. Le canzoni citate in *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* 70 a Venezia prima dell'*Appendix aldina*', *Carte romanze*, 9 (2021), 225–48
- Cannata Salamone, Nadia. 2005. 'Il dibattito sulla lingua e la cultura letteraria e artistica del primo Rinascimento romano. Uno studio del ms. Vaticano Reg. lat. 1370', *Critica del testo*, 8 (2005), 901–51
- 2008. 'Il primo trattato cinquecentesco di storia poetica e linguistica: le *Annotationi sul vulgare ydioma* di Angelo Colocci (ms. Vat. lat. 4831)', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 169–97
- Canettieri, Paolo. 1992. "'Na Joana" e la sezione dei "descortz" nel canzoniere provenzale N', *Cultura neolatina*, 52 (1992), 139–65
- 1996. 'Un episodio della ricezione di Purgatorio XXVI : la *Leandreride* di Giovanni Girolamo Nadal', *Anticomoderno* 2 (1996), 179–200
- 1996a. *Il gioco delle forme nella lirica dei trovatori* (Rome: Bagatto)
- Cantalupi, Cecilia. 2019. 'Glosse italiane a un sirventese provenzale copiato per Gian Vincenzo Pinelli', *Carte romanze*, 7 (2019), 7–52
- Careri, Maria. 1989. 'Sul metodo di citazione di Giovanni Maria Barbieri', *Studi provenzali e francesi* 86/87, 171–76
- 1990. *Il canzoniere provenzale H (Vat. Lat. 3207): Struttura, contenuto e fonti* (Modena: Mucchi)
- 1991. 'Alla ricerca del libro perduto. Un doppio e il suo modello ritrovato', in *Lyrique romane médiévale: La tradition des chansonniers. Actes du Colloque de Liège, 1989*, ed. by Madeleine (Liège: Université de Liège), 329–78

- 1993. ‘Bartolomeo Casassaglia e il canzoniere provenzale *M*’, in *La filologia romanza e i codici. Atti del convegno – Messina, Università degli Studi, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia 19–22 dicembre 1991*, ed. by Saverio Guida and Fortunata Latella, 2 vols (Messina: Sicania), 743–49
- 1996. ‘Per la ricostruzione del *Libre* di Miquel de la Tor. Studio e presentazione delle fonti’, *Cultura neolatina*, 56 (1996), 251–410
- 2017. ‘Angelo Colocci e il canzoniere provenzale *N*’, in ‘*Or vos conterons d’autre matiere*’. *Studi di filologia romanza offerti a Gabriella Ronchi*, ed. by Luca di Sabatino, Luca Gatti, and Paolo Rinoldi (Rome: Viella), 87–90
- 2018. ‘Rileggendo Debenedetti (Equicola, Colocci)’, *Cultura neolatina*, 78 (2018), 163–72
- 2019. ‘Rileggendo Debenedetti (Bembo)’, *Cultura neolatina*, 79 (2019), 99–108
- Careri, Maria and Lombardi, Antonella. 1998. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. A (Vat. Lat. 5232), F (Chig. L.IV.106), L (Vat. Lat. 3206), O (Vat. Lat. 3208), H (Vat. Lat. 3207) (Intavulare. Tavole di canzonieri romanzi, I, 1)* (Modena: Mucchi)
- Ceretti, Felice. 1890. ‘Il Conte Ludovico II Pico’, *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, III (1890), I, VI, 1, 229–75
- Cherchi, Paolo. 1986. ‘Ritocchi al canone di Mario Equicola con atetesi del “Novo corteggiano”’, *Studi di filologia italiana*, 44 (1986), 209–22
- Chiappini, Luciano. 1967. *Gli estensi* (Varese: Dall’Oglio)
- Cipollone, Annalisa. 2003. ‘Appunti per una rilettura delle carte Barbieri’, in *The Early Textualization of The Romance Languages: Recent Perspectives - Atti del convegno di Oxford, 23-24 marzo 2002, Trinity College e Pembroke College*, ed. by Martin Maiden and Michelangelo Zaccarello (*Medioevo romanzo*, 27, 2 [2003]) (Rome: Salerno), 200–20
- Clough, Cecil H. 1984. ‘The Library of Bernardo and of Pietro Bembo’, *The Book Collector*, 33 (1984), 305–31
- Coletti, Vittorio. 1993. *Storia dell’italiano letterario. Dalle origini al Novecento* (Turin: Einaudi)
- Corral Diaz, Esther. 2008. ‘Las notas coloccianas en el cancionero profano de Alfonso X’, in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 387–404
- Corral Díaz, Esther and Fernández Campo, Francisco. 2000. ‘O ms. *Vat. Lat. 4796* de Angelo Colocci, a súa historia e as súas apostilas’, *Critica del testo*, III (2000), 725–52

- Crane, Thomas Frederick. 1971. *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth-Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press)
- Cremonesi, Carla. 1955. 'Problemi della lirica romanza', in *Preistoria e storia degli studi romanzi*, ed. by Antonio Viscardi (Milan-Varese: Istituto editoriale cisalpino), 222–66
- Crescini, Vincenzo. 1892. 'Jacopo Corbinelli nella storia degli Studi Romanzi', in Vincenzo Crescini, *Per gli studi romanzi* (Padua: Draghi), 179–218. *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/PerGliStudiRomanzi>> [accessed 18/04/23]
- D'Alessandro, Alessandro. 1980. 'Vincenzio Borghini e gli "Aramei". Mito e storia nel principato mediceo', in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500: Convegno internazionale di Studi tenutosi a Firenze dal 9 al 14 giugno 1980 nell'ambito della XVI Esposizione europea di Arte, Scienza e Cultura*, ed. by Giancarlo Garfagnini, 3 vols (Florence: Olschki), III, pp. 133–56
- Danzi, Massimo. 2008. 'La parte ispano-portoghese della biblioteca del Bembo', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 85–106
- De Bartholomaeis, Vincenzo. 1927. *Le carte di Giovanni Maria Barbieri nell'Archiginnasio di Bologna* (Bologna: Cappelli)
- (ed.). 1931. *Poesie provenzali storiche relative all'Italia* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato)
- Debenedetti, Santorre. 1902. 'Benedetto Varchi provenzalista', *Atti della reale accademia delle scienze di Torino*, 37 (1901–02), 114–30. *Biodiversity Library* <<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/44263>> [accessed 24/04/23]
- 1904. 'Intorno ad alcune postille di Angelo Colocci', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 28 (1904), 56–93
- 1910. 'Per le "disperse" di Francesco Petrarca', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 56 (1910), 98–106
- 1911. 'I pubblici uffici di Onorato Drago', in *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna nel quarantesimo anno del suo insegnamento* (Milan: Hoepli), 453–74
- 1911a. *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento* (Turin: Loescher). *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/glistudiprovenza00debeuoft>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- 1924. 'Notizie e documenti per la storia degli studi romanzi nei secc. XVI-XVIII', *Archivum romanicum*, 8 (1924), 425–35

- 1930. ‘Tre secoli di studi provenzali’, in *Provenza e Italia*, ed. by Vincenzo Crescini (Florence: Bemporad), 141–81
- 1932. ‘Le canzoni di Stefano Protonotaro. Parte prima. La canzone siciliana’, *Studi romanzi*, 12 (1932), 5–68
- 1986. *Studi filologici*, ed. by Cesare Segre (Milan: Angeli)
- 1995. *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento e Tre secoli di studi provenzali*, ed. by Cesare Segre (Padua: Antenore)
- Decaria, Alessio. 2020. ‘Leggere le rime di Dante a Firenze all’inizio del Cinquecento’, in *Oltre la commedia. Dante e il canone antico della lirica (1450–1600)*, ed. by Laura Banella and Franco Tomasi (Rome: Carocci), 19–40
- De Conca, Massimiliano. 2001. ‘Per una nuova edizione dell’*Arte del rimare* di G. M. Barbieri’, in *Interpretazioni dei trovatori. Atti del convegno Bologna, 18-19 ottobre 1999, con altri contributi di filologia romanza*, ed. by Andrea Fassò and Luciano Formisano (Bologna: Patron), 103–18
- De Lollis, Cesare. 1889. ‘Ricerche intorno a canzonieri provenzali di eruditi italiani del secolo XVI’, *Romania*, 18 (1889), 453–68. DOI: <<https://doi.org/10.3406/roma.1889.6065>>
- Demartini EI = Demartini, Silvia. ‘Apostrofo’, in Treccani, *Enciclopedia dell’italiano* <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/apostrofo_\(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/apostrofo_(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano)/>)[accessed 24/04/23]
- De Nolhac, Pierre. 1887. *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini : contributions à l’histoire des collections d’Italie et à l’étude de la Renaissance* (Paris: Vieweg). *Internet Archive* <<https://archive.org/details/labibliothqued00nolh>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- De Riquer, Martin. 1975. *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos* (Barcelona: Planeta)
- De Robertis, Domenico. 1966. ‘L’esperienza poetica del Quattrocento’, in *Storia della letteratura italiana III. Il Quattrocento e l’Ariosto*, ed. by Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno (Milan: Garzanti), 357–784
- D’Heur, Jean-Marie [Giammaria d’Heur]. 1964. ‘Una tavola sconosciuta del canzoniere provenzale A’, *Cultura neolatina*, 24 (1964), 56–94
- Dionisotti DBI = Dionisotti-Casalone, Carlo. 1966. ‘Bèmbo, Carlo’, in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani* <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-bembo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Egan, Margarita. 1983. ‘Commentary, “vita poetae”, and “vida”. Latin and Old Provençal “Lives of Poets”’, *Romance Philology*, 37 (1983), 36–48

- Fanti, Mario and Sighinolfi, Lino. 1982. *Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio* (Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia 101) (Florence: Olschki)
- Feriozzi, Francesco. 2023. 'La mano di Giovanni Maria Barbieri sul canzoniere provenzale c (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plutei 90 inf. 26)', *Cultura neolatina*, 83 (2023) (forthcoming)
- Ferrari, Anna. 1979. 'Formazione e struttura del canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca nazionale di Lisbona (cod. 10991: Colocci-Brancuti). Premesse codicologiche alla critica del testo (materiali e note problematiche)', *Arquivos do centro cultural português*, 14 (1979), 27–142
- Ferrero Hernández, Cándida. 2021. 'Riccoldo the Florentine's *Reprobacion del Alcoran*: A Manual for Preaching to the "Moors"', in *The Latin Qur'an 1143–1500 Translation, Transition, Interpretation*, ed. by Cándida Ferrero Hernández and John Tolan (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter), 395–424
- Ferroni, Giovanni. 2012. *Dulces lusus: lirica pastorale e libri di poesia nel Cinquecento* (Alessandria: Dell'Orso)
- Fidalgo Francisco, Elvira. 2008. 'Apuntes para una *vida* de Alfonso X en un código de Colocci (*Vat. Lat. 4817*)', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 363–85
- Firpo, Massimo. 1997. *Gli affreschi di Pontormo a San Lorenzo. Eresia, politica e cultura nella Firenze di Cosimo I* (Turin: Einaudi)
- Folena DBI = Folena, Gianfranco. 'Barbieri, Giovanni Maria', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, < https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-maria-barbieri_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 25/02/23]
- Folena, Gianfranco. 1965. 'Cultura e poesia dei Siciliani', in *Storia della letteratura italiana I. Le Origini e il Duecento*, ed. by Emilio Cecchi and Maria Serena Sapegno (Milan: Garzanti), 271–350
- 1970. 'Cultura poetica dei primi Fiorentini', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 147 (1970), 1–42
- 1976. 'Tradizione e cultura trobadorica nelle corti e nelle città venete', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, ed. by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 6 vols (Venice: Neri Pozza), I, 453–562
- Frasso, Giuseppe. 1974. 'Petrarca, Andrea da Mantova e il canzoniere provenzale N', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 17 (1974), 185–206
- 1991. 'Per Lodovico Castelvetro', *Aevum*, 65, 3 (1991), 453–78

- Fubini Leuzzi, Maria. 2007. 'Le orazioni funebri di Benedetto Varchi nella loro cornice storica, politica e letteraria', in *Benedetto Varchi 1503–1565*, ed. by Vanni Bramanti (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura), 185–230
- Gallo DBI = Gallo, Valentina, 'Trissino, Giovan Giorgio', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovan-giorgio-trissino_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovan-giorgio-trissino_(Dizionario-Biografico)>) [accessed 27/04/23]
- Gauchat, Louis, and Kehrl, Heinrich. 1891. 'Il canzoniere provenzale *H* (cod. Vaticano 3207)', *Studi di filologia romanza*, 5 (1891), 341–568
- Gaunt, Simon, and Kay, Sarah. 1999. 'Introduction', in *The Troubadours. An Introduction*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). DOI: <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620508>> [accessed 18/04/23]
- Ghirlanda, Daniele. 2007. 'Appunti su Castelvetro commentatore di Petrarca', in *Ludovico Castelvetro. Filologia e ascesi*, ed. by Roberto Gigliucci (Rome: Bulzoni), pp. 115–38
- Gilson, Simon. 2019. *Leggere Dante a Firenze. Da Boccaccio a Cristoforo Landino (1350-1481)*, ed. by Anna Pegoretti, trans. by Giulia Gaimari (Rome: Carocci)
- 2019a. 'Appunti e considerazioni sulle lezioni petrarchesche e dantesche di Benedetto Varchi presso l'Accademia degli Infiammati e l'Accademia Fiorentina', in *La cultura poetica di Benedetto Varchi*, ed. by Selene Maria Vatteroni, 6–15
- Göbbels DBI = Göbbels, Joachim, 'Doria, Percivalle', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/percivalle-doria_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/percivalle-doria_(Dizionario-Biografico)>) [accessed 18/04/23]
- Gregori, Liliana. 1988. 'Pietro del Nero tra bibliofilia e filologia', *Aevum*, 62 (1988), 316–61
- Gresti, Paolo. 2004. 'Appunti sulla traduzione italiana cinquecentesca del *Donatz proensals*', in 'Ab nou cor et ab nou talen'. *Nouvelles tendances de la recherche médiévale occitane*, ed. by Anna Ferrari and Stefania Romualdi (Rome: Mucchi), 217–27
- 2014. 'Osservazioni sul rimario del *Donat proensal* ambrosiano', in *Filologia e letteratura. Studi offerti a Carmelo Zilli*, ed. by Angelo Chielli and Leonardo Terrusi (Bari: Cacucci), 85–98
- 2016. 'Le traduzioni cinquecentesche del *Donat proensal* nella biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli', *Studi di filologia italiana* 74 (2016), 87–142
- 2016a. 'Quelques remarques sur les traductions du *Donat proensal* dans le ms. D 465 inf. de la Bibliothèque Ambrosiana de Milan', in *Les troubadours et l'Italie (Revue des langues romanes*, 120 [2016]), 205–16

- . 2019. “... la grammatica ch’a messer Ludovico è piaciuto mandare”. Notizie sulla circolazione del *Donat proensal* nel Cinquecento’, in *Tra lo stil de’ moderni e ’l sermon prisco. Studi di allievi e amici offerti a Giuseppe Frasso*, ed. by Edoardo Barbieri, Marco Giola, Daniele Piccini (Pisa: ETS), 323–36
- Grohovaz, Valentina. 1993. ‘A proposito di alcuni frammenti manoscritti di opere di Giulio Camillo Delminio e Lodovico Castelvetro’, *Aevum* 67 (1993), 519–32
- Guida, Saverio. 2005. “‘Us veilletz lombartz ... Cossezen’ (BdT 323,11: 73-78)”, *Cultura neolatina*, 65 (2005), 7–26
- Gutiérrez García, Santiago and Pérez Barcala, Gerardo. 1999. ‘Notas morfosintácticas de Angelo Colocci no cancionero provenzal *M*’, in *Cinguidos por unha arela común. Homenaxe ó profesor Xesús Alonso Montero*, ed. by María Rosario Alvarez Blanco and Dolores Vilavedra Fernández, 2 vols (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela), II, 677–97
- Jeanroy, Alfred. 1911. Review of Santorre Debenedetti, *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento*, *Annales du Midi*, 92 (1911), 508–11. *Persée* <https://www.persee.fr/doc/anami_0003-4398_1911_num_23_92_7823_t1_0508_0000_2> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Jensen, Frede, 1986. *The Syntax of Medieval Occitan* (Tübingen: Niemeyer)
- Kay, Tristan. 2015. *Dante’s Lyric Redemption: Eros, Salvation, Vernacular Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Keller, Hans-Erich. 1995. ‘Italian Troubadours’, in *A Handbook of The Troubadours*, ed. by Ronald Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press), 295–304
- Kohler, Eugène. 1934. ‘Le provençalisme de Pietro Bembo et l’élaboration des “Prose della volgar lingua”’, in *Mélanges de philologie, d’histoire et de littérature offerts à Henri Hauvette* (Paris: Les Presses françaises), pp. 235–58
- Kolsky, Stephen. 1991. *The Real Courtier* (Geneva: Droz)
- Lamur-Baudreu, Anne-Claude. 1988. ‘Aux origines du chansonnier de troubadours *M* (Paris, Bibl. nat., fr. 12474)’, *Romania*, 434–35 (1988), 183–98. *Persée* <https://www.persee.fr/doc/roma_0035-8029_1988_num_109_434_1874> [accessed 27/04/23]
- León Gomez, Magdalena. 2012. *El cançoner C* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 856) (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo)
- Lo Re, Salvatore. 2008. *Politica e cultura nella Firenze cosimiana: studi su Benedetto Varchi* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli)

- Malato DBI = Malato, Enrico. 'Benedetto da Cingoli, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-da-cingoli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-da-cingoli_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 25/02/23]
- Marazzini, Claudio. 1993. 'Le teorie', in *Storia della lingua italiana. I. I Luoghi della codificazione*, ed. by Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone (Turin: Einaudi), 231–330
- 2002. *La lingua italiana. X o storico* (Bologna: Il Mulino)
- Marchetti DBI = Marchetti, Valerio, 'Castelvetro, Ludovico', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-castelvetro_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-castelvetro_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 14/04/23]
- Marinetti, Sabina. 2016. 'Il canzoniere provenzale *L* e Venezia', *Studi romanzi*, 12 (2016), 167–186
- Matteini DBI = Matteini, Federica. 2013. *Orsini, Fulvio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani* <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fulvio-orsini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Mazzacurati, Giancarlo. 1967. *Misure del classicismo rinascimentale* (Naples: Liguori)
- Mazzatinti, Giuseppe. 1903. *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia. Volume XII* (Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale)
- Mecca, Angelo Eugenio. 2013. 'La tradizione a stampa della "Commedia": dall'aldina del Bembo (1502) all'edizione della Crusca (1595)', *Nuova rivista di letteratura italiana*, 16, 1–2 (2013), 9–59
DOI: <<https://doi.org/10.4454/nrli.v16i1-2.197>>
- Meliga, Walter. 1998. Review of Santorre Debenedetti. 1995. *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento e Tre secoli di studi provenzali*, ed. by Cesare Segre, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 175 (1998), 604
- 2001. *Bibliothèque nationale de France I (fr. 854), K (fr. 12473) (Intavulare. Tavole di canzonieri romanzi, I, 2)* (Modena: Mucchi)
- Meneghetti, Maria Luisa. 1980. 'Una *vida* pericolosa. La "mediazione" biografica e l'interpretazione della poesia di Jaufrè Rudel', in *Studi di filologia romanza e italiana offerti a Gianfranco Folena dagli allievi padovani*, ed. by Francesco Zambon (*Cultura Neolatina* 40 [1980]), 145–63
- 1984. *Il pubblico dei trovatori: ricezione e riuso dei testi lirici cortesi fino al XIV secolo* (Modena: Mucchi)

- 1985. 'Dialogo, intertestualità e semantica poetica. Un esempio: Mario Equicola e la lirica provenzale', in *Il dialogo: Scambi e passaggi della parola*, ed. by Giulio Ferroni (Palermo: Sellerio), 98
- 2001. 'Bembo, Equicola e i trovatori', in *Prose della volgar lingua di Pietro Bembo. Gargnano del Garda (4-7 ottobre 2000)*, ed. by Silvia Morgana, Mario Piotti, and Massimo Prada (Milan: Cisalpino), 23–36
- Mengaldo, Pier Vincenzo. 1960. 'Appunti su Vincenzo Calmeta e la teoria cortigiana', *La rassegna della letteratura italiana*, 64 (1960), 446–69
- Menichetti, Caterina. 2015. *Il canzoniere provenzale E (Paris, BNF, fr. 1749)* (Strasbourg: ELiPhi)
- Merlino, Camillo Pascal. 1929. *The French Studies of Mario Equicola (1470–1525)* (Berkeley: University of California Press)
- Migliorini, Bruno. 1994. *Storia della lingua italiana*, ed. by Ghino Ghinassi (Milan: Bompiani)
- Morgana, Silvia. 1994. 'L'influsso francese', in *Storia della lingua italiana. III. Le altre lingue*, ed. by Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone (Turin: Einaudi), 671–719
- Mostra di codici romanzi delle biblioteche fiorentine*. 1957. (Florence: Sansoni)
- Motolese, Matteo. 2000. 'L'esemplare delle *Prose della volgar lingua* appartenuto a Lodovico Castelvetro', in '*Prose della volgar lingua*' di Pietro Bembo – *Gargnano del Garda (4-7 ottobre 2000)*, ed. by Silvia Morgana, Mario Piotti, and Massimo Prada (Milan: Cisalpino) 509–52
- 2007. 'Il codice α.S. 5. 1. della biblioteca Estense di Modena tra diacronia e sincronia. Alcuni appunti', in *Ludovico Castelvetro. Filologia e ascesi*, ed. by Roberto Gigliucci (Rome: Bulzoni), pp. 35–55
- Muratori, Ludovico Antonio. 1727. 'Vita di Lodovico Castelvetro', in *Opere varie critiche di Lodovico Castelvetro gentiluomo modenese non più stampate*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Bern: Foppens), pp.1–78
- Mussafia, Adolf. 1867. *Del codice estense di rime provenzali* (Vienna: Gerold)
- 1874. *Über die provenzalischen Lieder-Handschriften des Giovanni Maria Barbieri* (Vienna: Holzhausen). *Internet Archive* <https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_tOYFAAAAQAAJ> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Neri, Ferdinando. 1951. *Letteratura e leggende* (Turin: Chiantore)
- Oliva, Carlo. 1978. 'Introduzione', in *Poesia Italiana del Quattrocento*, ed. by Carlo Oliva (Milan: Garzanti), vii–xxvii

- Pakscher, Arthur. 1886. 'Aus einem Katalog des Fulvius Ursinus', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 10 (1886), 205–45
- Paterson, Linda. 1993. *The World of The Troubadours. Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Patota, Giuseppe. 1993. 'I percorsi grammaticali', in *Storia della lingua italiana. I. I Luoghi della codificazione*, ed. by Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone (Turin: Einaudi), 93–138
- . 2016. 'Il vero titolo delle *Prose* di Bembo', *Lingua e stile*, 51, 2 (2016), 195–211
- Patrizi DBI = Patrizi, Giorgio, 'Domenico di Giovanni, detto il Burchiello', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-di-giovanni-detto-il-burchiello_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 14/04/23]
- Pelaez, Mario. 1899. 'Il canzoniere provenzale c (Laurenziano Pl. 90 Inf. 26)', *Studi di filologia romanza* VII (1899), 244–401
- Pérez Barcala, Gerardo. 2000. 'Aspectos fonéticos y léxicos de las anotaciones de Angelo Colocci en el libro di *poeti limosini*', *Critica del testo*, 3 (2000), 947–80
- . 2008. 'Angelo Colocci y la rima románica: aspectos estructurales (análisis de algunas apostillas coloccianas)', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 315–61
- . 2011. 'Angelo Colocci y la lírica provenzal a través de Dante y Petrarca en el cancionero *M*', *Medioevo romanzo*, 35 (2011), 115–33
- . 2011a. 'Las notas de *collatio* en el cancionero *M* y los *libri provincialium* de Angelo Colocci', *Revista de literatura medieval*, 23 (2011), 215–36
- Perugi, Maurizio. 1978. 'Arnaut Daniel in Dante', *Studi danteschi*, 51 (1978), 59–152
- Petteruti Pellegrino, Pietro. 2007. 'Il "re della lingua". Polemica ed esegesi nel *Parere* di Castelvetro sul sonetto di Bembo a Varchi', in *Ludovico Castelvetro. Filologia e ascesi*, ed. by Roberto Gigliucci (Rome: Bulzoni), 139–224
- Pfeffer, Wendy. 1985. *The Change of Philomel. The Nightingale in Medieval Literature* (Frankfurt: Lang)
- Pfister, Max. 2002. 'L'area galloromanza', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo II.2: Il medioevo volgare. La circolazione del testo*, ed. by Piero Boitani, Mario Mancini, and Alberto Varvaro (Rome: Salerno), 13–96

- Picone, Michelangelo. 1979. 'I trovatori di Dante: Bertran de Born', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 19 (1979), 171–94
- Pillet, Alfred. 1898–99. 'Die altprovenzalische Liederhandschrift N2', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 101 (1898), 111–40, 365–89, and 102 (1899), 179–212
- Pirotti, Umberto. 1971. *Benedetto Varchi e la cultura del suo tempo* (Florence: Olschki)
- Ploncher, Attilio. 1879. *Della vita e delle opere di Lodovico Castelvetro* (Conegliano: Cagnani). *Google Books* <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=-qf9JiyUodIC>> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Poe, Elizabeth W. 2000. *Compilatio. Lyric Texts and Prose Commentaries in Troubadour Manuscript H (Vat. Lat. 3207)* (Lexington: French Forum)
- 2005. 'A Re-Evaluation of Troubadour Manuscript N2', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 83, 3 (2005), 819–28. DOI: <<https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.2005.4944>>
- Pulsoni, Carlo. 1992. 'Luigi da Porto e Pietro Bembo: dal canzoniere provenzale *E* all'antologia trobadorica bembiana', *Cultura neolatina*, 52 (1992), 323–51
- 1993. 'Pietro Bembo e la tradizione della canzone *Drez et razo es qu'ieu ciant e.m demori*', *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 11 (1993), 283–304
- 1994. 'I Badoer, Pietro Bembo e il ms. provenzale *O*', *Cultura neolatina*, 54 (1994), 185–88
- 1997. 'Per la fortuna del *De Vulgari Eloquentia* nel primo Cinquecento: Bembo e Barbieri', *Aevum*, 71 (1997), 631–50
- 1998. *La tecnica compositiva nei 'Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta'*. *Riuso metrico e lettura autoriale* (Rome: Bagatto)
- 2000. 'Bembo e la letteratura provenzale', in *Prose della volgar lingua di Pietro Bembo. Gargnano del Garda (4-7 ottobre 2000)*, ed. by Silvia Morgana, Mario Piotti, and Massimo Prada (Milan: Cisalpino), 24–54
- 2008. 'Il *De Vulgari Eloquentia* tra Colocci e Bembo', in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 449–72
- 2010. 'Castelvetro e la lirica provenzale', *La parola del testo*, 14 (2010), 127–44
- 2019. 'L'attenzione all'influsso provenzale in un postillato sconosciuto delle *Prose della volgar lingua* di Bembo', *Medioevo europeo*, 3, 1 (2019), 73–88
- Quattrucci DBI = Quattrucci, Mario. 'Anselmi, Antonio', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-anselmi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-anselmi_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 14/04/23]

- Quondam, Amedeo. 2000. *‘Questo povero Cortegiano’*. *Castiglione, il Libro, la Storia* (Rome: Bulzoni)
- Raimondi, Ezio. 1965. *Rinascimento inquieto* (Palermo: Manfredi)
- Rajna, Pio. 1901. ‘La lingua cortigiana’, in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli* (Turin: Loescher), 295–314
- . 1908. ‘L’“Attila” di Nicolò da Càsola, sulle orme di una pubblicazione recente e con riguardo a un’altra’, *Romania* 37 (1908), 80–110. *Persée* <https://www.persee.fr/doc/roma_0035-8029_1908_num_37_145_4998> [accessed 27/04/23]
- Resconi, Stefano. 2014. ‘La lirica trobadorica nella Toscana del Duecento. Canali e forme della diffusione’, *Carte romanze*, 2 (2014), 269–300
- Rhodes, Dennis E. 1957. ‘Notes on the “Chronica di Mantua” of Mario Equicola’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1957, 137–41
- Richardson, Brian. 1994. *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy. The Editor and The Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: University Press)
- Rieger, Angelica. 1994. ‘La réception des troubadours au seuil du XV^e siècle : Le chant occitan de la Léandrèide’, *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 21 (1994), 209–77
- Roddewig, Marcella. 1979. ‘Die Commedia-Handschrift Est. 747 aus Reggio Emilia vom Jahr 1414 eine Kopie des Codex Poggiali, die dessen fehlende Seiten enthält’, *L’Alighieri*, 20 (1979), 9–28
- Roncaccia, Alberto. 2006 *Il metodo critico di Ludovico Castelvetro* (Rome: Bulzoni)
- Roncaglia, Aurelio. 2010. *La lingua dei trovatori* (Rome: Serra)
- Rosenstein, Roy S. 2006. ‘Miquel de la Tor’s songbook in sixteenth-century France: from Barbieri’s MSS via Corbinelli to Nicot’s “Thresor”’, in *Contez me tout’: mélanges de langue et littérature médiévales offerts à Herman Braet*, ed. by Catherine Bel, Pascale Dumont, and Frank Willaert (Louvain: Peeters), 925–43
- Rossi, Antonio. 2008. ‘Il Serafino di Angelo Colocci’, in *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, ed. by Corrado Bologna and Marco Bernardi (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), 473–85
- Rossignoli, Claudia. 2013. ‘“L’ufficio dello ’nterprete”’: Castelvetro Translator of Melanchton’, *Italian Studies* 3 (2013), 317–39
- Sanga, Glauco. ‘Accanimento filologico. Ancora sulla rima e sulla lingua della poesia italiana delle Origini’, *The Early Textualization of The Romance Languages: Recent Perspectives – Atti del*

- convegno di Oxford, 23–24 marzo 2002, Trinity College e Pembroke College, ed. by Martin Maiden and Michelangelo Zaccarello (*Medioevo romanzo*, 27, 2 [2003]) (Rome: Salerno), 221–42
- Santagata, Marco. 1990. *Per moderne carte. La biblioteca volgare di Petrarca* (Bologna: Mulino)
- Scapecchi, Piero. 2007. ‘Ricerche sulla biblioteca di Varchi con una lista di volumi da lui posseduti’, in *Benedetto Varchi 1503–1565*, ed. by Vanni Bramanti (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura), 309–18
- Schizzerotto, Giancarlo. 1977. *Cultura e vita civile a Mantova fra '300 e '500* (Florence: Olschki)
- Scudieri Ruggieri, Jole. 1972. ‘Le traduzioni di Angelo Colocci dal castigliano e dal catalano’, in *Atti del convegno su Angelo Colocci. Jesi 13-14 settembre 1969, Palazzo della Signoria* (Jesi: Amministrazione comunale), 177–96
- Siekiera EI = Siekiera, Anna M. ‘Varchi, Benedetto’, in Treccani, *Enciclopedia dell'italiano* <
- Stussi, Alfredo. 1999. ‘Versi in volgare tra la fine del secolo XII e l’inizio del XIII’, *Cultura neolatina* 59 (1999), 169
- Trovato, Paolo. 1986. Review of *Trattati sull'ortografia del volgare 1524-1526*, ed. by Brian Richardson; and Trissino, Giovanni Giorgio, *Scritti linguistici*, ed. by Alberto Castelvechi, in *Rivista di letteratura italiana* 4 (1986), 413–30
- 1991. *Con ogni diligenza corretto. La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470–1570)* (Bologna: Il Mulino)
- 1999. ‘Il frammento di Chicago e altre schede su Lodovico Castelvetro e Petrarca’, in *Vetustatis indagator. Scritti offerti a Filippo de Benedetto*, ed. by Vincenzo Fera and Augusto Guida (Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici), 253–76
- Ubal dini, Federico. 1969. *Vita di mons. Angelo Colocci*, ed. by Vittorio Fanelli (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

Viel, Riccardo. 2021. 'La lirica tra Provenza e Toscana. Contatti di culture e tradizioni manoscritte nel XIII e XIV secolo', in *Toscana bilingue (1260 ca.-1430 ca.). Per una storia sociale del tradurre medievale*, ed. by Sara Bischetti, Michele Lodone, Cristiano Lorenzi, and Antonio Montefusco (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter), 47–58

Vigilante DBI = Vigilante, Magda, 'Ciminelli, Serafino', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/serafino-ciminelli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/serafino-ciminelli_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [accessed 25/02/23]

Vincenti, Eleonora. 1961. *Bibliografia antica dei trovatori* (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi)

Viscardi, Antonio. 1961. 'Vincenzo Crescini', *Belfagor* 16, 2 (1961), 175–94

Vitale, Maurizio. 1955. 'Sommaro elementare di una storia degli studi linguistici romanzi', in *Preistoria e storia degli studi romanzi*, ed. by Antonio Viscardi (Milan-Varese: Istituto editoriale cisalpino), 5–165

——— 1978. *La questione della lingua* (Palermo: Palumbo)

Zufferey, François. 1987. *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux* (Paris: Droz)

Dictionaries, encyclopedias, repertoires, databases

ALI = *Autografi dei letterati italiani*, dir. by Matteo Motolese, Paolo Procaccioli, and Emilio Russo. <<http://www.autografi.net>> [accessed 18/04/23]

Autografi dei letterati italiani. Il Cinquecento, vol. 1, 2009, ed. by Matteo Motolese, Paolo Procaccioli, and Emilio Russo (Rome: Salerno)

BEdT = Università degli Studi di Roma 'Sapienza', *Bibliografia Elettronica dei Trovatori*, dir. by Stefano Asperti. <http://www.bedt.it/BEdT_04_25/index.aspx> [accessed 27/04/23]

Biblioteca Italiana = Università degli Studi di Roma 'Sapienza', *Biblioteca Italiana*, dir. by Amedeo Quondam. <<http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/>> [accessed 25/02/23]

Briquet Online = Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften and Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris, *Briquet Online*. <<https://briquet-online.at/>> [accessed 18/04/23]

CAO = *Corpus dell'antico occitano*, dir. by Maria Careri. <<http://www.rialto.unina.it/Cao/>> [accessed 14/04/23]

Champion = Champion Électronique, *Corpus de la littérature médiévale*, dir. by Claude Blum

COM = Brepols, *The Concordance of Medieval Occitan*, dir. by Peter Ricketts

Dartmouth Dante Project = Dartmouth College, *Dartmouth Dante Project*, dir. by Robert Hollander, Stephen Campbell, and Simone Marchesi. <<https://dante.dartmouth.edu>> [accessed 25/02/23]

DBI = Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, dir. by Fortunato Pintor, Arsenio Frugoni et al. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/elenco-opere/Dizionario_Biografico> [accessed 18/04/23]

ED = Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, dir. by Umberto Bosco. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/elenco-opere/Enciclopedia_Dantesca> [accessed 18/04/23]

Edit16 = Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico, *Edizioni Italiane del XVI Secolo*. <<https://edit16.iccu.sbn.it>> [accessed 18/04/23]

EI = Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, *Enciclopedia dell'italiano*. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/elenco-opere/Enciclopedia_dell%27Italiano> [accessed 18/04/23]

Gattoweb = Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, *Gattoweb*, dir. by Elena Artale, Diego Dotto and Pär Larsson. <<http://gattoweb.ovi.cnr.it>> [accessed 27/04/23]

GDLI = *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*. 1961–2009. Ed. by Salvatore Battaglia and Giorgio Barberi-Squarotti (Turin: Utet)

IdT = Università di Napoli Federico II, Università degli studi di Roma 'Sapienza', *L'Italia dei trovatori*, dir. by Paolo di Luca and Marco Grimaldi. <<http://www.idt.unina.it/>> [accessed 18/04/23]

LexiconSE = University of Antwerp, *LexiconSE (A Lexicon for Scholarly Editing)*, dir. by Wout Dillen. <<https://lexiconse.uantwerpen.be/>> [accessed 27/04/23]

OPAC SBN = Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico, *Catalogo del servizio bibliotecario nazionale*. <<https://opac.sbn.it/>> [accessed 27/03/23]

PERI = University of Oxford, *Petrarch Exegesis in Renaissance Italy*, dir. by Simon Gilson and Federica Pich. <<https://petrarch.mml.ox.ac.uk/>> [accessed 25/04/23]

Princeton University, *The Princeton Dante Project*, dir. by Robert Hollander. <<https://dante.princeton.edu>> [accessed 27/04/23]

RDCI = Università degli studi di Padova, *Repertorio digitale della canzone italiana*, dir. by Sara Moccia. <<https://www.rdc.i.it/>> [accessed 25/02/23]

RIALFrI = Università degli studi di Padova, *RIALFrI. Repertorio Informatizzato Antica Letteratura Franco-Italiana*, dir. by F. Gambino. <<https://www.rialfri.eu>> [accessed 25/02/23]

Rialto = Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II', *Rialto. Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura trobadorica e occitana*, dir. by Costanzo di Girolamo et al. <<http://www.rialto.unina.it/>> [accessed 27/04/23]

TLIO = Opera del Vocabolario Italiano, *Tesoro della lingua italiana delle origini*, dir. by Paolo Squillacioti. <<http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/>> [accessed 18/04/23]