

THE ORIGIN AND ROLE OF SOSPIRO IN THE POETRY OF GUIDO CAVALCANTI

by

ROMMANY JENKINS

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Department of Modern Languages
School of Languages, Cultures, Art History and Music
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the keyword *sospiro* ('sigh') in the poetry of Guido Cavalcanti. It reads this word in relation to the lyric poetry of Occitania and Italy, and medical literature related to lovesickness. It approaches Cavalcanti's work in this way in order to avoid the distortion of a Dantean lens, as part of a trend since the anniversary of his death in 2000 towards considering Cavalcanti's work on its own terms.

Inspired by Raymond Williams' *Keywords*, this thesis looks beyond the familiar presence of *sospiro* in lyric poetry, revealing a word acting as a locus of innovative expression. It finds that while the sigh is generally regarded as a literary commonplace, it can in fact tell us much about the society and culture in which it is used. *Sospiro* is then traced in medical literature, charting its evolution as a symptom of the disease of lovesickness.

Against this backdrop, a reading of *sospiro* in Cavalcanti's poetry is given which argues for the need to listen to both the lyric and medical contexts when interpreting the role of this word. As such, this thesis offers a consideration of these two contexts in parallel, through *sospiro*, for the first time.

For Grandma and Grandad

In memory

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INTRODUCTION

Historical background and the Return to Cavalcanti

The literary history of Florence has left us with what are commonly referred to as the *tre corone* or 'three crowns' of the city; Petrarch, Boccaccio and, of course, Dante. Conspicuously absent from that list is a fourth poet whose reputation today does not match the esteem in which he was held during his lifetime; Guido Cavalcanti. Born sometime before 1260 into one of the most historically powerful magnate families in Florence, Cavalcanti was a key figure in the city's political and literary life. The information which remains about his role as a politician is scant, and all that can be said for sure is that he was a signatory of Frangipane's peace treaty between the warring Guelfs and Ghibellines in Florence in 1279 and was then part of the General Council of Florence in 1284. What is much better documented is his reputation as a haughty but able poet and philosopher. Compagni in his *Cronica* I,21 describes Cavalcanti as a 'nobile cavaliere, chiamato Guido, cortese e ardito, ma sdegnoso e solitario e intento allo studio' (1968: 48). Villani in his *De origine civitatis florentie et de eiusdem famosis civibus* later depicts Cavalcanti as a 'homo sane diligens et speculativus atque auctoritatis non contempnende philosophus' (1997: 146) but also highlights the importance of his poetic output, commenting 'secundum siquidem locum in vulgaribus odis post Dantem tenuisse perperiti artis huiuscemodi voluere' (ibid.). Cavalcanti also notably appears in Boccaccio's *Decameron* in which he is described as an excellent natural philosopher. It is particularly this second ability as philosopher which the historical record highlights, and indeed Benvenuto da Imola makes reference to the two eyes of Florence as Dante and Cavalcanti, the former as poet and the latter as philosopher. Guido is known too, though, for his poetry and, as Dante's self-confessed *primo amico*, it is clear that there is not just one eminent poet writing in late thirteenth-century Florence, but two.

Might the *tre corone*, therefore, just as easily have been *quattro*?

I believe that the answer to this question is undoubtedly yes, and that Cavalcanti's poetry is therefore worthy of greater examination than it has so far received. It is this belief which has been my primary motivation for writing this thesis. In this Introduction I will trace the evolution of the relationship between Dante and Guido in order to provide necessary context for my decision to approach my thesis in the manner that I have chosen. However, the thesis as a whole is not concerned with such questions. On the contrary, its very purpose is to resist a reading of Cavalcanti through a Dantean lens, and instead to place Guido's poetry within its linguistic and cultural contexts in order to allow it to be read afresh, freed from the charges of logical error and perhaps even heresy which Dante levels at it.

I will begin by outlining the development of the relationship between Dante and Guido through the latter part of the thirteenth century. The story will begin at its end, in the much discussed and debated reference Dante makes to Cavalcanti in his greatest work, the *Commedia*;

'E io a lui: 'Da me stesso non vegno:
colui ch'attende là per qui mi mena, forse
cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno'.

(*Inf.X*, 61-63)

The exact meaning of this 'disdegno' may be much discussed, but what is clear is that Dante gives a less than glowing character reference of Guido in a work which will have a far-reaching impact on the future literary tradition. More damning still is Dante's association of Cavalcanti with heresy, through his placing of Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti (Guido's father) in the sixth circle of hell, that reserved for the heretics. It is clear that Dante is deliberately distancing himself from this poet, as well as purposefully asserting his poetical but also moral supremacy over

him. In so doing, Dante places himself in direct competition with his poetic rival, a competition which he would ultimately win. As Barolini has commented (1984: 126) 'Guido is the only love poet in the *Comedy* to be named and discussed in Hell, a negative privilege whose repercussions still affect our critical stance'. This thesis, therefore, is part of the on-going work which is attempting to redress the balance and make inroads into establishing a more objective critical position.

Dante's early relationship with Cavalcanti is quite different to the position of hostility and supremacy he ultimately adopts. In one of his first texts, the *Vita Nuova*, Dante refers to Cavalcanti as 'primo de li miei amici' (III), an epithet which will be used by Dante throughout this work. Cavalcanti also has the notable privilege of having his sonnet 'Vedeste, al mio parere, omne valore' be the only piece of vernacular poetry to be directly cited in the *Vita Nuova*, thereby putting him on a par with the Latin citations which Dante makes in XXV. Dante also deliberately aligns himself with, rather than against, his Florentine contemporary in XXV when he states that 'questo mio primo amico e io ne sapemo bene di quelli che così rimano stoltamente'. Guido still appears to have a place alongside Dante during the writing of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, since in Book II, vi Dante presents a catalogue of the key poets in his literary Canon, of which Cavalcanti is one. However, even here there are indications of Dante's assertion of his elevated position, since the list culminates with Dante himself and represents what Barolini refers to as 'an ideal ranking that begins to approximate the type of subjective judgement found in the *Comedy*' (1984: 93). Dante is moving towards his great work, the *Commedia*, in which he will prove definitively and for all time his poetic mastery.

The question therefore arises of why this shift in relationship took place. The answer lies both in poetry and in politics. Dante and Guido both find themselves on the side of the white Guelfs, but Cavalcanti's altercations with those of the opposing faction mean that he falls

into disrepute and indeed it is Dante who, in the end, is one of the Florentine politicians who sign the exile of Cavalcanti from Florence, presumably hoping to ease the tensions within the city. However, there is also, and perhaps more importantly, a change in the nature of Dante's poetry. By the time of the *Commedia*, Cavalcanti's poetry is diametrically opposed to Dante's. Where Dante writes about the divine, Guido focuses on the corporeal, where Dante uses love as a route to greater understanding, Guido's understanding is constantly impeded by it and where Dante is of the beyond, Guido is of the here and now. Two such different positions, it would appear, could only lead to one outcome; the emergence of one and the abandonment of the other. As victor, therefore, Dante is written into history and Cavalcanti is written out. However, starting with *Vita Nuova* or with *Donna me prega* (depending on which interpretation is accepted; see Section One) Dante and Guido vied for position until the older poet's death in 1300, and it is clear from Cavalcanti's prominence in the early commentaries that Dante was not entirely successful in erasing his rival's name from the record in the remaining years before his own death.

It is not only Dante, however, who levels criticism at Cavalcanti's poetry in Duecento Florence. Cavalcanti performs what Rea (2007: 12) refers to as a 'rinnovamento della lirica tradizionale', a renewal which did not go 'inosservata presso quei poeti a cui quella lirica sembrava ancora ben viva e operante' (ibid.). Cavalcanti is clearly attempting to do something innovative with the lyric tradition, and this move could not but ruffle feathers amongst a body of poets working in that same tradition, who would surely have felt criticised by what they likely considered something of a maverick poet who was attempting to move in a different direction to them. The catch-all categorisation of *stilnovisti*, while it may be a useful shorthand which necessarily persists today, only helps to mask this clear divergence. Cino da Pistoia's irritation with Cavalcanti is evident in 'Qua' son le cose vostre ch'io vi tolgo', a response to a

now lost Cavalcantian sonnet, and this hostility is further evidenced in the exchange between Cino and Onesto da Bologna. Bonagiunta, who might be regarded as a bridge between the Sicilian poets and the *stilnovisti*, is in fact hostile to this new style of poetry in his sonnet to Guinizzelli 'Voi, ch'avete mutata la maniera', regarding it as overly opaque and obscure, and Cavalcanti is involved in a similarly terse six sonnet *tenzone* with Orlandi in which the differing positions and accompanying hostility felt by the two poets emerge. However, it remains Dante with his far-reaching impact and broad criticism who ultimately secures Cavalcanti's fall from favour.

This historical interconnection has persisted through the intervening seven hundred years, and so what comes down through the critical tradition is a reading of Cavalcanti in relation to Dante. Questions such as Dante's use of Cavalcantian language in the *Commedia*, the chronological appearance of *Vita Nuova* and *Donna me prega* and their linguistic interdependence, as well as the meaning of Cavalcanti's *disdegno* are just some of the issues which have long preoccupied Dante scholars and which continue to provoke debate today. What has happened much less, and what I have therefore been inspired to offer in the course of this thesis, is a reading of Cavalcanti on his own terms. *Donna me prega* has attracted attention for many years, but it is really only since the anniversary of Cavalcanti's death in 2000 that a number of works dedicated to the poet's wider *opus*, entirely independent of Dante, have emerged. This thesis is therefore envisaged as a further contribution to the necessary and long overdue re-evaluation of Cavalcanti's work which is currently taking place.

In 2000 interest in the Cavalcanti's poetry was reignited and three conferences were organised exclusively dedicated to his work. The edited proceedings of each of these conferences claimed to offer readings of the poetry which were not Dante-centric. *Critica del testo* released in 2001 a thematic edition of the journal, *Alle origini dell'io lirico. Cavalcanti o*

dell'interiorità which collected the papers from the Rome conference. In the opening paper of the conference, Antonelli (2001^a: 2-3), dealing with Cavalcanti's interiority and connecting this to the poet's literary profile makes the point that 'è questa qualità indiscussa del nostro poeta, il suo indubbio primato europeo, anche per / noi, e dunque non è inutile riaffermarlo e ri-spiegarlo se l'anniverario cavalcantiano è trascorso tacitamente in Italia...rispetto alle orge commemorative...cui siamo abituati'. Clear, therefore, is the difference between the importance of Cavalcanti's work and the attention paid to him. In 2003 came *Guido Cavalcanti tra i suoi lettori*, which collected papers from the New York conference, followed a year later by *Guido Cavalcanti laico e le origini della poesia europea* generated from the Barcelona conference in 2001 and focusing in a broad sense on philosophy and science. However, while the papers which emerged from these conferences were clearly valuable contributions to the critical debate, the magnetic draw of the *sommo poeta* meant that they did not quite meet their chosen objective of setting in motion a determined movement to extract Cavalcanti from Dante. Indeed, Rea in 2007 noted that 'ancora numerosi, in particolare nei convegni di Barcellona e New York, sono stati comunque gli interventi vincolati alla contiguità, ineludibile, certo, ma non di rado ingombrante e talvolta fuorviante, con le sue adesioni e i suoi rifiuti, dell'esperienza dantesca' (11, note 4). The move towards reading Cavalcanti in his own light, then, is still in its early stages.

Post 2000, the rerelease of the De Robertis critical edition of Cavalcanti's *Rime* in 2012 and the emergence of a remarkable three new translations of the poet's work in English (West, 2009; Mortimer, 2010; Slavitt, 2012) are clear signals of renewed interest. Around the turn of the millennium a flurry of monographs also emerged, again with a strong Dantean slant. Amongst these is Gessani's (2005) *Dante, Guido Cavalcanti e l'“amoroso regno”*. This work focuses specifically on tracing the relationship between Dante and Guido and argues that a rift

can be seen between the two even as early as the composition of *Guido, I' vorrei* and, more importantly, Cavalcanti's response, *S'io fosse quelli che d'amor fu degno*. Gessani argues that at this stage, Dante subscribes to the desire to 'aderire perfettamente...all'atmosfera di amicizia "gentile" proprio del Dolce Stil Novo: amicizia fondata su una comunanza di ideali e atteggiamenti" (24). As a result of this communality of purpose, suggests Gessani, in Cavalcanti's response one might expect to find an effusive reception in a similar vein, given that the sacred which will become the hallmark of Dante's later poetry is not yet a defining characteristic. However, Gessani argues, Guido's response 'suona secca, negativa e piuttosto dura nel tono' (26). He then goes on to elaborate a development in the divergence of the two poets until, arriving at the *Vita Nuova* he points to a subtle criticism by Dante of Cavalcanti behind the purported *amicizia* between them. Within this argument he discusses the chronology of *Donna me prega* and *Vita Nuova*, which I consider in the first section of this thesis. Gessani's argument is compelling and, were the schisms in the two poet's directions beginning to emerge even at the very earliest stages in Dante's poetic production, the question of the chronology of Cavalcanti's *canzone* and Dante's *libello* becomes an even more intriguing issue.

In 2009 Gorni's *Guido Cavalcanti. Dante e il suo "primo amico"* appeared, a collection of Gorni's essays on Dante published over the previous decade or so. The work focuses on some technical aspects of Cavalcanti's work, including his metrical choices and the ordering of his poems in the current critical editions, in essays aiming to work in dialogue with and augment existing scholarship. There is also a previously unpublished article focusing on *Se non ti caggia la tua santalena* in which Gorni identifies a parodying tone and attempts to establish the meaning of 'santalena', disagreeing with both Contini and De Robertis that 'santalena' means pendant or lucky charm. Instead, he argues that 'santalena' is invested money, or capital. However, the remaining articles are mostly dedicated to issues regarding Dante (specifically

questions arising from Beatrice and the Donna Gentile in the *Vita Nuova*, the question of Manetto and an investigation of Circe in *Inferno XXVI*). He also looks at Boccaccio's depiction of Cavalcanti.

Also to have emerged recently is *Dante, Guido e Francesca* (2008). In this work, Sasso looks at the relationship between Dante and Guido through the lens of Francesca da Rimini, arguing that Dante develops *Inferno V* as a response to the position taken on love by Cavalcanti in *Donna me prega*. His work develops ideas explored in Barolini's 1998 article which argues that 'what Guido says about love, Dante says about lust' (42), outlining the similarity of expression used in *Donna me prega* and *Inferno V* but with very different purposes – Cavalcanti to explore the nature of all love and Dante to explore lust specifically. Sasso suggests that in Francesca can be seen a Cavalcantian conception of love, which thereby allows Dante to refute the position taken in *Donna me prega* and condemn Francesca to her windswept fate. Sasso provides a close reading of *Donna me prega*, without taking a position on the questions of its chronological appearance in relation to *Vita Nuova*, in order to outline Cavalcanti's philosophical position. However, the main purpose of the work is to throw new light on Dante, rather than to further the discussion on Cavalcanti.

From this brief overview, it is evident that scholars continue to be preoccupied by issues which foreground the relationship between Cavalcanti and Dante. While such investigations are not without merit, I have decided to take a different direction in this thesis. Rather than looking at divergences from Dante or indeed other *stilnovo* poets, I seek to provide an interpretation which examines the breadth of influences which Cavalcanti receives and interprets. As such, I will amalgamate and develop existing readings which have emerged in the last decade and which take particular aspects of the pre-history of Guido's work into consideration. These influences can be broadly divided into two principal areas; medicine and philosophy, and the

earlier lyric tradition. After an initial consideration of the chronology of *Donna me prega* and *Vita nuova*, I will side-line Cavalcanti's thorny relationship with Dante and instead offer a reading of Guido's poetry which places him back into his historical context and which explores the origins of the ideas within his work, as well as the innovations to be found within his poetry.

In order to pull together such a broad set of influences, and also to provide a clear focus and a new perspective for this reading, I have chosen one lemma as a starting point for this investigation; *sospiro* ('sigh'). *Sospiro* has been chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, it will enable this thesis to stand alongside and speak to an existing key work on the lexis used by Cavalcanti, Rea's (2008) *Cavalcanti poeta: Uno studio sul lessico lirico*. In this work, Rea surveys a broad range of key words within the lexical field of affectivity. However, he excludes terms related to the intellect, desire and the physiological manifestation of the psychic process. By focusing on *sospiro*, therefore, this thesis extends Rea's investigation by opening up part of the physiological manifestation of the psychic process for consideration. Rea's decision to exclude *sospiro* is perhaps based on the complexity and extent of the task involved. An effective analysis of such a word would be beyond the scope of a work aiming to cover a broad range of lexical items. This thesis, then, aims to take up this challenge.

To give some idea of *sospir** purely in numerical terms, *sospir** occurs twenty-six times in Cavalcanti's extant corpus, compared to forty-five occurrences of *spirit** and thirty-two occurrences of *mort**, two words generally considered 'key' in Cavalcanti's work. This is a far higher occurrence than words such as '*dogli**' (eight) or '*angosci**' (four) which have received attention from Rea. On the basis of the number of occurrences alone, therefore, *sospir** emerges as a frequently occurring, and therefore a 'key' word in the corpus sense. As the over-riding purpose of this research is to investigate Cavalcanti independently of Dante, it is therefore worthwhile to establish keywords, using the KeyWords function in WordSmith, which emerge

in Cavalcanti when compared to Dante's vernacular works. When compiling a keywords list through a comparison with the Italian language works of Dante, 32 words emerge as 'key', with *sospir* occurring in 12th position, with a keyness of 40.8, very close to *morte* at 10th with a keyness of 42.1. As *morte* is an established Cavalcantian keyword, that *sospir* appears with a near identical keyness when compared to Dante suggests that it is a statistically interesting word for consideration. See Appendices One and Two for a summary of these results.

The second reason for the choice of this word lies in its close connection with *spirit**. *Spirito* and its variants are widely used by Cavalcanti and continue to be a source of scholarly interest. During my own Masters dissertation, my investigations of *spirit** led me to the conclusion that Cavalcanti makes use of *spirito* in an externalised way, whilst *spiriti* are internalised. From here, it was clear that there was a link between this type of *spirito* and *sospir**, which is also associated with the internal workings of the lover. *Sospir** is therefore a lexical item which is both undiscussed and also closely linked with a word which is established as key in Cavalcanti's poetry. In examining *sospir**, therefore, a better understanding of the physiological process can be gained, as well as a broader understanding of the *spiriti* central to Cavalcanti's work.

This connection with some forms of *spirito* throws up an issue which needs to be recognised. In looking at this word, it is important to bear in mind other words which may be performing the same function but which do not take the same form. Anichini (2009: 105) highlights this interrelation between *sospir** and *spirit** when she notes that 'in the *Rime*, sighs and spirits are connected, their distinction constantly shifting'. However, although she notes two points of convergence (they are both generated in the heart and they are both employed as self-portraits) she does not elaborate on this aside, and indeed does not discuss the fact that the *spirit** themselves cannot be considered as a uniform group. I believe that, far from being a

secondary issue, the relationship between spirits and sighs is of fundamental importance in Cavalcanti's poetry, and I therefore give it much greater consideration than it has hitherto received. Anichini also posits what she refers to as the 'voices of the body' (66), arguing that Cavalcanti employs a pre-verbal language which makes use of 'bodily affections as verbal signs' (65). She goes on that 'these sounds are the rudimentary, grammatically incomplete *voces* uttered *sine deliberatione*, from a condition of 'being affected'; and, I claim, they constitute the theoretical grounds for the physiological language at work in the *Rime*, since they perform the special pre-abstraction functions required by Cavalcanti's love language' (75). Falling into this category is the exhalation 'deh', which can be regarded as a pre-verbal sigh. This sound will therefore also need to be included in the category of *sospir**. Beyond this, there is also the general issue that Cavalcanti creates within his work a scheme of interacting characters, and so in any case the concept of sighing can only be understood with necessary reference to a broader context.

Taking *sospir** in a broad sense, therefore, I seek to demonstrate in this thesis that, far from being an obscure and unimportant dead-end written by a man who was more philosopher than poet, Cavalcanti's poetic production in fact represents an innovative, interesting and valuable development of the earlier lyric tradition. I hope to prove that Cavalcanti's body of poetry is one which is worthy of greater consideration and which should be read alongside, rather than as secondary to, Dante. I will also consider the deliberate and consistent integration of concepts from medical literature, unprecedented in its scope, which Cavalcanti undertakes within his poetry, in order to reveal the breadth of literary innovation his poetry demonstrates. While both these areas have been at least partially dealt with in recent years, no study has yet brought these two strands together to provide a comprehensive overview of the origins of the concepts which are worked through in Cavalcanti's poetry, placing him in the broader historical

context and directing the analysis of his work away from a Dantean or even *stilnovo* perspective. What I provide in this thesis is a new perspective on this long-undervalued poet's literary output which argues that, far from being a footnote in the story of Dante, Cavalcanti's poetry helps to shape and define the lyric tradition.

Chronology, poetry and medicine

I will begin this thesis by tackling the unavoidable question of the chronological relationship between *Donna me prega* and *Vita nuova*. It may seem contrary to the stated purpose of this thesis to begin the discussion of Cavalcanti's work with a debate which is so totally concerned with the relationship between Guido and Dante. However, it is impossible to lay claim to the approach which I have taken without recognising an issue which has an immediate bearing on my critical standpoint. Furthermore, the fact that this debate has become so heated is an indication that Guido and Dante's relationship is both complex and, crucially, important. By avoiding the question altogether, I would therefore risk artificially removing Cavalcanti from his interwoven literary position. Moreover, I would ignore a current focus of debate in studies of Cavalcanti. By adding my voice to this conversation on the other hand, I take a necessary step towards extracting Cavalcanti from the Dantean framework which critical discourse rarely manages to resist. In the opening section of this thesis I will therefore consider the interest which has recently re-emerged regarding the relationship between *Donna me prega* and *Vita Nuova*. Historical attention has rested on the philosophical elements present in Cavalcanti's complex *canzone* and how these relate to the position which Dante takes in the *Vita Nuova* and elsewhere. The presence of an Averroist influence in Cavalcanti's *Donna me prega* was accepted after the publication of Bruno Nardi's highly influential 'L'Averroismo del 'primo amico' di Dante' in 1940 and the radical Aristotelian elements in this poem have continued to

be traced ever since. These investigations have been prompted by what could be read as Dante's veiled accusation of heresy. A key monograph which investigates this issue is Malato's 1997 *Dante e Guido Cavalcanti. Il dissidio per la Vita Nuova e il "disdegno" di Guido*. Published in 1997 but reprinted in 2004 with the significant addition of an afterword tracing the developments of the debate in Dante Studies in the wake of its original release, Malato's work discusses the evolution of the relationship between Cavalcanti and Dante, examining the *Vita Nuova* as a dedication to Cavalcanti by Dante which is then not returned. It argues that Dante refutes *Donna me prega* in *Purg.* XVII and XVIII, and does so in a central position within the *Commedia* and using concepts and lexis taken from Cavalcanti. It then addresses the still debated problem of whether *Vita Nuova* or *Donna me prega* was written first and outlines an argument which, through close of analysis of *Donna me prega*, posits that it follows the *Vita Nuova*. Also of this opinion are Tanturli (1993) in 'Guido Cavalcanti contro Dante', Paolazzi (1998) in *La maniera mutata. Il "dolce stil novo" tra Scrittura e "Ars Poetica"* and Pasero (1998) 'Dante e Cavalcanti. Ancora sul rapporto tra *Vita Nuova* e *Donna me prega*'.

Malato's claim runs contrary to that made by Contini (1970) 'Cavalcanti in Dante' in *Varianti e altra linguistica. Una raccolta di saggi* which discusses the *Vita Nuova* and *Donna me prega*, regarding Cavalcanti's work as being earlier than Dante's. A similar position is later taken by Durling (2002) in "'Mio figlio ov'e" (*Inf.* X, 60)', which engages with this question of chronology and the argument put forward by De Robertis and supported by Malato that the former is a response to the latter. The article begins by focusing on Cavalcante's question in *Inferno* X and examines both the ambivalence of Dante towards Guido and the metaphors associated with the expression of this ambivalence. The point of departure for this is the *Vita Nuova* and Dante's apparently contrasting declarations of friendship with but also criticism of Cavalcanti. Durling then develops the argument that, just as the circle is an important allusion

for Dante, so Dante wishes to encircle Cavalcanti and his ideas. He also touches on the start of the disagreement between Cavalcanti and Dante with reference to Fenzi (1999), who argues that even the earliest poems exchanged between the two are sarcastic in tone, identifying Cavalcanti as the first aggressor. Brugnolo (2001) is also of this opinion, as are Marti (1998) and Inglese (2000). This section will therefore discuss the arguments put forward on both sides of the debate before outlining my own arguments for an earlier dating of *Donna me prega*. The outcome of this discussion will therefore help to untangle (as far as is possible) the relationship between Cavalcanti and Dante and is as such a pressing question for a thesis which aims to understand Cavalcanti on his own terms.

Having established the position of this thesis on this question, in Section Two I consider the usage of *sospir** in the work of the Occitan poets. I provide an overview of the standard ways in which sigh is used in Troubadour lyric poetry, before focussing in detail on Gaucelm Faidit, Giraut de Borneil and Bernard de Ventadour. I categorise *sospir**, examining how and why the poets use this lexical item and with which other words it commonly occurs. While a pattern of uniformity of usage dominates, what also emerges is a strong connection between sighing and death, as well as occasional highly innovative employments of *sospiro*. This section then moves on to focus on the early Italian lyric tradition, especially the poetry of the *scuola siciliana* including Giacomo da Lentini, Guido delle Colonne and Rinaldo d'Aquino and *scuola toscana* including Guittone, Chiaro Davanzati and Bonagiunta. Guinizzelli is also given consideration. The relationship between these poets and Cavalcanti is also addressed, in order to demonstrate how Cavalcanti draws on the lyric tradition and, by contrast, where his points of innovation emerge. By focussing on troubadour poetry in particular, it has become clear that some elements of what might previously have been ascribed to Cavalcanti's innovation do in fact have precursors in Occitan poetry but that Guido is the first to regenerate these usages.

It is surprising how little critical attention Cavalcanti's relationship with the courtly poetry of the troubadours has received, given the attention it has had in Dante Studies more generally. Going some way to address this is Brugnolo (2001) 'Cavalcanti "cortese". Ancora su *Donna me prega*, vv. 57-62'. In this article, Brugnolo argues that vv. 57-62 of Cavalcanti's most important poem cannot be understood without reference to the concepts of courtly love which are ultimately rooted in the troubadours. He states that 'l'amore di cui Cavalcanti parla nella canzone è...un "accidente altero"; e altero non può che significare "alto", "elevato", "superiore", "nobile".../ scrissi allora, e lo ribadisco, che l'amore di cui parla Cavalcanti altro non è...che la *fin'amors* della secolare tradizione cortese' (159-60). He then analyses the remaining lines, finding examples such as that of the *timor amantis* inherited from the troubadours. He concludes that 'se Guido non avesse scritto l'unica pastorella della letteratura italiana...non insisterei più di tanto su questa interpretazione. Il fatto è che se Guido non avesse scritto la pastorella, non avrebbe nemmeno scritto questi versi di *Donna me prega*' (164), explaining that the *bieltà* which has set these lines in motion is only marginally related to that found in the troubadours and might be better considered part of a peculiarly Cavalcantian dialectic, analysed by Stefan Hartung (1998) in 'Stilnovismus und Pastourelle bei Cavalcanti. Konfrontation inkompatibler Liebesdiskurse vor Dante'. Brugnolo also maintains that the poem is a response to the crisis of the doctrine of *fin'amor* set in motion by Guittone which Cavalcanti sets out to reinvigorate by interpreting it through the lens of natural philosophy. It is clear, argues Brugnolo, that Cavalcanti explicitly sets out to do this from the 'struttura...volutamente iperguittoniana' (2001: 168) which the poem displays. Cavalcanti's response to and relationship with Guittone is a key element in understanding Guido's own literary agenda and so will also form an important part of Section Two.

Also part of the Rome conference, Formisano's (2001) 'Cavalcanti e la pastorella' looks

at this specific genre of the French *pastorelle*, concluding that both *Era in penser* and *In un boschetto* show influences from this genre. In *Era in penser* Formisano identifies a 'pastorella cognitiva' (250) explaining that the poet 'aveva bisogno di una storia che potesse intrecciarsi con altre storie, di un testo contenitore di altri testi, allo stesso modo che la storia e il testo della *Vita Nuova* sono la storia e i testi e delle donne dello schermo e della poesia della loda' (ibid.). Contrasted with this is *In un boschetto* which can be seen to emerge from a classic Occitan pastorella with its positive euphoric conclusion of a possible love. In this article Formisano also counters Roncaglia's (1993) claim in 'Ecci venuto Guido 'n Compostello?' that Cavalcanti may also have been influenced by the lyric of Galicia and Portugal on his infamous pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela but recognises that he was almost certainly at Toulouse and so, as De Robertis notes (1986: 111, note 3), knowledge of the pastorella could have been a literary souvenir from this visit.

Formisano also cites Picone's (1979) "*Vita Nuova*" e tradizione romanza which includes an exploration of the importance of the genre of the pastorella in Cavalcanti's poetry. He comments that 'un ruolo essenziale nella trasformazione della pastorella da genere descrittivo...a genere cognitivo...è certamente quello ricoperto da Guido Cavalcanti' (87). This supports the idea that Cavalcanti is engaged in a process of regenerating the Occitan lyric tradition. By looking at the structures within *Era in penser d'amor*, Picone argues that Guido has 'la precisa volontà di...differenziarsi rispetto ai modelli: egli aspira a creare infatti un esemplare che riponda maggiormente alla sua idea di rilevanza poetica e che sia inoltre atto a sondare più in profondità i movimenti del processo psichico' (88). It seems, then, that Cavalcanti is using this traditional genre to his own ends, marrying it with his particular exploration of the internal drama of the effects of love. The *pastorelle* has also attracted the attention of Allegretti (2000). In 'La pastorella e le foresette di Guido Cavalcanti', Allegretti explores the hallmarks of

this genre to be found in *Era in penser d'amor* drawing parallels both with the genre in *d'oc* (such as Marcabru) and in *oil* and also discussing the Italian ballata before examining the ballata as pastorella in *d'oc* and *oil*. While Picone, therefore, focuses on divergences from the traditional genre, Allegretti points to some similarities with it. However, what is most clear is that Cavalcanti's connection with the troubadours has mostly been explored in the poems which might be regarded as the exception rather than the rule in his work, and so the infusion of troubadour influence which I argue can be seen far more widely in Guido's poetry has received far less attention.

Finally, Antonelli's 'Cavalcanti o dell'interiorità' explores this ever fascinating aspect of Guido's poetry; interiority. In his article, Antonelli, troubled by the reading of Cavalcanti in relation to Dante, suggests that 'occorrerebbe, dunque, studiare risolutamente Guido senza Dante...sforzarsi di leggere e guidicare Guido senza il filtro del suo grande amico, come pure, a differenza di buona parte della critica recente, autori considerevoli della letteratura moderna...hanno fatto' (2001^a: 3). Interesting, then, that figures in the literary world have attempted what the academic establishment has for some reason shied away from. Perhaps, as Antonelli hints, the labelling of Dante as 'il più grande stilnovista' (4) by Contini has contributed to this. Certain assertions become so familiar that they cease to be questioned and, it would seem, eventually become unquestionable. What Antonelli suggests as one possible strategy for changing this situation is 'leggere Guido nei confronti dei precedenti: in *cosa* si stacca? perché [sic] la sua *qualità* non è applicabile ad altri predecessori? E *come* espone e verbalizza tale sua qualità/finalità?' (4) (italics in original). By better understanding Cavalcanti's relationship with the past, we can more fully understand just what it is his own 'stil novo' consists of. Antonelli sees in Cavalcanti developments rooted in Bernard de Ventadour as well as Andrea Capellanus, *Tristan and Isolde* and of course Ovid. Of particular relevance to this thesis is Antonelli's

explanation of the terms which Cavalcanti uses. He explains that 'spariscono...intere famiglie semantiche.../ mentre l'attenzione del "nuovo" poeta dell'Io si accentra su alcune parole-chiave di nuova ed evidente tematizzazione e interrelazione' (13-14) amongst which, *sospir**. Antonelli's comments point to the innovation and regeneration which appears widely in discussions of Cavalcantian language. What Antonelli does not highlight, however, and what I will argue in this section, is that, although not to the same extent, *sospiro* does appear in interesting and innovative ways in Occitan poetry and so some of Cavalcanti's usage may have resonances going back much earlier.

A third paper from the New York conference, Kleinhenz's (2003) 'Tradition and Innovation in the Poetry of Guido Cavalcanti', describes Cavalcanti as borrowing 'from the lyric tradition and [contributing] to it; he is an imitator as well as an innovator, but his poetic voice almost always has a fresh and distinctive quality' (136). Kleinhenz identifies five different aspects in Guido's poetry, including a traditional poetry of praise in the style of Guinizzelli and the Sicilian poets, a darker tragic side which explores the torments of love which lead to death, a humorous side which imitates the goliardic poets, the intellectualism of *Donna me prega* and also the recognition of the troubadours in his *pastorelle*. Kleinhenz keeps his focus on the Italian lyric tradition however, and so does not extend his discussion beyond the recognition of *In un boschetto trova' pasturella* as speaking to the French tradition.

Aiming to address this issue, Rea's (2007) *Stilnovismo cavalcantiano e tradizione cortese* is the first monograph which devotes itself entirely to the question of the relationship with the troubadours and, more importantly, it draws on poetry from across the *Rime*, demonstrating a clear and consistent emergence of traces of this earlier lyric tradition and arguing, therefore, for an approach to Cavalcanti's relationship to Occitan poetry which moves beyond the level of genre. Rea also makes the point that it is not only Cavalcanti's relationship

with Dante but the persisting definition of the poet as first and foremost a philosopher (indeed it is worth remembering that Cavalcanti is a poet who deals with philosophy and not the other way around) that has led to a lack of critical interest in his relationship with earlier poetry. Attempting to rebut Brugnolo's assertion that the troubadours are almost non-existent as a textual presence and thereby taking the argument from the macro to the micro, Rea finds textual similarities with troubadours such as Bernard de Ventadour (worth noting that although Dante does not directly cite this poet, many textual references appear), Aimeric de Peguilhan and Gaucelm Faidit, Daude de Pradas and Guilhem de Capestany in the form of the squire as messenger (highly relevant to this discussion) as well as Sordello and Jaufre Rudel among others. Rea concludes that 'credo che tutto ciò basti a legittimare l'ipotesi che i rapporti fra Cavalcanti e la lirica trobadorica non siano limitati ai casi noti ricordati in esordio ma investano in modo tutt'altro che occasionale, diversi livelli della poesia cavalcantiana' (30). A clear start, then, at pointing to a breadth of influence from this poetic tradition.

The relationship with the Occitan tradition is further developed in Rea's (2008) *Cavalcanti poeta. Uno studio sul lessico lirico*. The work expands significantly on the investigation begun in his 2007 publication but takes a slightly different approach. Rea produces a series of key words in Cavalcanti and then provides a breakdown of their occurrences in both earlier Italian and also Occitan poetry in order to provide a lexical guide to the poetical origins of the poet's work. This follows on from work begun in his 2003 article 'Per il lessico di Guido Cavalcanti: "sbigottire"'. As a body of work which builds around key lexical sets which are continually reused and reinforced, developing in the process a largely consistent internal application and significance, Cavalcanti's work is well suited to an analysis at the level of key words. Rea's study consists of a discussion of Cavalcanti's poetry in relation to the earlier lyric tradition and an accompanying appendix of key words, each analysed in relation to the Sicilian

and Tuscan schools as well as the troubadouric tradition. The choice of these words centres around the lexical field of affectivity, including both lemmas which have already received some critical attention and also those less discussed. Rea's approach is focused on extracting Cavalcanti from his relationship with Dante, commenting on 'il rischio...di spiegare Guido in funzione di Dante o, per lo meno, attraverso il filtro delle scelte dantesche' which is a 'prospettiva del tutto legittima se lo scopo è quello di indagare la costituzione del linguaggio poetico della successiva tradizione italiana, ma che rischia di schiacciare la novità cavalcantiana in un'ideale sincronia con l'esperienza dantesca se, come nel nostro caso, si vuole invece indagare la specifica *parole* cavalcantiana rispetto alla *langue* della tradizione anteriore' (24). Here Rea indicates a risk which will be further discussed in Critical Approaches below, which is that of reading Cavalcanti as a neat precursor to Dante.

In this thesis I engage closely with Rea's work. Indeed, as I will explain in the Critical Approaches section, I conceive of this entire thesis as a much expanded version of the entries which Rea includes in his *lessico*. The importance of Rea's research lies in the way in which he reveals how Cavalcanti borrows from and reinvents the language of earlier lyric poetry. He stresses that none of the lemmas considered in his work represent a total innovation or are entirely absent from the preceding lyric tradition. Rather, Rea refers to a 'lexical regeneration' of existing terms. My viewpoint closely aligns with Rea's in that I believe Cavalcanti's usage of *sospir** is not entirely without precedent. I therefore document *sospir** in the tradition to better understand how it becomes regenerated in Cavalcanti.

Although Rea's is the first work to systematically focus on key words related to specific semantic fields, the nature of Cavalcanti's poetry is such that other articles have also examined some areas of this question. Included among these is González's 2004 article 'I 'Signa amoris' de dolor en la poesía de Cavalcanti', which focuses on *dolore* as a semantic field related to

pianto / sospiro / anima among others, presenting through its discussion a *signa amoris* of pain. This article provides a close reading of these key words, tracing their occurrences through Cavalcanti's poetry, but no attempt is made to explore earlier usages of these words beyond a general reference to the *scuola siciliana*. Instead, the author focuses on medieval lyric in general, and in particular that of Spain (such as the *Cancionero de Baena*) as well as that of Galicia and Portugal, and also mentions the 'poesia religiosa umbra' (59) of Saint Francis and Jacopone as employing the same technique as Cavalcanti in using personalisation of death. These are passing comments rather than developed arguments of parallels, and the author provides few examples. The paper also briefly looks forward to Spanish (Garcia de Resende's *Cancioneiro Geral*) and Catalan (Joan Roís de Corella and Ausiàs) poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which makes a much reduced use for example of *sospir**. González's argument is that this particular *signa amoris* is a distinctly medieval phenomenon, and that Cavalcanti's employment of it is masterful.

The final section of this thesis will be dedicated to an exploration of the influence of medical literature on Cavalcanti's poetry. The question of Cavalcanti's relationship with the medical tradition is one which has begun to gain critical attention over the last decade and, as a result of the work dedicated to the corporeality of Cavalcanti's poetry, more progress has been made in understanding this influence than in understanding Cavalcanti's relationship with the troubadours. I will therefore end this thesis by exploring medical discussions of lovesickness and attempting to establish how far Cavalcanti draws on this literature in his depiction of the internal world of the lover, with specific reference to the process of respiration and how it is impacted by the disease. Connected to this will be Cavalcanti's elaboration of his system of spirits which regulate the body and are affected by the imbalance which love provokes. The discussion will focus both on Cavalcanti's description of the physiology of love and

lovesickness and also how he represents certain phenomena associated with it. The development of the role that the sigh has within the medical literature will be traced and then this medical knowledge will be mapped onto his poetry. While it cannot be definitively proven that Cavalcanti deliberately refers to the medical tradition and that his elaboration of the suffering caused by love draws on medical discussions of lovesickness, from the evidence offered in this section, it is highly likely that Cavalcanti is moving beyond the strictly literary commonplace of a general and unspecific unhappiness. Rather, the *topos* of the pained lover which Cavalcanti inherits from the lyric tradition is elaborated and developed through the application of a specific set of processes taken from medical literature.

Of key importance to this part of the discussion are works dedicated to spirits in medieval medicine. These include Bono's (1984) 'Medical Spirits and the Language of Life'. As he explains, in the wake of Galen, philosophical and medical debate over the concept of the spirit developed. He states '*spiritus* became not just another material component of the body, structured and useful only for certain biological tasks. Spirits are not simply, like blood, one of the tools through which the animate body functions and regulates itself. Rather, *spiritus* has become a *medium*' (128-9). Struggling with the spirit as an agent of the soul, and the necessary implication of the disunity between soul and body that this implies, commentators variously stretch and manipulate the term so that, by the late Middle Ages, it bridges both the biological and theological contexts to which it has been applied. Bono (129) underlines this point when he notes that 'it was the matrix of potential constraints that shaped medieval spirit-theory'. This tension between the spirit as a biological and also theological concept is present in Cavalcanti's poetry, and so by studying *spiritus* in relation to *sospiro*, I attempt to further explore this issue.

A number of articles have emerged from this engagement by Cavalcanti with medical ideas. Born from the Barcelona conference, Arqués' (2004) 'La doppia morte di Guido

Cavalcanti. Il dualismo poetico tra pneumatologia e arabismo' begins with an outlining of the trajectory, via Giacomo da Lentini, of the exploration in lyric poetry of the interiority of the wounded lover, up to Cavalcanti, who describes 'analiticamente il processo in un racconto eziologico della fine della persona che abbonda di particolari circa il percorso letale del/la malattia, come qualcosa di perfettamente visibile e verificabile' (182/183). Arqués divides the object into the *auctor* who speaks of what is happening and the *agens* to whom the actions happen. The *auctor* consists of the theory underpinning the action, making the lexical choices and setting the scene and thereby bringing into the lyric medical and philosophical knowledge. The *agens* on the other hand, is the representation ('figura', 183) of these theoretical choices. In this *agens* Arqués sees a dualistic vision of the world with a division between the biological world and the intellect. He identifies the real innovation in Cavalcanti's work as lying in the 'Soggetto o Io situato, come i re cinesi di *Kagemusha*, su una sommità dalla quale può scorgere e descrivere con esattezza la visione della battaglia *intestina*' (186), looking inside himself and then making this process externally visible through a description of spirit theory in action. Arqués then marries this with Cavalcanti's position on the immortality of the soul and the separate intellect to develop the idea of a stylistic dualism between the philosophical and logical voice of the *auctor* and the dramatic and anguished voice of the *agens*.

In 2001, out of the Rome conference, came one article which touched upon the issue of Cavalcanti's engagement with medical literature. Auciello's '*Spiriti e fiammette: dalla metonimia alla metafora*' argues for a move away from investigations into Cavalcanti's engagement with philosophy in terms of the school to which he subscribed, but instead 'più prudente...sarà almeno rilevare i rapporti di Cavalcanti con la tradizione della pneumatologia medievale, che fornisce alla sua opera un modello psico-fisiologico scientificamente fondato' (92). Auciello then sets out to explore the ways in which the actors within Cavalcanti's poetry

find a point of reference in the principles of the circulation of spirits within the body which allows for an exploration of the relationships between the various psychic faculties at a biological level. Auciello sees in Cavalcanti metonymy, which he argues is transformed into metaphor in Boccaccio's more Cavalcantian works. Finally, from the New York conference emerged Ciavolella's (2003) 'L'amore e la medicina medievale'. This article outlines the development of medieval thought around the idea of *amor hereos* which is the affliction which besets those whose amorous passions become overwhelming, otherwise known as lovesickness. He traces the development of this idea in Italy with reference to Arnaldo da Villanova whose ideas are influential in Bologna and Salerno, as well as those of Bernard de Gordon. He also refers to Dino del Garbo's gloss of *Donna me prega*, interesting for the author's background as a doctor. Ciavolella comments that this gloss is influenced by the Aristotelian-Galenic tradition in which Arnaldo da Villanova and Bernard de Gordon are writing, and that both the gloss and to some extent the poem itself will remain at the centre of the debate on the nature of love for generations to come. This article is, therefore, an extremely useful summary of the key aspects of the development of the medical understanding of lovesickness around the time that Cavalcanti is writing.

Although, as is evident from the above discussion, some articles on this topic appeared earlier, the ground was really broken in this area in 2002 by Ardizzone's *Guido Cavalcanti: The Other Middle Ages*. As the title suggests, this work seeks to foreground the poetical path walked by Cavalcanti and is the first monograph to really focus solely on Cavalcanti in relation to what can broadly be referred to as 'science'. Ardizzone states that 'what we term the 'other Middle Ages' specifically in reference to Cavalcanti, is precisely this culture that sought answers to human desires and goals not in theology but in biology, natural philosophy and medicine' (6). Ardizzone uses the term 'vortex' to refer to 'the new importance Cavalcanti gives to poetry and

the new model of poetry he constructs in light of the learning that entered Europe between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' (5). Her main focus is on Cavalcanti's most philosophically complex poem, *Donna me prega* but she still highlights the firm connection between this and his other poems. In this thesis I connect with Ardizzone's work at two points. The first relates to her exploration of the literal methods Cavalcanti employs and her investigation of *pneuma*. By adding *sospir** to this, I will enlarge this area of study and therefore improve our understanding of Cavalcanti's appropriation of pneumatology. The second is connected to the argument which Ardizzone develops around intellection and love as a metaphor for the sensitive soul and the initiation of this process. My argument intersects this with lovesickness and the disruption of intellection.

Leading on from Ardizzone, Anichini in 2009 published *Voices of the Body. Liminal Grammar in Guido Cavalcanti's Rime*. She begins by exploring Cavalcanti's position in the literary canon, a position marked by absence, and argues that Cavalcanti himself carves a position of absence, using the sigh as a marker of this. She then focuses her investigation on Cavalcanti's minor rhymes, rather than *Donna me prega*. She picks up on Ardizzone's investigation of Cavalcanti's literal methods and creates what she refers to as the 'voices of the body', and it is here that my thesis connects with this work. Anichini focuses on sighs and tears as two key voices and reads them with reference to Avicenna's *Liber Canonis*. She concludes that 'by weaving into his text the material of a physician, Cavalcanti treated sighs and tears from the medical perspective and subverted the lyric tradition immediately preceding him' (8). I question this claim, placing the 'scientific' branch of Cavalcanti's work alongside his connections with the lyric tradition in order to ascertain whether this development can really be said to be subversive, or whether there is a more natural coming together of these two channels of influence than might at first seem to be the case.

Anichini's idea of a pre-verbal language might be read as a development of an argument contained in Lombardi's 2003 article 'The Grammar of Vision in Guido Cavalcanti', which posits that the grammar of vision in Cavalcanti's work is represented by his theory of love, that this mechanism is 'jammed' so that the sign produced lacks a syntactical faculty, and that this jamming means that the poetic word moves into a state of aphasia. Lombardi argues that 'parataxis rather than syntax stands at the heart of Guido's system; the parts are isolated, and do not collaborate in the reconstruction of a meaningful whole' (89). Lombardi proposes that images are excessively produced of the lady who is *oltra natura* and so cannot be abstracted by the intellect. It is this that clogs the system and leads to death, understood here as the death of the poetic word through the petrification of the sign. Coming at this same topic from a slightly different standpoint, Stewart's (2000) 'Spirits of Love: Subjectivity, Gender and Optics in the Lyrics of Guido Cavalcanti' maps out the earlier critical debate on the theory of optics in Cavalcanti before arguing that the poet uses both intramission and extramission, contradicting himself as he does so. She highlights the earlier tendency to focus either on the passive lover's eyes or the powerful beloved's eyes and demonstrates that Cavalcanti does both. She also places the spirits associated with the eyes firmly within a wider scheme of spirits operating within the body as a whole.

These works, therefore, have established a basis for the study of Cavalcanti in relation to Avicenna, complimenting the focus on Averroist influences (especially in *Donna me prega*) through the twentieth century, most notably by Nardi (1940) and Corti (1983). Moreover, some discussion is put forward by Anichini of spirits and sighs in Cavalcanti. This, however, is part of a wider discussion of the various 'voices of the body' and so, although it provides an extremely useful starting point, does not constitute a truly detailed examination of this element of Cavalcanti's work. Looking to Ciavolella's 2003 article 'L'amore e la medicina medievale',

there is a focus on a broader range of medical texts which centre around the causes and symptoms of *amor hereos*. As well as Avicenna and Averroes, the article also discusses Ali Abbas, the *Viaticum* of Ibn al-Jazzar, Arnaldo da Villanova and Bernard de Gordon. Moreover Tonelli's 2004 article 'Fisiologia dell'amore doloroso in Cavalcanti e Dante. Fonti mediche ed enciclopediche' considers the development of medical ideas before Dante with regards to love as a pathology and focuses especially on the pain of anger and anguish. It also explores the history of melancholy. From this it is clear that while some ground has been covered in this area, there is still space to both widen and deepen the investigation into the medical influences on Cavalcanti.

In this Introduction, through a revisiting of the relevant literature, I have sought to demonstrate the gap in existing knowledge which I seek to fill in this thesis, as well as the critical importance of investigating this specific element of Cavalcanti's work, both for its own sake and for its impact on the wider literary landscape. I have also justified my choice of entry point into Cavalcanti's poetry and outlined why I believe an investigation of this particular lexical item can offer valuable insights into his work. I shall now move on in the Critical Approaches section below to discuss how I will conduct my analysis and why I have chosen to approach Cavalcanti in this way.

CRITICAL APPROACHES

Philology: Return and Renewal

In deciding how to go about the close reading of Cavalcanti's poetry which I undertake in this thesis, a philological approach presented itself as a natural way of achieving my over-riding purpose; to avoid the kind of teleological reading which remains common in assessments of Cavalcanti's work, and thereby resist the seemingly magnetic draw of Dante. Instead, I wanted to place Cavalcanti's work in its linguistic and cultural context in order to see what might be learned about his poetry, on its own terms and untainted by his relationship with the *sommo poeta*. A philological approach has allowed me to do this because I have been able to strip back my analysis to the level of the text, reading therefore without unduly overbearing preconceptions about what I might find. Approaching Cavalcanti in this way has enabled me to provide some new insights into the ways in which Guido absorbs and reworks earlier lyric poetry as well as the impact that the cultural *milieu* in which he lived and worked had on his writing.

Beyond this fundamental imperative, Cavalcanti's is also a body of poetry which lends itself to philological scrutiny. Indeed, debates still continue as to the exact nature of the text itself, especially in relation to the ordering of the poems. While the De Robertis (1986) edition is widely used as a point of reference, it has been challenged by Gorni (2009) among others and was quickly followed by the Cassata (1993) and more recent Inglese and Rea (2011) editions, giving an indication of the on-going body of traditional philological research being carried out on Cavalcanti's *opus*. Beyond this kind of textual reconstruction however, the particular nature of the poetry means that single word philological studies are a natural choice in a body of work which itself plays with and continually returns to a series of lexical items, producing as it does so a specific vocabulary ripe for investigation.

Given the existence of this Cavalcantian vocabulary, it is unsurprising that single word studies of the type that I have undertaken in this thesis have already been carried out, albeit not globally. Most relevant is Rea's (2008) study, which examines around 50 lexemes in relation to the lyric tradition. Such a study is a valuable resource for a thesis of this kind and provides a clear indication of the relevance and value of single word philological investigations of Cavalcanti's work. However, the reading which I set out in this thesis goes beyond Rea in two key ways. Firstly, it widens the investigation by examining a category which Rea chooses to exclude; lexemes associated with the psychic process. Moreover, it provides greater breadth of analysis because it considers not just the lyric tradition but also ideas arising from medicine and natural philosophy.

While the text which I have chosen to investigate in this thesis may sit comfortably with philology, philology has not always sat comfortably with itself. I am fortunate to be writing in a period of renewal of philology in medieval studies, but the criticisms which have been levelled at it require acknowledgement and consideration. What follows, therefore, is a brief overview of the evolution of philology's relationship with itself from De Man's *Return to Philology* onwards. By the late 1970s philology had lost much of the importance previously placed upon it, appearing backward-looking in a period of rapidly evolving literary theory. In attempting to assert philology's on-going relevance in the context of this increasing dominance of theory in the study of literature, De Man put forward in his seminal article the argument that a simple, unassuming reading of a literary text can generate as much of an impact as any rooted in theory or hermeneutics. Citing Reuben Brower's 'HUM 6' course run at Harvard during the 1960s, De Man points to the power of philology to transform critical discourse. The course in question encouraged participants to become focussed on the text and to unswervingly align their analyses to it. Such a course highlights what De Man regards as fundamentally important to philology;

a focus on what the text says, and then on what it does.

De Man's essay sparked a series of works dealing with questions around the return to philology, including a special issue of *Comparative Literature Studies* in 1990 which collected papers from the 1988 'What is Philology?' conference, Greetham's 1997 essay 'The Resistance to Philology' and in 2003 Gumbrecht's 'The Powers of Philology'. In 2004, Said added his voice to a defence of philology. In his own 'The Return to Philology', Said again foregrounded the importance of careful reading, commenting that 'a true philological reading is active; it involves getting inside the process of language already going on in words and making it disclose what may be hidden or incomplete or masked or distorted in any text we may have before us' (59). Said makes this comment in response to what he terms 'readism', a prejudice held by some American academics which consists of 'reading considered so seriously and naively as to constitute a radical flaw' (60). Said rallies against this standpoint, regarding close reading not as potentially misleading, but rather as 'a detailed, patient scrutiny of and a lifelong attentiveness to the words and rhetorics by which language is used by human beings who exist in history' (61). Said therefore sees in philology not blindness, but attentiveness, and it is in this spirit of engaged and sensitive listening to a text that I read Cavalcanti in this thesis.

Since De Man, medieval studies has been forced to look inside itself in order to reimagine its position in a changing academic environment. Responding to the need to reassert the relevance of a traditional practice in a highly traditional discipline, leading scholars such as Stephen Nichols have encouraged debate over the on-going relevance of philological investigation. In the Introduction to a 1990 *Speculum* special edition on philology, Nichols takes on the idea of a return to the practice and suggests that rather than a return to a practice, it might be better to speak of a renewal (in the sense of the kind of *renovatio* which, as I will demonstrate, Cavalcanti himself undertakes in his poetry) which might reduce the perceived gap between

medieval studies and other disciplines by pointing to the kind of radical potential seen within it by De Man, in Nichols' words 'by reminding us that philology was once among the most theoretically avant-garde disciplines' (1). Focussing on manuscript culture, Nichols points to the diversity within and generated by the medieval world and encourages work done in medieval studies to embrace and work firmly within that diversity. By taking this approach, philology might be able to shake off its (largely unfair) reputation as a pedantic method, mired in the irrelevant pursuit of a single truth.

It is worth noting at this juncture that this apparent crisis of philology is a peculiarity of Anglophone academic institutions¹. In the Italian context, philology has not felt the same need to defend its position and in fact has faced a rather different challenge; the need to overcome its own defensiveness. In an interview with Simon Gilson in 2008, Teolinda Barolini expressed her concern over a 'defensiveness, a kind of circling of the wagons' within Italian philology, used 'as a means of keeping out the uninitiated' (Quoted in Gilson, 2008: 143-4). In place of this elitist club, Barolini would prefer to see a more expansive and open conversation in which dialogue and criticism are welcomed and encouraged.

Philology, then, can be defined not by its homogeneity, but rather by its plurality. The variety of approaches contained within this single term, together with the compulsion briefly outlined above which philology has felt to investigate itself, has led to a flourishing of work engaged in the investigation of the history of philology in order to better understand the relationship which the practice has with itself. Gurd's 2010 *Philology and Its Histories*, as its title implies, foregrounds this plurality and examines the nature of philology and the way in which the practice conceives of itself in different times and places. In Gurd's introduction, he raises an issue which is highly relevant to this thesis; philology's tendency towards teleology.

¹ For a discussion of the differences between the conceptualisation of philology in Spanish and English, see Altschul (2010).

Gurd uses the example of Timpanaro's description of Poliziano's philological method to highlight the way in which Timpanaro frames Poliziano as an early practitioner, albeit an imperfect one, of the kind of philological approach which Lachmann later espoused. On this point, Gurd makes the following statement;

'It could be argued that Timpanaro's teleological account is no more than the narrative echo of a view of history and the relationship between historical epochs that is surprising and even paradoxical: the past is now, we have it, and historical narration merely illuminates and justifies this founding anachronism' (3).

Here, Gurd raises an issue which, as a proponent of philology as the primary critical approach within a study that claims to resist teleology, I have been forced to recognise; philology itself tends towards the teleological. With this point in mind, I will now move on to explain how the work of Terence Cave has provided me with the tools to, in part at least, mitigate this risk.

In his *Pré-histoires*, Terence Cave emphasises the need for an approach which has a willingness to listen attentively to what the past has to tell us, always married with a resistance to notions of modernity and pre-modernity, and the idea that the past exists merely as a prelude to the present, as an earlier version of what we now are, or as a time and place concerned with laying the foundations for the future in which we now find ourselves. Cave calls for an attempt to read the past which puts to one side the concerns of the present and he does so because this present has a particular concern with itself. He refers to a 'present-day culture that seems unduly obsessed with its own priorities' (Cave, 2009: 137) and criticises academia in particular for promoting the idea that 'history...can be made palatable to students and the society they represent...[only]...by using it as a sounding-board / for current issues and preoccupations' (137-8). In Cave's view, not enough is done to encourage a careful consideration of the past as a distinct cultural moment. Instead the past is only used as an introductory chapter to the story of our present. These concerns act as a counterpoint to the teleological account which Gurd

(2010) suggests is inherent in philology.

Rather than reading the past from the present therefore, Cave encourages an attempt to engage with the past by travelling back to it. Cave's work is focussed predominantly on the Early Modern period, and his guiding principle is informed by the fact that, as he points out elsewhere in his work, the one thing which can safely be said of the Early Modern period is that it certainly did not know itself to be Early Modern. Labelling it such only serves to underline the issue at hand; defining the past by the present. While Cave fully recognises the impossibility of leaving our modern concerns entirely behind when we attempt to investigate the past, he also maintains that this does not constitute an argument in favour of not even attempting to do exactly that. It should be attempted, even if the attempt may not be entirely successful, and so it is with this intention that I attempt to travel back to thirteenth-century Florence. Moreover, such an undertaking, he argues 'isn't antiquarianism: it's passionate, engaged, and founded in an insatiable desire for communication' (Cave, 2009: 137). Cave, therefore, is aware that his approach is open to just the same criticisms that are levelled at philology. In response, he rallies against these accusations of antiquarianism and argues for a recognition of his pre-histories approach as a lively and vibrant path of critical enquiry.

An important element of Cave's position which has had a continued influence on me during the writing of this thesis can be seen in the following statement;

'Rather than being historiographical prison-houses within which texts can be supervised and punished at will, our constructions of the past ought to be delicate and deliberately fragile constructions, sensitive to the half-heard voices and needs discernible in those texts, fragments of a lost culture that have survived the ravages of time. For such a project...it may be more helpful to focus on methodologies and practices than on the theoretical, which promises rigour at the expense, too often, of narcissism' (Holland and Scholar, 2009: 22).

The idea of a text providing access to fragments of a lost culture is particularly important for a study of this kind. Cavalcanti's *opus* is, at first glance, reassuringly familiar and this has led to

a misappropriation of his work as 'modern'. Interiority is one of the defining hallmarks of Cavalcanti's poetry and in reference to this Antonelli has noted that, while it may be considered banal to make reference to Cavalcanti as a poet of interiority, it is also a label which should be used with caution and without 'sovrapporre...la nostra interiorità moderna alla dinamica intellettuale di Cavalcanti' (2001^a: 2). The temptation to see Cavalcanti as the originator of the exploration of the inner working of the 'I' has, as it turns out, been one which has proved hard to resist. In the twentieth century Cavalcanti was most notably (and perhaps damagingly) appropriated by Ezra Pound, who went as far as to state that 'than Guido Cavalcanti no psychologist of the emotions is more keen in his understanding, more precise in his expression' (1973: 18). To draw such parallels comes uncomfortably close to doing exactly that which Antonelli warns against and, in so doing, demonstrates why Cavalcanti especially benefits from an approach such as Cave's, one which requires the reader to remind themselves of the position they have in relation to the text, however familiar the text may feel.

This pre-historical approach has, therefore, influenced my reading of the various works considered in this thesis and has helped me to remain sensitive to the risk of teleology which comes with any investigation of such historically remote works. I have tried to remain aware of the fact that, just as the people of the Early Modern period were unaware of their status as such, so too is any earlier existence of *sospir** unaware of its role as a pre-history to Cavalcanti's usage. When viewed in this way, my use of pre-history seems to re-encounter the very problem it seeks to overcome. However, on this point of potential *impasse*, Holland and Scholar (2009: 3) comment that 'pre-history, as Cave practices it, does not seek to deny its possession of hindsight. It chooses to acknowledge hindsight's ineradicable presence in the writing of all history in order to limit and control, as much as possible, its inferences'. As part of this project of awareness, the notion of the threshold plays an important role. When applying Cave's

approach to a poet such as Cavalcanti, rather than regarding him as the defining threshold through which the lyric genre passes on an inevitable journey towards interiority, a more flexible approach might be taken which focuses on 'the heuristic value of the threshold as a provisional latter-day construction from which the scattered signs of a pre-history become visible' (4). Thresholds, Cave suggests, should be seen as working together with pre-histories and afterlives in 'something like a Doppler effect' (2009, 143). Here Cave sees a series of traces surrounding a moving object, which will appear differently depending on the position from which they are observed. The threshold is therefore flexible and shifting, and so avoids becoming part of an interpretative approach which sees the past as an inevitable march towards the present.

Where these thresholds seem to appear, the reader might catch a glimpse of what Cave refers to as a 'disturbance' which is reflected within a text. Such disturbances can only be understood through a combination of close textual analysis combined with broader historical awareness in order to understand what concerns these texts are communicating. By approaching the text in this way, pre-histories becomes 'a method of understanding the power of disturbances that texts contain in the rich and strange past to which they belong and that they carry into the present in which we encounter them' (Holland and Scholar, 2009: 5). Cave argues that natural thresholds seem to present themselves when a particular moment 'is prone to shifts in a given sequence' (2009: 143), and in his position between the dominance of Latin as the language of poetry and the rise of the vernacular for artistic expression, Cavalcanti seems to exist on just such a natural threshold. Cave's method, therefore, seems to provide an approach which is compatible with Cavalcanti's work not just because the Cavalcantian *opus* belongs to a remote historical moment, but because it also presents particular needs to which Cave is especially sensitive.

By combining these approaches, I am not claiming to have resolved the difficulties of reading a medieval text. Such a claim, indeed, would only serve as a move away from the kind of sensitive reading which I have advocated throughout this section. Nor am I suggesting that the kind of teleological discourse present in philology's view of its own history is necessarily even flawed. To return to Gurd on Timpanaro (2010: 4);

'My point is not that there is something terminally wrong with Timpanaro's story, but rather that his way of telling it exemplifies the process by which every philology appropriates the term and its history to itself. This collection trains its regard on the dynamic of appropriation, both to document it and, by attending to the multiplicity of historical instances without privilege or prejudice, to contest it'.

Here, Gurd lays claim to an approach which I too seek to adopt in this thesis, which is to attest to occurrences of a particular type, without privilege or prejudice. This spirit of inquiry has already been seen above in the work of Terence Cave, and indeed there too I acknowledged that such an attestation can never be perfectly achieved. This does not mean, however, that it is fruitless to attempt it.

Raymond Williams: *Keywords*

So far in this section I have focussed on the relevance and importance of a philological approach to this study, I have outlined the changing relationship which philology, especially in medieval studies, has had with itself, and I have recognised the limitations to my approach and outlined how, by using the ideas of Terence Cave, I have sought to overcome, as far as possible, these limitations. What now follows is a discussion of the particular nature of this single word study, the relevance and importance of approaching Cavalcanti through the entry point provided by *sospir** and the role which Raymond Williams has played in helping me to articulate my

decision to approach Cavalcanti in this way. Before discussing the relevance of Raymond Williams to the approach I have taken in this thesis however, it is worth returning to a comment made by Said about the nature of philology, that 'it involves getting inside the process of language already going on in words and making it disclose what may be hidden or incomplete or masked or distorted' (2004: 59). Moreover, it is worth considering Said's concept of reception which he describes as 'submitting oneself knowledgeably to texts and treating them provisionally at first as discrete objects (since this is how they are initially encountered); moving then, by dint of expanding and elucidating the often obscure or invisible frameworks in which they exist, to their historical situations and the way in which certain structures of attitude, feeling, and rhetoric get entangled with some current, some historical and social formulations of their context' (61). This reflects the basic premise of philology; that a text is taken within its context, paying heed to the historical peculiarities of that moment and recognising the entanglement of the text within it.

It is clear that these same concerns are reflected in the work of Raymond Williams, whose *Keywords*, first published in 1976, espouses an approach to language which has at its heart a determination to explore a particular vocabulary within its social and cultural context. Williams is keen that language not be divorced from its moment of use and emphasises that an 'original' meaning of a particular word should not let its later variations in meaning be obscured. He sees in language an inherent vitality and finds a way towards establishing meaning by examining it through a lens which emphasises changes in society and culture.

What is notable about Williams' own view of his approach however, is that he distances himself from defining it as philological, referring to it instead as belonging to 'one of the tendencies within historical semantics' (1976: 23). Williams does make reference to philology, but in so doing reduces the scope of its practice, suggesting that it is limited in its investigative

power. By defining it in this way, Williams therefore indicates that his own keywords approach somehow moves beyond philology. When discussing the limits of his work, Williams focuses on the fact that meaning can develop in words outside the English language and so to fully grasp the power of a word would require an approach which looked at more than one linguistic context. On this point he comments that ‘I have had enough experience of trying to discuss two key English Marxist terms – *base* and *superstructure* – not only in relation to their German originals, but in discussion with French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Swedish friends, in relation to their forms in these other languages, to know not only that the results are fascinating and difficult, but that such comparative analysis is crucially important, *not just as philology*, but as a central matter of intellectual clarity’ (20) (italics added). In this passage, Williams recognises the relevance of studies of words across languages and indeed regards this as of the greatest importance. His use of the term ‘not just as philology’ is telling though, somehow reducing philological investigation to a secondary level of pure textual analysis. By defining philology in this way, Williams indicates that it is not able to offer the ‘intellectual clarity’ which his own approach can. In Williams’ view, therefore, a keywords approach is one which has a fundamental connection with philology, but which also adds a layer of intellectual clarity which philology cannot afford.

Although Williams is at pains to define keywords as *not* philology, he never actually offers a definition of what it *is*, preferring to give it the loose title of a tendency within historical semantics. It is Scholar who takes up the challenge of defining the work done in *Keywords* when he suggests that it might, in fact, reasonably be named philology. Scholar begins by drawing attention to the fact that philology ‘hardly figures elsewhere in recent research in the field written in English’ (2013: 6), indicating a kind of disappearance of philology during the latter part of the twentieth century. He then turns to Williams’ own reference to philology,

suggesting that Williams sees it as ‘a comparative linguistic scholarship that seems to exist merely for its own arid sake, bent on mastery of a merely technical kind but unmoved to achieve the ‘intellectual clarity’ that Williams suggests ought properly to motivate the student of keywords’ (ibid.). A robust defence of the intellectual clarity which can be offered by philology has already been outlined above, and so Scholar questions why it is that Williams takes this position.

His answer lies in the aforementioned climate within universities both in the UK and US, putting forward Germany and Italy as examples of settings in which philology still commands the greatest respect. If philology only loses its prestige in Anglophone institutions, it can therefore be argued that it is not an issue with the practice itself which leads Williams to define his approach as not entirely philological, but rather a need to disassociate his work from a label which had unfairly become synonymous with aridity in the particular intellectual environment in which he was working. *Keywords*, therefore, might be seen as philology by another name, a name appropriate to Williams’ own setting. The apparent disappearance of the practice, therefore, is actually more of a rebranding, with Williams giving new life to an established practice under a different name, in line with the intellectual climate of his time.

Keywords, then, can be seen as belonging to the broader category of philology. This thesis is a single word study, and so it seems necessary to acknowledge the development made by Williams in this area and provide an overview of what relevance Williams’ concept might have to the investigation of *sospir**. As a starting point, it is useful to consider what Williams means when he refers to keywords. In reference to a definition, Williams states that ‘I called these *Keywords* in two connected senses: they are significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation; they are significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought’ (1976: 15). Williams clearly identifies two key areas of activities for keywords. They must bear

testament to activities and the interpretation of those activities, and they must also be central to the expression of thought. Activity and thought are bound together within these words, placing them at the junction between human action and interpretation of that action. They therefore provide a vantage point to an understanding of how humans act within a certain environment and how those interactions are interpreted. This is, clearly, a valuable resource for the twenty-first century interpreter of a medieval text, since it allows them to sit in a strategic position from which to observe that text.

In order best to understand the complexities of keywords, it is important to consider the fact that a valuable keyword may not actually be a word which openly and clearly conveys an important concept in a particular period's vocabulary, but could in fact be a word which quietly yet persistently carries forward a change in meaning which reflects action, and interpretation of that action, in any given cultural moment. Thus in Williams' own keyword vocabulary, words such as 'genetic' clearly and obviously convey a particular concern of the twentieth century, while others such as 'nature' are far more unassuming words which do not initially appear to play a key part in changes in meaning. Williams himself comments that '[some] changes...are masked by a nominal continuity so that words which seem to have been there for centuries, with continuous general meanings, have come in fact to express radically different or radically variable, *yet sometimes hardly noticed*, meanings and implications of meaning' (1976: 17) (italics added). Keywords, therefore, provide an approach which allows the reader to look beneath the surface and identify the undercurrents of change which may not be superficially evident.

Some limitations with this approach must be recognised and indeed Williams himself identifies two key issues; problems of information and problems of theory. Regarding the former, Williams states that 'I am aware in my own notes and essays that, though I try to show

the range, many of my own positions and preference come through' (1976: 18). Any study is limited both by length and by knowledge. In this thesis, therefore, I have had to make deliberate choices about the areas which I will investigate and those which I will leave unexplored. The possible directions which could be taken must necessarily be defined and thus reduced, and these choices are, at least in part, dictated by authorial preferences and the difficulty or otherwise of accessing information. Such choices which I have made in this thesis include the decision to explore earlier lyric poetry and medical texts while putting to one side the biblical context, for example. A second example of reduction in scope is the decision not to probe further into the relationship between troubadours and medical texts, which could have a bearing on Cavalcanti but which has been impossible in this study due to the issue of accessibility of information in this as yet unexplored area. These are both valuable investigations, but ones not possible within the scope of this thesis.

With regards the problems of theory, Williams focuses particularly on the question of meaning. He emphasises the need to look beyond the 'original' (1976: 20) meaning of words and focus instead on subsequent variations. He also acknowledges the theoretical problems which necessarily present themselves when any analysis of meaning is undertaken. He finally comments that 'the most active problems of meaning are always primarily embedded in actual relationships, and [...] both the meanings and relationships are typically diverse and variable, within the structures of particular social orders and the process of social and historical change'. This complexity means that words acquire meaning in relation to what Williams refers to as 'a social process of language' (22) and so it must be recognised that to study keywords means 'to consider, for the moment, their own internal developments and structures' (23). Williams emphasises the idea of 'for the moment', arguing that this allows the intricate and extended nature of vocabulary to be revealed. It is this idea of multiple and connected meanings within a

word (as well as in relation to other words) which is so important as a guiding principle of this thesis.

In order to explore further what it is that Williams achieves in *Keywords*, the example of ‘Medieval’ is a useful one. Williams traces the word itself back, reverting from ‘Medieval’ to ‘Middle Ages’ to ‘Middle Age’ and finally the Latin *media aetas* and equivalents of the fifteenth century. When considering the connotations of ‘Medieval’, Williams indicates that from the mid-nineteenth century, medieval came to have a similar sense to primitive or antiquated in today’s parlance, but that this has now been replaced by a more strictly historical meaning. In this short entry, Williams manages to convey the complexity of the development of both language and meaning, as well as employing precisely the kind of historical analysis with which philology appears to be negatively associated. The kind of investigation which Williams undertakes here is not dissimilar to that put forward in Rea (2008), which adds weight to Scholar’s assertion that the studies contained in *Keywords* are inherently philological. By undertaking a similar study, therefore, in this thesis I simply add my voice to a tradition which is both well-established and also adaptive to the needs of the cultural moment in which it finds itself. As a result of the *renovatio* of philology in medieval studies described above, my approach can be called ‘philology’, but can also be aligned to Williams’ ‘historical semantics’.

Keywords have received some attention as a tool for use in periods earlier than the twentieth century setting of Williams’ own study. In renaissance studies, Mac Carthy’s (ed.) *Renaissance Keywords* (2013) has been the catalyst for Scholar’s coining of ‘New Philologists’, while Frantzen’s *Anglo-Saxon Keywords* (2012) examines keywords in an earlier historical period and presents a study more similar in style to Williams. There are differences in scope (Williams offers over 130 entries while Frantzen limits himself to a more modest 75) but the aim of offering a broad overview of highly charged Anglo-Saxon vocabulary is very similar to

Williams' work. In defining the scope of his work, Frantzen comments that 'the gap *Anglo-Saxon Keywords* seeks to close is greater [than that closed in *Keywords*], since the concepts included are intended to connect modern and early medieval cultures. Some keywords explicate [sic] ideas that were important centuries ago and have lost their currency but not their historical importance. These concepts open passageways from modern to medieval and medieval to modern' (xiv). Here Frantzen envisages keywords as functioning as a dialogue between the past and the present. This idea of dialogue makes a significant step in an attempt to achieve an approach to the medieval period harmonious with what Cave proposes. There are more echoes of Cave when Frantzen comments that "Williams imagined his keywords as supplements to a sweeping cultural narrative. This volume has replaced the narrative with keywords that, in various combinations, constitute larger units but do not amount to a comprehensive view of Anglo-Saxon culture. A series of dots, seen from a distance, forms a pattern' (xv). Keywords, then, to echo Cave, emerge as another island of understanding in the archipelago of the past.

A further key element of the purpose of *Anglo-Saxon Keywords* (2012) which Frantzen identifies is the bridging of the gap between pre-twelfth century English literature and later medieval literature and beyond. He comments that 'readers outside Anglo-Saxon studies need a savvy guide to the Anglo-Saxon evidence, too much of which has been cut off from later periods. Hence this volume concentrates on words and ideas that link contemporary and Anglo-Saxon cultures' (xiv). Frantzen also highlights the attention that the canonical *Beowulf* has attracted, to the detriment of other texts. These concerns mirror the experience of pre-Dantean texts in current scholarship and highlight a problem which for Cavalcanti is particularly acute. Although attempts are being made to explore the afterlives of Cavalcanti's ideas² much is still

² See, for example, Anichini's 2011 NeMLA conference paper 'Cavalcantian Traces in Giacomo Leopardi's *Zibaldone*', Alfano's 2010 article "'Guido filosofo": i commenti cinquecenteschi a *Donna me prega* nel loro contesto culturale' and Barański's seminal 2003 article 'Guido Cavalcanti and his first readers'.

left to be done. Keywords, then, appear to emerge not just as a way to explore the pre-history of word usages in Cavalcanti's work, but also to open the way to exploring their afterlives, an area ripe for investigation but which is currently beyond the scope of this thesis.

In his work, Frantzen provides an overview of the concepts, examined through the lens of keywords, which give an insight into the way in which Anglo-Saxons conceived of and experienced the world. One example can be found in 'Mind', which Frantzen describes as 'a window onto the Anglo-Saxons' emotional world as well as their world of thought process and intellection' (2012: 182). Frantzen explores the various forms in which mind appears in Anglo-Saxon and the concepts these forms appear to convey. He examines research already done in the field in order to bring together the various forms and meanings which exist in prose, poetry, religious and administrative documents. He focuses on the lexical items *mod* (found in prose) and *modsefa* (found in poetry) and explains that they represent various concepts and are at times used interchangeably with terms such as *hyge* (thought) and *ferð* (mind / soul / spirit / heart). Frantzen also draws attention to the difference in the usage of 'mind' in prose and poetry. Prose writers, he argues, have a close association between the mind (conceived of as the inner self) and the soul. In poetry however, the soul was separated from the intellect and located in the heart or chest. It is clear, therefore, that by examining the various works of scholarship which exist on the term 'mind' in Anglo-Saxon literature, and bringing them together in one place as such an entry in a keywords monograph allows the author to do, variations in tone and usage can be more readily seen and therefore provide a clearer picture of what 'mind' meant for the writers.

In Frantzen's work, the meanings hidden within 'mind' begin to emerge in just the way that Williams claims is possible from his own study. Frantzen explains that compound words for 'mind' often refer to physical locations, such as the breast, but elsewhere the compound may

focus on a quality of the mind instead, like care or sorrow. It is such a fluid term in Anglo-Saxon, in fact, that Frantzen notes that ‘interpreters sometimes use the words “mind”, “heart” and “soul” interchangeably, reasonably concluding that we cannot disambiguate terms that might have been ambiguous for the Anglo-Saxons themselves’ (2012: 184). A picture begins to emerge, then, of a multiplicity of meanings.

In this study I do not propose to do what Frantzen has done in terms of developing a vocabulary of culture within Cavalcanti’s work. Instead, my aim is to align this investigation with work already begun, such as Roberto Rea's (2008) *Cavalcanti Poeta: Uno studio sul lessico lirico*. In this study, Rea focuses on lexical items related to interiority³ in Cavalcanti’s poetry. Rea explains that the study focuses on 'andare al nocciolo della poesia di Guido, prendendo in esame i lessemi configuranti quella peculiare dimensione psicologica dell'Io lirico che è stata riconosciuta come sua sostanziale “invenzione”’ (21). Rea chooses to present these words in alphabetical order, explaining his reason for doing this in a way which recalls Williams' own reasoning in presenting *Keywords* in this way. In reference to the list of semantic areas into which he divides the key words he has chosen to focus on, Rea comments that 'si ricorre qui alla nozione di campo semantico solo per comodità di presentazione dei lemmi considerati, che si è poi preferito trattare singolarmente, in ordine alfabetico, per non correre il rischio di ingabbiarli in griglie di relazioni predefinite che potrebbero rivelarsi più dannose che utili' (22). This is reminiscent of Williams; 'In taking what seemed to me to be the significant vocabulary of an area of general discussion of culture and society, I have lost the props of conventional arrangement by subject and have then needed to retain the simplest conventional

³ *Sospir** is not covered in Rea's study. He comments that his choice of lexical items 'non vuole infatti rappresentare il lessico dell'interiorità in modo integrale: si sono tenuti fuori...i termini...non meno importanti, relativi alle manifestazioni fisiologiche dei processi psichici, termini cioè come *lagrimare; piangere; sospirare*' (23).

arrangement, by alphabetical order. However, since a book is only completed when it is read, I would hope that while the alphabetical order makes immediate use easier, other kinds of connection and comparison will suggest themselves to the reader, and may be followed through by a quite different selection or order of reading' (1976: 25). Rea's approach, therefore, leaves the reader able to generate various lines of connection and comparison, just as Williams hoped would be possible with his study. Rea also rejects other theoretical approaches in favour of Ullmann's argument that the meaning of a word can be established only by studying how it is used. Williams, too, is firmly focused on usage rather than pre-established ideas of what a word does or should mean.

This thesis therefore builds on the work already done by Rea. Rea omits *sospir** from his study in part due to the complexity it presents as a term. It is therefore logical to undertake a single word study of this word in order to manage some of this complexity. Rea's entries are short, providing only citations and brief commentary on each word. Following the editorial guidelines used by Rea, text citations are in italics in order to differentiate them from citations from critics or commentaries. Such a study on *sospir** in Cavalcanti may look something like this;

⁰⁴ In troubadour poetry, *sospir** occurs predominantly in the verb form *sospirar*. The physical manifestation of the pain of love is, in troubadour poetry, 'actualisés par des termes-clefs poétiquement valorisés. Nous relevons quatre motifs essentiels: la plainte, les pleurs, les soupirs, la veille, actualisés par les lexèmes suivants: plànher, plorar, sospirar (/subst. sospir), velhar' (Bec, 1968: 560). Bec finds that *Sospirar* is used in conjunction with *planher* and *plorar* rather than independently. In the Sicilians and Tuscans, *sospirare* begins to function independently but continues to be closely related to lamentation and crying, and is used 'per esprimere inquietudine, rincrescimento, struggimento, anche amoroso, smania, turbamento, tristezza, disagio, invidia, collera, delusione o, anche, sollievo o lamento per un dolore fisico' (GDLI, 536). Examples include Giacomo Lentini *S'io doglio non è maraviglia / e s'io sospiro e lamento: / amor lontano mi pigilia, / dogliosa pena ch'eo sento* (XIII,1-4).

⁴ Following Rea's numbering 'il §0 si propone di fornire un quadro sintetico che possa essere indicativo dell'uso del lemma nella tradizione lirica precedente, siciliana e toscana. Il §1 ed eventuali paragrafi successive riguardano l'uso cavalcantiano' (26).

1 In Cavalcanti's work the verb form continues to be present;

Verb;

IV, 4 *Chi è questa che vèn, ch'ogn'om la mira, / che fa tremar di chiaritate l'âre / e mena seco Amor, sì che parlare / null'omo pote, ma ciascun sospira?*

IX, 2 *Io non pensava che lo cor giammai / avesse di sospir' tormento tanto*

X, 4 *Vedete ch'I' son un che vo piangendo / e dimostrando – il giudicio d'Amore, / e già non trovo sì pietoso core / che, me guardando, - una volta sospiri*

XXV, 3 *Posso degli occhi miei novella dire, / la qual è tale che piace sì al core / che di dolcezza ne sospir' Amore*

However, the noun form dominates;

Noun;

V, 7 *per che sospiri e dolor mi pigliaro, / vedendo che temenza avea lo core*

VII, 3 *Tu m'hai sì piena di dolor la mente, / che l'anima si briga di partire, / e li sospir' che manda 'l cor dolente / mostrano agli occhi che non può soffrire*

XIV, 10 *Ché, quando lo piacer mi stringe tanto / che lo sospir si mova*

XV, 5 *d'angosciosi diletto i miei sospiri, / che nascon della mente ov'è Amore* **XVII,**

10 *L'anima mia dolente e paurosa / piange ne [l]i sospir' che nel cor trova* **XVIII,**

11 *ed hannol posto sì presso a la morte, / ch'altro non n'è rimaso che sospiri*

XXI, 9 *E' trasse poi de li occhi tuo' sospiri, / i qua' me saettò nel cor sì forte, / ch'i mi partì' sbigotito fuggendo*

XXVI, 18 *e movonsi nell'anima sospiri / che dicono:*

XXIX, 12 *po' torna, piena di sospir', nel core, / ferita a morte d'un tagliente dardo / che questa donna nel partir li gitta.*

XXXI, 5 *Ella mi fere sì, quando la sguardo, / ch'I' sento lo sospir tremare nel core*

XXXI, 11 *I' sento pianger for li miei sospiri, / quando la mente di lei mi ragiona*

XXXII, 7 *Come m'invita lo meo cor d'amare, / lasso, ch'è pien di doglia / e di sospir' sì d'ogni parte priso*

XXXII, 12 *Canto, piacere, beninanza e riso / me 'n son dogli' e sospiri*

XXXIII, 10 *De la gran doglia che l'anima sente / si parte da lo core uno sospiro / che va dicendo:*

XXXV, 7 *Tu porterai novella di sospiri / piene di dogli' e di molta paura*

XL, 1 *Dante, un sospiro messenger del core / subitamente m'assalì dormendo, / ed io mi disvegliai allor, temendo / ched e' non fosse in compagnia d'Amore*

Gerund;

IX, 35 *Amor, c'ha le bellezze sue vedute, / mi sbigottisce sì, che soffrire / non può lo cor
sentendola venire, / ché sospirando dice:*

XIII, 4 *Voi che per li occhi mi passaste 'l core / e destatse la mente che dormia, / guardate a
l'angosciosa vita mia, / che sospirando la distrugge l'Amore.*

XIX, 14 *ch'elli mi dice sì dolci parole, / che sospirando pietà chiamereste*

XXXV, 31 *Deh, ballatetta, dille sospirando, quando le se 'presente:*

Examples such as XVII indicate that the link between sighing and crying remains, as well as an association with sighing and pain inherited from the Sicilians and in particular Giacomo da Lentini, e.g. XIV, 2 *S'io doglio no è meraviglia / e s'io sospiro e lament: / amor lontano mi piglia / dogliosa pena ch'eo sento* (cf. *doglia*, Rea, 2008: 276). However, it is also the case that the cry-lament-sigh-wakefulness link is less pronounced than in troubadour poetry, and a chain associating *piacer – sospir – amor* in XIV as well as *dolcezza – sospir* in XXV demonstrate an established widening of its usage. The sigh as a protagonist which is given a voice is also emergent. *Sospirando* is used infrequently, but most often used with *dire*.

Analysis of the type offered above simultaneously underpins the approach I have taken and reveals the critical stance of my study. Looking back to the Occitan tradition is predicated on the idea that Cavalcanti sits within a single language band which crosses the boundaries of the discrete units into which the study of literature is today divided. This is a thesis which sits within French Studies and Italian Studies, using *sospir** to demonstrate the artificiality of such divisions, ones which were almost certainly not recognised in the thirteenth century. Here, therefore, *sospir** is used in order to conduct the linguistic analysis at work in my thesis. The above analysis does not, however, provide a complete picture of my critical approach to Cavalcanti. In my study, analysis of language sits alongside an understanding of the cultural environment in which Cavalcanti was working, and so it is *sospir** in medical literature which allows me to reveal the impact of natural philosophy on Cavalcanti's thought. Placing these two contexts side by side is crucial in order to achieve my aim in this thesis; to gain a broader understanding of Cavalcanti's work away from the distorting lens of Dante and firmly embedded in its cultural and linguistic settings.

SECTION ONE: THE CHRONOLOGY OF *DONNA ME PREGA* AND *VITA NUOVA*

Background

The importance and originality of this thesis lies in its remarkably simple aim; a reading of Cavalcanti entirely detached from Dante. In order to cement the legitimacy of this approach, however, I must first outline and comment upon a question currently being debated; the relative chronology of Dante's *Vita Nuova* and Cavalcanti's *Donna me prega*. To posit that Cavalcanti can be read entirely without reference to his contemporaries would be to prevent a more complete understanding of his work and obscure the remarkable reach Cavalcanti had amongst his fellow poets. Any discussion which seeks to argue that Cavalcanti represents a mile-stone in Italian literature of no less importance than that of Dante cannot but consider the contemporary as well as historical context of the writer. While the label of *stilnovisti* may be an inherently problematical one (see Introduction, 4), the existence of a group of poets in Florence and Bologna who are aware of each other's poetic production and who are deliberately and consciously responding to each other's work which the creation of such a label implies is hard to refute, even if the idea that they might all subscribe to a particular school of poetry with a shared philosophy and common aim is demonstrably flawed. Indeed, the frequency with which Cavalcanti addresses poetry to his contemporaries is clear proof of this interrelationship.

Cavalcanti is a poet who actively seeks to engage his contemporaries in a dialogue about love and poetry, who often defends in quite strong terms his own position, and who is willing to criticise to the point of aggression those whose views he does not share. Nine of Cavalcanti's poems are addressed directly to other poets and at least a further seven are written as responses to poems received. This high number of communications (considering his relatively small body of extant works) helps to reveal the strength of Cavalcanti's belief in his own ideas and output,

as well as his view of the work of some of his contemporaries. The longest exchange is between Cavalcanti and Guido Orlandi which, over the course of seven sonnets and three different *tenzoni* gives an insight into the issues at the forefront of the debate. Cavalcanti's XLVIII^a is a somewhat subversive response to the miracle of the Madonna of San Michele in Orto and the Franciscan response to its (in their view inappropriate) recognition, which De Robertis (1986) describes as 'ironizzando il fanatismo e insieme le ragioni dei benpensanti' (187). Indeed, Cavalcanti suggests that the reason the Franciscans condemn the worship of the Madonna as idolatry is because the miracle has not occurred on their territory. The meaning of the opening line 'Una figura della Donna mia' has drawn particular interest, with Martinez (2003) arguing that this does in fact constitute as contentious an *incipit* as Orlandi's heated response in XLVIII^b suggests, referring to the sonnet as 'yet another of [Cavalcanti's] unsettling and dangerous pieces of writing' (324), at least in Orlandi's opinion. The interaction between the two poets can be seen again in XLIX^a and XLIX^b, in which exchange, argue Rea and Inglese (2011: 260) 'l'Orlandi sembra comprendere bene l'intento provocatorio del suo corrispondente...pur scegliendo di mantenere un tono affabile'. A final three sonnet exchange between the two poets takes place in L, L^b and L^c and reveals an accusation by Orlandi of *sottiglianza* across the whole of Cavalcanti's work, which Cavalcanti rebuffs by accusing Orlandi of being unable to understand a higher conception of love. Orlandi's sarcastic reply to his 'amico' turns personal, ending with a condemnation of Cavalcanti's 'amor carnale'.

Elsewhere, Cavalcanti can be seen communicating with Guittone in XLVII, a sonnet which does not hold back in its condemnation of Guittone on the grounds of linguistic inadequacies, a lack of logical coherence and a fundamental ignorance which nullifies his entire poetic production. He also addresses a sonnet to Manetto, which has been read by Gorni (2009) as being a *contrafactum* of the praise of Beatrice and addressed to her brother. Given the

demonstrated outspokenness of Cavalcanti elsewhere, this is a tempting reading which Rea and Inglese (2011) at least find 'difficilmente controvertibile' given the textual similarities with Dante's *lode* which 'lasciano trapelare per lo meno una disincantata ironia nei confronti dell'operazione messa in atto da Dante nella *Vita nova*' (273). Cavalcanti's relationship with his fellow poets, therefore, is sometimes tense and often antagonistic, and with no one is this truer than with Dante. Dante is the poet with whom Cavalcanti communicates most and at least six of his poems are either directly addressed to or written in response to him. In these *tenzoni* we see the riddle in XXXVII^a which Dante regards as one of the earliest moments of the friendship between the two poets, the definition of love as a source of happiness in XXXVIII^a by Dante which finds a blunt refutation by Cavalcanti in XXXVIII^b, the doubts cast upon Lapo Gianni and then dispelled in XXXIX and XL and finally a taking to task of Dante by Cavalcanti in XLI for his change in position. While these communications do not reach the heights of blatant aggression seen elsewhere in Cavalcanti's communications, they do indicate the constantly shifting nature of the friendship of the two men as influenced by their contrasting poetic positions. It is this dynamic, as well as the effect that it has on the reading both of Dante and Cavalcanti, which this section seeks to trace.

1.1.DONNA ME PREGA

For an earlier dating of *Donna me prega*

The traditional story of the relationship between Dante and Guido is one which sees an early blossoming of friendship between the two poets that then deteriorates over time as Dante's hostility to Cavalcanti's ideas increases and his desire to establish his position as pre-eminent Florentine poet grows. This reaches its climax when, in their political life, Dante eventually signs Cavalcanti's exile papers and, in their literary life, he implies that Guido might hold heretical beliefs in *Inf. X*, in an act which seals the fate of his *primo amico* for centuries to come. Such a narrative can partially be seen, for example, in Barolini (1984). She reads in the *Vita Nuova* a placing of Cavalcanti on the same level as the Classical authors in III,14 when Dante cites Cavalcanti directly in the only citation of vernacular poetry in this work. She also sees a closeness between them when Cavalcanti is referred to as Dante's 'primo amico' and 'primo de li miei amici', arguing that in the *Vita Nuova* 'Guido and Dante are united in a common poetic front against those modern poets who "compose foolishly"' (124) and that 'Dante considers his friend an indispensable supporter of his project to write in the vernacular' (ibid.). She then moves on to consider the *De vulgari eloquentia* and sees in this work a change in the way Dante aligns himself to Guido, commenting that 'the addition of a fourth name to the list of names inherited from "Guido, i vorrei", the name of Cino da Pistoia, signals the radical shift in perspective wrought by the treatise, whereby Cavalcanti's place as "first friend" is taken over by Cino' (125). Finally, the relationship between the two poets is read as having cooled significantly by the time of the *Commedia* in what is described as 'the severer silence of the *Comedy*, where Guido is the great non-presence among the poets' (126). The key idea behind such a reading is that Dante passes from a Guittonian model to a Cavalcantian one and then, as he matures and becomes less influenced by existing poetic models and more focussed on

establishing his own, he uses the *Commedia* as a way of aligning himself to some degree with Guinizelli in order to, in Barolini's words, 'break Cavalcanti's hold and thus move in a direction more compatible with his own ultimate goals' (130).

While this reading of their relationship is certainly possible, and might fit neatly into a convenient narrative, it is fair to say that it might also be regarded as an oversimplification of a situation which will, due to the scarcity of remaining documentary evidence, perhaps never be fully understood. In the midst of what therefore remains a rather blurred picture of later thirteenth-century Florentine literary life, Dante's *Vita Nuova* and Cavalcanti's *Donna me prega* have become the focus of critical re-examination, with the question of which work responds to which an important topical issue. The reason for this debate lies in what the answer to this question can tell us about the purpose of composition of each work and the relationship between the two poets. It raises serious questions about whether Cavalcanti and Dante were ever really unified in a literary alliance, given their very different philosophies of love, as well as how the apparent definition by Dante of Cavalcanti as his 'amico' should really be read. In this section I will revisit the arguments put forward by those who, in line with the traditional reading of the two poets, argue that Cavalcanti's most famous *canzone* is written before the *Vita nuova*. I will assess the impact such a reading has on our understanding of Cavalcanti and examine how this ordering affects a reading of Cavalcanti's *opus* as a whole.

That there is a clear relationship between *Donna me prega* and the *Vita Nuova* at the very least at the level of lexis is an idea which, it seems safe to say, is by now broadly (although not totally) accepted. However, this complex relationship raises the much thornier question of which, given that the two texts clearly communicate with each other, 'speaks' first. That it is *Donna me prega* which sets out a position that the *Vita Nuova* then, in more or less overt ways, responds to, has been the assumption which critical investigations into these works made

throughout most of the twentieth century, and this is indeed still an assumption around which many critics build their arguments today. It can be seen, therefore, as the default and less contentious ordering of the two works, based presumably on the fact that Cavalcanti is the older poet (alluded to by Contini, (1970: 442)), whose literary production therefore started first, as well as the fact that in the *Vita Nuova* Dante gives his first extended and detailed discussion of his view of love as an experience of intellectualisation and transcendence, which moves away from Cavalcanti's position both in *Donna me prega* and throughout his work.

It is this chronology which Contini assumes in his 1970 essay 'Cavalcanti in Dante', indicating an earlier dating of *Donna me prega*, and thereby explicitly taking a critical position which appears to have been up until this point tacitly assumed and which is, as will become clear through the course of this discussion, still regarded as the more probable of the two options. Contini begins by emphasising the fact that, although Dante can be seen to adopt an overtly Cavalcantian position early on, his work actually continues to be influenced by Cavalcanti throughout his literary life, explaining that 'l'ombra di e il pensiero di Cavalcanti lo accompagnano fino al termine d'una carriera tanto indeducibile dai suoi principî, ma in cui si séguita a rifare i conti col patrono della sua giovinezza poetica' (433). Contini sees the rift between Cavalcanti and Dante as occurring in the *Commedia*, referring to the period of the *Vita Nuova* as espousing a 'poetica metaforica...nella quale Dante e Cavalcanti concordano ancora' (437). Referring to Dante's comment that 'questo mio primo amico e io ne sappiamo bene di quelli che così rimano stoltamente' (VN, XXV) Contini comments that this note by Dante comes in relation to the representation of Love in *Io mi sentì' svegliar* which sanctions, with what Contini reads as solidarity between the two poets, the declaration of 'monna Vanna' and 'monna Bice' that love is an 'accidente in sustanzia'. Contini sees this definition as echoing 'certo espressamente, alla definizione iniziale della canzone *Donna me prega*' (437). He therefore

takes for granted the existence of a *Donna me prega* already in circulation at the time when the *Vita Nuova* was composed.

In Contini's (1970) brief focus on the *Vita Nuova* can be seen a general acceptance of the sincerity of Dante's professed friendship with Cavalcanti. It is this assumption which Hainsworth (1988) takes on and, although his discussion does not deal directly with the question of chronology, the questioning of the validity of accepting at face value the addressing of Cavalcanti as an 'amico' by Dante helps to form a clearer picture of their literary relationship. This alternative picture can then in turn, if faced with a balance of probability, help to draw at least a tentative conclusion one way or the other. Hainsworth fundamentally questions whether Dante can be said to in some way dedicate the *Vita Nuova* to Cavalcanti. While the work seems, with its six affirmations of friendship (III,14; XXIV,3; XXIV,6; XXV,10; XXX,3; XXXII,1) to indicate the continuation of literary closeness, with XXX,3 being regarded by critics such as De Robertis as even indicating a dedication of the little book to Guido, Hainsworth points out that 'one may...ask why such matters are introduced in *Vita nuova* XXX. After all, it is an odd thing to find even an informal dedication not at the beginning or end of a work but hidden in two subordinate clauses some three-quarters of the way through it' (587). The question here, then, is why Dante would make a dedication in such an obscure and almost veiled way. Hainsworth then goes on to question why, once XXX is reached, there is an 'excess of information' (ibid). Taking on the issue of dedication, he suggests that the 'ciò' in this passage which has been taken to refer to the *Vita Nuova* might not, in fact, refer to the book at all. He explains that the book as a whole is usually referred to as the 'libello' or 'parole' whereas 'ciò' is regularly used to refer to something more specific and relevant to the immediate discourse. Assuming that Dante makes the same use of it here, Hainsworth reasons that it must either refer backwards or forwards. Since making it refer to 'cioè che'io li scrivessi solamente volgare'

makes no real sense, Hainsworth suggests that it refers back to the second and possibly also the first of the counter arguments which Dante makes at the beginning of the passage, the reason why 'quomodo sedet sola civitas' is used at the start of the passage and is therefore not gratuitous, and the reason why Dante does not quote the full text.

Dante is therefore, argues Hainsworth, raising these issues with Cavalcanti at this point. To respond to the question of why he does this, Hainsworth believes that 'the answer can only be that the 'altri' and the 'alcuno' whilst not limited to Cavalcanti, have him specifically in view' (1988: 588). Dante is worried here that Cavalcanti might be amongst those who will raise these very objections. Hainsworth uses this reading as evidence of the fact that Dante is counteracting Cavalcanti's (possibly outdated) position that Dante should write only in the vernacular. This reading, in Hainsworth's view, is more satisfactory than the traditional reading of a dedication because it allows the reader to find the 'cohesion in the passage which we should expect to find' (ibid.). This argument is then further supported by reference to two other apparent declarations of friendship in the text. The first is in III,14 which as has been argued elsewhere immediately cuts the 'friend' down to size by underlining Cavalcanti's misreading of *A ciascun alma presa*, at the very least demoting him from role of mentor. The second is in XXIV,3 where Dante draws attention to Cavalcanti's inconsistency in love, explaining that he composed *Io mi senti' svegliar* in the mistaken belief that 'Primavera' was still in his heart. This, Dante implies, contrasts sharply with his own unwavering devotion to Beatrice. Hainsworth does not set out to argue against the existence of any friendship at all between the poets, noting that the urgency of unity against Guittone was probably more pressing than any need for Dante to distance himself from Cavalcanti. However, what he does aim to demonstrate is that 'the friendship had some of the dynamic and unstable features we might expect to characterize relations between the two assertively individualistic figures' (589). He therefore concludes that it is important to recognise

the dissonance within the friendship outlined in the *Vita Nuova* and that although the 'libello' is addressed to Guido in the sense of an awareness of its position in opposition to him, it is also necessary to see their relationship as part of a much broader literary project.

Hainsworth's argument, therefore, sees in the *Vita Nuova* a sincerity of friendship at the level of necessary literary alliance, but also a deliberate undermining by Dante of this same friendship when focusing on areas connected to the sphere of their specific literary relationship. In this way, it goes beyond Contini and reveals the complexities of the friendship which the *Vita Nuova* presents. However, Hainsworth's argument still appears to be based on the tacit assumption that the *Vita Nuova* comes in the wake of *Donna me prega*. In his reading, the *Vita Nuova* is addressed to Guido in the sense that it is aware of its *opposition* to him. Of course, Dante could here be opposing Guido generally without *Donna me prega* specifically in mind, but Hainsworth's argument still forms part of the 'Dante opposes Cavalcanti' narrative mentioned at the beginning of this section. By participating in this narrative, it helps to lend support for a reading of the *Vita Nuova* as part of a phase in Dante's career which turns its back on Guido and moves forward with a new literary outlook.

Many critics have suggested, in the face of the complex intertextuality of the two works, that it is simply an impossible task to assert with anything nearing certainty a relative chronology on the basis of the poetry alone. Inglese (1995) is one such critic who, responding to Tanturli's reading (see Section 2.2, 69) argues that the complexity of *Donna me prega* makes it impossible to know for sure which text precedes the other. In his words 'la posizione di Guido in *Donna me prega* sembra chiara e netta. Tanto quanto è chiaro il contrasto con la posizione dantesca nella *Vita nuova*. Indizi interni che permettano di fissare quale, fra i due testi, presupponga l'altro, non si danno; o, almeno, quelli prospettati finora par che dipendano da articolazioni interpretative non irresistibili' (209). One example of this is the position which

Cavalcanti takes on the relationship between love and intellect, which opposes Dante. Although Inglese accepts the communication between the two texts on this point, he argues that 'non pare sia da ciò inducibile alcunché di concreto circa la cronologia relativa di *Donna me prega* e *Vita Nuova*'. However, in spite of this clear criticism of arguing one way or the other, Inglese seems to lean towards an earlier dating for *Donna me prega*, with Dante picking up on Cavalcanti explaining the textual similarities between the two. Concluding that it is impossible to say from the text alone which came first, Inglese turns to the following comment by Dante about *Donna me prega* in the *De vulgari eloquentia* II, xii, 3;

'cum tragice poetari conamur, endecsyllabum propter quandam excellentiam in contextu vicendi privilegium promeretur. Nam quedam stantia est que solis endecasyllabis gaudet esse contexta, ut illa Guidonis de Florentia *Donna me prega*, *perch'io voglio dire*; et etiam nos dicimus: *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore*'.

Inglese argues that, given the ordering of the two poems in this quote, together with the use of 'etiam', Dante is indicating that *Donne ch'avete* takes *Donna me prega* as its model, and not vice versa, since there would be no reason for Dante to mask the fact, were it so, that *Donne ch'avete* preceded what was widely regarded as an intellectually rigorous philosophical poem of great importance. This possible clue in the *De vulgari eloquentia* therefore, seems to persuade Inglese of this chronology.

In their recent commentaries on the *De vulgari eloquentia* both Tavoni (2011) and Fenzi (2012) have briefly addressed the chronological relationship between *Donna me prega* and *Donne ch'avete*. Fenzi does not commit to a position but does comment that 'ormai molti credono' (XLVI) that *Donna me prega* is a kind of polemical response to *Vita nuova* in a seemingly casual comment which belies how contested this question remains. Tavoni appears more convinced of this view, stating that it 'pare solidamente motivato' (1508) and commenting that the order of the two poems which Dante uses here 'molto probabilmente è l'inverso alla

cronologia'. Neither critic, therefore, embraces Inglese's argument.

In his 1996 critical edition of *Vita nuova*, Gorni, like Inglese, also appears to be uncertain about this question and underlines the difficulty of assuming anything. Indeed, Malato uses Gorni's use of 'se' (89: n.10.8) as evidence of the as yet unresolved question (see Section 2.2, 71). However, while Gorni is hesitant, he does put forward arguments based on the tentative assertion that *Donna me prega* is produced first. Moreover, he reads in the text a complicity between the two poets, commenting that 'la complicità con Guido dal piano sentimentale si estende a quello teorico...in un'intesa alta e precaria, che verrà meno in seguito, e che anzi si muterà in un radicale dissenso' (xxi). This is a position which seems to echo Contini (1970) in its positioning of the *Vita Nuova* as still within the phase of cordial relations between the two poets.

The release of Malato's *Dante e Guido Cavalcanti. Il Dissidio per la Vita Nuova e il "disdegno" di Guido* in 1997, which continues the work started by Tanturli (1993), sees the debate on this question hot up as responses to Malato's thesis that *Donna me prega* deliberately and pointedly responds to the *Vita Nuova* are put forward (see Section 2.2, 70ff for Malato's argument). Barolini (1998) in a closing note to her article takes on this critical debate around the issue of chronology and, like Inglese (1995), she argues against Tanturli that his founding argument (which assumes that Dante speaks of Guido in the *Vita Nuova* with a perfect understanding and has no point to make to his first friend, and so it must be Cavalcanti who responds to Dante), is fundamentally flawed. She states that 'the intentionality of any text, let alone of a text as opaque as the *Vita Nuova* vis-à-vis the man it labels "primo de li miei amici" but also casts as precursor John the Baptist to Dante's Christ, is far less transparent than Tanturli assumes' (60). She appreciates Inglese's view that it is impossible to say one way or the other and also adds to Hainsworth's depiction of the *Vita Nuova* as a text between whose lines much

can be read. She challenges Malato's argument, commenting that 'this investigation is troubling, for it offers the spectacle of philology degrading into pseudo-philology...since no amount of formalist comparison will yield a definitive chronology, the discussants are driven to base their arguments on opinions (which are themselves perfectly legitimate, but not when presented as though philology)' (61). She also comments that Malato should not go down the route of 'mount[ing] entire psychodramas on [the text's] backs' (ibid.). Barolini has since returned to this point in a 2015 article in which she makes the more damning comment that Malato's conclusion has been drawn 'despite a complete lack of verifiable proof, and because this sequence of events creates a more dramatic story-line with respect to the cessation of friendship between Dante and his *primo amico*' (95). That a certain amount of speculating about the personal psychological states of Guido and Dante is done both by Malato and also by Fenzi (1999) is certainly true. Barolini's comments resonate with my concern in this thesis to avoid interpretations of Cavalcanti which read his work with one eye on its relationship with Dante and thus risk moving into the realm of speculation.

I will examine Malato's argument more fully in Section 2.2 (70). However, it is worth noting here that while it seems true that the strength of Malato's philological argument is not great enough to be able to lay the argument to rest (as evidenced from the still on-going debate) and that he could well be guilty of using his investigation to try and give objective weight to what can only really be opinion, Barolini's subsequent argument that, if *Donna me prega* is a polemical text it could be 'aiming at any number of unknown targets...indeed, his target could, quite plausibly, be himself' (1998: 61) does seem refutable in the light of Malato's (to respect his own description) philological investigation. The question seems to be less who, if we assume the poem is polemical, Cavalcanti is reacting to and more, given the weight of evidence of intertextuality, whether it is Guido or Dante who is doing the citing. However, as I will discuss

in Section 2.2 (86) I believe it is possible to question the idea that *Donna me prega* is polemical at all.

Taking on the issue of *Donna me prega* as a poem of polemic and polemic against what, if not Dante, Sarteschi (2000) puts forward a hypothesis which is based around the idea that '*Donna me prega*, composta nei modi di un vero trattato, costituisca anche la messa a punto più tecnica di una ideologia personale: soprattutto se si riflette che lo stesso Cavalcanti aveva alternato, nelle composizioni elaborate senza uno specifico intento filosofia), [sic.] "pensamenti" diversi intorno all'amore, che possono stimarsi ridefiniti, nella canzone, alla luce di una programmatica scientificità' (9). Sarteschi goes on to posit that Cavalcanti is therefore not responding specifically to Dante but also to Guittone, Guinizzelli and even to himself in a poem which takes exception to all other poems before it, but does not respond in a focussed and targeted way to the *Vita Nuova*. Indeed, Sarteschi actually denies this possibility commenting that 'potremmo escludere che la *Vita Nuova*...ne venisse implicata' (64). It is worth noting that Malato (2004) responds to this attempt to explain the tone with criticisms which have, somewhat ironically, been levelled at him. In no way masking his contempt for Sarteschi's argument he comments that 'sostanzialmente ignorando, malgrado la citazione delle principali voci della bibliografia critica, la complessa problematica legata al tema, si espone in improbabili proposte legate a un suo personale itinerario mentale' (148). Malato is clearly frustrated here by what he sees as a lack of appreciation for the painstaking work he does in identifying possible textual similarities (whether or not these are regarded as philological or merely pseudo-philological), and his criticism draws attention to a lack of similar dedication to his own hypothesis in Sarteschi's work.

Coming at Malato's thesis from a slightly different angle is Ardizzone (2002: 206, n.39). Focussing specifically on Malato's handling of *Vita Nuova* XXV, Ardizzone comments that

Malato 'fails to understand the core of this chapter and precisely the passage in which Dante writes: 'Amore non è per sé sì come sustanzia, ma è uno accidente in sustanzia.' As I have indicated above, Dante in this chapter introduces the word 'accident' in order to oppose Cavalcanti's theory of love' (ibid.). She then goes on to explain that she believes that Dante's use of 'accidente in sustanzia' is a deliberate reference to *Donna me prega* and its theory of accident, and further that the word 'sustanzia' is designed to highlight the essential difference between the two poets on the unity of body and soul, a difference which Dante will make much more explicit in *Inf. X*. Indeed, the entire argument she constructs around this point is based on the assumption that *Donna me prega* precedes *Vita Nuova*. Malato (2004) in his turn expresses unmasked frustration in the face of what he appears to regard as Ardizzone's half entering into a discussion of this point, commenting that 'sarà che il mio concetto di “contestazione” o “confutazione” è basato sull'idea che si debbano discutere analiticamente i fondamenti delle tesi contestate e dimostrarne, con argomenti non banali, i punti deboli...magari offrendo altri (e possibilmente più saldi) argomenti a sostegno delle nuove tesi proposte in alternativa, ma questa della Ardizzone davvero non appare quell'offensiva capace di rovesciare il fronte' (149). He goes on to give a dictionary definition of 'confutare' in his notes. Malato's tone in his 'postfazione' (2004) is often one of irritation which at times, such as here with Ardizzone, spills over into sarcasm and even contempt. Although such a tone is unfortunate given the psychodrama criticism already levelled at Malato by Barolini, it does also attest to the conviction of Malato's belief in his own thesis.

Ardizzone's argument focuses on the way that Cavalcanti's ideas relate to *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore* and the conception of love as freedom from natural necessity which it supports, as well as to *Amor e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa* and *Negli occhi porta la mia donna Amore*. Ardizzone argues that 'it appears that Dante's major concern in these poems is to

eliminate every connection between love and necessity as basic to Aristotle's physics' (2002: 43). She goes on that 'Dante also eliminates the correspondence between love as passion and the rhetoric determined by the necessity of physiology' (ibid.). Ardizzone explains that *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore* is usually read in relation to *Donna me prega*, but adds that it should also be considered alongside *Veggio negli occhi de la donna mia*. She argues that the 'new' in this ballad is assimilated into Dante's poem as the 'newness of the new' (ibid.). She also explains that Dante 'emphasizes the relationship between the love for this woman and intellectual activity in order to stress the unity in love of the sensitive and intellective soul' (ibid.). Ultimately, concludes Ardizzone, Dante's poetry comes to embrace a concept of freedom. She summarises that for Cavalcanti love as passion results in an impediment of speech resulting from the physiological effects of love, whereas in Dante love is not related to the limiting factors of physiology, and so is given freedom.

Moving on to *Vita Nuova* XXV, which she argues Malato misreads, Ardizzone argues that, as Primavera can be interpreted as 'she who comes before', 'the same theory of naming leads us to understand that Beatrice-beatitude *opposes* love as passion, that is, love as it is determined by the physical necessity that Cavalcanti has described through his rhetoric of passion' (2002: 45) (italics in original). She goes on that 'Dante's Beatrice as a figure of love clearly appears to be a comprehensive metaphor designed to oppose Cavalcanti's theory of love' (ibid.). Ardizzone argues, therefore, that *Vita Nuova* XXV de-constructs the ideas seen most readily in *Donna me prega* at every step and argues that Dante's use of the 'accidente in sustanzia' is designed, in opposition to Cavalcanti, to 'reconstruct man as a unity', putting an end to the error of Averroism and the separation of the intellect from the individual. Ardizzone, therefore, comes out stridently in favour of the precedence of *Donna me prega* over the *Vita Nuova*.

At the start of the new millennium, Antonelli takes up this issue in 2001 in two articles, 'Cavalcanti e Dante' and 'Cavalcanti o dell'interiorità'. In this second article, as part of an attempt to study Cavalcanti 'senza Dante', Antonelli is freed up to see in Bernard de Ventadour a kind of antecedent in a key area of the Cavalcantian experience, 'canto e interiorità'. With this in mind, Antonelli sees a transmission from works such as Bernard's 'Chantar no pot gaire valer' to the use of 'coralmente' as meaning something which moves from interiority, to Dante's *Tanto gentile*. When considering the idea of disrupting this chronology, he comments that 'rimettere in discussione la cronologia dei rapporti intertestuali fra Cavalcanti e Dante non solo si finirebbe con non capire più in cosa consisterebbe il magistero cavalcantiano apertamente riconosciuto da Dante (ovvero su quali testi poggiasse) ma si dovrebbero posporre alla *Vita nuova* oltre all'arcaica *Donna me prega* anche altri testi-chiave delle rime di Guido' (2001^a: 4, n.6). Antonelli seems to indicate that such a reading would shake our understanding of the relationship between the two poets to the core, throwing up a series of other not easily answered questions. However, unlike some other critics of Tanturli and Malato's position Antonelli does offer some evidence to support his position, suggesting that 'non c'è infatti ragione di negare fede ad un dato documentario (l'indicazione in un codice autorevole come il Vat. Lat. 3214), in assenza di prove attendibili che dimostrino la posteriorità della *Vita nuova* rispetto a *Donna me prega*' (12, n.22). Here Antonelli puts forward a rare focus on the manuscript evidence to support his reading, adding to the debate another possible source which could tip the balance of probability.

Antonelli (2001^a) points to the Vaticano Latino 3214 (Va⁵) but Favati (1953), supported by Contini (1960: 902) identifies a tripartite family of manuscripts (Chigiano L.VIII.305 (Ca); Codice Martelli (Mart); Capitolare Veronese 445 (Cap¹)) which are key to the understanding of

⁵ Codes follow De Robertis (1986: 277-278).

the manuscript tradition of 'Donna me prega'. Of these, two are identified by Barbi in his 1932 edition as important for the manuscript tradition of the *Vita Nuova*; Ca and Mart, with the *Vita Nuova* also appearing in Cap¹. In both Ca and Mart, *Donna me prega* appears before *Vita Nuova*. In keeping with a strictly textual amassing of evidence, weight is added to Antonelli's position by Inglese's (1995) citation of *De vulgari eloquentia*. If Barolini and Gragnolati's (2009) comments that to 'Donne ch'avete' 'nella sua [Dante's] autobiografia poetica...le ha conferito un posto centrale' (301) and that it is a 'canzone-manifesto, che assume un ruolo programmatico nei riguardi del libello' (ibid.) are accepted, and if *Donna me prega* is seen as Guido's 'canzone-manifesto', the ordering of the two must surely be given recognition.

In spite of Malato's 'postfazione', support has continued to be voiced for the idea that no answer can, with the current available information, be given to the question of whether *Donna me prega* or *Vita Nuova* was written first. One such adherent to this position is Gragnolati (2010) who states emphatically that 'I would like to stress that there is no 'objective' element that allows us to maintain the antecedent of either text' (132). However, given this caveat he leans towards an earlier dating of *Donna me prega* commenting that 'I would tend to believe that the 'Vita nova' follows 'Donna me prega', and I wonder whether many of the re-writings that, as we shall see, have been performed in the 'Vita nova' are actually to be understood as a reply to Guido's doctrinal canzone' (132, n.16). Gragnolati then goes on in his chapter to explore the move of Dante's poems into the *Vita nova* and discuss what the 're-writing'⁶ which Dante subjects them to, and therefore their status as new poems once they enter the *Vita nova*, says about the success of the 'performance' of the *Vita Nuova* in terms of how it manages to create new meanings and then claim them as the true meanings of the originals. Gragnolati focuses on Dante's relationship with Cavalcanti in particular, and the role that the performance of the *Vita*

⁶ Here Gragnolati refers both to textual variants but also to the *mise-en-scène* within the *Vita Nuova* itself.

Nuova has in 're-present[ing] the past of its author as a progressive and ideal ability to distance himself from [sic.] the wrong way of writing à la Cavalcanti that ha[d] been a significant part of his poetic and spiritual apprenticeship' (132). He argues that, in the way that Dante chooses, orders and commentates on his own work, he establishes an author who is different, sometimes very different, from the author of the *Rime*.

Gragnotati goes on to point to indications in the *Vita Nuova* of the Dante we will see more fully in the *Commedia* – one critical, albeit subtly, of Cavalcanti. He points out that in its opening, Dante already draws attention to Cavalcanti's failure to accurately interpret Dante's dream, interpreting it, it can be argued, as Beatrice's death rather than what Dante now reveals was actually her place in heaven. Gragnolati comments that 'in this way, exactly at the moment when the *Vita nova* describes its author's entrance into the party of the 'Fedeli d'Amore' and attests to his official acceptance through the indication of his friendship with Cavalcanti, it is also possible to detect a first instance of the critique that the *Divine Comedy* will level against Guido's interpretative faculties' (2010: 134). Gragnolati then moves on to consider *Cavalcando l'altrier per un cammino* which is where he identifies the first substantial criticism of Dante's 'first friend'. Gragnolati sees in the transfer of this poem from the *Rime* to the *Vita Nova* a substantial change in the sonnet itself in what he describes as an 'audacious operation' which changes the poem from one which 'describes love's fickleness and the inconstancy of desire' to one which 'becomes a text celebrating the protagonist's loyalty and fidelity to Beatrice' (135). This moves the sonnet from a position of support for Cavalcanti's concept of love as an excess which requires mediation to a refutation of this same position. Gragnolati sees a similar operation at work in *Ballata i' voi che tu ritrovi Amore*. In Gragnolati's argument, therefore, support is voiced for Hainsworth's idea that the *Vita Nuova* can be read as criticising the poet it addresses as a friend, a criticism which might even have as its target *Donna me prega* itself.

The idea that it cannot be definitively established that it is Cavalcanti who responds to Dante and not vice-versa on the basis of intertextuality has more recently been re-voiced by Rea and Inglese (2011) who comment that 'pare che gli argomenti "interni", riguardo alla cronologia relativa dei due testi, siano reversibili, non conclusivi' (148). In this comment Rea picks up on one of the key criticisms which goes to the heart of Malato et al.'s readings, which is that if the textual similarities are accepted, and even if they are regarded as clear and indisputable (which, as has been seen, is not universally the case), there is little to indicate which way the influence goes. This therefore results in a situation of *impasse* which provides no satisfactory answer to the question.

In this section I have outlined a number of arguments put forward in support of the idea that Cavalcanti writes *Donna me prega* before the *Vita nuova* and therefore without Dante specifically in mind. As Cavalcanti is older than Dante it is therefore natural to assume that he is writing first. Indeed, Contini and later Barański (2004) have suggested that, in a reversal of how we see Cavalcanti today, it is in fact Dante who labours under the older poet's shadow throughout his life. The sincerity of Dante's professed dedication has been questioned, but while there may already at this stage be disunity, the necessity of a literary alliance is such that on some level Dante's proclaimed respect for Cavalcanti must be believed. Then, there is the textual evidence; Dante's ordering of *Donna me prega* before *Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore* suggests that Dante may be indicating that his own poem follows that of Cavalcanti. The polemical tone (if it is indeed polemical) of *Donna me prega* can be explained as a reaction to Guittone, Guinizelli and a generally unacceptable direction being taken by the lyric tradition in Cavalcanti's view and does not, therefore, mean that *Donna me prega* is directed at Dante. Moreover, *Vita Nuova* actually deconstructs Cavalcanti's philosophical position, rallying against a potentially heretical standpoint. Finally, if the two poems are re-ordered, the question

is raised of what Dante would be referring to in recognising Cavalcanti's poetic mastery, as he claims to do. There is strong evidence, therefore, to suggest that *Donna me prega* predates and so can indeed be read 'without' Dante. In Section 1.2, I will move on to consider the arguments which oppose this ordering, before reflecting on the debate and outlining why I am in favour of an earlier dating of *Donna me prega*.

1.2 VITA NUOVA

For an earlier dating of *Vita Nuova*

It is a testament to the richness of thirteenth-century Florentine literature that we have been left with two texts as remarkable as *Donna me prega* and *Vita Nuova*. The former offers us lyric poetry infused with philosophical vigour, communicating its ideas in complex and at times opaque ways, while the latter speaks openly and seemingly clearly to the reader of its own conception and composition. What unites these two quite different works is their purpose - the reinvigoration and renewal of vernacular lyric poetry. They are also united by citation; Dante, as we have seen in Section 1.1 (52) makes direct reference to Cavalcanti as his first friend. However, as emerged from the discussion in the previous section, the question of the exact nature of the two poets' relationship is far from clear cut and a number of scholars have stepped into this grey area in order to put forward an argument which, if correct, would require a radical re-evaluation of the relationship between two of Florence's most important poets. In this section, I will undertake an extensive review of the arguments in favour of a *Donna me prega* which responds to the *Vita Nuova*. I will then reflect on the arguments, placing them under critical scrutiny in order to outline and justify my own reading of the issue. In doing so, I will establish my own view on this heated discussion and thereby assert the critical position from which I will move forward into my analysis of Cavalcanti's poetry. This position is predicated on the idea that the teleological assumptions made in the *Donna me prega* / *Vita Nuova* debate should be laid aside and that *Donna me prega* should instead be read as one part of a Cavalcantian whole.

The questioning of Contini's position (see Section 1.1, 54) first takes shape in the argument of Tanturli (1993). In reference to the comment De Robertis makes on the distance between *Donna me prega* and the *Vita Nuova* in his critical edition of Cavalcanti's *Rime* (1986:

94), Tanturli suggests that perhaps 'se in mancanza di date esterni, che stabiliscono la successione dei due testi, ragioni interne...inducano a ritenere la canzone cavalcantiana successiva...alla *Vita Nuova*' (3). He goes on to read in *Donna me prega* a refutation rather than demonstration of a position, suggesting a reaction (presumably to Dante) rather than a spontaneous setting down of his philosophical ideas. He cites similarities such as 'che 'ntender no la può chi no la prova' in *Vita Nuova* XXVI and 'imagnar nol pote om che nol prova' in *Donna me prega* as evidence of a deliberate antithesis, even parody, present in Cavalcanti's *canzone* in an overt reaction to the *libello*. This reading, argues Tanturli, would not make sense if the former were read as a parody of the latter, given the context in which it sits. Why would Dante, he reasons, deliberately set out to undermine what is arguably Cavalcanti's greatest poetic achievement in the same space in which he praises him as his friend and deliberately aligns himself to Cavalcanti, indeed even brings him into his new poetic order precisely on the basis of their shared poetics? The simple answer for Tanturli is that he would not, since it would work against the intentions he has in the *Vita Nuova*, and so it must clearly be Guido who responds to Dante and not vice versa.

It is Malato who, in 1997, in a culmination of ideas laid down earlier elsewhere, elaborates extensively on the debate set in motion by Contini (1970) and contested by Tanturli (1993), arguing that the *Vita Nuova* precedes *Donna me prega*. In so doing, he truly sets the touch paper on a point of contention which has continually re-emerged ever since. Malato reads in the relationship between the two poets 'una serie di documenti e di indizi che denunciano una "crisi" forse grave sopraggiunta a un certo punto nel loro rapporto, imprecisata nelle ragioni, nei tempi, nei modi e tuttavia tale da incidere profondamente nella successiva esperienza biografica e poetica almeno di Dante, ma certo anche di Guido' (13). Amongst the pieces of evidence which Malato identifies to trace this crisis in the relationship of the two poets are

Cavalcanti's criticism of Dante in sonnet XLI, the treatment of Guido by Dante in the *Commedia* compared with his treatment of Guido in his early works, and, most importantly, Guido's *Donna me prega* if read (as De Robertis hints) as a reaction to the *Vita Nuova*, given the libello's philosophical distance from Guido's own position. Malato explains that;

'preso atto del rilievo appena citato di Domenico De Robertis, della *distanza* tra la *Vita Nuova* e la grande canzone teorica di Guido, nonché del fatto che non resti alcuna traccia di un "gradimento" o almeno una "accettazione" da parte di Guido dell'omaggio fattogli da Dante, è apparsa necessaria una riconsiderazione dei contenuti dei due testi, che espongono due visioni dell'amore...radicalmente diverse e addirittura opposte' (14) (italics in original).

Malato reads in XLI a possible response by Cavalcanti to the dedication of a book to him which lays out a position so at odds with his own, criticising its theoretical standpoint even at the risk of rudeness in the face of an ostensible act of friendship and respect. Malato suggests that this might explain Dante's response of silence, as well as the appearance of *Donna me prega* which Malato describes as 'concepita proprio come confutazione dell'ideologia sottostante la *Vita nuova*, raffinata e puntigliosa "risposta" a chi, dedicando a lui l'operetta, aveva in qualche modo inteso coinvolgerlo su quel terreno' (16). Here, then, Malato sees *Donna me prega*'s composition as a deliberate reaction to Dante's work, designed to make clear Cavalcanti's position and set him apart from any association with Dante's ideology which might be implied by being labelled as Dante's 'first friend'.

Malato goes on to argue that the *Vita Nuova*, beyond a couple of possible allusions noted by Contini (1976: 71), provides no clear indication that Dante knew of or was responding to *Donna me prega*. Conversely, argues Malato, Dante's dedication of the book to Cavalcanti and his repeated alignment with him in more or less overt ways through the work would be surprising should Cavalcanti already have written his *canzone*. Malato finds in *Donna me prega*'s *incipit* an echo of *Vita Nuova* X, 8 where Dante states 'mi disse questa donna che m'avea

prima parlato, queste parole: 'Noi ti preghiamo che tu ne dichi ove sta questa tua beatitudine' and notes that Gorni in his critical edition of the *Vita Nuova* recognises this similarity and reads in it a parody by Dante of Cavalcanti, if *Donna me prega* precedes. There seems here, therefore, to be an acceptance of the generally held view that Cavalcanti comes before Dante but without any indication of why this should be taken to be the case. More importantly, there is also a recognition implied in the 'se' that an argument might be made for the reverse. Malato then takes Chapter 30, para. 1 'alcuno amico l'udisse, volontade lo mosse a pregare me che io li dovesse dire che è Amore', accepting the suggestion that the 'amico' might be Cavalcanti and aligning it with the reference to the 'donna' and to a debate about love, concluding that 'sembra difficile non riconoscere un calco' (23).

Malato moves on to the problematical question of the 'donna' to whom *Donna me prega* is addressed, refuting (following Corti) the idea that this should be taken as a literal lady, but refuting also her suggestion that this lady might be the personification of natural philosophy. Instead, Malato takes XVIII^a, Guido Orlandi's 'Onde si move, e donde nasce amore?' as Cavalcanti's impetus but argues that the poem is actually implicitly addressed to Dante, highlighting the fact that it is the 'donna' figure who invites the poet to speak, just as a lady encourages Dante to do in the *Vita Nuova*. The lady, therefore, is perhaps Dante's lady, to whom Cavalcanti is giving an alternative response. Malato takes Cavalcanti's use of 'me prega' as further proof of the response of Guido to Dante, commenting that 'appare quasi una "cifra" inconfondibile, più che probabile ripetizione del medesimo verbo usato ben due volte da Dante con la medesima funzione' (1997: 25). While it is of course possible that Dante takes this from Cavalcanti, Malato implies that it seems more likely that Cavalcanti foregrounds this verb in order to speak to Dante, rather than the opposite case, in which Dante would take Cavalcanti's striking *incipit* and then make two undirected usages of the same verb.

Malato finds further points of intertextuality between Dante and Guido in their discussion of love as an accident. This concept is present in both *opuses*, but Malato highlights the difference in the two poets of the nature of this accident; fierce and violent in Cavalcanti but the opposite in Dante. Malato therefore argues that it is not Dante who takes on the distinctly Cavalcantian concept of love as an 'accidente in sustanzia' but rather Cavalcanti who reacts violently to correct Dante's assertion. He argues that this can also be clearly seen in Cavalcanti's use of 'talento'. This is used only twice in his entire *opus*, both times in *Donna me prega*. It is used once by Dante in *Vita Nuova* and a mere four times in the *Commedia*, a frequency which indicates the importance of this word and the very specific usage which is made of it. Malato explains that by 'talento' Cavalcanti intends 'voglia' and highlights both the fact that Cavalcanti only uses 'talento' in the negative and that this word is, crucially, used in LII in a positive sense; 'vivendo sempre in un talento / di stare insieme crescesse il disio' (7-8). Dante here outlines his desire to create a poetic unity, which Cavalcanti refutes. Malato denies the possibility of reading this in the opposite direction, arguing that 'bisognerà ammettere che qui Guido abbia voluto rimarcare che l'univocità del volere con / Dante è venuta meno, che i due non sono più – o comunque non sono, *a presente – in un talento*' (28-29). He then points to the final line of the *canzone*, 'di star con l'altre tu non hai talento' (75) as a return to this idea in a deliberate move by Cavalcanti to underline his position in opposition to, rather than aligned with, Dante. The insistence on a return to the usage of this highly specific lexical item as the final word of the poem seems to indicate that Cavalcanti's *canzone* is intended as reactive and insistent on its purpose of defining itself as in opposition to 'altre'. If this argument that *Donna me prega* is a reaction is therefore accepted, that it is a reaction specifically to Dante becomes credible when taken in conjunction with LII, and so it is difficult to read this intertextuality as working in the opposite direction.

Malato also sees reactions to Dante throughout the rest of *Donna me prega*. In stanza two, Malato reads a contradiction by Cavalcanti of Dante in *Vita Nuova* XVIII and XIX, whereby Guido puts forward a conception of love which is a passion of the sensitive soul unconnected to the possible intellect, rather than a route to intellections and, ultimately, the divine. Malato sees within this stanza, as within the entire *canzone*, a 'sforzo di ripresa di formule di Dante' (1997: 33) which he finds compelling. In stanza three, Malato finds in the negation of 'salute' one example of what he sees as a pattern of negation of Dantean language. Moving through the poem, he provides a series of philological examples, amply demonstrating the textual interplay between the two works. He therefore concludes that there is enough evidence to convince him that it is Cavalcanti who references Dante.

In order to strengthen his position, Malato also responds to Inglese's argument on the subject of Dante's comment on *Donna me prega* in the *De vulgari eloquentia* II, xii, 3. He states that 'non riesco a mia volta a vedere alcun motivo plausibile...per dare valore probatorio...all'ordine della citazione dantesca' (1997: 50). He adds that in the various citations Dante makes, his is always the last in the series and that beyond the fact that they are both structured in fourteen lines of hendecasyllables, there is little affinity between *Donna me prega* and *Donne ch'avete*. To better understand the situation between Dante and Guido, Malato goes on to consider some possible indications as to the relative chronology of *Donna me prega* and the *Vita Nuova* to be found outside these works, in the rest of the two poets' literary production. He turns to Cavalcanti's 'I vegno l'giorno a te 'nfinite volte', variously referred to as Cavalcanti's 'rimenata' (D'Ovidio, 1896; Lamma, 1902) to Dante, or his 'paternale' (Cassata, 1981) and uses it to develop an argument for this poem as a response to the *Vita Nuova*. De Robertis (1986: 159) puts forward a highly influential reading of the poem as spoken by Love in the first person and Malato accepts this, referring to the fact that 'le maggiori difficoltà esegetiche per questo

sonetto nascevano, prima della proposta di Domenico De Robertis...innanzitutto dalla mancanza di ogni indizio circa l'occasione che ha determinato questa cosiddetta "rimenata" o "paternale" di Guido a Dante' (54). However, he makes one clarification; Love is not to be understood as the indeterminate love of the lyric tradition, but as the specific love *as passion* outlined by Cavalcanti in *Donna me prega*. Malato argues that the behaviour to which this Love takes such exception in the poem is 'l'atteggiamento del poeta chiuso agli stimoli della passione' (56) and argues that this reading of the sonnet in the light of the relationship already outlined between the two poets indicates 'una inequivocabile collocazione nella fase immediatamente successiva alla pubblicazione della *Vita nuova*, che vede Dante travagliato dall'acuirsi del conflitto' (57). Thus, Malato goes on to argue, the sonnet reads as a sort of friendly provocation by Guido who at this point can be seen as regretful and perhaps even worried about the rift which has appeared between them, in what might, in the absence of any evidence to indicate otherwise, be an earlier, more measured response to the *Vita Nuova* before the hostility of *Donna me prega* which is to come.

Malato also reads responses by Guido to Dante in the famously spirit-centric XXVIII 'Pegli occhi fere un spirito sottile' which it is broadly accepted draws on Dante's 'Amore e 'l cor gentile'. In his poem, Cavalcanti outlines a process of love which runs along similar lines to Dante's, one which, it must be noted, is very different (argues Malato) from the ideas contained within *Donna me prega*. Malato therefore reads this as a poetic parody which develops along two distinct tracks. Firstly, it offers a 'grottesca ricostruzione, paradossalmente esasperata e meccanicistica...del processo amoroso e dei suoi effetti' (1997: 63) and secondly 'attraverso una caricaturale iterazione del termine-chiave *spirito*, così insistita, anche nella sua studiata alternanza con il diminutivo *spiritello*, non privo di implicazioni burlesche, se non beffarde, da dare sapore di scherno a tutta la rappresentazione' (ibid.). Malato clearly sides here with Ciccuto

(1978) and Contini (1970) in reading this poem as parody, but rather than a parody of himself, Malato reads it as a parody of Dante. He bases this reading on what he describes as Dante's 'uso piú insistito e caratterizzato, e soprattutto piú calzante e funzionale alla enunciazione o dimostrazione che il suo discorso si propone' (64). This reading, however, perhaps underestimates the rigorous and developed usage which Cavalcanti in fact makes of this word throughout his *Rime*. It also highlights the usefulness of reading Cavalcanti's work in dialogue with itself, rather than in dialogue with Dante. Malato concludes that there are, therefore, three key ways in which Cavalcanti responds to Dante; 'della parodia (*Pegli occhi fere*), della "provocazione" (*I' vegno 'l giorno a te*, vv. 12-14), della contestazione sistemica e globale (*Donne me prega*), presumibilmente in quest'ordine, in un evidente sforzo di Guido di sollecitare l'amico a un ripensamento, a una modifica della sua posizione...complicata forse da difficoltà personali di Dante, per il turbamento seguito alla morte di Beatrice' (65). Malato, thus, paints a picture of a Cavalcanti who, unappreciative of the position given to him by Dante in the *Vita Nuova* as literary ally, is moved to respond in ever more aggressive ways until, with no evident response from Dante (which Malato sees some proof of in Cecco d'Ascoli's 'lo tacer di Dante') unleashes *Donna me prega*. Following Malato, Pasero (1998) has put forward further arguments to support his reading which both adds to the examples in Malato and also attempts, by reading these examples in the other direction, to prove that they can only lead to a conclusion of *Donna me prega* as a reaction against the *Vita Nuova*.

Warm support is given for Malato's arguments on Guido in the *Commedia* by Bologna, also in 1998. In an appendix exploring the key texts on the *Vita Nuova*, Bologna states that he is 'perfettamente solidale con Malato nella constatazione, comunque irrinunciabile, di un legame fra *Donna me prega*, *Vita nova* e *Commedia*' but that on the question of *Donna me prega* not only being the later text, but being composed as a deliberate response to the *Vita Nuova* 'non

riesco ancora, invece, a ricevere pienamente e senza residui di dubbio' (123). He does not give reasons for his doubts but goes on to comment, however, in relation to Pasero (who puts forward an argument in favour of this very chronology) that he 'sostiene la tesi di G Tantarli...di una sequenza, saldata dalla chiave polemica, *Vita Nuova* > *Donna me prega*: la stessa, cioè, alla quale m'attengo io stesso, pur lasciando relativamente aperta la *questio*' (123). Bologna, therefore, appears to come down on the side of a tentative support for the *Vita Nuova* followed by *Donna me prega* but clearly wishes to highlight that this cannot be regarded as definitively proven.

A further key supporter of this position is Fenzi (1999), who provides a detailed outline of his argument in favour of a later dating of *Donna me prega* and a reading of it as a deliberate response to the *Vita Nuova*, but along different lines and focussing on different points to those highlighted by Malato. Fenzi begins his argument with reference to Dante and outlines points where, from the very start of Dante's poetic output, he identifies a drawing of the lines between the two poets (1999: 9-32). He concludes that there appears to be a two-part Cavalcantian phase in Dante's work, the first 'una stagione cavalcantiana della giovinezza' and a later 'stagione cavalcantiana della maturità' which is 'complicata dall'impegno e direi proprio dalla scommessa dottrinale fomentata del "primo amico"' (32). Fenzi sees *Donna me prega* as the dividing line between these two moments in Dante's poetry. He argues that although it is a response to Dante, *Donna me prega* should not in fact be read as a polemical poem. Rather, he views it as a stridently speculative and philosophical poem written in the knowledge that any eventual polemic would stem naturally from its thesis. This does not, however, make the attack on the *Vita Nuova* any less clear. Alongside its philosophical content, Fenzi sees in the poem a structure which is part of 'un fortissimo richiamo all'ordine' (35). The structure may be a significant evolution, even a perfection, of Guittonian precedents, but, like its doctrine, it is nevertheless

rooted in the poetic tradition and in Aristotelian philosophy. Fenzi identifies the core of Cavalcanti's objection as Dante's conclusion that 'l'amore è Beatrice' (37) which, as seen above, is the conclusion which the *Vita Nuova* reaches. Cavalcanti instead argues for a 'natural dimostramento' which requires that the nature of love and act of loving are two distinct things. Fenzi argues that the structure of *Donna me prega* forms part of this idea, with each internal rhyme giving a particular importance to each logical step. The internal rhymes simultaneously highlight individual concepts and link these together into a chain of thought. This also acts as a challenge to Guittone, already criticised by Cavalcanti in *Da più a uno face un sollegismo* and now taken on again in far less polemical and much more concrete terms. Cavalcanti does this, argues Fenzi, both in reaction to Guittone but also to Dante, at the very moment when Dante cuts himself free from the lyric tradition. Cavalcanti, on the other hand, sets out to demonstrate how he surpasses his predecessors, but in this very act of demonstration deliberately makes himself part of that same tradition.

Following on from this discussion of *Donna me prega* as a dividing line between two phases Dante's work, Fenzi turns to the radical Aristotelianism and especially Averroism of *Donna me prega*. He supports a reading of the *canzone* which indicates the eternity contained within the possible intellect which is argued for in Averroes (see Section 3.1, 172). There is, therefore, in the middle of a description of love phenomenology a presentation of the intellect as unaffected by the disruptive powers of love. In this way, Cavalcanti clearly delineates the passions and the intellect, and the sensitive soul and the possible intellect (for a discussion of these concepts in Cavalcanti see Section 3.2, 171). Love, therefore, is absolutely definable and describable in terms of how it works, but it is also absolutely unknowable. Thus, concludes Fenzi, 'l'amore non è l'inizio di una vicenda che possa trascendere se stessa...non è un viaggio dell'anima che mobilita e associa a sé tutta la facoltà dell'uomo, ma è piuttosto una fine, un

binario morto. Ma, se così è, l'esperienza di Dante ne riesce radicalmente negata' (1999: 50). Fenzi sees in Cavalcanti an implicit criticism of Dante's position as being intellectually dishonest, given that the philosophical nature of love clearly indicates the opposite of what Dante is trying to claim. Fenzi, therefore, interprets lines 69-70, 'For d'ogne fraude, dico, degno di fede, / che solo di costui nasce mercede' as carrying this message, arguing that 'sarebbe allora sin troppo evidente che fraudolente è proprio Dante, avventato teorizzato di un amore che troverebbe incredibilmente il proprio fine, la propria *mercede*, nelle 'parole di lode' (51). If this is the case, argues Fenzi, here Cavalcanti asserts himself over Dante as the poet 'degnò di fede'.

Fenzi then moves on to consider the issue of the visibility of love and the implications for its existence separate from the person who experiences it contained in line 65 of *Donna me prega*, 'e, chi ben aude, forma non si vede'. The point here is that Cavalcanti is not opening up a discussion of the identification of the signs of lovesickness which might be found in a medical text book, but is rather questioning whether love itself can be seen and therefore whether it has an existence distinct from the subject upon which it acts. The conclusion, argues Fenzi, is that there is nothing, in fact, which exists separately from the lover and so nothing which can be seen within the *res amata* which defines it as such. Beatrice, Fenzi emphasises, would of course be included in this discussion and therefore, argues Cavalcanti, cannot be defined, as Dante tries to define her, as synonymous with love, because the *res amata* has no inherent properties and therefore cannot be defined in absolute terms. Rather, one becomes an object of love through a decision and remains one only as long as that decision lasts. This highlights the fundamentally arbitrary nature of the object of love, which negates Dante's position in the *Vita Nuova*. As Fenzi explains 'la pretesa di Dante di additare in Beatrice non già l'oggetto del suo amore, ma l'archetipo e l'epifania di Amore stesso, il suo e quello d'ogni altro, si scontra con la radicale violenza della risposta di Guido, per il quale, semplicemente, l'“oggetto d'amore” non

esiste, perché niente e nessuno è di per sé portatore di una siffatta inesistente sostanza' (1999: 56). For Cavalcanti, Beatrice in the *Vita Nuova* cannot have any meaning besides the personal and arbitrary object of affection of a Dante who, due to the very nature of the act of loving, is in any case not in any way capable of rational judgement.

Moving on to the issue of light, Fenzi explains that in Cavalcanti, due to the fundamental break between passion and the intellect, passion can therefore know nothing except itself. It exists in what Fenzi describes as an 'ipertrofica presenza che esclude il proprio oggetto in quanto oggetto in verità non conosciuto, perché ad esso nulla di visibile e cioè di conoscibile la lega' (1999: 56). The lover, therefore, experiences a kind of blindness, since love involves a fundamental irrationality. As such, love is nothing more than a propagation of this darkness, in a position fundamentally at odds with Dante's idea of love as the propagation of light. Fenzi goes on to say that 'se per Dante la chiave per capire l'amore sta nell'oggetto d'amore, in ciò che l'oggetto è davvero, e perciò in un atto di conoscenza che si apre a un'esperienza trasformatrice fondata sulla fede nella realtà trascendente di ciò che si ama...per Cavalcanti la chiave per capire l'amore è nascosto nel soggetto, in chi ama...è l'assoluta immanenza del soggetto a se stesso' (57). Cavalcanti, therefore, does not see love as movement or transcendence, but rather as a blockage or a blindness, and a kind of 'anti-natura' in Fenzi's words (57). It is not, however, opposed to nature, but an excess which goes beyond the limits of nature.

From here, Fenzi takes on the mystery of the 'volere'. He cites Seneca as a classical source which argues that no one knows how they started to want that which they want, because it is an irrational rather than an intellectual impulse that causes this 'volere', but argues that Cavalcanti combines this classical thought with a root in Averroes, and in the idea that the possible intellect will deal only with intellection at the level of the human species and not at the level of an individual's obsession. Fenzi argues that, working from this central tenet, Guido goes

on to disprove the cornerstones of Dante's ideology. Cavalcanti sees love as being produced under the influence of Mars, god of war, and alighting anger within the individual. Love is not an act of faith and dedication, but a desire which can have many and changing objects. It is irrational, not rational. It is dark, not light. Fenzi argues that 'tutta la canzone, da cima in fondo, può essere percorsa in questa chiave, e le risposte saranno sempre le stesse, con un rovesciamento così costante e puntuale rispetto a Dante da cancellare ogni dubbio circa il suo obiettivo polemico' (1999: 60). Fenzi, like Malato, therefore reads a persistent writing 'against' Dante in the whole of the *canzone*.

The aftermath of *Donna me prega* can be seen in the effects which it has on Dante's poetry. Fenzi explains that 'Dante non ha polemicamente isolato le posizioni dell'avversario, non si è esplicitamente contrapposto ad esse, ma, al contrario, se ne è nutrito, le ha assimilate trasformandole, le ha combattute facendole proprie' (61). Thus, in this reading, Dante goes on to integrate Cavalcanti into his body of poetry, building on the work done in the *Vita Nuova* to unpick the Cavalcantian position. In this way, implies Fenzi, he takes a different line to Cavalcanti, who bursts forth with a clear and detailed response. Instead, Dante builds on Cavalcanti's opposition, using it as a foundation which will go on to underpin in many and varied ways the greatest of Dante's work, the *Commedia*.

More recently, the *Vita Nuova* before *Donna me prega* position has found support from Brugnolo (2001) who puts forward a reading of *Donna me prega* which he entitles 'Cavalcanti "cortese"'. As its name suggests, Brugnolo's article focusses on *Donna me prega* as a poem which is entirely and deliberately rooted in the European lyric tradition which begins with the troubadours, a 'courtly' poem therefore. It is from this point of departure that Brugnolo conducts his investigation of the historical significance of Cavalcanti's most complex *canzone* concentrating in particular on how it relates to the *Vita Nuova*. Brugnolo argues that *Donna me*

prega was written after the *Vita Nuova* in light of the debate which Dante's *libello* sparked upon its appearance. However, Brugnolo also stresses that *Donna me prega* should not be reduced merely to a reaction, however polemical, to Dante and that Cavalcanti would have written his doctrinal masterpiece in any case, that he was in some way on an inevitable path to its composition, that his entire poetical output speaks to this *canzone*. Rather, Brugnolo sees in *Vita Nuova* merely an impetus for Cavalcanti to produce this poem, with the following reason; 'Per proporre la *sua* soluzione – alternativa certo a quella di Dante – a un problema reale e attualissimo, che coinvolgeva lui non meno di Dante: quello della “crisi” del modello lirico cortese (*fin' amor*, *hohe Minne*, ecc.) messa in moto, in Italia, principalmente dall'esperienza di Guittone d'Arezzo' (166). Here Brugnolo picks up on an issue which has appeared before and focuses on it more fully; the crisis of the lyric tradition invoked by Guittone and Cavalcanti's defence both of the tradition and also his place within it.

Brugnolo sees the two poets as working at a moment of crisis, in which the lyric genre loses its fundamental points of reference and becomes a form of demystified parody at the hands of Guittone, who thereby threatens the very existence of the forms and content of courtly verse and therefore the lyric debate on courtly love. It is against this threat that Cavalcanti and Dante can be seen as coming together, albeit from diametrically opposed positions, in order to reinvigorate the lyric tradition and even, in Leonardi's words, to 'rinnovarlo definitivamente' (Leonardi, 1994: lv). Brugnolo sees the core of the problem as being the 'centralità o meno dell'esperienza lirica – necessariamente incentrata sull'amore *altero* – e, soprattutto, del suo statuto di “verità” (2001: 167) (italics in original). It is clear that both the *Vita Nuova* and *Donna me prega* react to this threat, albeit in different ways, by reasserting the orthodoxy of *fin amor*, argues Brugnolo. As he explains, 'il nucleo centrale della dottrina della *fin' amor* (amore come valore etico e gnoseologico indipendentemente dalla sua realizzazione, e anzi proprio in

funzione dell'impossibilità di questa) viene salvaguardato e ribadito, e nello stesso tempo mirabilmente superato' (167). He argues that it is evident that both Dante and Cavalcanti achieve this by deliberately employing Guittonian models in their work, Dante by using a blend of prose and verse and Cavalcanti by choosing a deliberately 'hyperguittonian' structure for *Donna me prega*, which, Brugnolo maintains, is not chosen in order to antagonise Dante (this is achieved elsewhere) but to rebut Guittone. Brugnolo summarises that '*Donna me prega* non è scritto, in prima istanza, contro Dante e la *Vita Nuova*; e nel medesimo tempo *Donna me prega* è, se posso dire così, la *Vita Nuova* di Guido' (168), representing as it does a moment in which the rest of Cavalcanti's poetry converges and is both codified and decodified. From Brugnolo's argument, therefore, it seems that although there may be a reaction by Cavalcanti to Dante, the primary reaction is of the two poets to Guittone. He therefore argues for a reading of the *canzone* primarily on this basis, with the relationship between Cavalcanti and Dante of secondary concern.

Gessani (2004) has also come out in partial support of the *Vita Nuova* then *Donna me prega* chronology, and certainly Malato sees an ally in Gessani, including him in a note of 'consensi pieni e non meramente dichiarativi' (2004: 164). The two are in agreement on a reading of 'sì chi lo nega – possa 'l ver sentire' in *Donna me prega* as referring to Dante, with Gessani commenting that *Donna me prega* espouses 'una dottrina che intende essere scientifica e che con la scienza risponde a Dante non con ironica amarezza, ma con un tono autorevole di un magistero fondato sulla verità' (38). Gessani sides with Malato over Contini when he reads 'chi lo nega' as referring to Dante rather than ser Pace, with the direct but probably valid question 'ma quanto importava a Guido degli elogi di ser Pace, e quanto il pensiero di Dante?' (38, n.37). Gessani is also in agreement with Malato's reading of 'spiritello' in *Pegli occhi fere uno spirito sottile* as burlesque and parodying the *Vita Nuova*.

However, Gessani does not, in fact, completely accept Malato's position, disagreeing for example with Malato's hypothesis that it is Cavalcanti who responds to Dante in the incipit of *Donna me prega* by referring to *Vita Nuova* XVIII, 6. Gessani makes the point that Dante seems to respond to Cavalcanti and supports this position with recourse to the manuscript tradition noting that 'il legame diverrebbe ancora più stretto se l'incipit della canzone di Guido fosse: "Donna me prega – che io deggia dire", come recitano alcuni codici antichi', because this would mean that Dante takes the opening line in full, simply changing the tense of the verb. Gessani argues that Malato is wrong to read this in the other direction both for the greater textual similarity between the *incipit* of *Donna me prega* and *Vita Nuova* XX, 1 than XVIII, 6 and the mentioning in XX, 1 of an 'amico', whom Gessani presumes to be Cavalcanti. He also argues that the final line of *Donna me prega* is directed at Guinizelli, not Dante. Ultimately, Gessani seems to come down somewhere between the two positions. Indeed, he makes the following comment with regards to the contrary positions of Tonelli and Malato; 'Tonelli ha ragione quando si oppone alle interpretazioni di *Donna me prega* volte a cogliere in essa...una risposta alla *Vita nuova*' (110, n.14) accepting her argument that readings similar to Malato's might be described as 'suffocating'. This is not, then, the 'consenso pieno' which Malato suggests.

Reflections

What emerges from these discussions is a picture which is far from clear but which does, at least, begin to reveal something more about the relationship between Cavalcanti and Dante than the traditional narrative outlined at the start of Section 1.1 (52). Critics on both sides of the debate seem to indicate a complexity of relationship which begins long before *Inf.* X and Cavalcantian presences which emerge in various ways in the *Commedia*. What we can say as a

result of this revisiting of various ideas about the two poets, then, is that Dante and Guido criticise each other perhaps even from their earliest communications, and certainly by the time of the *Vita Nuova*, whichever chronological position it is given in relation to *Donna me prega*. In accepting this premise, a question is therefore raised about what exactly Dante means by 'amico' when he uses this epithet of Cavalcanti. When Tanturli (1993) poses the question of why Dante would undermine Cavalcanti and, possibly, some of the ideas contained in *Donna me prega* in the *Vita Nuova* while at the same time aligning himself *with* Cavalcanti, the question requires a much more thoughtful answer than 'he wouldn't'. Recognising this does not, as the debate above shows, preclude a *Vita Nuova* > *Donna me prega* ordering, it merely makes the questions around their friendship more complex.

Cavalcanti is a poet who is clear on his own opinion and is not shy in voicing it. He is also well known as a philosopher, at least if the earliest accounts available to us about him are to be believed, and writes a poetry immersed in medical and philosophical theory (see Section Three). That he creates, therefore, a *Donna me prega* which is strident in defence of such a position would not necessarily be a cause of great soul searching for Dante in terms of their friendship. The consistency of Cavalcanti's philosophical position in his poetry is often commented upon and although *Donna me prega* is the most condensed and highly charged representation of these ideas, Cavalcanti does not put forward any theory with which Dante would not, it is likely, have been familiar. The poem does not, as far as we know, meet with heated response from other quarters and it is therefore conceivable, I believe, that Dante could indeed conduct the attempted recruitment of Cavalcanti to his way of thinking which is present in the *Vita Nuova* even with *Donna me prega* already in existence. Indeed, the question might even be why would he *not* refer to Cavalcanti as his first friend, given Guido's considerable status as a poet-philosopher and active role in Florentine literary life. That Dante in fact

provides a subtext of undermining Cavalcanti's views in various moments of his *libello* only goes to support this hypothesis.

All of this of course requires an acceptance of the basic principle that *Donna me prega* and *Vita Nuova* communicate with each other, a premise which, I would argue, is entirely acceptable. The work done by Malato (1997) and then supported by Fenzi (1999) seems to be ample demonstration of this even if, as Barolini points out, their claims are at times exaggerated (see Section 1.1, 60). To speculate, for example, on the personal nature of Dante and Cavalcanti's relationship and the impact of Beatrice's death upon it does highlight the highly subjective and hypothetical position which Malato adopts. However, in spite of the tone of Malato's work, I believe the general principle of intertextuality which he espouses is valid, but I accept this without necessarily agreeing with the direction of the borrowings put forward. I also refute the arguments that, for example, Cavalcanti might be specifically responding to someone else, or even himself, which do not seem well substantiated. What they do indicate, however, is the possibility of the text as being polemical, rather than merely assertive of its position. This argument has been given a subtler slant elsewhere (see Fenzi, 1999) with the idea that the text is not in itself deliberately polemical, but is aware of its polemical consequences. It seems, though, given the lack of indication of its polemical nature by the early commentators and no indication of responses to it from anyone except Dante, that the polemical nature of the poem can itself be questioned. It is clearly at odds with Dante, just as Dante is at odds with it, but this is not, I believe, proof of a deliberate attempt to polemicise. Instead, I regard *Donna me prega* as working in strict interrelation with the rest of Cavalcanti's poetry, and assertive of its own position.

However, this discussion is descending into the very conjecture of which Malato et al. have been accused (see Barolini's comments, 60) painting a picture of a relationship the veracity

of which cannot be proven. In reflecting on this question, this descent into 'psychodrama' has in fact occurred time and again, which perhaps only serves to support the argument that this question cannot be given a definitive answer. Whichever side of the argument is considered, some conjecture seems to be necessary. To return to Malato for a moment, the work which he has done in attempting to establish some clear textual interactions cannot, I believe, be dismissed as mere 'pseudo-philology', and the textual relationships which he sees are, for the most part, convincing, although his argument is certainly undermined by, ironically, its own perfection. It seems to me that reading in *Pegli occhi fere, I' vegno 'l giorno a te* and finally *Donna me prega* a kind of crescendo of response which reflects Cavalcanti's ever growing irritation with Dante is to create a narrative which, in its very neatness, suggests a fitting of the evidence to the hypothesis rather than an uncovering of a previously unrecognised relationship between these poems. I also believe that Malato's reading of *Pegli occhi fere* as burlesque is flawed and fails to recognise its role within Cavalcanti's body of work. It disregards the complex usage which Cavalcanti in fact makes of *spirito* throughout his *Rime* (see Section 3.1, 165), and also highlights the usefulness of reading Cavalcanti's work as in dialogue with itself, rather than as in dialogue with Dante. Indeed, any reading which attempts to understand the relationship between Cavalcanti and Dante by hunting for points of intertextuality risks falling into the trap of reading Cavalcanti through Dante which this thesis is an attempt to move away from, albeit recognising the need to see Cavalcanti as part of a literary community.

An interesting question also raised by this debate, and one of central importance for this thesis, relates to Cavalcanti's radical Aristotelianism. Fenzi (1999) has amply demonstrated how he believes *Donna me prega* clearly presents its Averroist influences and he uses this position as evidence of a refutation of Dante's own philosophy on the nature of love, on the basis of its lack of philosophical rigour. What is curious, however, is that Ardizzone (2002) flatly denies

the idea that *Donna me prega* could be written in response to the *Vita Nuova* and indeed states clearly that she has based her discussion on the assumption (which we have seen can be regarded as still the 'default' position of any discussion which does not explicitly argue in favour of an earlier dating of the *Vita Nuova*) that *Donna me prega* comes first (see Section 1.1, 61). That it is possible to read this point both ways can perhaps be attributed to the fact that it is impossible to detach the conversation between these two poets from the cultural *milieu* in which they are writing. Radical Aristotelian ideas, as I will outline in Section 3.1 of this thesis (171), were accessible to both Cavalcanti and Dante independently of one another, and that Cavalcanti ascribed to such ideas is evident in his poetry even without the existence of *Donna me prega*. That Dante might take on what he regards as some the most troubling tenets of this philosophy without having been exposed to *Donna me prega* is not, therefore, beyond the realms of possibility⁷.

Malato's main argument against Inglese's hypothesis is that Dante places himself at the end of every citation he makes in the *De vulgari eloquentia* and that textual evidence of this kind should therefore be considered as a stylistic choice by Dante and not as an indicator of chronology. However, if Dante is attempting to build a picture of the tradition as leading inevitably towards him, and is using the ordering of works within his text to indicate this, then we can assume that Dante himself is encouraging his reader to regard his own poem as a response to Guido's. I accept Barolini's argument on the purpose of the *Vita Nuova* (see Section 1.1, 52) and I therefore find it difficult to accept Malato's disruption of this idea.

It is worth remembering in this debate that the *Vita Nuova* is itself a text over which hang a number of question marks. The first, which has found support from Nardi (1942) and later Corti (1983), relates to the possibility that the *Vita Nuova* may have had an alternative

⁷ For a synthetic summary and discussion of this debate see Barolini (2014).

ending, one which was later changed by Dante, and certainly after the *Convivio*, in order to align it more closely with the *Commedia*. Nardi suggests that these changes may have been made around 1308, a full eight years after Cavalcanti's death. This therefore raises the question of with which text, if we argue that Cavalcanti is reading and responding to Dante, Guido is actually engaging. This issue is further alluded to by Gorni in his 1996 critical edition which lays out a division into 31 paragraphs in line with the structure proposed in the earliest texts. Gorni comments that the result of this is that 'sembra isolare l'appendice beatriciana fuori da una primitiva, seducente simmetria a base nove, proprio come un segmento testuale aggiunto in un secondo tempo' (xx). The stability of the *Vita Nuova* cannot therefore be assumed, which further highlights the issue of just which *libello* Cavalcanti is supposed to be reading.

To conclude my support for the argument that *Donna me prega* predates *Vita Nuova* and legitimise my decision to read Cavalcanti unburdened by Dantean concerns, I will take up Fenzi's (1999) analysis of the philosophical underpinning of the *canzone*. Fenzi claims that Cavalcanti systematically undermines the central tenets of Dante's philosophy of love. In his narrative, Dante then responds to Cavalcanti's hostility by transforming the position of his poetic rival, ultimately making them his own. However, and to return once more to the historical record, it is Cavalcanti, and not Dante, who emerges as the philosopher of Florence. He is erudite and able in the eyes of those contemporary to him, and not, therefore, in a position which might require a strident defence of his position against a younger poet not yet proven as a philosopher. I believe that Fenzi's reading returns, once again, to the narrative which sees Cavalcanti as part of the story of Dante. It is also an argument which attempts to present as very clear what is in fact far more opaque; Dante is, in my view, still struggling with Cavalcanti in the *Commedia* in large part due to the fact that Guido was so well-established in his lifetime. A thesis such as this might now be required in order to re-establish Cavalcanti's position, but this

is not a challenge which he himself faced. *Donna me prega* may be clear on its own position and powerful in its representation of it, but I must ultimately agree with Antonelli that to move *Donna me prega* to a later dating would throw into confusion not only Dante's esteem for Cavalcanti, but the regard for Guido's work present more widely in the historical record. It is from this position that I will now lay aside Cavalcanti's relationship with Dante and take up the task of examining the historical context as I move, in Section Two, into an investigation of the early lyric tradition.

SECTION TWO: CAVALCANTI'S POETS? *SOSPIR** IN THE OCCITAN AND EARLY ITALIAN LYRIC TRADITIONS

Background

In 1984, Teodolinda Barolini's *Dante's Poets*⁸ presented a ground-breaking exploration of the classical and lyric traditions at work in Dante's poetic output. It constituted a thorough examination of Dante's reading of these poets and the use he makes of them in his own poetry, particularly in the culmination of his poetic thought, the *Commedia*. Such a study is facilitated, even encouraged, by Dante's own deliberate citation or reference to poets both in the *Commedia* and also in the *De vulgari eloquentia* and his earlier *Vita Nuova*. Dante is very clearly and deliberately engaged with his poetic ancestors and he leads his readers towards particular conclusions about them as he builds his own profile as a poet. Barolini provides (287-297) a breakdown of poets which Dante mentions or directly cites across his work, ranging in the lyric tradition from Arnaut Daniel and Giraut de Borneil through Giacomo Lentini to his appointed father of *stilnovismo*, Guinizzelli. There can be no doubt, then, that Dante is immersed in a lyric tradition which he regards with what Barolini describes as 'a sense of historical continuity' (91).

Within this tradition, the importance of the troubadours is most notably highlighted by Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* in which he produces a type of catalogue of a literary family tree, starting with Peire d'Alvernhe and flowing down to his own work, providing a potted history of the lyric tradition. This conscious and deliberate placing of the poet within his cultural history, albeit to provide a sense of the culmination of lyric thought in his work, gives a strong indication of the relationship the Florentine poets of the late thirteenth century had with their twelfth and early thirteenth-century predecessors. In order to better understand the poets

⁸ More recently, Tristan Kay's (2016) *Dante's Lyric Redemption* has provided further valuable insight into Dante's relationship with the lyric tradition.

commonly referred to as the *stilnovisti* therefore, the poets of medieval Occitania must be taken into consideration and thus form an essential part of this investigation. Taking the Occitan poets as part of a single cultural band running from northern Spain in the West to the courts of Lombardy in the East, producing a literature which cannot be considered as separate from Italian but rather one and the same, it seems highly likely that Cavalcanti would have regarded the work of the troubadours as part of his own literary inheritance and that he would have thought of himself as writing in a tradition which included these works. As Kleinhenz (2003: 135) eloquently comments 'the development of poetry in the Duecento is in many ways like an extended conversation – a *tenzone* we might say – that involves virtually all poets in one way or another over the course of the century, either literally or figuratively'. While Dante's conversation might be shouted loudly, Cavalcanti too engages more quietly with the same tradition, and it is to this figurative *tenzone* that this section seeks to listen.

It is not only the very different ways in which Cavalcanti and Dante express their engagement with the lyric tradition that sets the two poets apart, but also the evolution on the part of Dante and apparent stasis in Cavalcanti which distinguish them. Tracing Dante's engagement with the lyric past is intriguing perhaps most of all because he revisits and rewrites his own judgment of the poets which precede him. Arnaut Daniel, for example, rises from a simple love poet in the *De vulgari eloquentia* to the 'miglior fabbro' of *Purgatorio* XXVI whereas Giraut de Borneil is demoted from poet of 'rectitude' in the *De vulgari eloquentia* to being paired with the reviled Guittone in *Purgatorio* XXVI. In Cavalcanti we find no such explicit engagement except in around sixteen poems addressed to his contemporaries, around seven of which form part of a *tenzone*, a remarkable number for a poet whose total extant production amounts to little more than fifty poems. In these engagements, however, Cavalcanti shows no change in stance, but rather a dogged adherence to his established position. Indeed,

although his poetic production shows significant variety in genre and tone, the lingering sense is one of a revisiting and reworking of the same ideas. Cavalcanti seems to appear as a fully formed poet, and so the question of his relationship with the lyric tradition seems a less urgent one than that of Dante's.

However, a poet so clearly engaged with his contemporaries and working in an atmosphere of such a keen sense of a poetic heritage must also be just as engaged, if more covertly, with not only the Sicilians and Siculo-Tuscans, but also the Occitans. This section, therefore, adapts Barolini's title in order to investigate how Cavalcanti appropriates the earlier lyric tradition, even though the investigation must, due to the nature of Cavalcanti's poetry, be inherently different. This section will examine the use of *sospir** in the Occitan poets in order to trace the evolution of ideas within this word as it is passed down to Cavalcanti. In order to do this, the *Concordance de l'Occitan médiéval* (COM) database has been used, which provides access to all known extant works of the whole medieval Occitan tradition in prose and verse, including narrative and poetry, literary and prescriptive texts. By examining the third area of the database, it has been established that *s*spir** occurs two hundred and eighty-three times (with recurring refrains in PC319,2 and PC428,4.6 classed as one occurrence) in the work of eighty-seven troubadours and of these, it occurs only once or twice in fifty-five. Only three poets, Gaucelm Faidit, Cerveri and Aimeric de Peguilham makes use of it more than ten times, and in these poets' work it occurs on twenty-one, fifteen and eleven occasions respectively. In this section, usage of *sospir** will be categorised and exemplary excerpts from across the corpus will be discussed in order to provide an insight into the pre-history in which Cavalcanti's work is located. Numbers follow the Frank (1966) classification for uniformity. Spelling of names also follows that used by Frank. The complete list of occurrences of *sospir** with categorisations is included in Appendix Three. Translations of the longer extracts are available in Appendix

Four.

Preliminary comments on genre: *pastorela*

The academic literature on Cavalcanti's relationship with his Occitan heritage has mostly (with some recent notable exceptions; Rea (2007); Rea (2008)) focussed on his most overt engagement through the use of the genre of the *pastorela*. In 'In un boschetto trova' pasturella', Cavalcanti's choice of genre is interesting partly because it appears in strong contrast to the poetry of suffering with which he is most readily associated, or the philosophical *tour de force* of *Donna me prega*. Indeed, De Robertis (1986: 178) notes that 'la ballata è un'eccezionale collezione di 'unici'...ossia di parole che non ricorrono altrimenti nel lessico di Guido' which highlights just how clearly this poem stands out from the rest of his production. However it is also important to remember, as has been noted by De Robertis (ibid.), that 'questa pastorella rappresenta, e proprio ad opera di un intellettuale come Cavalcanti, l'unica apertura di tutta la letteratura fiorentina su un mondo poetico che fece la delizia delle corti d'oltralpe'. Cavalcanti, famed for his intellect and remembered as a philosopher and logician, is here deliberately deciding to engage with a radically different poetic genre. In his own way, therefore, he refers back to the Occitan tradition just as clearly as Dante does in his constructed family tree of lyric poets. I will therefore briefly discuss this and associated poems in terms of both the emulation and also innovation which have been read within them in existing literature.

The exploration of the *pastorela* in Cavalcanti was significantly extended by Picone (1979). According to his categorisation, the *ballate* 'In un boschetto trova' pasturella', 'Era in penser d'amor' and 'Gli occhi di quella gentil foresetta' fall into this genre. 'In un boschetto trova' pasturella' is the most overt expression of the *pastorela*, both because of its *incipit* but also because of its development, as well as the closing lines. De Robertis refers to the opening

lines as '*incipit* tradizionale, in lingua d'oil' come in lingua d'oc" and the poem goes on to present a rustic setting 'per lo bosco gia' (1986: 12) in which poet and girl meet, while its joyful tone, seen in the lines 'e tanto vi sentìo gioia e dolzore, / che 'l die d'amore – mi pareva vedere' (25-26) helps to express the idea of the possibility of love. Of all his *pastorelle*, this is the one which conforms most closely to its *langue d'oc* and *langue d'oil* forerunners. Rea (2011: 242) explains that in this poem 'Guido sceglie la strada dell'emulazione giocata sul filo dell'ironia e dell'allusività colta, piuttosto che quella del radicale stravolgimento del modello'. This poem is, therefore, *pastorela* in name and also, for the most part, in style, although with touches of irony. Rea sees, for example, a hint of parody in the joy which is achieved at the end of the poem, reading the 'gioia e dolzore' (25) as, while referencing the Occitan tradition (Bernard de Ventadour PC70.44,10 'de joi e de doussor') also being infused with 'un chiaro doppio senso erotico' (245).

'In un boschetto trova' pastorella' will, however, be the first and last time that Cavalcanti conforms to this genre so closely. In 'Era in penser d'amore' we have, instead, that 'radicale stravolgimento' (Rea, 2011: 242) of the genre. Picone (1979) points out that the opening of the poem differs significantly from the traditional *pastorela* in the lack of emphasis Cavalcanti places on the differing social classes of the protagonists. The *pastorela* is a genre which reveals a remarkable vitality in the Old French tradition with around 130 examples (Köhler, 1973) but it is Marcabru who, in PC293,29 and PC293,30, brings the genre into being. The genre cannot, therefore, be referred to without acknowledgement of its Occitan roots. Monson (1999: 203) explains that in PC293,30 'the principle of reply and dialogue is combined with an ironic inversion of the social relationships of the *canso* – an unmarried peasant girl (*toza*) rather than a married noblewoman, is courted by a knight rather than a low-born churl – to make a new genre, the *pastorela*'. This is a genre, therefore, born out of a satirisation of existing social *mores*

and it is this comment on society which has led Calenda (1976) to read Cavalcanti's appropriation of this genre from a sociological perspective. However, Picone's reading seems more convincing when the poem is considered in the broader perspective of Cavalcanti's works in their entirety. He comments that within the poem 'è anche venuto meno un elemento caratteristico di cui i modelli provenzali si servivano nel tentativo di contrapporre l'ascendenza sociale dell'io (nobilitas) a quella della pastora (rusticitas): e precisamente l'azione del "cavalcare"' (88). The reason he gives for this is that Cavalcanti, preoccupied as he is with the internal manifestations of the love drama, finds this aspect of the genre too closely associated with the exteriority of the scene. De Robertis makes a similar comment about Cavalcanti's appropriation of this genre in order to explore a theme which dominates the rest of his work when he comments 'il dato di riferimento non è, come nelle tante pastorelle, l'andare a diporto, il percorrere un sentiero ecc., l'apertura è pur sempre sul chiuso cerchio del proprio dolore' (1986: 113). However, De Robertis also emphasises the rooting of this exploration firmly within the genre when he goes on 'ma puntualmente il poeta ha ricondotto quest'ennesima esperienza ai modi e ai luoghi e insomma ai parametri linguistici di una precisa storia e geografia letteraria...individuata da una folla di suggestioni d'oltralpe di cui è difficile indicare l'uguale' (113). Cavalcanti is indicating a clear understanding of the genre, therefore, whilst also infusing it with his own concerns.

Leading on from 'Era in penser d'amore' in the so-called *Giuntina*⁹ (see De Robertis edition, 1977) is 'Gli occhi di quella gentil foresetta' which is taken to refer to one of the country girls in the previous poem who has become the focus of the lover's attention. Rea (2011: 175) comments on the 'dramma della psiche' which the poem represents, referring to 'una tragica e concitata rassegna della fenomenologia amorosa'. Indeed, the unfolding of the phenomenology

⁹ *Giuntina* here refers to the *Sonetti e canzoni di diversi antichi autori toscani in dieci libri raccolte*, produced by the Florentine editor Filippo Giunta in 1527.

of love can be seen in this poem just as clearly as in others which belong to a different genre and the form which this takes will be returned to for further discussion. What is worth noting, however, is that the categorisation of Cavalcanti's poetry referred to by Kleinhenz (2003), and in particular the labelling of these poems as examples of Cavalcanti's 'skill in composing in a more popular genre', while this is undoubtedly true, might detract from the overlap in Cavalcanti's work between one set of poems and another. This is an issue which has most commonly arisen with *Donna me prega*, historically read 'apart' from the rest of the poet's work when, as has been indicated more recently by Ardizzone (2003) and Anichini (2009) among others, it might be better to see an interrelation between the *canzone* and the rest of Guido's production. Similarly, these *pastorelle* speak to and work alongside the rest of Cavalcanti's work.

Closely connected to 'Era in penser d'amore' in Picone's discussion is 'Una giovane donna di Tolosa'. Both these works form part of a poetry of *peregrinatio* which again reveals an idea which Cavalcanti works through elsewhere in his poetry. Picone argues that the lady of Toulouse who appears in both these poems 'è l'immagine di un Ideale non solo irraggiungibile storicamente ma anche filosoficamente inconoscibile' (1979: 97), since she is half way between Florence, the location of the 'I', and the not explicitly mentioned but implicitly present Santiago de Compostela. Santiago, in Picone's reading, defines the essence of the Lady. 'Una giovane donna di Tolosa' therefore holds the key to understanding Cavalcanti's argument; 'Tolosa sta a indicare il / punto più avanzato raggiungibile dall'io nella sua ricerca del perfezionamento amoroso; oltre tale punto non è possibile andare: la somma Bellezza, il mondo della incorruttibile Essenza, l'Eterno, Santiago insomma, non si conquistano seguendo il cammino di Amore, ma percorrendo l'itinerario della Ragione' (97-98). Unlike the position taken by Dante, love cannot lead to the eternal. Instead, it causes an interruption in the cognitive process, an

interpretation very similar to that described by Ardizzone in relation to Guido's use of philosophical and medical sources. This metaphor is a striking one, therefore, and one which reflects a concern that runs throughout Cavalcanti's poetry.

It is clear, therefore, that by using the genre of the *pastorela*, Cavalcanti is both imitating and innovating. Such a bold usage clearly refers back to the earlier lyric tradition, but the poems also contain overt indications of an appropriation by the poet of this genre for his own concerns. With this as my point of departure, I will now, in Section 2.1, move on to study *sospir** in Occitan poetry, in order to provide an outline of the way in which troubadours employ sighs in their work. To provide a complete overview, in Section 2.2 I will survey sighs in Sicily and Florence, enabling me to create a clear picture of the tradition in which Cavalcanti is writing.

2.1 *SOSPIR** AND THE TROUBADOURS

*Sospir** and the *Planh*

It is perhaps unsurprising that sighing in troubadour poetry can be found relatively widely in the *planh*, a form used for funeral laments and one which is therefore a natural location for *sospir** as an expression of grief. However, sighing also makes a number of interesting appearances in a quite different form, the *canso*. I will therefore begin this section by looking at *sospir** in the *planh* genre, before moving on to explore the much more extensive use of *sospir** in the *canso*. I will investigate sighs as suffering, and as a portent of death, and I will also look at other highly innovative usages in cases where sighs are used as messengers, and where they are employed in a commercial sense as something to be quantified and multiplied. In the Critical Approaches section of this thesis, I discussed the authorial choices which must be made when producing a text. This section has been subject to one such choice, since the need to limit the scope of this section for practical reasons of length has meant that I have only been able to consider a limited number of cases. My selection criteria were based on the analysis presented in Appendix Three and from this I have, I believe, put forward a representative sample of Occitan poetry for analysis.

The *planh* in Occitan poetry is a lament, usually associated with the death of the patron of the troubadour or a ruling figure. As such it is a form which focuses on grief and suffering often expressed in a standard or formulaic way. In Paden (2000: 23) the breakdown of the genres given in Frank (1953) reveals that while the *canso* accounts for around forty percent of troubadour production, the *planh* represents a mere two percent. The exact figures vary slightly, but according to Jensen (1998: 12) there are forty-three extant *planh*. Jeanroy (1934) subdivides these forty-three *planh* into laments for patrons (33), laments for family and friends (5) and laments for ladies and lovers (5) (figures from Jensen, 1998: 12). Of these, nine (5;1;3) employ

*sospir** as part of their expression of grief. It is interesting to note that only five of these nine examples lament a patron or important figure when, as a form which is generally considered to be dedicated to the death of patrons, we might expect sighs to be used widely in these cases. In fact, the numbers indicate that *sospir** is proportionally far more widely used in a *planh* for lamenting ladies than for any other category. This compliments the proliferation of sighs used to lament ladies in the less weighty form of the *canço*. It would seem, therefore, that the sigh is already emerging as more commonly employed to express anguish when in service to a lady, as opposed to expressing other forms of grief.

Following the sub-categorisation made by Jeanroy, I will start this discussion with a brief overview of the *planh* for a patron. As mentioned above, five examples remain in which the sigh is used to lament the death of an important figure. These examples can be found in the work of Giraut de Borneil, Bertran de Born (PC80,6a.59, for Geoffrey of Brittany who died on 19th August 1186 (Paden et al., 1986)), Cerveri de Girona, Matieu de Quercy and Rigaut de Barbezieux. It is curious to note that two of these *planh* are dedicated to the same patron; both Cerveri and Matieu lament the death of James I of Aragon on 26th July 1276. Cerveri offers us in PC434a,62 'Si per tristor, per dol ne per cossir' a warm if overwrought tone in a poem which expresses the agitation and anxiety of its composer in the rapid succession of physical and emotional events which pour out, particularly in lines 3 and 4;

‘Si per tristor, per dol ne per cossir
ne per d[ol]or nuylls hom de dol moria,
eu qui sospir planyen e planç e plor,
dolens, delir, penan, languen, deuria per
la greu mort, dur’e mala d’auzir,
per que totz homs valens tayn que s’azir,
del rey Jacme, qui may que pretz valia’.

(PC434a,62.1-7)

There is an urgency here, with the poet drawing on every possible effect and feeling to express his grief. We encounter *sospir* allied with *plan*, *planc* and *plor* in what, as we will see, is a very familiar arrangement in troubadour verse. However, the insistence in line 4 of ‘dolens, delir, penan, languen, deuria’, while admittedly using no language which might be considered unusual for a *planh*, help to build an intensity of feeling in the poet’s lament. This is in somewhat of a contrast to Matieu’s *planh*, found in this poet’s only extant work. Compared to the attempt at spontaneity found in Cerveri, Matieu presents a far more formulaic and measured funeral lament which moves through many of the components which might be considered hallmarks of the form when employed to lament the death of a Lord. The second stanza of ‘[Tan]t suy marritz que [no]•m puesc alegrar’ (PC299,1) unfolds in the following way;

‘Joya•m sofrahn e dols mi vey sobrar,
e no trop re que•m fassa be ni pro,
quan mi sove del bon re d'Arago;
ladoncx mi pren fortmen a sospirar
e prezi•l mon tot atrestant quom fanha quar
ylh era francx, humils, de paucx motz e de
grans faitz, si qu sobre•ls reys totz
que hom aya ja trobatz en Espanha
era plus alt per valor conquerer;
e pus que•l rey tant sabia valer,
razos requer que totz le mons se•n planha’.

(PC299,1.12-22)

Rather than a seemingly spontaneous expression of grief, the poet instead visits each of the standard elements of the *planh* in a traditional way. He begins by declaring that he has lost joy and is overcome by grief (the first key element of the genre) (12) before going on to praise the

King in hyperbolic tones (the second - eulogy) as the greatest that Spain has ever seen in terms of his 'valor conquerer' (20-21) and then declaring that reason dictates that all the world should mourn him (22). In the midst of this, the poet comments that when he thinks of this death 'mi pren fortmen a sospirar e prezi•l mon tot atrestant quom fanha', he begins to sigh and he values the entire world as much as mud. The sigh is associated here with a lack of interest in the world as a result of his grief. Compared to the quick fire 'sospir planyen e plan e plor' (PC434a,62.64) in Cerveri, Quercy provides an elaboration of how he feels as he sighs, in which the world around him loses value.

Rigaut de Barbezieux is perhaps most familiar to us as a key source of inspiration for the Siculo-Tuscan poet Chiaro Davanzati through his innovative use of animal imagery (see Storey, 2004). However, Rigaut also leaves behind a *planh* for Raymond Berenger IV of Provence, 'En chantanz ieu plaing e sospir' (PC421,5a)¹⁰ which is, in its loss of interest in the world, similar in tone to that of Matieu de Quercy;

‘En chantanz ieu plaing e sospir
lo gran dan q’a Proenza pres,
qe mortz es lo meiller dels tres q’el
mond poguez nuls hom chazir’.

(PC421,5a, 1-4)

In this religiously inspired funeral lament, the poet manages to sing whilst weeping and sighing, losing pleasure in the world. Here we see a concern with aligning sighs with a loss of pleasure or interest in the world, and a standard occurrence of *sospir** with other keywords such as *plor* and, of course, *plan*. However, it is important to note that although the world may no longer be of interest, or it may be as valuable as mud, the poet does still sing, and indeed Quercy’s singing

¹⁰ The attribution to Rigaut by Jeanroy (1912) has been contested by Varvaro (1960: 265 – 267)

appears alongside sighing in the very first line of his *planh*, and in primary position. In a similar way, Giraut de Borneil's 'Planc e sospir e plor e chan' (PC242,56) uses its *incipit* to align *sospir* with *planc* and *plor*, but at this end of this chain comes a telling word - *chan*. Giraut's *planh* dates from 1199 and the death of Aymar V of Limoges, Giraut's patron with whom, according to Gillingham and Harvey (2003), he had travelled on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1179-80. In this poem, Giraut links his lamenting, weeping and sighing to his singing, but is unable to find consolation in his song. Spence (1999: 176), when discussing genre in troubadour lyric, has commented that 'the *planh*, while indeed a lament, is also a lyric meditation on the way in which loss and lyric have much in common...[it is] a reverse *canso*, where the lack of joy, in its boundlessness, has replaced joy itself'. It is this very boundless grief though, argues Spence, that provides the material for the troubadour song, and so although Giraut may lament the fact that his song gives him no consolation from his grief, there is irony in this very lament.

There exist only five *planh* written for a subject categorised as a friend and in only one of them, Raimon Menudet's only extant work, 'Ab grans dolors et ab grans marrimens' (PC405,1), do we find the *sospir**. The poem was written for Daude, Lord of Bossagues and was composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, believed by Radaelli (1994) to be a *contrafactum* of a *planh* composed by Raimon Gaucelm upon the death of Louis IX. The poem is used to discuss the valuable qualities that Daude has, 'che il trovatore vuole mantenere vive nel pubblico, enumerandole come valori universali: Pretz, Paratge, Franqueza, Ardimen, Saber, Valor' (Radaelli, 1994: X). In this way, then, the *planh* takes on something of a moralising tone. What Radaelli describes as the crescendo of the pain expressed by the poet at the death of Daude comes to its peak in the apostrophe 'Ai Bossaguas e totz sos mandamens! / La nueg e•l jorn deuriatz sospirar' (PC405,1.33-34). In this line we see an expression which will occur widely in the *canso* form appearing in the *planh*; the emphatic night and day. Here, as elsewhere, it is

used to add to the hyperbolic tone of the grief expressed by the poet.

The third of Jeanroy's sub-categories is the lament for a lady. The earliest and most well-known of this type of *planh* is Gavaudan's 'Crezens, fils, verais et entiers' (PC174,3) the addressee of which remains anonymous. Even in this early incarnation, the poem combines lexical items in a way which will become standard across troubadour poetry. *Sospir** appears alongside the common emphasis on night and day (see Section 2.1, 108) in lines PC174,3.25-26, as well as aligning with *planc* and *plor*; 'Tant estranhs es mos cossiriers, / nuech e jorn planc, sospir e plor'. As in Menudet, there is a stress on on-going sighing with no respite even in the night time. Occurring only on these two occasions in the *planh* it therefore is relatively uncommon but will be developed and employed much more widely in the *canso*.

The lady continues to remain anonymous in Bonifaci Calvo's 'S'ieu ai perdut, no s'en podon jauzir' (PC101,12). Although the *planh* can be categorised by addressee and is regarded as one of the more fixed forms and, as such, one which does not lean towards innovation, Schulze-Busacker (1995: 425) indicates that as well as categorising by addressee, the purpose of the *planh* can also be categorised. She divides the genre into '(1) the moralizing *planh* in which the expression of grief is only a point of departure for moral and social criticism of the epoch; (2) the true lament, where the expression of grief forms the central idea through the notion of sorrow and its manifestation by the song, the *planh*; and (3) the courtly *planh* which combines the expression of grief with the related idea of loss of joy or courtly gaiety'. It is in this third type of expression that we might expect to see usages of *sospir** which align most closely with those made in the *cansos* and indeed Schulze-Busacker indicates that 'S'ieu ai perdut' falls into this third category. In the fourth stanza of the poem the poet makes the following comment;

'Tant er' adreich' en tot ben far e dir,

qu'eu non prec Dieu qu'en paradis l'acueilla,
quar, per paor q'aia ni aver sueilla
qu'el l'aia mes en soan, non sospir
ni plaing, car, al mieu senblan non seria
lo paradis gent complitz de coindia
senz leis; per qu'eu non tem ni dupti ges
Que Dieus non l'ai'ab se lai on el es
Ni•m plaing mas, car sui loing de sa paria'.

(PC101,12.28-36)

This stanza can be read as a microcosm of the *planh* genre. The lady is praised as 'tant er' adreich' en tot ben far e dir' and then the consolation that prayer might bring is also commented on, but with the poet stating that 'non prec Dieu qu'en paradis l'acueilla', not turning to prayer in this moment of difficulty. Moreover, rather than embracing the usual weeping, lamenting and sighing which we see in Gavaudan and elsewhere, the poet decides that 'non sospir / ni plaing'. He will not sigh or cry, because 'non seria lo paradis gent complitz de coindia / senz leis'. Paradise would not be completed without this lady, and so there is no need to undertake the usual expressions of grief. This idea is developed further in stanza 5, leading Schulze-Busacker (1995: 428) to comment that 'apparently, then, courtly love, which is at the basis of this hyperbolic praise of the deceased, leads towards sublimated love and to the absence of grief, the pinnacle of consolation'. In one of its earliest manifestations, therefore, Bonifaci is inverting the troubadouric lexis of suffering and renounces sighing in order to express a new conception of the process of suffering in love.

Returning to a more corporeal expression of grief, Pons de Chapeuil's 'De totz chaitius sui eu aicel qe plus' (PC375,9) is, according to Lucas (1958: 119), 'probably the best known of all the poems left to us by this troubadour'. It is the only poem to specifically name the lady and laments the death of Azalais de Mercuor. We see in this poem the same sentiment which is

expressed in the laments for a patron in that the troubadour expresses the crisis he has with singing itself. Seized with grief, the poet cries out in the sixth stanza;

'Ai! qals danz es de midonz N'Azalais!
Non puosc als far ma de toz jois mi lais
e pren comjat de chantar derenan,
e planc e plor e maint coral suspire
m'an mes per leis en angoissos martire'.

(PC375,9.46-50)

Here, overcome by the grief which he is experiencing, the poet declares that he must abandon all joy and in particular give up singing. He is overcome with lamentation, crying and sighing from his heart and is filled with anguish. The poet uses language over his lady's death which is often employed by the troubadours when they are expressing their unhappiness over their treatment by or distance from their beloved when that lady is still alive, and as such the intensity recalls the usage in the *cansos*. However, this ending also conforms closely to the standard components of the *planh* and, as Lucas comments this poem 'remains strictly within the narrow limits imposed by the verse-form of which it is an example' (129). However, Lucas also sees something of the personal within this poem and argues that Pons, when he declares that he will leave poetry and love forever, does so 'not as a mere figure of speech, but as the logical and inevitable consequence of the event which, for him, was not merely the loss of a beloved person, but the passing of all that was best and noblest in his own philosophy of love' (ibid.). It is certainly tempting to read, in the true and literal death of the beloved, a real and heart-felt grief at her loss, but this sentiment still remains expressed in familiar language and the irony identified by Spence (1999) emerges again here. Pons may wish to give up singing, but that very desire generates his song. If, however, moving away from love is read as the logical

conclusion to the loss of his own philosophy of love, a more serious concern might be identified in this poetry.

The *planh* might at first sight appear to be a form in which sighs might be both expected and predictable. However, in spite of being a form which can generally be regarded as highly structured and obeying strict conventions, there are, as has been seen, some interesting moments within the *planh*. There is a clear crossover between *planh* and *canso* in terms of the standard usage of *sospir**, but intriguingly there is a refutation of *sospir** in a moment when the sublimation of love is expressed. Here, therefore, there is a gentle murmuring of the sigh as associated with a philosophical elaboration on love, even within this rigid and formulaic mode. Moreover, the question has been raised over the literalness of the troubadours' claims, a question which, as we will see, re-emerges elsewhere in the *cansos*.

*Sospir** in the *cansos*: Sighing, suffering and illness

We have seen that the sigh makes an appearance in the *planh* and indeed that in this form, *sospir** appears in ways which can provide a hint as to how it might be employed outside the genre, and especially in the *cansos*. *Sospir** is far more widespread in the *canso* form than the *planh* and so I will now begin to investigate appearances in the courtly song of the troubadours. I have chosen to focus in particular on the poems of Gaucelm Faidit, Pons de Chapteuil and Bernard de Ventadour with reference to other interesting examples where relevant. I have selected these poets because their larger bodies of work allow for a more meaningful comparative investigation similar to that which I will conduct on Cavalcanti's poetry at the end of this thesis, in Section 3.2. As we encountered in the *planh*, an extremely common usage of the sigh in the Occitan *canso* is in association with lamentation, weeping and often both. In this

way *sospir** is used as a commonplace shorthand for suffering, although it is less widely used than *plan** or *plor** across Occitan poetry generally. *Sospir** and *plan** outside the *planh* genre occur together on thirty-two occasions (see for example Aimeric de Belenoi, PC9,11.49 'Bona domna, per vos plaing e sospir') while *sospir** and *plor** occur together thirty-one times (for example in Peire Vidal, PC364,2.31-32 'Sospirar e plorar / mi fai manta sazo') and *plan**, *plor** and *sospir** occur together in fourteen poems (for example in Aimeric de Peguilhan, PC10,7.40 'de sospir en plaing e de plaing en plor'). *Sospir** is therefore associated with one or both of these two words on a total of seventy-seven occasions (see Appendix Three), thereby accounting for around a third of all occurrences.

The two other expressions of unhappiness with which *sospir** is associated are anguish as an adjective (*angoissos*) which occurs three times and long as a verb (*languir*), occurring ten times. The low number of occurrences of *angoissos* is notable, although across troubadour poetry it is more widely used than the noun. Rea (2008: 195) comments, in comparison to the noun form, that 'di maggior fortuna, anche se pur sempre contenuta, gode l'aggettivo angoscioso...nella poesia trobadorica, riferito in genere all'amante o a sostantivi astratti del campo semantico della sofferenza'. Gaucelm Faidit uses it twice, in PC167,33.39 and PC167,60.35. In PC167,33 the lady is depicted as mostly generous and welcoming. In the third stanza, the poet focuses on the beautiful appearance and the merit of the lady, as well as her beautiful eyes which once seduced the lover and which now inspire him to return to Provence. Indeed, it is this painful separation from his beloved which causes the lover 'sospirs angoissos' (PC167,33.39). Separation is also responsible for the anguished sighing in PC167,60. Mouzat (1965: 128) cites stanza four of this poem as most representative of the corporeality of Gaucelm's work, particularly the final lines 'e•n fatz soven mout angoissos sospir / car non la posc totz jorns baisan jauzir' (PC167,60.35-36). Here the poet often sighs because he is

physically separated from his beloved and cannot take joy from kissing her each and every day. The physical side of love is therefore much in evidence in this usage. The only other pairing of *angoissos* with *sospir** is in *Perdigon* 370,10.4.

Languir occurs more often, but still infrequently, in seven poems. Five of these seven occur in *Gaucelm Faidit*. In *PC167,9* which is believed by *Mouzat* to pertain in part to the third and in part to the fourth crusades, made up as it appears to be of two compositions produced around ten years apart, the speaker is departing from his homeland of the *Limousin* and leaving behind ‘*seignors e vezis / e dompnas ab pretz fis / pros, de gran cortesia*’ (*PC167,9.12-14*) and so ‘*planc e languis / e sospir nuoig e dia!*’ (*PC167,9.15-16*). Leaving behind the people of his homeland, and the ladies in particular, *Gaucelm* makes stock use of the familiar theme of sighing night and day. Longing here is used alongside *planc* to form part of a stock expression of unhappiness. *PC167,37* also refers to a common complaint which causes unhappiness in the lover. In the opening stanza, the poet employs the standard idea of the lover being unable to confess his love to his lady, with the result that ‘*languisc e sospire*’ (*PC167,37.5*). He remains in a similar state in stanza 4 since ‘*per nuilla ren no•us aus dir mon penssar*’ (*PC167,37.28*) but knows that he communicates his feelings to his lady through his ‘*maint cortez sospir / qe•m vezetz far qand vos vei ni•us remire*’ (*PC167,37.31-32*). The *sospire* here, therefore, becomes a sort of tool of communication between the lover and the beloved, although not in as overt a way as we will see in the messenger sigh. *PC167,35* is a more developed discussion of the role suffering has in the process of loving. As *Mouzat* (1965: 140) explains, in *PC167,35* ‘*le poète expose l’idée de la souffrance d’amour qui améliore celui qui la ressent*’. The core argument of the poem is that a man cannot improve without suffering and that it is a formative experience for the lover. In this poem, the lady is represented as a common figure in troubadour poetry, beautiful but cruel. This figure provokes longing and sighs of suffering within the lover in the

first stanza ('fai languir e sospirar soven' PC167,35.6).

The pairing of *languir** with *sospir** is not, however, always associated with a negative tone. PC167,40 is described by Mouzat (1965: 289) as 'l'une des plus gracieuses et des plus passionnées...de Gaucelm'. The lover is separated from Bon Esper and is joyless without her, but refuses to turn his attentions to any other lady. In stanza 3 he remembers the 'bels respos que sospiran me dis' (PC167,40.20) and the erotic undertones of the poem become more marked in stanza 4 when;

'Qe, qand esgar los huoills ab lo clar vis
e•l bel semblan don m'a si entpres, qe
re non fatz, mas sospir e languis;
trembl' e trassail e muor de plan' enveja
car non sui lai servir' al sieu jazer'.

(PC167,40.29-33)

The lover is reduced to a sighing, desiring and quivering wreck in the face of his beautiful lady and the distance at which he must remain from her bedside.

The sigh is also, very occasionally not accompanied by crying, lamentation, pain and anguish, but is described as being 'sweet'. Pons de Chapeuil's PC375,16 describes 'dels gais semblanz amors, / que•m fan dousamen sospirar' while Gaucelm Faidit's PC167,29 is also unusually upbeat. Mouzat (1965: 229) refers to this poem as 'un long cri d'allégresse, et sans doute la plus purement joyeuse de l'oeuvre de Gaucelm' and indeed the levels of joy which the poet reaches can be seen throughout the poem and especially in stanza 2;

'Ai! tan gen mi rete
la bella cui reblan
qan del cor mi sove

qu'il m'emplet, sospiran
 qan alenet vas me
 e ma bocha baisan...
 e•l cors seguet l'ale
 c'ab aital geing lo•m trais,
 e car aquel doutz bais
 m'ac tant doussa sabor...
 La bella qe m'apais
 fetz m'apres tant d'onor c'anc
 puois jois no•m sofras'.

(PC167,29.14-26)

The lover is captivated by the lady and as her breath comes near him and she kisses him, his heart follows the breath. The sigh here is caught up in the passion of the moment and is associated with the joy of having her near.

More often, however, *sospir** is associated with suffering and, occasionally, illness. *Sospir** occurs explicitly with the *mal d'amor* twice, in Rambertino Buvaelli PC281,1.17-20 'Prions sospirs e loncs cossirs d'esmai / m'a mes al cor la bella en cui m'enten, / mas s'il saubes cum m'auci malamen / lo mals d'amor e la pena q'ieu trai' and Peire Espanhol PC342,2.37-40 'E si mos precx pren ab vos tal acort, / aura•m merces del mal d'amor estort, / que•m destrenh tan per vos mon fin coratge / qu'en fauc quec iorn mil sospirs per uzatge'. However, the idea of being overcome by a sickness related to love occurs elsewhere in alternative wording, such as in Peire Bremon lo Tort PC331,2.12-16 'Jamais midonz non veirei. / Gran mal mi fan li sospir / que per lei m'aven a far, / que la nouch non posc dormir, / e•l jorn m'aven a veillar' which explains the effect of this pain, stating that the lover must endeavour to stay awake during the day when at night he is unable to sleep, developing the standard idea of sighing night and day. Guilhem de la Tor develops this *topos* further in PC236,7.17-20 'Que farai donc? Atendrai / e

veirai / s'amors me volra garir / del mal dont soven sospir'. Here the lover is looking for a cure for his pains and it this idea of a cure and specifically of the lady as a cure for this sickness which is explored in poets such as Gaucelm Faidit. One example of this, PC167,1.4 'Ab chanter me dei esbaudir', develops the theme of lovesickness. Mouzat (1965: 242) comments that 'la strophe II développe le theme de la maladie d'amour qu'un seul médecin, la dame, peut guérir'. This process is initiated in the first stanza;

'Ab chantar me dei esbaudir
 de l'ira e del pessamen,
 qu'estat ai en tal marrimen
 qu'a pauc no m'an mort li sospir;
 et agra•m mestier qu'ab merce
 poques conquistar qualque re
 de que melhures ma razos
 e mos cors n'estes plus joyos'.

(PC167,1.1-8)

The poet is singing in order to distract himself from his anger and misery, since he has almost been killed by his sighs, sighs which can be linked to the themes developed in stanza 2, in which he sings that 'que tant es mos mals perilhos / que autres metges no m'es bos' (PC167,1.15-16). The lover is dangerously ill and only his lady can cure him. He therefore hopes for *merce* from his lady, which would fill his heart with joy once more. Love, sighs and illness are therefore brought together in this poem.

In PC167,5.5 'Anc non cugei qu'en sa preizo', Gaucelm explores the metaphor of love as a prison as well as the theme of the lady as a cure for love. According Mouzat (1965: 82) 'cette pièce est d'une grande richesse de thèmes. Trois au moins s'entrelacent dans la trame du poème. Celui du coeur parti du corps se retrouve bien dans Ab chanter, ainsi que le thème du

médecin – c'est-à-dire la dame elle-même – qui peut guérir la maladie d'amour'. The scene is a courtroom in which Love is the judge and Gaucelm appeals directly to it;

'Anc no cugei qu'en sa preizo
mi fezes mais Amors intrar,
mas era•m la nueit veillar
e•l jorn, me dona liurazo
de sospirs e de pessamens
per tal on beutatz e jovens
e fin pretz e fina valors
es, e cortezi' et honors
per que•l clam doussamen merce
que•l prenda pietat de me'.

(PC167,5.1-10)

The lover is closed within the prison of love, and as such is racked with sighs all day. He begs for *merce* from his lady in the hope that she will have pity on him and he will be freed from his imprisonment. It is stanza IV that the theme of the lady as a cure for lovesickness is explored, with the lover declaring that 'doncs pus outra no•m pot donar / joy ni santat ni garizo / de mos mals ni de mos turmens' (PC167,5.33-35). The lady is the only one who can, through the *merce* hoped for in the first stanza, bring him joy and therefore cure him from his pains and torments. The medical references then become even more overt, with the lover likening himself to someone who suffers 'grans dolors / e sap qu'aver no pot secors / mas per un metge sol on cre' (PC167,5.37-39). The metaphor of the doctor is here used to express the curative powers which the lady possesses.

Sighs as portents of death

When the troubadours can see no cure for their suffering and illness, the sigh, as might be expected, becomes associated with death. Nowhere is this truer than in the poetry of Bernard de Ventadour, whose work aligns sighing with dying more than any other Occitan poet. Lazar (1964: 20) highlights among the themes which Bernard helps to cement and therefore pass down to future troubadours, either through imitation of them or innovation evolving from them, 'désespoir douloureux et agonie amoureuse' and 'mal d'amour et mort; le mal d'amour est mortel'. Bernard never actually uses the expression 'mal d'amour' in association with *sospir** but instead repeatedly returns to the theme of death. Indeed, Gaunt (2001: 482) has noted that 'Bernart de Venadorn speaks obsessively about death. Twenty-eight of his forty-four surviving poems have one or more specific illusions to death'. PC70,4, 'Amors, e que•us es veyaire?' is what Lazar (1964: 268) describes as a '*disputatio* avec Amour'. According to Lazar this debate takes place 'car c'est lui [Amour] qui force le poète à aimer celle qui le dédaigne et ne fait rien pour forcer le coeur de la belle' (ibid). Thus the poet is forced into the position of loving a lady who does not return his affection and experiences a 'lente agonie amoureuse' (ibid). This is a common experience of the troubadours, suffering for the beloved lady who does not reciprocate, thus never allowing him to find *merce*. In this poem, despite imploring, Love remains silent and does not cause the lady to love in return even though 'Amors vens tota chauza; / e forsa•m de leis amar; / atretal se pot leis far / en nua petita pauza!' (PC70,4.37-40). The lover is thus stuck in the hopeless position of unrequited love, but there is one thing which saves him from death;

'Domna, res no vos pot dire
lo bo cor ni•l fin talan
qu'e•us ai, can be m'o cossire,
c'anc re mais non amei tan.

Tost m'agran mort li sospire,
domna, passat a un an,
no•m fos per un bel semblan,
don si doblan mei desire'.

(PC70,4.49-56)

The lover's desire is doubled by the beautiful face and so he resists death by sighs. Addressing the lady, however, the lover goes on to lament that 'no•n fatz mas gabar e rire, / domna, can eu re•us deman; / e si vos amassetz tan, alres vos n'avengr' a dire' (PC70,4.57-60). The behaviour of the beloved is thus particularly upsetting. Picone (1979: 72) has commented on this use of 'gabar', arguing that 'lo spazio del "gabbo" all'interno del sistema poetico di Bernart sembra...coincidere con l'autocoscienza dell'io di una sua imperfezione costituzionale; imperfezione che la consuetudine con la Donna chiaramente indica e dolorosamente accentua'. The lover thus remains painfully imperfect in the face of the perfection of the beloved.

This movement between the pains and joys of love is continued in 'Bel m'es can eu vei la brohla' (PC70,9), to which is added death. The poem opens with the Springtime *topos* and then moves into the familiar depiction of the domna as 'orgolha' (PC70,9.9) but despite this treatment, the lover persists in his admiration with the familiar refrain that 'tan la sai bel' e bona / que tuih li mal m'en son bo' (PC70,9.23-4). The lady is good, and so despite the ills he suffers, the lover persists in his love for her. Stanza five reaches the heights of the lover's emotion;

'Ma razo chamja e vira;
mas eu ges de lei no•m vir
mo fi cor, que la dezira
aitan que tuih mei dezir
son de lei per cui sospir;
e car ela no sospira

sai qu'en lei ma mortz se mira,
can so gran beutat remir'.

(PC70,9.33-40)

Lazar (1966: 282) comments of this poem that 'par ses vers entrelacés, par ses strophes tressées comme une guirlande, par son abondance d'antithèses, cette chanson atteint une "préciosité" de style et d'expression'. In the lines 'son de lei per cui sospir;/ e car ela no sospira' (PC70,9.37-9) this antithesis can be seen; the lover is left to sigh as a sign of his state, while the lady conversely does not sigh at all, and so 'sai qu'en lei ma morta se mira'. Here the poem peaks around one of Bernart's most revisited themes; death. As Lazar (ibid.) comments 'chacune des strophes développe, avec une économie de mots, un ou plusieurs motifs chers à Bernart'. The theme most dear to Bernart here is the death of the lover in the face of a lack of love induced agony in the beloved. The death of the lover is considered as reflected in the lady, because she does not sigh. The sigh is not only employed in its common usage of that which the lover does, but also used to emphasise that which the beloved does not do. Gaunt has commented on the fascination with death which these verses play out. He has explored the nature of sacrificial desire in Bernart's poetry and concludes that 'the logic of sacrifice means that death is the only moment when the subject who gives himself up to sacrificial desire can truly assume his subjectivity, just as it is the only moment when he can be truly responsible. This explains perhaps why the poet finds the spectacle of his own death so mesmerizing despite the fear of his lady's indifference' (2001: 496). The lover sees his death reflected in his lover, and is transfixed.

This state of transfixion can also be found in Bernart's most commented poem, 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' (PC70,43). In stanza 3 the lover declares that;

'Miralhs, pus me mirei en te,
m'an mort li sospir de preon,

c'aissi•m perdei com perdet se

lo bels Narcisus en la fon.'

(PC70,43.21-24)

Sighs from deep down have killed the lover, and rather than seeing his death mirrored in the lover, the death itself is envisaged and the beloved is explicitly transformed into a mirror. Goldin (1967) explains that the mirror is key in relation to the significance of the beloved, since it is in the lover's realisation that the beloved is not, in fact, a perfect mirror of the ideal that the emotion of the poetry lies. Although the lover recognises that the lady is imperfect, he cannot stop loving her because of the tantalising glimpses of the ideal that the lover desires to attain that she gives him. The lover is therefore caught hopelessly in this trap. Found in such a position, the lover clearly and deliberately aligns himself with Narcissus when he states 'c'aissi•m perdei com perdet se / lo bels Narcisus en la fon' (PC70,43.23-4). The lover loses himself, just as the beautiful Narcissus lost himself in the fountain. Adams (2000: 438) offers an explanation of what this simile might mean, arguing that 'for the twelfth century, Narcissus illustrates the danger of love that cannot be physically fulfilled'. The notion of unrequited love, therefore, is associated with Narcissus in medieval thought, in as far as it is dangerous to fall in love but be unable to physically consummate that love. The lack of the physical attainability of the beloved is therefore the issue here.

The connection between Narcissus, death and the sigh can also be seen in Peirol PC366, 21. This poem belongs to what Aston (1953: 20) refers to as the 'discarded lover' period of Peirol's work, and more specifically part of a subgroup in which 'the general theme is sorrow, mingled with expressions of continued devotion and a hope that all will yet be well' (Aston, 1953: 20). The poem has in common with Bernard de Ventadour's PC70,43 its reference to Narcissus. In the first part of the poem the lover explains his suffering but vows not to part from

his beloved. However, he begins to question his actions in stanza 3;

‘Ja no partrai de lieys mos cossiriers; per
mal que•m do non li puesc mal voler,
quar tant la fai sens e beltatz valer
segon l’afan folley saviamen. Mal
o ai dig, ans folley follamen,
quar anc Narcis, qu’amet l’ombra de se,
si be•s mori, no fo plus fols de me’.

(PC366,21.15-21)

To begin with in this stanza, the lover vows to think only of his beloved, however much she may make him suffer. He decides that his behaviour is 'folley saviamen', or wisely foolish. However, in the very next line the lover turns on himself, declaring that no, in fact his behaviour has been 'folley follamen' or foolishly foolish. Then the lover compares himself to Narcissus, stating that even as he loved his own reflection and died, he was not more foolish than the lover himself. Thus, like the ill fated Narcissus 'Atressi•m muer entre•ls loncs deziriers / qi•m fan soven sospirar e doler' (PC366,21.22-23). The lover dies amongst his sighs and pain.

The physicality of sighing

In terms of its biological generation, the sigh usually emanates from the heart in troubadour poetry. An example of this can be seen in Elias de Barjols PC132,12.8 'quar mos cors sospira', while an interesting and unusual variation can be found in Marcabru's PC293,1.15-16 'Dels huels ploret josta la fon / e del cor sospiret preon' which sees the lady crying. This pairing of sighing from the heart with crying from the eyes is also seen for example in 'Del cor sospir e dels olhs plor' of Bernard de Ventadorn (PC70,31.19) and Peire Vidal's 'A! Na Loba, dona, quar

no•us remir, / dels huelhs vos plor e del cor vos sospir' (PC364,49.5-6). In line with the association between the sigh and suffering, the heart is sometimes depicted as in an unwell state, such as in Peire Raimon de Toulouse's PC355,7.43 'Que'l febles cors vai sospiran'. As a noun, the sigh is sometimes said to move from the heart, as in Raimon de Miraval 'lo cors, que'm fai abelhir / sas grans beutatz, e'm demanda / que fas, quan no la remir; / d'aqui movo'l gran sospir', (PC406,47.29-32) The movement of a sigh is also dealt with in Aimeric de Peguilhan's PC10,29 'Hom ditz que gaugz non es senes amor'. This poem revolves around the betrayal by the poet's eyes which have shown him the Lady whom it would have been better never to have seen. The eyes have chosen the noblest woman, but in the poet's opinion she is also the worst since he cannot reveal his love to her. As a result of this betrayal the poet and his heart take vengeance on the eyes; 'En pren lo cors ez ieu lo jorn venjansa: / Lo cors del sieu sospir qu va ab se / Ez ieu del dan e del mal que m'en ve' (PC10,29.12-14). Some troubadours turn this movement of the sigh into a more violent expulsion, such as Daude de Pradas. In PC124,3.1-4 the idea that 'Anc mais hom tan ben non amet, / com ieu am, de cor vertadier, / cella don ai tal desirier, / que maint sospir coral en get' is expressed. The lover loves better than any man has and, as a result of his desire, many sighs are expelled from his heart.

Aimeric de Peguilhan takes this image of the expulsion of the sigh one stage further. In 'Qui sofrir s'en pogues' (PC10,46), the poet is in a state of transition between two lovers. He is still loyal to the first but, increasingly upset by her wickedness, he has found another lady whom he hopes will be kinder and return his affection and so 'en plus greu balanssa / Non fo Andrieus de Franssa' (PC10,46.27-28) – never was Andrew of France in such a great state of indecision. In stanza 3 the lover declares 'C'aissi cum sers o pres / sui sieus liges confes' (PC10,46.29-30). He is her vassal, like a serf or prisoner. Here Aimeric makes use of the common theme of vassalage, adding to it the theme of the lover as a prisoner of his lady. He then goes on to explain

that;

‘Et anc nuills hom c’ames
Tant leu non fo conques;
C’al traire de son gan
Sa bella man baisan
M’intret tant aquel bais
Que•l cor del cors mi trais
Al retorn d’un sospir,
Per que•l viure e•l morir
Mi fai ensems mesclar’.

(PC10,46.31-39)

The lover is penetrated by the kiss to such an extent that his heart is drawn from his body through a sigh, so that he is on the threshold between life and death, with the two mixed together within him. This imagery of the sigh removing his heart from his body is striking, since it is a usage which specifically identifies the sigh with the mortality of the lover.

The sigh is therefore persistently associated with the heart in troubadour poetry, and its removal from the body is equated with death. This is an association which Cavalcanti also makes, and it is therefore plausible that he inherits this at least in part from the troubadours. However, as I will discuss in Section 3.1, medicine almost certainly also has an influence on Cavalcanti when he speaks of love in these terms, which raises the question of whether the troubadours might also be incorporating medical sources into their poetry in these examples. Paterson (1993) has raised this point, suggesting that it would seem likely that medical ideas are also at work within Occitan poetry. As well as identifying the Ode to Joy at the end of the *Dietics*, in the *Secret of Secrets* as similar to the troubadouric ideas of joy, she suggests that the idea of *mezura* with its focus on a wilfully cheery disposition, sociability and a search for

balance might be influenced by the idea of the humours. She then gives Arnaut Daniel, Guilhem IX and Peire d'Alvernhe as possible examples of troubadours who reference medical ideas. In Arnaut Daniel in particular, the lady is suggested as a balm to cool an over-heated heart. She concludes that 'we should not be too ready to dismiss the troubadours' evocation of lovesickness as a purely literary commonplace' (219). Although further research into this area is not possible within the constraints of this thesis, an extended investigation into this issue would not only provide a better understanding of the relationship between the troubadours and the influx of medical literature and understanding into Occitania in the twelfth century, but would also have an impact on our understanding of the relationship between the so-called *stilnovisti* and their literary predecessors.

Sighs as messengers

In 2007, Rea made brief mention of the use of *sospir** as a messenger in troubadour poetry since it forms one of the more interesting usages which the Occitan poets make of the sigh. No example of sighs used in this way exists in the Italian lyric tradition, but in Occitan poetry we find three examples of such a usage. One of these can be found in Guilhem de Capestany's 'Mout m'alegra douza vos per boscaje' (PC213,7). Although only seven poems of certain attribution to Guilhem remain, their transmission was helped in part by his association in his *Vida* (one of the longest at over two thousand words) with the legend of the eaten heart, a legend which is picked up again by Dante in the *Vita Nuova* and more overtly by Boccaccio in *Decamerone* IV.9. Petrarch also makes direct reference to him in *Trionfi*, IV.53-34, which suggests that Cavalcanti may have been familiar with his work. In terms of Guilhem's literary output, it is one *canso* in particular, 'Lo dous cossire' (PC213,5) which has kept his poetry alive,

being transmitted in twenty manuscripts (Cots, 1985-6: 240). The rest of his poetic production, however, has, according to Cots (227) been 'un tanto relegada al olvido'. Drawing parallels with Bernard de Ventadorn, Cots comments that Guilhem's poetry 'gira obsesivamente en torno a un único tema: la pasión amorosa. Ningún otro tema poético ni otro género quel el de la canción amorosa sedujeron al trovador rosellonés' (250). This is an obsessive revisiting of a central theme not unlike that witnessed in Cavalcanti.

The sigh is associated with a message in Guilhem's 'Mout m'alegra douza vos per boscaje' (PC213,7). This poem makes use of the Springtime opening so common to troubadour poetry through the use of the 'rossignols' (PC213,7.3). However, this is in contrast to the overt suffering of the rest of the poem, leading Cots (1985-6: 298) to comment that 'la evocación inicial de la primavera contrasta con la actitud melancólica de Guillem, quien, enriqueciendo la hipérbole del mártir de amor'. Here, then, can be seen a similar idea of martyrdom to that more fully developed by Bernard de Ventadour and a reworking of the usual opening of the Springtime commonplace in troubadour poetry. Guilhem's lady adheres to certain recurring qualities throughout his poetry, and so she has the usual attributes of 'senz...beutatz e cortesia' (PC213,7.15) and is also universally celebrated, since 'hom non la vei qui cent tans meill no•n dia' (PC213,7.16). In stanza IV, which Cots considered should be read as a tornada (301), the lover communicates with his lady in a particular way;

'Va te•n, sospir, en loc de fin messatge,
Dreit a mi don o totz bons pretz s'autreia,
E digaz li que autre no m'enveia
Ni•m stau acilin vers autre seingnoratge'.

(PC213,7.25-28)

The sigh in these lines is sent in place of a 'fine' message directly to the lady. Not only is the

sigh transformed overtly into a message, but it is also directly addressed, becoming in this way a protagonist in the poem. The sigh is sent in order to communicate a precise message and in this way is infused with a precise meaning; it is used to signify to the lady that the lover desires no one but her, and he also has no intention of finding another Lord. In this case, therefore, the sigh can be seen to equate with a declared loyalty.

The sigh is also associated with a message in Daude de Pradas' 'Ab lo douz temps que renovella'. This poem opens with the speaker filled with joy at the coming of the 'douz temps que renovella' (PC124,1.1) and moved to write a new song for his new love. Indeed, on this point Lavis (1972: 174) has commented, with regards to the joy referred to in this opening part of the poem, that 'se distingue donc nettement de la joie d'amour ou de la gaieté qui anime le poète au moment du renouveau printanier ou de tout autre sentiment de plaisir. Ce joie, seule la dame peut l'accorder et il est l'objet de l'attente constante de l'amant'. The poet, then, must wait in hope of the joy which the lady may bestow upon him. Indeed, the poem has a distinctly feudal tone with the speaker declaring that 'tant mi par m'esperanssa bella / que be•m val un teneso' (PC124,1.9-10) and depicting himself as wanting to be called into his lady's love service. The poet presents himself, therefore, as beholden to his lady. In stanza 4, the lover gives advice to those in love, and makes the following statement;

'E qui ren sap de drudaria
leu pot conoiser et chausir
qe•il beill semblan e•il doutz sospir
non son messatge de fadia.'

(PC124,1.25-28)

In this stanza the lover explains that a person who knows something of love can understand that beautiful appearances and sweet sighs are not a message of refusal. Here, then, the sigh is not

a message from the lover to the beloved, but rather from the beloved to the lover. It is also not a deliberate and focussed message, but rather forms part of a network of indicators which the lover must interpret in order to understand what the beloved is trying to communicate. It is also associated with a potentially positive outcome of the waiting and feudal love service to which the lover has resigned himself.

Quantification and multiplication: sighs and commerce

On the changing climate in which much troubadour poetry was produced, Burgwinkle makes the following observation;

‘The fathers of the Lateran Council noted in their 1179 condemnation of usury that it flourished in their day like any other licit enterprise in Christian society. They warned that the increasing number of men abandoning their social station or trade to take up usury would lead to social disruption as well as individual damnation. Borrowing, lending, and the profit motive were established at this early date in the public imagination as necessary components of the newly developing and prosperous market economy. Troubadours’ songs capitalized upon this market / mentality and deliberately or unconsciously, disseminated its message through their rhetoric of negotiation and exchange’ (1997: 42-43).

An excellent example of this reflection of the development of economics can be seen in Aimeric de Peguilhan's 'Pus ma belha mal'amia' (PC10,43). A unique example of such a developed metaphor using sighs, it is of note for its particular reference to finance. As Chambers and Shepard (1950: 38-39) comment ‘Love is compared at some length to an investment; Aimeric has greatly increased the capital / of sighs which came to him from his lady’ (38-39). Aimeric does not compare how things look or sound but rather employs dramatic rather than pictorial metaphors, commenting on how things act. This can be seen in the opening stanza;

Pus ma belha mal'amia
M'a mes de cent sospirs captal

A for de captalier lial Los ai
cregutx quascun dia D'un
mil, per q'ueimais seria
Sol qu'a lieys plagues, cominal,
Que los partissem per equal
Qu'aissi•s tanh de companhia

(PC10,43.1-8)

The lady has given the lover a fund of sighs and so he has increased them a thousand fold. Now he wishes to share this stock of sighs with the lady, 'qu'aissi•s tanh de companhia' (PC10,43.8), in observance of the law of partnerships. This metaphor is a variation and development of the quantification of sighs present in other poets such as the thousand sighs in Peire Espanhol's PC342,2.37-40 'E si mos precx pren ab vos tal acort, / aura•m merces del mal d'amor estort, / que•m destrenh tan per vos mon fin coratge / qu'en fauc quec iorn mil sospirs per uzatge' as well as in Peire Raimon de Toulouse PC355,16.11-14 'E tan mi fan lauzengier espaven, / per q'ieu non aus de lieys faire clamor / ni mon fin cor descobrir ni mostrar, / mas mil sospirs li ren quec iorn per ces' while in Rambertino Buvaelli PC281,5.9-11 'Perdre non dei lo gent servir / q'ai fait a cella qi•m guerreia / de cent sospirs, si Deus me veia' there are a hundred. Raimbaut d'Orange also plays on the idea of the multiplication of sighs by doubling in PC389,31.29-30 'ad el se son ben sobrier / li mei mal sospir doblie'. Aimeric is using legal language, a phenomenon which Ghil (1995) has identified as proliferating through the twelfth and into the thirteenth century. This is combined with the business metaphor of investment, with Ghil commenting that 'the terminology of capital investment, profit sharing and business partnerships serves in this *canço* to articulate in a most striking fashion the escalation in the *fin amans* suffering' (453). This usage is, therefore, very much a reflection of the social and economic changes at work in Occitania and indeed Ghil has suggested that the usage of

commercial terms by thirteenth-century troubadours more widely is worthy of further investigation. It is certainly interesting that the sigh is being used in such an innovative and engaging way, taking a lexical item which could be read as a literary commonplace in troubadour poetry and infusing it with a new relevance, thereby providing one overt demonstration of the broad and flexible range of expression into whose service *sospir** can be pressed.

Through the course of this analysis I have revealed that although *sospir** is often used as a standard expression, it can also be seen as acting in some interesting ways in troubadour lyric, ways which indicate that it is a lexical item which, as well as (or perhaps because of) being a commonplace, can be a locus of innovation in lyric expression and also a communicator of social change. Cavalcanti's relationship with the Occitan usage of *sospir** has received a passing comment from Rea, but this examination suggests that, beyond the overt usage of *sospir** as messenger, the word is at times employed in ways which indicate its suitability as a vehicle for the discussion of broader concerns. Perhaps the most intriguing usage for this thesis, however, is the use of *sospir** in relation to lovesickness. With the exact nature of the relationship between the Occitans and the very real existence of lovesickness as an illness still unclear, it could be possible that that Cavalcanti not only engages with medical literature (see Section 3.1), but also encounters expressions of lovesickness *as an illness* in the lyric tradition itself.

2.2 *SOSPIR** IN THE EARLY ITALIAN LYRIC TRADITION

In his *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante identifies his poetical heritage as moving from Peire d'Alvernhe to Giraut de Borneil and the troubadours, down through the Sicilians (I, xxi), and Tuscans (I, xiii), to the Bolognese (I, xv). Although Dante's delineation perhaps does not reflect the historical reality, it is in any case a useful indication of the key influences on the later Florentine poets. Therefore, when considering the *poesie delle origini*, I will examine two key groups which emerge as influential on the so-called *stilnovisti*; the *scuola siciliana* and the *scuola toscana*. Following this, I will move on to consider the particular relationship of Guinizzelli, the most prominent of the Bolognese poets, to Cavalcanti. Using the Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico (Iorio-Fili, 2015), occurrences of *sospir** in early Italian lyric poetry were recorded (see Appendix Five). Based on these results, in this section I will investigate the work of Giacomo de Lentini, Guido delle Colonne, Rinaldo d'Aquino, Giacomino Pugliese, Tommaso di Sasso and Re Enzo in the *scuola siciliana* before moving on to consider Guittone d'Arezzo and Chiaro Davanzati in the *scuola toscana*. Numberings of poems follow the critical editions used by the Corpus OVI. In cases where more than one critical edition is used for a single author, all numberings of poems refer to those used in the critical edition specified.

Scuola siciliana

The so-called *scuola siciliana* is used here to refer to a group of poets associated with the court of Frederick II in Sicily and active around the first half of the thirteenth century. When examining their work, it is clear that there is some influence from the Occitan poets, which can be seen in some of the more stock usages which these poets make of *sospir**. An example of this can be seen in Re Enzo's 'Amor mi fa sovente'. Re Enzo addresses his 'canzonetta' (49),

which he hopes to send out into the world and specifically to the 'messere' (50) to express the pain which he is suffering. This poem takes up the traditional theme of love at a distance, with the lover expressing the sentiment that he wants the world to know 'c'amare e non vedere / si mette fin amore – in obrianza' (47/48). Contini argues that within the poem 's'insinuano, nonostante tutto, dubbî sulla persistenza d'un "foco d'amor"' and indeed the poem twice returns to the idea that the lover is sustained by hope, both when he says 'speranza mi mantene' (1970: 28) and in the opening lines of the poem;

'Amor mi fa sovente
lo meo core penare
dàmi pene e sospiri;
e son forte temente
per lung'adimorare
ciò che poria aveniri:
non c'aggia dubitanza
de la dolze speranza,
che 'nver' di me fallanza – ne facesse'

(1-9)

Love often weighs down on the lover in the form of pain and sighs and indeed he is fearful, as he is at the end of the poem, of the effect that the distance between himself and his beloved might have. However, he is kept in sweet hope, while still fearing what the distance might cause. There is, then, a return throughout the poem to hope mixed with fear and a concern at the distance between lover and beloved. This familiar theme of love at a distance is also discussed in *Giacomino Pugliese IV*, 'Lontano amore manda sospiri', which sees the poet discussing the lover's need to demonstrate his trueness to his beloved.

The familiar pairing of weeping and sighing inherited from the Occitans is also evident

in the work of the *scuola siciliana*, for example in Tommaso di Sasso's 'D'amoroso paese'. In this poem the lover speaks of his experience in the following way;

'D'amoroso paese,
sospiri e dolzi planti m'ha mandato
Amor, che m'ha donato – a donna amare.
Già senza sospirare
Amore me no lascia solo un'ora. Deo,
che folle natura – ello m'aprese! Ch'io
non saccio altro fare
se non pensare: - e quanto più mi sforzo,
allora meno pozzo – avere abente;
e uscito m'è di mente
già lungiamente – ogn'altro penzamento;
e s'io veglio o dormento, -sent'amore.'

(1-12)

Love has handed him the standard sighs and weeping and, even without sighing, it does not give any slack. Indeed, try as he might, the only thought the lover is left with is love. Contini (1960: 91) points out that the rhyme scheme is part of a 'rappresentazione evidente dell'interno turbamento indotto nell'animo da Amore' which the poet lays out from this opening stanza and works through in the course of the poem. The sigh is therefore tied in with the kind of inability to settle which the troubadours communicate in their expression of sighing night and day. The lover is not given even an hour in which to experience something other than the turbulence of love, and the use of 'già senza sospirare' (4) serves to emphasise the additional suffering which the presence of sighing adds to the lover.

However, while much is inherited from the Occitans, there is also great innovation to

be traced in the usage of *sospir**. Of particular note is the way in which it is used in the work of perhaps the group's most celebrated poet, Giacomo da Lentini. Writing at the court of Frederick II, Giacomo da Lentini represents what Antonelli refers to as 'il punto più alto, con Guido delle Colonne, dei risultati raggiunti dal movimento poetico federiciano' (1979: xi). Lentini's presence is certainly felt by the *stilnovo* poets, with Dante referencing him in *Purgatorio* XXIV, 55-57 and citing him in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. While it is important to bear in mind Dante's deliberate construction of a poetic development of which he is the pinnacle, and therefore avoid tracing too perfect an evolution in poetic thought, it is also useful to recognise the presence these poets have for the *stilnovisti*. Giacomo da Lentini leaves us sixteen canzoni, four of which make use of *sospir**; I, II, XII and XIII¹¹. The poem in which Giacomo's usage of *sospir** is most similar to that made by the Occitans is XIII 'S'io doglio no è meraviglia'. In this poem, Giacomo employs the situation common in troubadour poetry of distance between the lover and his beloved. In XIII the lover is separated from his lady. He explains in the opening stanza;

'S'io doglio non è meraviglia
e s'io sospiro e lamento;
amor lontano mi piglia
dogliosa pena ch'eo sento'.

(XIII,1-4)

The lover is struck down by pain because he is far from his beloved and so as a consequence he sighs and laments, again a stock usage inherited from the Occitan poets. The theme throughout the poem is of 'doglio' in a usage far more frequent than in any other of Giacomo's *canzoni*.

¹¹ Numberings follow the Antonelli (1979) edition.

However, while this theme of *doglio* also appears in *Canzone I 'Madonna, dir vo voglio'*, which finds the lover in pain since 'lo meo core, / che 'n tante pene è miso / che vive quando more / per bene amare' (I,5-8), the poem provides an elaborate storm metaphor. The lover finds himself with a heart which suffers many pains to the point that death has come to represent life itself, since his heart, he goes on to say, has died more often and more strongly for his lady than any natural death. It is within this context, then, that the extended metaphor of the stormy sea is used in stanza IV of the poem;

'Lo vostr'amor che m'ave
in mare tempestoso,
è sì como la nave
c'a la fortuna getta ogni pesanti,
e campan per lo getto
di loco periglioso;
similmente eo getto
a voi, bella, li mei sospiri e pianti.
Che s'eo no li gittasse
parria che soffondasse,
e bene soffondara,
lo cor tanto gravara – in suo disio;
che tanto frange a terra tempesta,
che s'atterra,
ed eo così rinfrango,
quando sospiro e piango – posar crio'.

(I,49-64)

In this stanza, the poet makes use of the stock pairing of sighing with crying, but the sigh itself is developed into an almost physical object in a way not often seen in Provençal works. Love

is, for the lover, like a tempestuous sea in which he is tossed around, thrown into dangerous waters. Similarly, the lover throws his sighs and weepings at his beloved. Sighs are used as a form of communication in the Provençal poets and indeed there is even occasional mention made of the idea that the sighs are violently forced or even thrown out of the body. However, the lover then goes on to state that if he did not force out his sighs he might sink, creating an image of the sighs as concrete items, physically as well as emotionally weighing down the lover. There is an equally violent metaphor used at the end of the poem, where the lover actually describes himself as shattering when he sighs and weeps, like the storm breaking on the earth. There is therefore a violence and physicality in this stanza which is of some note when compared to Occitan usages.

In *canzone* II, 'Meravigliosa-mente', the lover depicts himself as a painter, carrying an image of his beloved in his heart wherever he goes; 'che 'nfra lo core meo / porto la tua figura' (8-9). However, the lover will not look at his beloved, in a stock scenario inherited from the troubadouric tradition. He has a burning inside him for the beloved, so much so that it causes him pain and 'similmente eo ardo / quando pass'e non guardo / a voi, vis' amoroso'. This familiar situation can only be overcome in one way, by communicating with his beloved through the medium of the sigh. Thus, in stanza 5;

'S'eo guardo, quando passo,
inver' voi no mi giro, bella,
per risguardare; andando,
ad ogni passo getto uno
gran sospiro
ca facemi ancoscicare;
e certo bene ancoscio,
c'a pena mi conoscio,

tanto bella mi pare'.

(II,37-45)

With every step the lover takes he sighs deeply, since he cannot turn to the lady as he passes, but rather is overcome with the ever present anguish of the unrequited lover. Therefore, he forcibly expels a great sigh at each step. The sigh here, then, is described as being particularly big and there is, again, a violence associated with its release. The fact that it is released while the lover is walking also lends a greater sense of reality to the scene and the sigh becomes part of an overall image of a dynamic interaction with the lady.

This idea of a sigh released while in movement is also present in Giacomino Pugliese. In V, 'Donna, di voi mi lamento' the lover laments the false love which the lady has given him, commenting that the lady 'donastemi auro co ramo' (V,4) and later telling her that 'fals'è la tua leanza' (V,22). However, the lover, similar to troubadour poetry, inevitably ends up in 'vostra dolce pregione, / amore'. (V,26-27). In the fifth stanza, the frustrated lover unleashes an unusually bitter attack on the lady;

'Donna, non ti pesa fare
fallimento o villania?
Quando mi vedi passare
sospirando per la via,
asconditi per mostranza:'

(V,37-41)

Addressing her directly, the lover wants to know how she can live with herself when she does such bad things, and comments on her turning away when she sees him sighing as he goes down the street. This image is reminiscent of Giacomo Lentini and is a much more fully embodied image than is usually seen in the Occitan poets. Here, too, the sighing is expected to signal to

the lady the feelings the lover has for her and the suffering which he is experiencing as a result.

Returning to Giacomo da Lentini, in his XII 'Madonna mia, a voi mando' the lover is once again timid about making an open declaration of his love, and so the sighs are sent to the lady as messengers. The use of the sigh as a figure within the poem is notably developed, perhaps more so than in any poem previously discussed. Indeed, Di Girolamo (2006: 461), regarding this poem as an Italian *salutz*, notes that 'il poeta...sceglie come messaggeri i suoi stessi sospiri: sospiri e pianti non mancano nei salutz, ma nessuno li aveva usati "per messaggio"'. We have seen that sighs do act as messengers in the Occitan tradition, but Lentini's usage is certainly noteworthy in its originality. In the opening stanza, in contrast to the overwrought tone of *canzone* II, 'mando / in giori li mei sospiri' (XII, 1-2), his sighs are sent in a state of joy. In the second stanza the sighs are joined by weepings when 'prego l'Amore, / a cui prega ogni amanti, / li mei sospiri e pianti / vo pungano lo core' (XII, 13-16). The sighs, along with the weepings, will, it is hoped, pierce the heart of the lady. While the sigh in Occitan poetry might be released in the hope of attaining *merce* from the lady, this image that the sigh might pierce the beloved is something of an inversion of what occurs earlier in the tradition. However, the most interesting development occurs in stanza 3;

Ben vorrai, s'eo potesse,
quanti sospiri getto
c'ogni sospiro avesse
spirito e intelletto,
c'a voi, dona, d'amare
dimandasser pietanza.

(XII,17-22)

The poet is imagining a sigh which has both spirit and intellect, which is able to communicate with the lady and beg her to have pity on the lover. This is a striking development from a sigh

as a simple messenger to one which, it is imagined, has its own independent capacity. While it is true, therefore, that the sigh is not referred to as a messenger explicitly, unlike in the Occitan poets and unlike it will be in Cavalcanti, it is clear that this early casting of the sigh as a protagonist within the poem is taken up again here by Lentini.

Alongside Giacomo da Lentini, Guido delle Colonne can be considered the key poet of the *scuola siciliana*, also mentioned in Dante's *De vulgari Eloquentia* II v 4, vi 6. We find the occurrence of *sospir** in only one of his five extant poems, V 'Ancor che l'aigua per lo foco lassi'. Of this poem, Contini comments that 'immagini scientifiche prima del Guinizzelli, discreti interventi di fenomenologia amorosa, qualche elemento lessicale di *trobar clus* possono, in aggiunta alla perizia metrica, render ragione della doppia onorevole citazione fattane nel *De vulgari Eloquentia*' (1960: 107). Within the poem, Guido gives a definition of love;

'Amore è uno spirito d'ardore,
che non si pò vedere,
ma sol per li sospiri
si fa sentire in quel ch'è amadore:'

(V,24-27)

Here the role of the sigh in the physical process of love is outlined. Love itself is invisible, cannot be seen and is, rather, a spirit. However, the lover knows of the presence of love within the body through the sighs, which form part of the physical make-up of the process of loving. Here, then, appears a more sophisticated discussion of the corporeality of love than can be seen in the Occitan poets. Guido continues, moving into the realm of his association with his lady;

'cusì, donna d'aunore,
lo meo gran sospirare

vi poria certa fare de
l'amorosa flamma
und'eo so' involto'.

(V,28-31)

In these lines, therefore, is the hope that the lover's sighing will make the beloved aware of the flame of love which is consuming him. The sigh, as it does in some Occitan works, acts as the discrete communication between the lover and his beloved, and the lover hopes that it will make the lady aware of his amorous feelings.

Of the eleven extant poems attributed to Rinaldo d'Aquino by Panvini (1962), two make use of *sospir**. The first occurs in V, 'Già mai non mi conforto'. The opening of this poem finds the lover in difficulty, since he is confused over the best course of action to take, such is his suffering and unhappiness, when 'le navi son giunte a porto / e [or] vogliono col<l>are'. People are sailing away to lands across the sea, but the lover doesn't know what to do. In the second stanza he reflects;

'Vassene in altra contrata
e no lo mi manda a dire
ed io rimagno ingannata:
tanti sono li sospiri.
Che mi fanno gran guerra
la notte co la dia,
nè 'n celo ned in terra
non mi par ch'io sia'.

(V,9-16)

The lover is lost in a war of sighs so that he no longer understands where he is, thrown into a great confusion. Echoes of troubadour poetry can be seen in the idea of sighing night and day

and the war of sighs is used to express the internal upheaval within the lover in an innovative way.

In VII 'Amorosa donna fina' the lover begins by praising the beauty of his beloved and describing the flame of love which she ignites within him and the effect that a kiss has had on him. However, at the end of stanza 2 he asks himself 'che vita pò l'omo avere / se lo cor non è con lui?' (23-24) and it is at this point that the darker side of love emerges;

Lo meo cor non è con mico,
ched eo tut<t>o lo v'ò dato
e ne son rimaso in pene; di
sospiri mi notrico,
membrando da voi so errato
ed io so perché m'avene;
per li sguardi amorosi che, savete, sono ascosi
quando mi tenete mente;
che li sguardi micidiali
voi facete tanti e tali
che aucidete la gente'.

(VII,25-36)

The lover has been thrown into disarray by his beloved and so he lives on sighs. As sighs have long been associated with death, this idea that the lover draws some nutrition from them is reminiscent of the idea of death becoming life in Lentini. The line between the two is therefore similarly blurred.

Scuola toscana

The relationship between the *stilnovisti* and Guittone is a complex one, most often marked by hostility and opposition. Contini refers to Guittone as the 'secondo caposcuola della poesia italiana' (1960: 189) but studies of his work have doubtless been affected by Dante's estimation of him and his condemnation of Guittone's *clus* style (neither sweet, nor new, nor inspired). Indeed, Millspaugh (2013: 4) comments that Guittone 'has suffered like no other poet from the long perpetuation of Dantean literary history'. Millspaugh sees Guittone as writing 'upon the stage of the municipal' (5), in a poetry that hides itself behind the figures of the courtly lover and the exile. It is this focus on city rather than court which leads Dante to his damning labelling of Guittone as plebeian. His poetry is based both on that of the *scuola siciliana* and the troubadours of northern Italy and, at least in his usage of *sospir**, it can be seen that he adheres to a largely standard application inherited directly from the Occitans. He makes use of the standard pairing of sigh with lamentation, crying and longing, such as in CXIX,4-5 'Tutto languisco, peno e sto in pavento, / piango e sospir di quel ch'ho disiato' and he also makes specific reference to the sigh emanating from the heart, just as tears come from the eyes, for example in XXVI,4-6 'Perché no lo meo cor sempre sospira, / e gli occhi perché mai finan piangendo / la bocca di dir: merzede'. There can also be seen, however, overt reference to the concern with society with which he is most readily associated, and which is also a concern of the Occitans when they lament the moral degradation of the present day. Guittone's VII¹² 'O dolce terra aretina' forms part of the group of canzoni given over to politics and the condemnation of the modern day degeneration of society. This poet remembers that the city was once 'di ciascun delizia' (VIII,5) composed of 'di gente accoglienza, / norma di cavalier', di

¹² Poeti del Duecento, Contini Ricciardi, 1960

donne assempro' (VIII,14-15). However, lines 21-32 form a counterpoint to this, revealing a land in which;

'especchio e mirador d'onna vilezza,
di ciascuna laidezza
villana e brutta e dispiacevel forma,
non di cavalier' norma
ma di ladroni, e non di donne assempro
ma d'altro: ove mi tempro?'

(VIII,27-32)

The place has been populated by thieves rather than knights and by women of dubious morals. Thus the poet exclaims 'Oh, quando mai mi tempro / di pianto, di sospiri e di lamento' (VIII,16-17) in a usage reminiscent of that employed in the *planh* of the troubadours when they moralise.

However, Guittone does also refer to *sospir** in relation to a lady in his poetry. Sonnet 45 'Lassol, non sete là dov'eo tormento' forms part of a *tenzone* (sonnets 37-49) between Guittone and the lady. In this sonnet, Guittone continues his attacks upon the lady, for whom he feels 'piangendo e sospirando, amor, per voi' (45,2). This sonnet also forms part of the group in which the lover asserts his loyalty to the idea of *fin'amor* but in which the poet lays the traces for doubt over the sincerity of these assertions. As Leonardi (1994: xxxviii) explains 'emblematica è ad esempio la smentita proprio dell'adesione alla *fin'amor*'. He highlights the use of 'sperimento' (45,5) alongside the lover's claim in the next line that 'fino amante io sono e foi' (45,6) to show how Guittone builds up to the replacing of 'sono' with 'senbro' in the final poem of the *tenzone*, 49,13. The apparent adherence to the courtly tradition with stock phrasing is therefore undone by the undermining of the lover's protestations and thus the series appears more of a parody than a serious tribute to the Occitans.

Of all the poets in the *scuola toscana*, Chiaro Davanzati makes the most extensive use

of *sospir**. Menichetti (1965: xxii) in his critical edition of Davanzati's poetry comments that, although well respected by his contemporaries, his work is met with 'il silenzio assoluto della generazione immediatamente successiva, che pure ha qualche debito, anche se del tutto marginale (si pensi a Dante) nei suoi confronti'. It is clear, then, that the reception of this Florentine by the *stilnovisti* was less than warm, but that however some traces of his thought might be identified at the margins of poets of the sweet new style. Davanzati has an at times slavish loyalty to the poets of Occitania, and indeed Menichetti recognises within his work 'una sua coerenza, rilevabile anche nei passi dove l'imitazione minaccia di scadere al livello della parafrasi, ed è nella continua aderenza mentale ai modelli del *trobar leu*' (xxiv). However Davanzati is more than this, and Menichetti comes to see his poetry as a whole as having a 'tono medio, che assorbe indifferentemente Provenzali e Siciliani, Guittone e stilnuovo' (xxv). It is within this melting pot that the following examples can be found.

Common across Davanzati's poetry is the usage of a stock phraseology, with 'sospiri e pianti' appearing in sonnets 22 and 56, and in *canzone* IV and XXX, as well as in XXI and LV as verbs. An example of language very similar to that used in the Occitan poets can also be seen in sonnet 66 'Madonna, l'ag(g)io audito sovent'ore' which is part of a series (64-103) of *contrast*i divided into five *tenzoni* between madonna and messere. In sonnet 66, which is the third sonnet of the first *tenzone*, Davanzati makes use of the idea of throwing sighs which first emerges in Occitan poetry and is then developed in the *scuola siciliana* in the line 'e perciò non gitatene sospiro' (66,3). 83 'Io non posso, madonna, ritenere' also makes up part of the *contrast*i, forming the third part of the third *tenzone*. The lover cannot but look on the lady as she passes and consequently 'ché 'l cor mi batte ed ha tanto volere / che fa bagnare gli oc(c)hi di sospiri' (83,3-4). The lover's eyes are bathed in sighs, in an interesting variation on the usual pairing of sighing and weeping. Sonnet 12, 'Volete udire in quante ore del giorno' also sees an interesting extension

of the weeping and sighing day and night theme present in troubadour poetry with the lover leading the beloved through his day of suffering. The opening question is answered when the lover explains that he starts the day by looking around and failing to find any joy, so remaining where he is, 'piango e sospiro ed ho greve tormento' (12,6). The joy leaves the lover's heart and, finding himself close to death, he hopes for a health bringing greeting from his lady and 'così l'ore del giorno ho compartute' (12,14). The poem therefore acts as an innovative take on a well-rehearsed theme.

Influences of the *scuola siciliana* and Giacomo da Lentini in particular can be seen in sonnet 15, 'Gentil mia donna, poi ch'io 'namorai'. This poem sees the lover falling in love through looking upon the lover's face and so;

'sempre immaginata vi portai, come
voi siete, nel mi' cor pensando; e sì
dottosamente inconinzai,
ch'ad ogni passo movo sospirando:'

(15,5-8)

The lover begins his service to love and so he moves, sighing at every step and making use of the language of the sigh that 'moves'.

However, Davanzati is not only concerned with imitation and indeed he is perhaps best known for the proliferation of animal imagery within his work. This imagery is used in VI 'Lungiamente portai', which deals with the common situation whereby the lover can take his suffering no longer and begs his lady for some token of affection before he is overcome by death. What is interesting about this poem, though, is that 'utilizza in sede erotica ben tre immagini di bestario: ... *pantera* ... *parpaglione* ... e ... *antalosa*' (Menichetti, 1965: 32). The lover explains that;

'Quando penso ed isguardo
la vostra gran bieltate,
in ciascun membro sento li sospiri,
cotanto n'o riguardo
de lo tardar che fate
non perdan ciò, ond'atendon disiri'

(VI,33-38)

The lover looks upon the lady's great beauty and feels sighs in every part of him, rather than just in his heart. The sigh is, therefore, associated with the entire body and as such takes on a position as somehow integrated into the lover, emanating from around his person. It is unusual to encounter a sigh described in this way and so the intensity of his experience is underlined. Moreover, the idea that the sigh moves through the body is alluded to.

Elsewhere, Davanzati takes the familiar and turns it into something of a refrain throughout his poem. Such an example can be seen in VIII 'Quando mi membra, lassa', in which the stock pairing of 'sospiro' with 'piangere' appears twice, once in stanza 2 and then in a similar position in stanza 3, on which Menichetti (1965: 38) comments 'fortissimo il parallelismo...anche per l'identità delle rime (oltre che la posizione nella stanza accentua la cadenza di ritornello)'. In stanza 2;

'Poi che di lui servenza non
ho, che deg<g>io fare?
Piangere e sospirare – tutavia,
o la sua signoria
compiuta raquistare'.

(VIII,23-28)

This is then revisited in stanza 3;

'Doglia e maninconia Da
poi che m'ha 'n obria,
non so che deg(g)ia fare:
pianger e sospirare
tanto ch'amenderag(g)io la follia'.

(VIII,38-42)

And the pairing then makes an obsessive third appearance in the final stanza;

'e s'io colpata sono,
honne sospiri e pianti;
li miei dolor' son tanti
ch'io tut<t>a ardo ed incendo:'

(VIII,61-64)

Davanzati therefore makes a deliberate attempt to foreground and highlight this pairing in a poem which returns to this more than any other has before. This repetition transforms the reference into an almost obsessive focus on this word, playing on the use in the Occitan tradition and perhaps creating an ironic parody of the regular pairing of these words there.

The address to Love first seen in the Occitan poets is also revisited by Davanzati, but it takes on an overwhelmingly angry tone inherited from Guittone. XIX 'Chi 'mprima disse “amore”’ is part of what Menichetti (1965: 73) refers to as 'letteratura delle invettive contro Amore, venute in voga con Guittone'. The lover opens the poem declaring 'Chi 'mprima disse “amore” / fallò veracemente' in a line which bears traces of the idea of Love as false. The poet opens the second stanza giving Love the epithet of 'amaro' (XIX,15) which is also used in stanza 3 as an indication of the lover's bitter feelings towards it. Love is a 'guerra d'affanno e d'ira' (XIX,16) with the result that 'assai forte sospira / quegli che gli è più amico' (XIX,17-18). The perfidious nature of Love is clear in these damning lines. It is clear, too, that the war theme

returns here, and so the sigh is provoked by the war which love represents.

A particularly interesting poem is *Canzone XVII 'Orato di valor, dolze meo sire'*, which is part of an imaginary *tenzone* between messere and madonna, with XVII being written in the voice of the madonna. This, then, is a rare occasion on which the voice of the beloved is heard, reassuring her *sire*. It is necessary to consider XVII alongside XVI since the second picks up on the first. In the first canzone, the lover talks of 'lo grande ardore / io sento per amar, là ond'io incendio' (XVI,55-56) and this is reflected in XVII when the lady retorts 'confortate, ch'io più di voi incendio' (XVII,50). The stanza also picks up on the theme of death which the lover introduces in XVI. Death is referred to directly three times in stanza four, with the lover asking himself "Ohi lasso, che vit'è la mia? / Ché non mi movo e vo a la donna mia / e moro avanti a lo suo viso altero?" (XVI,58-60). The lady picks up on this in stanza 4 of XVII when she comments 'né già vita non prendo / se non solo di pervenire a l'ore / com'io vi possa sodisfar' (XVII,51-53). Indeed she even goes as far as to claim 'più di voi n'ho dolore, / e fra me stessa sospiro piangendo' (XVII,55-56). Thus, the standard expression of physical suffering usually used by the lover is placed into the mouth of the beloved and the inversion of this Occitan commonplace by Davanzati is complete.

Bolognese poets: Guinizzelli

As the bridge between the earlier poetry and the *dolce stil novo*, Guinizzelli has a particular importance in the development of early Italian lyric poetry, being described by Contini (1960: 448) as 'più un precursore che il primo dei cosiddetti "stilnovisti"'. Contini explains that Guinizzelli's role as a precursor lies in the 'rappresentazione dei fatti interni riferiti a un soggetto trascendentale' (ibid). He further comments that 'il Guinizzelli è piuttosto negativamente al di

là che positivamente al di qua, come il Notaio, Guittone e Bonagiunta, diciamo i Siciliani e i Siculo-toscani, rimasti all'idea di Amore come servizio o (ciò valga per Guittone e Chiaro) alla biografia individuale' (ibid). Contini recognises melodic balance and an objective psychological analysis as part of Guinizzelli's novelty, while also stressing that there is no great and definitive break with earlier poetry.

In VII 'Vedut' ho la lucente stella diana' the undertones of the Provençal inheritance are clear. The lady, who is idealised, is of such great worth that the lover cannot bring himself to speak to her, he suffers and he finally hopes for pity from her to end his misery. However, a slight shift in tone can also be seen, especially in the opening stanza. The lover makes out a bright star which eventually forms into the shape of a person, a person who 'sovr' ogn' altra me par che dea splendore' (VII,4). This play on the semantic field of light hints at the donna-angelo figure. In the third stanza the lover describes the effect of the lady's perfection on him;

'Ed io dal suo valore son assalito con
sì fera battaglia di sospiri ch'avanti a
lei de dir non seri' ardito'.

(VII,9-11)

The lover suffers from the usual fear of expressing his feelings to his beloved and as a consequence he experiences a fierce battle of sighs, in a twist on the storm of sighs experienced in earlier works and tying in with the idea of Love as a battle seen in the *scuola siciliana*.

In the opening stanza of XIV 'Sì sono angostioso e pien di doglia' the lover explains the state of misery in which he finds himself;

'Sì sono angostioso e pien di doglia
e di molti sospiri e di rancura,
che non posso saver quel che mi voglia

e qual poss' esser mai la mia ventura'.

(XIV,1-4)

The poet is left in such a state of anguish and pain that he can no longer understand the situation in which he finds himself. By the end of the sonnet, he concludes that he will spend the rest of his time alone, 'soletto come tortula' (XIV,12). Gone is the usual hope of any *merce* from the lady and the sense that love is a hopeless condemnation emerges. In these usages of 'angostioso' and 'doglia' a similarity with Cavalcanti can be identified, and indeed the opening lines come much closer than anything before it to Guido's tone and style. The influence of Guinizelli on Guido is now widely accepted (Leonardi, 2004; Rea, 2008).

The early Italian lyric tradition demonstrates a number of points of continuity with the troubadoric tradition, including the pairing of *sospir** and *pianto*, as well as the continued association of the sigh with the heart. This apparent stability of usage makes *sospiro* a deceptively familiar sight in the landscape of lyric poetry. However, at the start of this thesis I outlined why I believe that *sospir** might be considered a keyword in Cavalcanti, not just in the sense of frequency of use or 'keyness' when compared to the Dantean corpus, but in the sense intended by Williams, of a word which, upon further investigation, reveals subtle shifts which might at first be obscured (see *Critical Approaches*, 39). In this section I have shown the various ways in which the supposed commonplace of this lexical item belies the powerful use to which *sospir** can be put in order to provide anything from interesting stylistic innovation to revealing philosophical comment. Sighs are aligned with battles and storms in extended metaphors which are far bolder than anything seen in Occitan poetry. Moreover, an absence of sighing has been connected with the kind of sublimated love which Dante has for Beatrice. Sighs are also used as messengers, both overtly and covertly, which can communicate with the beloved and are employed as the physical representation of love within the body. There is, therefore, a rich usage

of *sospir** in the early Italian tradition. Cavalcanti is firmly rooted in this tradition and draws much from it as he engages in his own attempt at a renewal of lyric poetry. It is therefore important to bear this poetic heritage in mind as we move into the final section of this thesis and consider the development of the sigh in medical literature in Section 3.1, and Cavalcanti's relationship with this tradition in Section 3.2.

SECTION THREE: MEDICAL IDEAS SURROUNDING LOVESICKNESS

Background

Thus far in this thesis I have traced the usages made of *sospir** in the lyric tradition from around 1100 onwards. This has proved valuable in establishing a standard usage model, and also in exploring the ways in which *sospir** has been adopted as a vehicle for innovation and creative exploration. A picture has emerged of a lexical item which plays a central role in lyric expression, adding a further small island of understanding to the archipelago of Cavalcanti's literary past. What I seek to do now, however, is to move away from poetry and towards medical literature, with the express purpose of placing these two sources of influence side-by-side. This will allow me to interrogate our current understanding of Cavalcanti's usage of *sospir** as derived from medical texts and then, in Section 3.2, put forward my own reading of Cavalcanti's poetry, one which listens to both the medical and lyric traditions.

Cavalcanti's relationship with medical literature has received relatively greater attention than his engagement with lyric (and especially Occitan) poetry, in large part as a result of the tone of his work, which very often sees the lover as experiencing something akin to the kind of physical suffering brought about by a disease. Much of Cavalcanti's poetry is dominated by anguish-filled lines of heartache, visions of death and departing life spirits, all as a result of the clash he has with love. The following lines are indicative of the tone of his work as a whole;

‘L’anima mia vilmente è sbigottita,
Della battaglia, ch’ella sente al core;
Che se si avvicina un poco Amore,
Più presto a lei, che non soglia, ella muore’.

(VII,1-4)

Cavalcanti's relationship with love is usually not a happy one, and indeed the poet often comes close to death as a result of the suffering he endures for his beloved. Cavalcanti, it could be said, is in the grip of a terrible illness which threatens to ruin him completely. He is suffering from a form of lovesickness. Often this illness will revolve around a sigh which moves through his body, as illustrated in the following example;

‘Della gran doglia, che l’anima sente,
Si parte dallo core un tal sospiro,
Che va dicendo: spiritei fuggite’.

(XXXIII,9-11)

With the fleeing of the spirits comes the death of the poet, and so here Cavalcanti's survival is closely linked to mitigating a principal symptom of lovesickness, the *sospiro*. What is not immediately clear, however, is how strictly Cavalcanti employs medical theories of lovesickness. The question therefore arises of whether his *sospiro* is a classical medical symptom or a piece of poetic licence. Through the analysis given in sections 3.1 and 3.2, I attempt to address this issue.

In Section 3.1 I will explore the medical understanding of lovesickness as a disease during the late Middle Ages, charting the developments in identification of symptoms and the increasingly sophisticated descriptions of its physical effects on the body. An examination of this theme will provide a deeper understanding of the intellectual climate in which Cavalcanti was writing and therefore expose the kinds of medical ideas which Cavalcanti may be working into his poetry. In Section 3.1 I will therefore focus on providing a historical background, tracing the development of lovesickness as an illness and the role given to *sospir** in medical texts. I will then go on to explore the complex relationship which *sospir** has with other biological lexicon in medical literature. My starting point will be the school at Salerno, with a

focus on why this school came to be so important and how it helped to nurture and diffuse Arabic ideas on lovesickness. By considering the works of such medics as Constantine the African, I will provide a general understanding of the origins of thought on the symptoms of the disease. I will also consider the importance of the ideas of such ancient thinkers as Aristotle and Plato for the development of explanations of lovesickness in this period. The discussion will then turn to the medical school at Bologna, exploring the relationship which existed between the arts and medicine during the thirteenth century. Finally, I will trace the evolution of the idea of lovesickness through to medical treatises contemporary to Cavalcanti, attempting to establish what sort of role *sospiro* has in these texts and, crucially, what the texts can tell us about the world of *sospiro* in Cavalcanti's work. This will provide the background to Section 3.2, which will present a reading of *sospir** in Cavalcanti. This reading will begin with *sospir** itself, before going beyond this to *deh*, a word unique to Cavalcanti in its frequency of usage and the ultimate expression of the negating effects of love.

3.1 *SOSPIR**, LOVESICKNESS AND MEDICINE

It is necessary to examine the evolving relationship between medicine and literature over the preceding 200 years in order to understand how Cavalcanti comes to employ medical terminology so extensively in his poetry. To a modern reader, used to the entrenched definitions of art and science, it may seem an illogical step to look at medical definitions of illness as the key to better understanding Cavalcanti's often ambiguous poetry. However, this distinction is a quintessentially modern invention and such a mixing of what are now thought of as 'art' and 'science' would not have created any essential conflict for a medieval artist. Add to this the very particular meeting of art and science in this fertile period of intellectual discovery and the presence of strict biological terminology in a poetic corpus becomes even less peculiar. Italy at the turn of the first millennium C.E. was at the forefront of medical discovery. From c.1100 onwards, the key medical schools in Europe were Paris, Montpellier, Bologna and Salerno. It is on the final two that this discussion will focus, based as they are in Italy and having as they do a unique role in the evolution of the relationship between medicine and literature. In this section I will concentrate initially on Salerno, since it is the first medical school to develop, before moving on to examine Bologna, where Cavalcanti very likely had links to the medical school and therefore first-hand exposure to the ideas circulating within it.

Salerno

Salerno was, even before Bologna, a hotbed of medical research and evolution. It sets itself apart from other medical schools by adopting ideas related to lovesickness much earlier, largely as a result of the influx of Arabic translators of Aristotle and other texts into the area. Respect for ancient Greek thought was strong and Aristotelian philosophy was well regarded and began

to be incorporated into medical practice. This fusion was possible because the school was based on a strong scribal tradition which respected writing and literary study over strict biological research. As Morpurgo (2007: 340) explains, ‘gli studi medici siano stati fondati su un’intensa attività di lettura e scrittura (soprattutto di apparati di glossa)’. This dedication to the writing of glosses meant that the influx of Arabic writers, bringing with them the works of ancient Greek thinkers (up to this point lost to the Latin world), fitted well with the intellectual culture already established in the Salernian school. Medical knowledge therefore met philosophical thought in a unique and particularly potent blend of art and science.

Most notable amongst the Arab scholars to make their way to Salerno was Constantine the African. Constantine is believed to have arrived in Salerno around 1071. Throughout his time there, he produced a series of translations of Galen as well as Arab texts, most notably Ibn al-Jazzâr’s *Viaticum*. It is this text which is most relevant to Cavalcanti, as it provides a discussion of lovesickness. Cavalcanti’s poetry focuses on the internal conflict which the poet suffers when he falls in love. This conflict became medically recognised as an illness known as lovesickness through the Middle Ages. The *Viaticum* represents one of the earliest contacts which Italian medical scholars would have had with ancient Greek ideas on the subject. However, it also demonstrates strong Arabic influence, since the section dedicated to lovesickness appears, according to Wack (1990: 161) to derive from an earlier tenth century Arabic text by Ibn al-Ğazzâr, the *Zâd al-musâfir*, which provided health advice for travellers. By examining the *Viaticum* it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the blend of ancient Greek and Arabic thought which the scholars at Salerno inherited with the arrival of Constantine.

Constantine in his *Viaticum* defines lovesickness thus; ‘Amor qui et eros dicitur morbus est cerebro contiguus. Est autem magnum desiderium cum nimia concupiscentia et afflictione

cogitationum' (1990: I.20, 1-3). This is the basic starting point for a medical understanding of the disease. According to Constantine this sort of love, which he defines as *eros*, is a disease which affects the brain. This fusion of love and illness is a revolution in medical thinking and will dominate the understanding of lovesickness into the Renaissance. There is a clear distinction made between *amor* and *eros*; Love can exist with no negative side-effects in its guise of *amor*, but it is when love becomes *eros* that problems arise. This definition of *eros* is innovative and does not exist in classical thought. In order to pin down the classical understanding of *eros* it is necessary to consult Plato. In the *Symposium*, Plato states that *eros* has the power to unite man and the gods (2003: 202e). *Eros* also has certain strange characteristics, since it manages to be a god while lacking good and beautiful things (202c – 202d). However, these peculiarities do not manifest themselves as an illness, but rather as a force to encourage man to move forward positively in order to unite with the gods through contemplation. Aristotle, conversely, although he also not associate *eros* with illness, does dwell extensively on melancholy, which bears all the hallmarks of lovesickness. As Poma (2007: 40) explains 'ampie pagine sono dedicate alla descrizione e alla spiegazione rigorosa della sindrome psicofisica più simile alla malattia d'amore: la malinconia'. It is, therefore, melancholy which must be explored in Aristotle in order to understand what sorts of ideas would influence the Arab concept of lovesickness.

Aristotle deals with the issue of melancholy most explicitly in his *Problemata physica* XXX, where many of the symptoms which will later manifest themselves in the medieval understanding of lovesickness can be seen. His explanation of the cause of melancholy is based around the heating and cooling of black bile. Although this bears little similarity to the medieval causes of the illness, many of the symptoms of melancholy which Aristotle identifies reappear in the Medieval concept of lovesickness. In Aristotle's description, 'many, because this heat is

near to the seat of the mind, are affected by the diseases of madness or frenzy'. (Quoted in Radden, 2002: 58¹³) Although this may seem far removed from a modern understanding of melancholy, Aristotle argues that when the black bile is heated and near the brain it can have the effect of madness. This is much like the 'morbus cerebro' which Constantine identifies, since both diseases have a detrimental effect on the mind. Melancholy also exhibits significant variation from one person to another in Aristotle's version, depending on the level of heat of the bile contained within the individual. A subject suffering from particularly cold bile is much more likely to suffer the depressive effect of melancholy. Indeed, 'when [the bile] is colder than the occasion demands, it produces unreasonable despondency: this accounts for the prevalence of suicide by hanging amongst the young' (ibid: 59). The young, clearly, suffer from cold bile, making them so melancholic that they become suicidal. Although this symptom is associated with melancholy in Aristotle, it will go on to become the hallmark of lovesickness. Indeed, a preoccupation with death (albeit not the literal suicide to which Aristotle refers) dominates Cavalcanti's poetry.

Aristotle also links melancholy to sex. He comments that 'after sexual intercourse most men are rather depressed, but those who emit much waste product with the semen are more cheerful; for they are relieved of waste product and of breath and of excessive heat. But the others are usually rather depressed; for they are chilled by sexual intercourse, because they are deprived of something important. This is proved by the fact that the quantity of semen emitted is small'. (Quoted in Radden, 2002: 59) The connection between bile and sex is still present in Constantine's comment on lovesickness. Constantine explains the cause of *eros* in the following way;

'Aliquando huius amoris necessitas nimia est nature necessitas in multa humorum superfluitate expellenda. Unde Rufus: Coitus, inquit, ualere uidetur quibus nigra colera et mania dominantur.

¹³ For the Greek see Hett (1957), p.162ff.

Redditur ei sensus et molestatio herois tollitur, si etiam cum non dilectis loquatur' (1990: I.20, 8-12).

This love, therefore, is caused by the need to expel bile through semen. However, in contrast to Aristotle, this process is regarded as an exclusively positive thing, since it allows an excess of humours to exit the body. It does not carry the risk of compounding the melancholia, but rather liberates the person from it. Thus, the weight of *eros* is removed from the person and he is able to regain his normal feelings.

This passage is particularly interesting because it is immediately juxtaposed with the following comment; 'Aliquando etiam eros causa pulchra est formositas considerata' (1990: 13-14). Here, Constantine considers a second cause of *eros* – the contemplation of beauty. In this passage, therefore, there is a clear melding of both Aristotelian and Platonic ideas on the nature of *eros*. It is this fusion of ancient Greek thought which will be so important for the development of medieval conceptions of lovesickness. The Arab writers do not simply bring a knowledge of these works to Italy, but they also bring hundreds of years of their own thoughts and observations on these subjects. Through this process, it is the Arabs who create this notion of lovesickness, including elements of both Platonic and Aristotelian thought, which will be enthusiastically adopted and developed by the medical schools in Salerno and elsewhere.

The use of *sospir** in relation to lovesickness is born out of an association between the illness and its manifestation in the breathing of the sufferer. The first medical description of the symptoms of lovesickness to include a reference to the effect on respiration comes in Avicenna's *Canon*, a work which will go on to form the basis of medical study in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and which will be particularly important at the universities of Montpellier and Bologna, where Dino del Garbo will produce the earliest Latin commentary on the parts of this work dedicated to surgery. As early as the twelfth century, Gerard of Cremona is translating the *Canon* into Latin and indeed, as Siraisi (2001: 63) comments 'few other medical textbooks have

rivalled this work in diffusion, influence and longevity'. In this work, Avicenna identifies irregular, interrupted and deep breathing as signs of the illness. In terms of the appearance of *sospiro* in antiquity, the term is associated with those in love (although not necessarily afflicted with lovesickness) in a biological sense as far back as Alexander of Aphrodisias, who was writing during the third century C.E. He was a Greek commentator on Aristotle and his ideas would go on to influence the formation of a theory of lovesickness. In his *Problemata* (so attributed during the Middle Ages) the following comment on the cause of the sigh is made '[amantes] habent cogitationes occultas profundas cum suspiriis luctuosis...' (cited in Ciavolella 1976: 80). Alexander refers to these sorrowful sighs as an affliction of those in love. Although under-developed, this is an early indication of the sense that a sigh is a symptom of a deeper underlying biological cause. Indeed, Ciavolella (ibid.) cites the following reason in Alexander's theory for the occurrence of the sigh; 'Questi sospiri...sono causati dall'anima che, essendo tutta rivolta verso l'oggetto del desiderio, dimentica di provvedere alla facoltà motiva che controlla i muscoli pettorali, e dal cuore, che costringe l'anima a muovere i muscoli pettorali affinché inspirino una quantità d'aria sufficiente a raffreddare il bruciante calore formatosi.' The soul is simply too busy considering the object of desire to remember to breathe. Hence, once it does finally remember, a large quantity of air must be inhaled in order to sufficiently cool the heart.

The Arabic influence is, therefore, essential in understanding the kinds of concepts making their way to Salerno with Constantine. Key Arab thinkers on the issue of lovesickness include Rhazes (c. 850 - 923) and Haly Abbas (c. 950 - 994) and, as Poma explains, Constantine's work was heavily influenced by two key concepts of love developed by them. Poma (2007: 41) notes that 'le concezioni tradizionali dell'amore prevedono infatti l'uso di un termine specifico, al-'ishq, per designare la passione amorosa.' The term *al-'ishq* can be used to indicate both divine love and sensual love. When it refers to sensual love, Poma (ibid.)

explains that it refers to a ‘desiderio irresistibile [...] di ottenere il possesso di un oggetto d’amore’. This impossibility of attaining an object of affection will be a key concept in the understanding of lovesickness during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Poma (ibid.) concludes that ‘in entrambi i sensi, d’amore divino o d’amore sensuale, al-’ishq conduce alla malattia d’amore.’ It is, therefore, the Arab influence on ancient Greek thought which leads to the birth of the disease of lovesickness. This concept of *al-’ishq* represents the first attempt to label and define a specific sort of illness connected to love.

It is important to note, however, that although Constantine provides a detailed description of lovesickness, the *sospir** does not yet appear as a principal symptom of the disease. Rather, Constantine cites ‘oculi semper concaui’ (1990, I.20, 18–19), ‘palpebre graues’ (21) and a ‘pulsus induratur’ (22-23) as the main signs of a person in the grip of the illness. However, in spite of this lack of sighing, the central tenet of Constantine’s description of the disease is highly relevant for Cavalcanti. For Constantine, lovesickness is a disease which can affect the soul, and it is upon this very concept that Cavalcanti will base his poetry. In Cavalcanti, the *spiriti* and *sospiri* are structuring characters which allow the poet to connect with his *anima*. They allow Cavalcanti to distance himself from the ravages which his despair is inflicting upon his soul. Similarly, Constantine regards lovesickness as very dangerous for a patient’s soul. He states that ‘si in cogitationibus profundatur, actio anime et corporis corrumpitur, quia corpus animam in sua accione sequitur, anima corpus in sua passione comitatur’ (24-27). Here it is clear that Constantine regards the illness as damaging to both body and soul, since each follows the other in both passion and depression. The concept of the debilitating nature of lovesickness certainly emerges in Cavalcanti’s work, where his *spiriti* flee away and no longer act as a medium between body and soul.

These were, therefore, the kinds of ideas which were migrating to Italy with

Constantine. Salerno at the time of Constantine's arrival had already been established some centuries previously, with firm dates of its foundation in the tenth century. From its very inception, the philosophy of the medical school was geared towards a broad acceptance of ideas, cultures and languages. As Prioreshi (2002: 205) points out 'according to legend, the school was founded by four physicians, an Arab, a Jew, a Greek and a Latin (that is, a Latin-speaking European). Although this is only legend, it is significant as an expression of the notion that medicine transcends (or should transcend) all cultural and ethnic barriers'. The school was also able to practice a more open approach to medicine since it was not under the direct control of the church. The nearby monastery at Montecassino was already a seat of humanistic study and so it was natural that the school was able to take an all-embracing approach to medicine. The school based its medical approach on the works of the ancient Greek physician Galen. Galen is most well-known for his tri-partite spirit system in which the body is animated by three types of spirit, all deriving from the breath and originating in the heart, lungs and liver. He relied heavily on the practice of dissection for his understanding of the respiratory and cardio-vascular system, from where his spirit theory derives.

This respect for Galen had an extremely significant impact on study of medicine in the school. As Prioreshi (2003: 209) comments 'a characteristic of Salernian medicine is that it was almost completely free of superstition. The anatomy was Galenic and the Salernian masters performed animal dissection'. With this as the driving force of the school, Salerno did not become as limited in its medical research as other centres which followed the church in rejecting dissection. At the time of Constantine's arrival, the school was approaching its golden age of the twelfth century and the conditions for the acceptance and use of the new Arabic writings were therefore optimal. The influence of Arab writers would lead to the fusion of a strict study of anatomy through dissection with Arab theories of lovesickness. This shift from a practical to

a theoretical study of medicine would be what would set it apart from other schools. More significantly, it also demonstrates a close, indeed necessary, link between science and art.

The impact of the translated Arab works took some time to be felt however since, as Cantarella (1966) stresses, the Greco-Roman tradition was so well established that the Arab writings were not initially taken seriously. It was not until after Constantine's death that his translations began to be used and respected. However, the shift away from a strictly practical study of medicine towards a philosophically formed and guided concept continued. Between 1150 and 1250 the Salernian School flourished as a centre for literature and philosophy, most notably with the work of Bartolomeo and Musandino. As Kristeller explains, their work showed an interest in philosophical questions and some knowledge of Aristotle which was missing in the works of earlier schools. He concludes (1957: 74) that 'quando studiamo l'origine e il primo progresso del metodo scolastico e della filosofia aristotelica durante i secoli XII e XIII dobbiamo essere disposti ad attribuire...una parte maggiore...a Salerno...accanto a Parigi...o a Bologna'. It is therefore clear that developments in Salerno over proceeding centuries helped to enable the kind of relationship between medicine, philosophy and literature which can be seen in Cavalcanti's poetry.

Bologna

If it was at Salerno that this unique relationship between art and science was established, it was at Bologna that Cavalcanti was able to come into contact with these ideas. The University of Bologna and the medical school there had a similarly close relationship between the faculty of Arts and Medicine. As Bullough (1958: 203) comments 'the medical university at Bologna also incorporated the arts university. This might have been due to the fact that at Bologna, Aristotle

was closely connected with both medicine and the arts, while in the north his physiology was largely ignored.’ There was much debate during the mid to late 1200s over the place that medicine should have in the curricula of the universities and so it is significant that in Italy art and medicine were considered side by side. The schism between these two studies in France is evidence of the force of the tradition and culture inherited from Salerno. The close link between the arts and sciences at Bologna was also aided by Taddeo Alderotti, one of the first medics to work at the university, who championed the cause of medicine. As Saccomanno (2000: 19) comments, Alderotti ‘discute come la medicina possa essere collocata nelle diverse divisioni della filosofia o classificazioni delle scienze; indagando in varie correnti di pensiero Taddeo cerca di dare a quest’arte uno spazio proprio nei tradizionali meandri della filosofia’. This determination on the part of Alderotti to establish a unique space for the study of medicine within philosophy led to medicine being granted the same level of importance as law by the city council of Bologna around 1270, with a college of doctors founded by 1268. It is clear, therefore, that the dynamics within the University of Bologna did much to promote medical study during this period.

With such an active impetus to raise the profile of medicine and put it on a level with the arts, it is no surprise that Bologna came to represent a deliberate fusion of medical and philosophical thought. Saccomanno (2000: 20) comments that ‘a Bologna sia le arti sia la medicina sono riunite in seno ad uno stesso collegio’. It is quite natural, therefore, that a student in such an atmosphere would draw closely on both disciplines. Just as in Salerno, the arts and sciences were closely linked by Aristotle in a way not seen in France. Italy, it is clear, therefore had a unique dynamic in which arts and sciences were heavily interdependent. Bullough (1958: 214) concludes that ‘the effect was to give the medical university a much wider foundation than its northern counterparts since it embraced students not only in medicine but also those in [the

arts]’. While in the flourishing French medical schools Aristotle’s ideas on physiology and the arts in general were kept deliberately separate from the still practical approach to the study of medicine, the flexible and inclusive Italian medical schools positively encouraged a melding of the two.

This close relationship had a direct effect on Cavalcanti. It is probable that he studied at the university or at the very least had close connections with it. Although no concrete and clear evidence to support this theory remains, the weight of circumstantial evidence is such as to make it highly likely. The first is one extant manuscript of Giacomo da Pistoia’s *Quaestio de felicitate*, in which there is a dedication to Cavalcanti. Da Pistoia was the head of the Arts Faculty during the late 1200s, and such evidence suggests a potentially strong link between the two men. Indeed, Kristeller (1955) puts forward a compelling argument for their close association. The second lies in Dino del Garbo’s commentary on Cavalcanti’s most celebrated poem, *Donna me prega*. As a prominent figure in Bologna’s medical school during the 1300s, Del Garbo’s interest in the poet suggests another connection with Bologna. It is therefore highly likely that Cavalcanti would have come into contact with the lively debate over lovesickness circulating in the medical schools of Salerno and Bologna towards the end of the thirteenth century.

Medical theories of lovesickness were able to make their way to Bologna in this period as a direct result of the fact that Salerno embraced Constantine’s *Viaticum*. Ciavolella (2003: 93) comments that ‘che la discussione della patologia della passione erotica fosse entrata a far parte dei testi di filosofia naturale che costituivano il *curriculum studiorum* delle facoltà di medicina delle più famose università d’Europa...lo si deduce dal numero rilevante di glosse sul *Viaticum*...scritte e difese nelle facoltà stesse, e dai capitoli sull’amore che troviamo nei testi di medicina generale dell’epoca’. By the time that Cavalcanti was in Bologna, lovesickness was

so well established that it was on the curriculum in the university. This diffusion and acceptance was fuelled by a number of commentaries on the *Viaticum* which began to circulate from the first half of the twelfth century. Gerard du Berry's commentary is the earliest remaining example of such a reflection on lovesickness. This work is important because it places more emphasis on the effect of lovesickness on the soul, rather than focusing almost exclusively on the physical effects on the body. It has a more strictly biological sense than Constantine's theory, a development which will be highly significant when considering the biological references in Cavalcanti's work. Gerard explains the effect of lovesickness on the soul in the following way;

'Estimatiua ergo, que est nobilior iudex inter apprehensiones ex parte anime sensibilis, imperat imaginationi ut defixum habeat intuitum in tali persona. Ymaginatiua uero concupiscibili, unde concupiscibilis hoc solum concupiscit; quia sicut concupiscibilis ymaginatie obedit, ita ymaginatiua estimatiue, ad cuius imperium cetera inclinatur ad personam quam estimatiua iudicat esse conuenientem, licet non sit. Ymaginatiua autem uirtus figitur circa illud propter malam complexionem frigidam et siccam que est in suo organo, quia ad mediam concauitatem, ubi est estimatiua, trahuntur spiritus et calor innatus ubi estimatiua fortiter operatur. Unde prior concauitas in frigidatur et desiccatur, unde remanet dispositio melancolica et sollicitudo' (1990, 15-28).

This is a much more intricate and technical explanation of the process by which the soul is affected by lovesickness. Gerard explains the close relationship between the estimative and the imaginative virtues, and the fact that they regulate each other. It is the role of the estimative virtue to judge and select the object of desire, and the imaginative virtue turns to this object of desire on the estimative's command. However, it is when this estimative virtue is defective that the person is struck down with *amor hereos* since the object of desire is not, in fact, worthy of the lover's attention, since she does not reciprocate. Thus, the imaginative virtue, rather than the estimative virtue, fixes on the object of desire. Since, as Gerard explains, that imaginative virtue is located in a cold dry part of the brain (because in its mistake the estimative virtue draws all the heat and moisture to itself) the state of melancholy persists. Here the idea of melancholy as caused by the cold remains, but in a much more biologically rigorous way. The

sensitive soul, which is the seat of the virtues, is therefore negatively affected.

Along with these more technical descriptions of the effect of lovesickness on the soul came a desire to give a more rigorous biological account of such an illness. It is at this stage, therefore, that authors begin to engage with the reasons that a man suffering from lovesickness is afflicted by sighing. One of the most significant treatises on lovesickness to emerge in this period is Arnaldo da Villanova's (1985) *De amore qui heroicus nominatur*. This was heavily influenced by Arab thought, since Arnaldo studied in Valencia before moving to Montpellier and then Paris. Although he was not based in Italy, his work was enormously influential and it is therefore representative of the kinds of ideas with which Cavalcanti may have made contact through his association with the medical school in Bologna. As well as being influenced by Arabic thought, Arnaldo incorporates a significant number of poetical and philosophical ideas into his treatise. As Ciavoletta comments (1976: 68) 'il trattato, che risente non solo della tradizione medica araba ma anche – sebbene in misura minore – di quella filosofica e poetica, può essere considerato come la codificazione finale della dottrina della malattia d'amore'. Love, in its extreme sense, can evolve into what Arnaldo and his contemporary, Bernardo da Gordon, term as *amor hereos*. This happens when the object of desire is unobtainable and the faculties of reason become corrupted. This is a significant step forward in the lexicon of lovesickness, since *amor* and *eros* have been replaced by *amor hereos*. This description existed as early as the *Viaticum* but it is only at this stage that it becomes used as a title for the illness. The most interesting part of the presence of this title in Arnaldo's work is the fact that, according to García-Ballester, Arnaldo shows no sign of having been conversant with the *Viaticum* and its commentaries. He states (1985: 25) that 'Arnald[o]'s tractus reveals no interest in or awareness of the standard problems associated with *amor hereos* in *Viaticum* commentaries, and it may well be that he had not encountered them in his medical education'.

It is interesting, therefore, that the same name for the same disease develops in Italy and France, even though the *Viaticum* appears to be widely read only in Italy. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that in France, the works of the Arab medic and philosopher Avicenna were widely received. In his *Canon* Avicenna dedicates a chapter to the same type of love as Constantine, the *al-'ishq*, and so Arnaldo was working from a very similar basis to his Italian counterparts when dealing with the issue of lovesickness. Avicenna was also widely diffused in Italy, making Arnaldo's observations highly relevant to the sorts of ideas which Cavalcanti may be using in his work. Arnaldo, like Gerard before him, seeks a stricter biological understanding of the symptoms of lovesickness. As García-Ballester (1985: 27) underlines, Arnaldo demonstrates a 'craving for efficient-causal explanations and a concern for broader scientific discussion'. It is at this stage, therefore, that biological explanations are given for the symptoms of lovesickness and in Arnaldo's work this takes the form of spirits. These spirits become the basis of a biological system which explains the symptoms of lovesickness, including sighing. This is especially interesting given the close and systematic relationship between spirits and sighs in Cavalcanti's poetry. As García-Ballester (28) explains 'even the lover's sigh can be interpreted by reducing it to this model: it is the expulsion of breath originally drawn in, in great quantity by the attractive power of the spirit in the heart'.

In Arnaldo's theory, therefore, the sigh is caused by the spirit located in the heart which draws excessive amounts of air to it. This air then needs to be released, resulting in the sigh. On the generation of the sigh in relation to the object of desire, Arnaldo comments that '*tales etiam in absentia desiderate rei tristantur, et cum ad compressum diu cordis recreationes copiosius aer attractus forti spiritu cum vaporibus diu prefocatis interius expellatur, oritur in eisdem alta suspiriorum emissio*' (1985: 15). This is a variation on the idea of Alexander of Aphrodisia, who argued that the air was needed to cool the heart which had not been exposed to enough air

thanks to the forgetfulness of the sensitive soul. However, both theories give prominence to the heart as the originator of the sigh. It is not the fault of the lungs that the lovesick person sighs, but the heart. This may become relevant to Cavalcanti since he, too, often associates the sigh with the heart, although as discussed in Section 2.1, sighs emanating from the heart are a commonplace in the lyric tradition.

There is, therefore, a steady evolution in the elaboration of the biological causes of the illness known as lovesickness throughout this period. Moreover, as the affliction is studied, so the various symptoms, as well as the causes of those symptoms, begin to be examined. Within this process, the sigh is identified as a key indicator of this commonly occurring medical complaint, and biological explanations are sought for the generation of this symptom. These investigations are able to flourish in Italy in particular due to the unique set of circumstances there. It is through this process that the Bologna of Cavalcanti is able to offer to the poet such a rich and vibrant intellectual climate in which to investigate the very nature of love itself.

A background to key technical terminology: *spirito* and *sospiro*

My focus in this discussion so far has been on the historical context in which ideas around lovesickness were developing in the two centuries before Cavalcanti was writing. However, I cannot move on to my reading of *sospir** in Cavalcanti before first discussing the key technical vocabulary used in conjunction with *sospir**. *Spirito* is the term perhaps most readily associated with Cavalcanti's poetry. It is a lexeme which Guido uses repeatedly throughout his work, returning to it almost obsessively. *Spirito* is important to this discussion since, as can be seen from the medical tradition, sighs and spirits are interrelated and indeed in Cavalcanti, his *sospiri* often work in relation to, or are even interchangeable with, the *spiriti*. The various characters

in the scene of internal turmoil which Cavalcanti creates are in regular interaction with each other, and so it is natural that some blurring of the line between *spirito* and *sospiro* occurs. It is therefore necessary to refer to the medical background of spirit and offer a brief summary of the role of *spirito* in Cavalcanti's work before moving on to discuss how *sospiro* fits into this picture.

By the thirteenth century, the Galenic association of the spirits with the heart, lungs and liver was firmly established. There was wide acceptance of the assumption of a clearly defined system of three types of spirit, the animal spirits in the brain and nerves, the vital spirits in the heart and the natural spirits located in the liver. The generation of these spirits was understood to be the result of air entering the body, combined with the blood. However, this assumption does not reflect the reality of the spirits in Galen. Indeed, the categorisation of three types of spirit does not originate from Galen at all, but as Pioreschi (1998: 359) explains 'it is only in Pseudo-Galen's *In Hippocratis librum de alimento* (a later forgery) that the three kinds of *pneuma* are mentioned.' This system has, therefore, been erroneously attributed to Galen. Indeed, when examining the location of the spirits in Galenic texts, the categorisation becomes far more opaque. The association of a spirit with the heart which becomes common currency in the twelfth century is discussed by Galen in *De usu partim* (Book Six), in a discussion focussing on the transmission of spirits to embryos. However, in *De usu respirationis* (1984: 169) he seems to contradict himself, commenting that 'we have shown in *The Use of Breathing* that either very little or none at all of the substance of the *pneuma* is transmitted to the heart.' Pioreschi (1998: 372) describes the origin of *pneuma* in Galen as 'hopelessly confused' and so it seems that Galenic spirit theory should not be taken as doctrine, but instead as simply a basis for future elaboration on the subject.

It is with Avicenna that this future elaboration will most notably take shape, and indeed

it is his work which is central to understanding the development of the nature of the spirit along Galenic lines. In his *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus*, Avicenna presents two key developments which impact on this discussion. The first is the visual *pneuma*, developed from Galen's theory of vision in *De usu respirationis*. The second is the association of emotion with the corporeal spirits, a development which may have great relevance for interpreting Cavalcanti. Avicenna (1968: V,8; R263,49-51) describes the spirit in the following way, very similar to that conceived by Galen: 'Primo igitur dicemus quod virtutum animalium corporalium vehiculum est corpus subtile, spirituale, diffusum in concavitatibus, quod est spiritus'. Avicenna also cites the heart as the generative centre of the spirit stating that the 'primus locus ubi generatur spiritus: hoc autem est cor' (V,8; R264,69-70). Similarly, the body is also divided up into different sections regulated by different spirits: 'Anima autem vivificat animal ex corde; possunt autem virtutes aliarum actionum emanare a corde ad reliqua membra: emanatio autem prius debet emanare ab eo a quo principaliter pendet. In cerebro autem perficitur complexio spiritus qui est aptus ad vehendum virtutes sensus et motus ad corpora, ad hoc ut fiant apta ad exercendum suas actiones'(76-81). In Avicenna the tentative attempts at a coherent biological system made by Galen are crystallised into a developed and highly influential doctrine. These are the notions which, by the time Cavalcanti is writing, have become common intellectual currency.

The visual *pneuma* are also important for this discussion. Ardizzone (2002: 177 n.10) comments that 'Cavalcanti's introduction of the visual *pneuma* or spirit seems to follow Avicenna and Averroes in their development of the Stoic-Galenic tradition'. Avicenna's theory is a development of Galen's early theory of optics. Galen, in *On Respiration and the Arteries* (1984: 476) states that there are some *pneuma* located in the eye. He comments that 'the space between the crystalline humour and the grapelike tunic...contains a thin liquid and...the region

around the eye is full of pneuma'. Avicenna elaborates on this in the *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus* (1968: V,8; R267,55-59). He explains that the visual pneuma work in the following way; 'De virtutibus autem cerebri, visus perficitur humore crystalliideo qui est sicut aqua limpida, qui *recipit* formas visibilium et *reddit eas spiritui visibili*, et fit perfectio videndi in contactu nervorum concavorum, sicut cognitum est ex eius chirurgia et ostensione dispositionis suae' (italics added). The spirits also play a key role as the eye receives shapes which are rendered visible by the spirits contained there. According to Verbeke (1987: 86) 'Selon Avicenne, on peut dire que la perception visuelle est accomplie par la pneuma, d'abord par celui qui se trouve dans l'œil, ensuite par celui qui est contenu dans le ventricule antérieur du cerveau, le pneuma du sens commun'. Indeed in *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus* (1972: III,8; R152,54-57) Avicenna explains that the image 'penetrat in spiritum qui est repositus in primo ventriculo cerebri, et imprimitur iterum forma visa in ipso spiritu qui est gerens virtutem sensus communis, et sensus communis recipit illam formam, et haec est perfectio videndi'. The spirits both of the eye and the brain are therefore responsible for perception.

Working under the influence of these ideas, Guido develops a system of spirits within his poetry, but this system does not seem to be based on the tripartite system of medical literature to any great degree. He does not explicitly designate spirits as vital, animal or natural but he does, to some extent, engage with the location of the spirit in relation to that described in medical literature. Although spirits of the liver do not seem to appear, there are two occasions on which he makes reference to spirits associated with the brain, in XXIII, 9-11 where there is a possible connection to the brain in the lines 'Dal cielo si mosse un spirito, in quel punto / che quella donna mi degnò guardare / e vennessi a posar nel mio pensiero'. Here the spirit appears to be associated with the poet's thoughts and therefore occurring in the brain. However, there is

no indication that it is in any way an animal spirit in the medical sense. The second occurrence is in XXVIII in the opening lines of the poem; 'Pegli occhi fere un spirito sottile / che fa 'n la mente spirito destare'. This is a clearer example of a spirit of the mind, but Cavalcanti once again does not refer to it as an animal spirit.

The poet's engagement with the spirits of the heart is perhaps the most interesting. This is the seat of the vital spirit, but in Cavalcanti this seat becomes the site of the spirit's destruction in an interesting inversion of the generative role usually assigned to the heart. In X,13-16 for example, the spirits are consumed and destroyed by the pain in the heart. This can be seen in the lines 'questa pesanza ch'è nel cor discesa / ha certi spirite' già consumati / i quali eran venuti per difesa / del cor dolente che gli avea chiamati'. The spirits are drawn into the heart, therefore, and then destroyed by the very organ which is said to generate them. A further example of this idea can be seen in XXXIV,18-19 in which the spirit is not totally destroyed but is stopped from functioning; 'pieno d'angoscia, in loco di paura / lo spirito del cor dolente giace'. The spirit is specifically described as being of the heart, but instead of bringing vitality to the body, it is paralysed. Paralysis, indeed, is a recurring issue across Cavalcanti's poetry.

Rather than considering Cavalcanti's spirits in terms of their strictly biological function therefore, it is perhaps more useful to consider the relationship that they have with the body, and therefore with *sospiro*, from a slightly different perspective. The distinction which is made between spirits in Cavalcanti's work can, it would seem, be based on the specific form of *spirit** employed by the poet. In my Masters dissertation, I argued that *spirito* is often associated with what can be regarded as an externalised form of love whereas *spiriti* are almost exclusively internalised and can often be seen leaving or moving away from the body. Anichini subsequently (2009: 108) employed a similar classification of the spirits, but instead divided them into three categories; 'as a subtle matter circulating in the human body [what might be

regarded as internal spirits], as sigh, and as image [what might be regarded as external spirits]'. The reason for this additional category, sigh, is that spirits and sighs not only interact but can also be interchanged in Cavalcanti's work. The similarities between the two are evident. As has already been discussed, the sigh's seat of generation is the heart. In Cavalcanti this can be seen for example in XXXIII. The spirit, too, is most readily associated with the heart (see above, for example VII). Moreover, both the sighs and spirits are personified to the point of being given lines of speech within the poems. For the sighs, this can be seen in XXXIII,11 when the sighs, addressing the spirits, instruct 'spiritei fuggite', while a spirit can be seen speaking in XIX, 10 when it advises the poet that 'E' ti convien morire'. Here, therefore, the sigh conforms to the role of the internal spirit. The sigh can also be seen in the role of the external spirit which penetrates the lover. The spirit appears in this role for example in XXXI, 6-7 when 'esce degli occhi suoi, che m'è [con' d]ardo,/ un gentiletto spirito d'amore'. Similarly sighs perform this role when, in XXI, 9 'trasse poi del li occhi tuo' sospiri, / i qua' me saettò nel cor sì forte'. Anichini also makes reference to sighs and spirits appearing as what she refers to as 'self-portraits' (105). She identifies the spirits as a self-portrait in IX, 55-6 which leave the body and wander, dejected and afraid, until they come to the beloved as 'in figura / d'un che si more sbigottitamente'. Here, then, the spirits represent the lover who is left behind to die. In this way, the internal, living functions of the lover are extracted and make their way to the lady, where they reformulate into a representation of him. In XVIII, the lover has suffered such terrible things that he has come close to death, so close in fact that 'ch'altro non n'è rimasto che sospiri'. Where the spirits disengage from the body in order to stand in for it in another location, therefore, the sighs are the last vestige of the lover when all else, even the spirits, have gone. The sigh here, therefore, hangs in the air as the very last representation of the lover.

Cavalcanti, Averroes and Avicenna: Perception, Imagination and Intellection

Having considered the close relationship between *spirit** and *sospir** in Cavalcanti's poetry, I will now focus on his relationship with Avicenna, and the function of sighs in the process of intellection. The ghost of Averroes has long loomed large over Cavalcanti. Since Dante's insinuation of heresy in *Inf. X*, Guido's name has continually been associated with radical Aristotelian philosophy, and not entirely positively. This implication that his work questioned the immortality of the human soul led to optimistic reinterpretations of Cavalcanti's work in Neoplatonic readings during the Renaissance, but scholars now agree that there is, indeed, a strong radical Aristotelian influence in Cavalcanti's work, whether or not this may indicate any heretical belief held by the poet. The debate was definitively laid to rest by Bruno Nardi in the 1940s in his readings of *Donna me prega*, with Corti (2003: 16-36) later also supporting a reading of *Donna me prega* with an assumed knowledge of Averroes. More recently, critical investigation has moved on to explore the role of Avicenna in Cavalcanti's work, and so it is to these two key thinkers and the theories they elaborate in connection with perception, imagination and intellection which this discussion will now turn.

The process of intellection and, more importantly, the interruption of this process, lies at the heart of Cavalcanti's poetry, an idea associated as seen above with lovesickness, and one which is part of the multifaceted breakdown of the body, mind and soul in the face of love which Cavalcanti repeatedly depicts. However, while theories of lovesickness can go some way to explaining this literal mental breakdown, the process can be more completely understood with reference both to Avicenna and to Averroes. By rooting his discussion of love and intellection in the medical tradition in this way, Cavalcanti deliberately rejects any notion of the transcendent power of love, and instead sets the experience firmly in nature. Ardizzone (2002: 18) comments that 'the lines '*...sì che parlare / null'omo pote, ma ciascun sospira*'...mark a

turning point in [Cavalcanti's] poetry. Cavalcanti introduces here, through the sigh, a language of passion that allowed his ornatus to stay within the limits of nature'. The sigh is integral to Cavalcanti's corporeal discussion of love, and the idea that no man can speak of a lady, but only sigh, works as a neat summary of a concept which he obsessively returns to; love as responsible for the interruption of intellection.

Whether the so-called minor rhymes are read as a key to unlocking *Donna me prega* or *Donna me prega* is seen as an explication of Cavalcanti's poetic thought as a whole, the relationship between the two is of central importance to a more complete understanding of his work. Reading Guido's most overtly philosophical poem in relation to Averroes' *Parva naturalia* helps to provide a clearer picture of the technical ideas which Cavalcanti assimilates, ideas which appear in a less overt guise elsewhere. Integral to the wider use of the sigh in Cavalcanti's work is the idea of disruption to the imaginative faculty which Averroes outlines and which Cavalcanti employs as a way of representing love's effect on the body in a biologically rigorous way. In the *De sensu et sensato* section of his work, Averroes discusses the effect that the impairment of vision can have on the imaginative faculty. He explains that vision can be impaired when a person suffers from excess heat, for example when they are angry, since this heat rises and impairs the person's vision. When this sense is impaired, the imagination can also be affected. Therefore, the effect of love on the vision can, consequently, impair the imagination, and the formation of an image is thus made impossible. Elsewhere in Averroes we find other keys for unlocking meaning in Cavalcanti. As Ardizzone comments 'the Averroistic notion of *coniunctio* presides over [Guido's] poetry' (2002: 37). The notion of *coniunctio* is related to the accidental connection of the individual intellect with the separated possible intellect, associated with the process of imagination and abstraction. As Ardizzone explains, in linking Cavalcanti with Averroes and his focus on the imagination as the dominant

internal sense (along with memory) 'the same tendency to reduce the internal senses seems to preside over Cavalcanti, who appears to think of imagination as a power of the individual, probably the sole and greatest power' (2002: 31). By doing this, Cavalcanti places his work in the individual and mortal experience, rather than looking beyond, to the common intellect. Intellection can only be achieved by a connecting of the sensible intellect and the common intellect, a process which is continually impeded by love. Within this impediment, the sigh often plays a role. What Cavalcanti is discussing here, therefore, is a failure of the intellect to reach the most sophisticated level of intellection.

However, Cavalcanti also draws on other medical sources in order to express his ideas, and recent scholarship has worked to trace the influence of Avicenna on the poet's work. The Arabic commentaries on Aristotle, and Avicenna in particular, play an important role in developing Aristotle's ideas on the imagination and the elaboration of the internal senses. According to Wolfson (1935: 69) 'in Aristotle there is no general term for those faculties of the soul which he treats of in the Third Book of *De Anima* and in *De Memoria et Remiscentia* to differentiate them as a class from the five senses which he treats of in the Second Book of *De Anima*. In Latin, Arabic and Hebrew philosophic texts, however, these post-sensory faculties...are designated by the terms "internal senses" in contradistinction to the five senses which are designated by the term "external senses". Cavalcanti, it is clear, plays on this distinction inherited from the Arabic and Latin traditions. Wolfson explains that the notion of an internal sense in Latin first appears in Augustine, and his usage of this term is equivalent to Aristotle's common sense. However, the situation is different in the Arabic tradition, with internal sense referring in the main to three key faculties, imagination, cogitation and memory, which according to Wolfson does not belong to a particularly Galenic concept, but rather to Aristotelian ideas which Galen then revisits but does not posit for the first time. Galen, like

Aristotle, also does not label these as 'internal senses'. This tripartite system is initially employed by most Arabic sources but then developed into a four, five and, finally, a seven-part system as the estimative faculty and then the common sense are added, with subdivisions. According to Wolfson, Avicenna is the first to include common sense as one of the internal senses. He goes on 'in the language of Avicenna [the common sense] is described as the sense wherein the impressions conveyed through the sense-organs are assembled and unified...its location...is, like that of retentive imagination, in the anterior hollow of the brain'. In Avicenna the possible seven faculties are condensed into five, with different combinations of faculties dealt with in different parts of his work. Wolfson explains that 'with regard to common sense and imagination two views are recorded by Avicenna in Canon. According to the philosophers, common sense and imagination are distinct faculties, the former being the *recipient* of the image of things, the latter the *retainer* of the images. According to the physicians, the two constitute a single faculty, though the distinction between the receptive power and the retentive power is still to be observed in it' (97) (italics in original). With reference to these ideas contained within Avicenna, Anichini (2009: 58) comments that 'by employing the term 'imagination'...I indicate common sense and retentive imagination, that is, the two internal senses (or one, if considered from a medical perspective) through whose interaction the visual impressions of the sensible object are transformed into an abstract image. In his Rime, by alluding to the lover's death, Cavalcanti indicates the interruption of that process of abstraction'. From this it is clear, therefore, that Cavalcanti is playing with an idea of the internal senses which had come to be recognised as clearly associated with the receiving and retaining of images.

This process of abstraction, and in particular the idea of visual impressions in Avicenna,

is discussed by Verbeke. When examining Avicenna's discussion of the senses¹⁴ and the interpretation of information furnished to them, Verbeke highlights the rigorously biological nature of Avicenna's approach. He comments that 'de même qu'Aristote, Avicenne nous présente...un interprétation "biologique" de la perception sensible' (1972: 63), arguing that in his commentary, Avicenna presents cognition as a kind of nourishment for the mind. Verbeke describes the relationship between the mind and the images it receives, stating that 'toutes ces formes sensibles qu'il [the mind] reçoit ne sont pas simplement l'image éphémère d'un monde en devenir, elles pénètrent jusque dans le cerveau, où elles se rencontrent dans le sens commun; elles sont conservées dans l'imagination, elles sont combinées ou séparées dans l'imaginative et leur valeur est appréciée par l'estimative. Le monde sensible est l'aliment de l'activité cognitive de l'animal' (63). In the process of perception, Verbeke underlines Avicenna's focus on passivity, and on the idea that the mind is impressed by the object which it perceives until it becomes identical to the object. In this process, there is a coming together of perceived and perceiver, rather than a sense of alienation or an emphasis on the 'otherness' of the perceived. As Verbeke notes 'on ne se trouve pas devant une aliénation, mais devant un perfectionnement...toute sensation consiste à recevoir la forme abstraite de l'objet perçu; grâce à cette assimilation de la forme, le connaissant devient semblable à ce qu'il connaît' (49). Cavalcanti, it can be seen, inherits this passivity, continually acted upon as he is by outside stimuli, often to the point of helplessness in the face of destruction. What Cavalcanti very often fails to achieve, however, is what Verbeke identifies as 'perfectionnement' in Avicenna. The obsessive returning to this theme in his work, however, shows a striving for what it is known can be achieved, which only serves to highlight the tragedy of the lovesick in their inability to reach this state of perfection.

¹⁴ For an extensive discussion of the senses in Avicenna, as well as the impact of Avicenna's development of the senses beyond that found in Aristotle, see also Hasse (2000). For a discussion of the question of the internal senses in the Fourteenth Century, see also Steneck (1970).

The (counter) influence of Albertus Magnus

While heavily influenced by biological treatises, Cavalcanti is not only exposed to a largely medical account of the bodily spirits. By the time he is writing, this physiological basis had been developed by Christian thinkers working to reconcile the spirit system with the soul. Costa ben Luca in his work *De differentia animae et spiritus* opens up a discussion on the significance of the interrelation between the spirits and the soul. However, he clearly separates the two, when he states ‘dicamusque quod prima differentia haec est, videlicet, quod spiritus est corpus. Anima vero res in corporea est’ (1876: 132). Spirits, for Costa ben Luca, are very much a part of the body, without transcendental attributes or abilities. According to Bono (1984: 126) the importance of Ben Luca’s text is ‘in the deflection of critical attention away from a strictly limited consideration of spiritus as part of a physiological system towards analysis of the status of spiritus itself as a causal entity’. This then provides a fundamental base for Albertus Magnus as he attempts to develop this point. *In De spiritu et respiratione* Albertus elaborates on the way in which the spirit works in the body. Bono (1984: 124) notes that ‘[Albertus] regards life as a continuous activity of a definable entity, soul, which is distanced from the corporeal organs it animates and hence requires a vehicle or instrument, spirit – distanced, it must be stressed, in an operational or functional sense, and *not* separated ontologically’ (italics in original). Albertus states that ‘dicamus quod spiritus est instrumentum animae, sicut malleus vel dolabrum est instrumentum architecti: et hoc instumento anima facit vitam in corpore sicut malleus vel dolabrum instrumentum architecti’ (Borgnet, 1890: I.1.8). In Albertus’ physiology, the heart is the seat of the soul and hence is confirmed as the organ most centrally important to the human body. He states ‘cor est prima sedes et primum habitaculum seu domicilium animae’ (I.1.8).

The body and soul are therefore joined, but through the use of the intermediary spirit, the effects of the soul are carried to the body, so that the soul can also remain somehow separated and thus immortal. Albertus' definition of the spirit thus develops an important medical significance because it manages to overcome problems associated with the fundamental functional distance between the body and the soul. This is, in Bono's (1984: 126) words a 'philosophical tour de force which avoids the problems affecting not only Albertus' natural philosophy, but also his biological thought'. Albertus, then, makes a highly significant step forward in spirit doctrine.

Siraisi (2001) argues strongly for the place of Albertus Magnus amongst the key figures in medicine in the thirteenth century¹⁵. She comments that 'while he was not the first author in the Latin West to point out the relevance of the libri naturales, and especially the biological works of Aristotle, to learned medicine and vice versa, nor the first to examine the discrepancies between Aristotle and the medical tradition, he was undoubtedly the most distinguished scholar to turn his attention to those topics' (12). In Albertus' work can be seen both a recognition of the important overlap between medicine and natural philosophy, and also the high regard afforded to medicine as an academic discipline in the thirteenth century. Albertus appears to base his medical knowledge on Galen, with over sixty references to him in *De animalibus* alone, but examination of these citations demonstrates a strong influence from Avicenna (Stadler 1916 / 1920, cited in Siraisi, 2001) and it seems likely that Albertus uses Galen's name as a shorthand for medical knowledge, rather than as a strict citation. Siraisi indicates that this is typical of medical scholars of the thirteenth century more generally, and so it should perhaps be termed a knowledge of "Galenism" rather than Galen' (24). It is evident that Albertus knew and used Avicenna's *Canon* and Siraisi concludes that 'thus Albert, a theologian and natural philosopher, was familiar with a major medical work that had only recently come into use among learned

¹⁵ For a bibliography of Albertus' medical knowledge see also Gilson (2007).

physicians themselves' (ibid). Albertus was, therefore, armed with cutting edge knowledge of medieval medicine and in an excellent position to engage with and criticise the ideas contained within it.

Albertus Magnus' discussion of medicine is often designed to examine points of departure from Aristotle and thereby put forward a negative view of ideas contained within medical literature. One of the areas of Galenic thought with which he particularly disagrees is that of the brain, heart and liver each being in command of its own system, in opposition to Aristotle's prioritising of the heart as the single vital organ. This, as a consequence, calls into question the tripartite set of spirits which allow these systems to function. Siraisi explains that 'in Albert's eyes, rejection of the primacy of the heart and insistence upon the equal importance of the physiological functions of heart, brain and liver was inseparable from the belief, which he termed Platonic, that the human soul was divided into three parts or that there were three souls, each located in one of three major organs' (2001: 34). For a theologian, this possibility could only be regarded as inherently false. It is this key issue of reading Aristotle through a lens of Christian thought which fuels the investigation of *spiritus* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it is also what turns Albertus Magnus into an anti-influence for Cavalcanti.

The work of Albertus Magnus needs to be understood within the context of the generation of a theological language by thinkers amongst whom St Augustine is predominant. As Bono explains, during the twelfth century 'the already layered understandings of classical vocabulary as modified within the language of theology was spun together with the newly appropriated language of Galenic theoretical medicine' (1984: 100). This generated what Bono refers to as a 'distinctive medieval language of life' (ibid) which then itself evolves into various forms and permutations. St. Augustine is instrumental in developing this and especially the debate over the transcendence of the spirit and the immortality of the soul. In his *De natura et*

origine animae, the spirit and the soul are given a significant and necessary interdependence. The spirit moves beyond a biological function in designated parts of the body, and becomes instead a sort of instrument of the soul.

Moving on from the foundation laid by St Augustine, Albertus Magnus brings to the definition of spirits a more rigorous delineation of the boundaries within which they exist and function. As Bono (1984: 120) explains 'his consequent movement towards a monistic, 'Aristotelian' conception of the soul-body relationship resulted in a new appreciation of *spiritus* as a *medium*' (italics in original). In *De animalibus*, Albertus identifies the spirit as 'est vapor resolutus ab humido seminali in generatione' (1890: XX). Therefore, refuting ideas that spirits are similar to light, he argues for a spirit which is produced from moisture and is vapour-like. In terms of its function, it is not responsible for the union of soul and body, but is instead used instrumentally, as a way of the soul producing effects upon the body. As Bono states, this overcomes a key difficulty with spirits; 'an ontological medium linking the body and soul is simply not possible, because body and soul are totally different. Incorporeal and corporeal substances may indeed coexist and act in complementary fashion, as they do in the animate organism; they may not, however, be linked by any substance, for that substance would be at once both corporeal and incorporeal. The only possibility is that soul and body are immediately joined to one another and that spirits simply act as instruments – tools of an incorporeal craftsman' (122).

This difference in position is what underpins the divergent ideas in Cavalcanti and Dante. Discussing corporeality in Dante, Lindheim (1990) points to Statius as Dante's representative in Purgatory being indicative of Dante's espousing of Albertus' position on the soul being immediately and necessarily joined with the body. Nardi (1960) has also notably commented on this issue. Associated with this question of the relationship between body and

soul is Dante's use of the spirits in *Vita Nuova* 1.5-7, which has been interpreted as coming almost directly from Albertus Magnus' *De spiritu e respiratione* and *De somno e vigilia*. This, of course, stands in contrast to the Averroist position on the relationship between body and soul seen in Cavalcanti, whereby an individual is possessed of a sensitive soul, which is formed in matter and therefore perishes and is reborn with each person, whereas the common intellect survives because it is detached, therefore establishing a position that humans are generally eternal but specifically mortal. In connection with this, Ardizzone has developed an argument which demonstrates Cavalcanti's Averroist position in relation to the theory of the eternity of matter, as elaborated in *Donna me prega*. She argues that in this poem 'love heralds – because its nature is 'non razionale' – an opposition between the sphere of sensibility and that of intellect. Such opposition signals a division between two different genera: the intellectual and the sensible, where sensibility is part of the sphere of matter' (84). Thus, she suggests, 'Donna me prega seems to bestow on love the peculiarity of matter itself' (85). Love is equated with matter, which itself belongs to the sphere of sensibility, in contrast to the alternative sphere of intellection. Here, then, is the division of the sensible soul and the common intellect which Albertus Magnus refutes. That Cavalcanti is exposed to the position of Albertus Magnus and would almost certainly have been aware of the condemnation of radical Aristotelianism taking place in Paris during the 1270s, and yet still uses the system of spirit and soul showcased in his poetry, suggests a deliberate refutation of Albertus Magnus as a model.

Cavalcanti, therefore, is working in the wake of this radical re-evaluation of the role of the spirit in the body. Guido will not take on the spiritual ramifications of this shift in ideas, but instead employs the concept of the spirit as a mediator between body and soul to great effect in his characterisation of internal biological functions. Cavalcanti develops this idea, to the extent that the spirits become independent of the body itself. He then uses these actors within his

poetry simultaneously as performers of a biological role but also as highly personalised communicators of the poet's emotions. **It** is this rich and innovative poetic landscape which I will now go on to read, through the entry point of *sospir**, in the final section of this thesis.

3.2 READING CAVALCANTI IN CONTEXT

Reading sighs

I began this thesis with the express intention of reading Cavalcanti within his own context, treating his poetry as embedded in clear lyric and medical traditions. Having examined poetry in Section Two and medicine in the first part of Section Three, I will now turn my attention to a reading of *sospir** in Cavalcanti which attempts to understand his poetry's relationship with these two influences. One of the first points to note is that, in my view, Cavalcanti's work at times suffers from what might be regarded as an 'over-reading' of medicine in his work. This is, I believe, a result of the tendency (one which I have sought to counter in this thesis) to provide a decontextualized reading of his work which does not sufficiently recognise his embedding in both traditions and his role as, first and foremost, a poet. Such an over-reading might be seen in the discussion of *ballata* XXXI and in particular the following lines;

‘Ella mi fere sì, quando la sguardo,
ch'i' sento lo sospir tremar nel core:
esce degli occhi suoi, che m'è [con' d]ardo,
un gentiletto spirito d'amore,
lo qual è pieno di tanto valore,
quando mi giunge, l'anima va via,
come colei che soffrir nol poria.

I' sento pianger for li miei sospiri,
quando la mente di lei mi ragiona;
e veggio piover per l'aere martiri
che struggon di dolor la mia persona,
sì che ciascuna virtù m'abandona,
in guisa ch'i' non so là 'v'i' mi sia:
sol par che Morte m'aggia 'n sua balia’.

This poem explores the process of being wounded by the sight of the lover. In line 11, 'I sento pianger for li miei sospiri', Anichini (2009) reads an influence of medical literature. She comments that 'in the *Rime* tears often appear in combination with sighs. According to the indications of the medical literature, both tears and sighs - at times even consequential to one another - are to be read as the external signs of the pathological conditions by which the lover is bound'. Anichini cites Hildegard of Bingen's *Causae et curae* as an example of such a work, where she states 'et ita aqua illa ex oculis fluit et hoc lacrimae sunt. Nam aqua lacrimarum hoc modo de sanguine hominis per suspiria gemituum extrahitur, velut semen hominis ex medulla et de sanguine eius educitur' (1903: 147). Traces of Hildegard have been found in Dante (see for example Zazzaroni (2009)) but the implication that this might be considered a principal influence in the pairing of sighs and tears in Cavalcanti seems to place a little too much emphasis on the medical tradition in his work. As has been seen in Section Two, the sigh is overwhelmingly paired with crying in the poetry of the troubadours and although the highly tentative suggestion of medical influence at work in their poetry has been made, it seems more likely that Cavalcanti is developing a poetical commonplace here, rather than drawing on the work of Hildegard or indeed other medical sources.

This position is further strengthened by the use of the *ballata* form. This is a quintessentially Cavalcantian form, used by the poet on eleven occasions, accounting for one fifth of his poetic production. Indeed, Moleta (1978), in his investigation of the lyric narrative of the *Vita Nuova*, reveals Dante's use of the *ballata* in Chapter 7 as signalling the Cavalcantian 'phase' of the work. Dante, argues Moleta, signals his own, distinctly Dantean phase through the *canzone*. It would seem unusual, then, for Cavalcanti to be referring to a figure such as Hildegard of Bingen, a figure more readily associated with a Dantean rather than Cavalcantian

perspective, in a *ballata*. Regarding things from the alternative perspective, XXXI is a poem which is rooted in the tradition of the *pastorelle* (see Section Two, p. 94 for an elaboration of this point) and so the use of a troubadour commonplace in an innovative way through the application of the weeping to the sighs, rather than the lover, seem a more likely explanation for this pairing.

This minor point does not, however, detract from other medical influences which can be seen in this poem. In lines 4-5, 'Ella mi fere sì, quando la sguardo, / ch'i' sento lo sospir tremar nel core', have been read by Rea and Inglese (2011) as 'sospiri, sintomo di dolorosa impotenza, erompono dal cuore, facendolo tremare, come spiegato da Andrea Capellano' (176). In Book Two, Chapter 8 of *De Amore*, when outlining his rules for love, Capellanus in rule sixteen indicates that 'In repentina coamantis visione cor *contremescit* amantis' which Walsh (1982: 283) translates as 'the heart of a lover *beats faster* at the sudden sight of his beloved' (italics added), but which can also be read a shakes, or trembles. There are also precedents of a lover being overcome by trembling in the troubadours, for example in Bernard de Ventadour PC70,20.43-4 'car aissi tremble de paor / com fa la folha contra·ven'. However, a more convincing source for this can be found in medical literature. In Avicenna, trembling is associated with a weakening of the body and even death, especially if it is the heart which is affected. In the *Canon* 69 A 12 (cited in Anicini, 2009: 161), Avicenna explains that;

'Ille cui tremor cordis assidue acciderit de se ipso sit sollicitus, ne subita intercipiatur morte... Et similiter cum perduraverit, ut sensus sint turbidi, et motionum adsit debilitas cum repletione. Cum membra omnia stupida fuerint multum...Cum facies vehementer rubuerit et oculus et lachrymae fluxerint et lumen effugerit...Cumque multa absque causa fuerit tristitia et timor, regendus erit adusti humoris evacuatione, ne ad melancholiam deveniat'.

It is clear from this that trembling of the heart can lead to death, and that with it come symptoms such as crying, blurred vision, sadness and fear and, if the humours are not appropriately regulated, melancholy can arise. Indeed, death is the destination in this poem, since 'sol par che

Morte m'aggia 'n sua balìa'. The sigh, therefore, which in theories of lovesickness is associated with cooling the heart or forgetting to breathe through contemplation of the beloved (see Section 3.1, 164), may be an attempt on the part of the afflicted lover to regulate the humours in an instinctive attempt to avoid the worst outcome of the trembling heart.

What triggers this trembling sigh is also closely related to medicine and medical ideas of vision. The poet is wounded when he looks at the country girl, since 'esce degli occhi suoi, che m'è [d]ardo, / un gentiletto spirito d'amore'. Here, Cavalcanti inserts a spirit into the Aristotelian theory of intromission, and with this reference he taps into an on-going thirteenth-century debate between the positions of Aristotle and Galen. As Siraisi (1981: 218) explains in reference to Taddeo Alderotti and the development of theories of vision in Bologna, 'Taddeo's principal authority in his lengthy discussion of vision was Avicenna's commentary on *De Anima*...its main attraction for scholastic physicians such as Taddeo was that Aristotle had opted for the intromission theory, stating that in the presence of external light and color the air serves as a medium to carry forms from objects to the eye, whereas Galen had claimed that vision takes place through the extramission of visual *spiritus* from the eye'. Cavalcanti therefore draws upon Galen's theory of a visual *pneuma* but seems to side with Avicenna and Averroes with the movement of the spirit from the lady to the lover¹⁶.

That Cavalcanti espouses this particular theory of vision finds further support in XXI;

‘O donna mia, non vedestù colui che
'n su lo core mi tenea la mano quando
ti rispondea fiochetto e piano per la
temenza de li colpi suoi?

E' fu Amore, che, trovando noi,

¹⁶ See Stewart (2003), in particular chapter 3, for an extensive discussion of optics in Cavalcanti.

meco ristette, che venia lontano,
in guisa d'un arcier presto soriano
acconcio sol per uccider altrui.

E' trasse poi de li occhi tuo' sopiri,
i qua' me saettò nel cor sì forte,
ch'i' mi parti' sbigotito fuggendo.

Allor m'aparve di sicur la Morte,
acompanata di quelli martiri
che soglion consumare altru' piangendo'.

(XXI,1-14)

As I have discussed above, (see Section 3.1, 165) sighs can at times stand in for or act like spirits, and XXI is one such example. The poem begins with what seems like a distinctly courtly feel, with the lover addressing the lady directly in a use of the apostrophe which is unusual in Cavalcanti. Indeed, in the second stanza the lover and his beloved are distinctly aligned in the phrase 'E' fu Amore, che, trovando noi, / meco ristette'. Here Love appears in person, remaining only with the lover in an ill-fated bout of unreciprocated love. The nature of the opening of this poem has led Rea and Inglese to comment that 'l'allocuzione iniziale parrebbe configurare una tipica situazione cortese: il colloquio tra gli amanti, cui si aggiunge l'irriducibile presenza di Amore' (2011: 125). The setting seems, at least initially, to be one of a troubadoric figure addressing his lady.

However, the poem transforms from an external plea from the lover to his beloved into an enactment of the internal processes at work within the lover. The idea of intromission is alluded to in the second quatrain when Love is referred to as 'in guisa d'un arcier presto soriano' and this is made more explicit in the following tercet in which 'E' trasse poi de li occhi tuo'

sopiri, / i qua' me saettò nel cor sì forte, / ch'i' mi partì' sbigotito fuggendo'. While Rea and Inglese (2011: 126) have read this reference to sighs as the symptom of an irrepressible pain and the only possible reaction of the lover to the appearance of the lady, the lines can also be read more literally, as an extraction from the lady of spirits, which then travel into the heart of the lover. As a result of the arrival of the spirits / sighs, the lover flees, dismayed. However, this flight meets Death in the opening line of the final tercet, indicating that the piercing of the heart by love has resulted in the departure of the vital spirits from the body.

Returning to the mortal trembling found in XXXI, it should be noted that trembling is not always associated with death, but can on rare occasions actually come to represent a kind of ecstasy experienced by the lover. Anichini comments that 'counter to the lover represented in the *Divine Comedy*, who is the subject of Christian meditation and a vector pointing at God, the *Rime's* lover is entangled in matter and collapses into a condition of folly and blindness...with his minor rhymes, the iconoclast Guido Cavalcanti strongly undermines the Dantesque theory that love is the unleashing of the highest imaginative capacity bestowed to humans, that of imagining God' (2009: 85). *Ballata XXVI*, in part at least, should be recognised as a rare exception to this statement and will therefore be examined stanza by stanza;

‘Veggio negli occhi de la donna mia
un lume pien di spiriti d'amore,
che porta uno piacer novo nel core,
sì che vi desta d'allegrezza vit'a.

(XXVI,1-4)

In this opening stanza the lover sees in his beloved a light full of spirits of love, but rather than entering the lover's heart and causing him to flee into the arms of Death, they do quite the opposite, filling his heart with a new pleasure and his life with happiness, which might be read

as the happiness which the courtly poets hope for when united with the object of their desire. Indeed, Rea and Inglese (2011) note that this is an 'ultimo componimento dedicato alla sublimazione degli occhi amorosi della donna, finalmente con totale immedesimazione in quell'istante beatifico, in precedenza ancora opposto o sovrapposto ad altri accadimenti' (142). This is quite a departure from the effects of love outlined elsewhere in Cavalcanti's work, and indeed this will go on to have an impact on the process of intellection in the next part of the poem;

Cosa m'aven, quand'i' le son presente,
ch'i' no la posso a lo 'ntelletto dire:
veder mi par de la sua labbia uscire
una sì bella donna, che la mente
comprender no la può, che 'mmantenente
ne nasce un'altra di bellezza nova,
de la qual par ch'una stella si mova
e dica: "La salute tua è apparita"

(XXVI,5-12)

The lover is unable to explain what happens to him in rational terms. This is in strong contrast to Cavalcanti's destruction by love which, in the opposite way, is both associated with suffering not joy, and also laid out in meticulous detail and, as has been seen, often relies heavily on highly rational medical explanations for its occurrence. Here, by contrast, this rationality has gone, replaced by a kind of wonder at the events unfolding. Ardizzone (2002: 36) explains that in Cavalcanti 'love [is] a double being. On the one hand it is an excess, on the other hand it is a power toward the process of imagination and intellectual knowledge'. She sees this poem as a key to understanding the relationship between love and imagination in Cavalcanti and in particular the difficulty of intellection, despite a state of near transcendence, expressed in 'no la

posso a lo 'ntelletto dire'. However, inspite of this difficulty, through mention of the 'stella', a reference is made to intelligence¹⁷. The star here is aligned with the lady, a lady who represents 'la salute' and so she acts as an intermediary between the senses and the intellect, despite the struggles of the lover.

‘Là dove questa bella donna appare
s'ode una voce che le vèn davanti
e par che d'umiltà il su' nome canti s'ì
dolcemente, che, s'ì 'l vo' contare,
sento che 'l su' valor mi fa tremare;
e movonsi nell'anima sospiri
che dicono: “Guarda; se tu coste' miri,
vedra' la sua vertù nel ciel salita”’.

(XXVI,13-20)

From the possibility of intellection suggested in stanza two, stanza three moves beyond intellection to abstraction. Ardizzone argues that an Averroist notion of *coniunctio* is employed here, uniting the lover with the possible intellect. She states that 'this process is...explicitly suggested in the final line...There the power of the woman is said to have ascended into the heavens...This suggests not only that the phantasm has been generated, but also that a new abstract form has been produced in virtue of the *coniunctio*' (37). She contrasts this poem with the more detailed and elaborated meditation on intellection outlined in *Donna me prega*, commenting that 'the ballad shows that Cavalcanti's early poems document an Averroistic point of view, according to which the individual participates in intellectual knowledge. The same

¹⁷ On this point Glick, Livesey and Wallis (2014: 148) explain 'The cause of the uniform circular motions of the celestial orbs was attributed primarily to external intelligences, and occasionally to internal forces. Following Aristotle, each celestial orb was assumed to have an immaterial, spiritual intelligence associated with it, but yet distinct from it. An intelligence functioned as an “unmoved mover” because it had the power to move its orb without itself being in motion. It did so, as Aristotle explained, by being loved by its celestial orb, a relationship that was not further explained. Immaterial intelligences were often equated with angels'.

process from imagination toward abstraction will be at the centre of *Donna me prega*. But there it will be used in order to show that *coniunctio* does *not* imply intellectual knowledge for individual human beings' (38) (italics in original). Ardizzone's interpretation here highlights the value of reading the so-called minor rhymes and *Donna me prega* as part of a single, interconnected Cavalcantian poetic corpus.

Rea and Inglese (2011) also read in this poem a kind of religious ecstasy, something which they argue *ballata* XXVI shares with sonnet IV. With reference to the sighs in XXVI, they comment that they are 'non di dolore...bensì di estatica ammirazione, come nel epifania di IV' (146). In IV the sighs appear in the following way;

‘Chi è questa che vèn, ch'ogn'om la mira,
che fa tremar di chiaritate l'âre
e mena seco Amor, sì che parlare
null'omo pote, ma ciascun sospira?’

(IV,1-4)

On these sighs, Rea comments that they are a 'manifestazione di una condizione di estasi amorosa non altrimenti esprimibile né tanto meno verbalizzabile' (57). This use of the sigh as a non-verbal method of communication might be seen as a stepping stone to the use of *deh* (see below, 200) and reaffirms the sigh's place as a liminal space between intellection and crisis, between life and death.

Although it does not reach the same fervour as XXVI or IV, XIV refers to a pleasure rather than a pain of love, even if this may still result in the characteristic Cavalcantian collapse. This poem has to it an altogether courtlier tone, seen in the lament that 'm'ha del tutto obliato Merzede', as well as the dedication to a cold lady when the lover declares 'già però Fede – il cor non abandona, / anzi ragiona – di servire a grato / al dispietato – core'. However, as Rea and

Inglese (2011) note 'nonostante i presupposti cortesi (il lamento per il mancato conseguimento di mercé), l'iniziale professione di fede amorosa si risolve in un paradosso fondato su uno straniamento tutto cavalcantiano' (100). This can be seen played out in the rest of the poem;

‘Ma chi tal vede – (certo non persona),
ch'Amor mi dona – un spirito 'n su' stato,
che, figurato, - more?
Ché, quando lo piacer mi stringe tanto
che lo sospir si mova,
par che nel cor mi piova
un dolce amor s'è bono
ch'eo dico: “Donna, tutto vostro sono”’.

(XIV,6-13)

There is a descent here into the realms of death when love gives to the lover a spirit which 'figurato – more', dies in the very moment of its inception. This 'spirito' can be read as an external spirit, sent from the lady to the lover. Anichini (2009) argues of this spirit that 'as theorized in *Donna me prega*...and staged in XIV, the image of the Lady is doomed to darkness, it 'dies' (2009: 100). Here she refers to an issue taken up in the argument put forward by Ardizzone (2002) in her reading of *Donna me prega*¹⁸, with particular reference to lines 63-68. In *Donna me prega*, Guido develops an argument of love as passion and as such, by being rooted in matter, love stands in opposition to the activity of the imagination and therefore intellection. In lines 63-68, Cavalcanti explains that;

‘E non si pò conoscer per lo viso:
compriso, - bianco in tale obietto cade;

¹⁸ See Ardizzone 2002, Chapter 3 for a complete discussion of Cavalcanti's representation of love as passion in *Donna me prega*.

e, chi ben aude, - forma non si vede:
dunqu' elli meno, che da lei procede.
For di color, d'essere diviso, assiso
– 'n mezzo scuro, luce rade'.

(XXVII^b,63-68)

These lines demonstrate the opposition between intellection and love or, as Rea and Inglese (2011) express it 'l'intelletto sta all'amore, come la luce alla tenebra' (160). Similarly, the image of the lady in XIV is generated, since this is within the bounds of the animal virtue of the sensitive soul, but since love is a passion rooted in matter, its own excess works against the process of the abstraction of this image in the possible intellect, and so the image must immediately die.

Returning to XIV, so gripped by 'piacer' (which here has been interpreted as desire) is the lover that a sigh moves¹⁹ and the heart 'rains', which bears similarity to the association between sighing and crying elsewhere in Cavalcanti's poetry, but here is a reaction to a rare 'dolce amor sì bono'. This acts as a turning point in the poem, enabling the poet to speak directly to the lady in an extremely rare example of direct speech from the lover himself and in total contrast to the courtly over-tone of the beginning of the poem, doing away with the common *topos* of troubadour poetry of an unwillingness of the lover to confess their feelings to the beloved. The sigh, too, is set in a *piacer-sospir-cor-amor* chain of succession which moves it away from an alignment with 'piova' and its association with crying. Instead, it is established as part of the process leading from 'piacer' to 'amor'.

It is evident, therefore, that the sigh is at times associated with a kind of beatitude or

¹⁹ *Donna me prega* can also throw light on the 'movement' of the sigh in this poem in lines 50-2, 'La nova – qualità move sospiri / e vol ch'om miri – in un formato loco / destrandos' ira la qual manda foco'.

ecstasy within the lover which can, on occasion, generate an outcome expressed in positive terms. However, Cavalcanti's poetry is more readily associated with states such as pain and emotions such as dismay. This is the case in VIII;

‘Tu m'hai sì piena di dolor la mente,
che l'anima si briga di partire,
e li sospir' che manda 'l cor dolente
mostrano agli occhi che non può soffrire.

Amor, che lo tuo grande valor sente,
dice: “E' mi duol che ti convien morire
per questa fiera donna, che niente
par che pietate di te voglia udire”.

I' vo come colui ch'è fuor di vita, che
pare, a chi lo squarda, ch'omo sia
fatto di rame o di pietra o di legno,

che si conduca sol per maestria
e porti ne lo core una ferita
che sia, com' egli è morto, aperto segno’.

(VIII,1-14)

The lover in this poem is reduced, as De Robertis (1986) puts it, 'con conseguente riduzione d'ogni manifestazione fisica a quella d'un automa' (28). The lover is depicted as matter without even an animal spirit, inanimate as metal or stone or wood, in a depiction which according to Rea and Inglese (2011: 72) 'arriva a postulare uno stato di cronica alienazione da sé: l'idea averroista di morte morale e intellettuale non trova rappresentazione più potente'. Here not only is the impossibility of intellection established, but the very qualities which might elevate man

even to the level of an animal are absent. With this, then, Cavalcanti breaks free from the careful construction of, for example, *Donna me prega* in keeping with ideas from natural science, and instead poetic exaggeration reigns. Indeed, the poem is also distinctly overt in its final line, finishing on the notion of an 'aperto segno'. With this open sign, the poet draws attention to the purpose of his poetic corpus as a whole; to externalise the internal, inviting the audience to gaze within the body, and see the sign laid bare. An open sign of what? Of the wounded heart, an indication of death, but also of Cavalcanti's entire philosophy.

The wound is received from the lady and in an echo of courtly literature, Love speaks, to explain that the lover must die 'per questa fiera donna, che niente / par che pietate di te voglia udire'. The lady has no pity for the beloved, in keeping with the idea of the cold, unfeeling lady of troubadour lyric. However, while in for example XIV, where the lack of mercy of the lady is also mentioned, the lover appears to rally at the end of the poem, here there is no such resolution. 'Li sospir' che manda 'l cor dolente' are indications of the wretched state of the lover, and as Rea and Inglese (2011: 72) indicate, the sighs 'sono espressione della straziante impotenza del cuore tormentato dalla passione'. They note that 'altrove possono significare ineffabile beatitudine', citing IV, but here there is no beatitude. A very similar set of circumstances occurs in XXIX, in spite of the apparent change in tone. The courtly tone is strong, with the lover describing the young lady of Toulouse as 'bell', 'gentile' and 'd'onesta leggiadria', in epithets commonly associated with the lady of the poetry of the troubadours (see Section Two). Also in common with the courtly tone is the idea of Love which 'face rallegrare', and indeed the underlying fearfulness is something inherited from the earlier tradition. However, here too there will be an open wound, 'nel core / ferita a morte d'un tagliente dardo' and the return of the soul to the body now 'piena di sospiri' indicates that the only outcome can be death.

It is clear, therefore, that Cavalcanti brings the inside, out, ripping open the body,

pointing to the wounded heart and drawing attention to the sighs, spirits, soul and various other characters in his internal drama. However, it can also be argued that he attempts to bring the outside, in, through the various addresses and appeals his characters make, appeals which often involve the request of the participation of the 'audience'. Anichini argues that 'the dichotomy between the narrator and reality is compressed into a single sphere; the physiological events that signal love are taking place on a 'stage' that can be observed only from within, only by those who belong to it' (2009: 82). Thus, the poet must direct the audience's attention to the body and in order to do this, the body is made into the vehicle of communication, so that narrator and protagonist become one and the same. The personified functions in the poetry are often allowed to speak directly, always directing the audience's attention back to the body. The sighs are part of this process as one of the key protagonists in Cavalcanti's work. They speak directly on two occasions, once to tell the spirits to flee in XXXIII,10-11 'si parte da lo core uno sospiro / che va dicendo: "spiriti, fuggite"' and once in XXVI,18-20 where they address both the lover and the audience in the lines 'e movonsi nell'anima sospiri / che dicono: "Guarda; se tu coste' miri / vedra' la sua vertù nel ciel salita'". They also appear a third time when Love makes a short speech in IX,36-42, and is described as 'ché sospirando dice'.

This use of personification has an additional effect, according to Harrison (2003), which facilitates Cavalcanti's attempt to blur the line between narrator and protagonist. As has been seen, Cavalcanti tends to personify relations, rather than entities. The soul, heart and sigh are all relative entities which relay sensorial data and register emotional effects. Harrison comments that 'personification...has the paradoxical result of depersonalising the lyric self in question' (122). Cavalcanti takes the idea of depersonalisation or the blurred line between the narrator and protagonist to its most extreme application in the much commented upon sonnet XVIII, where both protagonist and poet-narrator disappear almost entirely entirely;

‘Noi siàn le triste penne isbigotite,
le cesoiuzze e 'l coltellin dolente,
ch'avemo scritte dolorosamente
quelle parole che vo' avete udite.

Or vi diciàn perché noi siàn partite
e siàn venute a voi qui di presente:
la man che ci movea dice che sente
cose dubbiose nel core apparite;

le quali hanno destrutto sì costui
ed hannol posto sì presso a la morte,
ch'altro non n'è rimasto che sospiri.

Or vi preghiàn quanto possiàn più forte
che non sdegniate di tenerci noi, tanto
ch'un poco di pietà vi miri’.

(XVIII,1-14)

On the sighs in this poem, De Robertis draws attention to Echo and Narcissus in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* III 395-401, where Echo is described as wasting away from the sadness of unrequited love, until only her bones and the sound of her voice are left. Indeed, it is this sound which survives of her. In Cavalcanti, the lover is reduced to the most imperceptible of sounds, the sighs, a near silent exhalation of breath. In the extremes of the drama of Cavalcanti's representation of love, this move is both subtle and profound. The repetitive /s/ sounds of the preceding lines seem to be leading up to this evaporation of sound, being extinguished with the opening of the 'sospiri' themselves.

However, Klein (1979), in a compelling argument, also reads a medical source into these

sighs. The sigh is associated with asthma and specifically with the last breath, argues Klein, as early as Seneca. He states that 'with the "last sigh" one "surrenders the spirit"'; Seneca tell us that physicians call asthma *meditatio mortis* because "faciet [...] aliquando spiritus ille [the breath] quod saepe conatus est;" (76). He argues that the strength of this medical tradition makes it perfectly plausible for the sigh to be aligned with the leaving of the spirit from the body. As has been demonstrated, sighs and spirits can be interchangeable in Cavalcanti, and indeed Anichini (2009: 107) on this point comments the 'elements drawn from medical literature also play a dramaturgical role since sighs are turned into actors impersonating the spirits'. However, were these sighs to be read in this way (a proven possibility) they would be the only example of sighs acting as departing vital spirits in a body of poetry which contains multiple examples of the spirits 'playing themselves' in the role of departing vital spirits. Such examples can be seen in IX 'li spiriti fuggiti dal mio cuore' (48), spiriti that flee in VII 'se vedesse li spiriti fuggir via' (13) as well as the weakened spirits in XIII 'che' deboletti spiriti van via'. A clear relationship is also established between the spirit and the sigh in XXXIII when 'De la gran doglia che l'anima sente / si parte da lo core uno sospiro / che va dicendo: "Spiriti, fuggite"' (9-11). Here the sighs are specifically established as the commanding force which order the spirits to leave, as a kind of symptom which indicates that the end is close. For the vital spirits to be masquerading as sighs in XVIII therefore, would contradict what seem to be fairly well established roles in Cavalcanti. It seems, therefore, that the Ovidian interpretation of this lines is perhaps to be favoured.

Anichini (2009) also reads in this poem the effect of pain both on the body but also on language. She argues that 'the sonnet indicates, on the one hand, the aftermath of the events repeatedly staged in the *Rime*; on the other, that the lover's sighs also replace his words' (115). She argues that the pain that the body feels impedes the production of images which necessarily

involves a failure of imagination. Being a key part of language production, the failure of the imagination means the failure to produce words, and so the poet is forced to fall back on the body's physical responses to pain, in the form of sighs, as his tool of communication. This idea is supported in VI, in which 'l'alma trista che parl' in dolore' is an expression of the direct link between pain and the speaking body.

A discussion of *sospir** in Cavalcanti would not be complete without reference to what De Robertis refers to as the 'canzone 'storica' della propria "morte"' (30), *canzone IX*. De Robertis sums up the role of this poem in the context of Cavalcanti's *opus* as a whole in the following way, arguing that it should be considered the 'canzone storica' because 'dagli accadimenti si risale alla loro 'necessità': inconoscibilità di madonna, e inesprimibilità della sua essenza...l'una e l'altra con conseguenze di sbigottimento e di disfatta...per cui la canzone è per così dire ricapitolazione...dei due momenti finora rappresentati dai sonni II-IV e V-VIII, e unico possibile nesso tra un 'sé' alienato e un 'altra' irraggiungibile' (30). This canzone acts, then, as a kind of statement of key underlying principles of Cavalcanti's poetic thought which have been elaborated in various ways through the course of this discussion; the inability to 'know' the lady and to represent her (interpreted as the interruption of the cognitive act in the medical tradition), caused by the internal physiological crisis within the body, with the resultant alienated 'self' and unattainable 'other'; the 'self' expressed in terms of a carefully orchestrated set of characters which contemporaneously emphasise the corporeal while impersonalising the poetic narrative; the 'other' depicted as a *phantasm* which dies in the moment of its inception. If Moleta's argument that the *ballata* can be seen as a Cavalcantian form while the *canzone* is Dantean is accepted, IX can be read as, although clearly secondary to *Donna me prega*, a nevertheless useful key to understanding Cavalcanti's thought on a platform which sets itself apart in his *opus*, giving as it does an analysis of passion.

Of this poem, Rea and Inglese (2011) comment that it outlines passion as 'un inarrestabile processo distruttivo, che conduce necessariamente alla morte, senza alcuna possibilità di controllo o intervento da parte del soggetto' (76). The tone of the situation is set in the opening words, 'Io non', which act as a microcosm of the poem as a whole. The 'I' is immediately negated, in line with the love as passion theory discussed above, denied the power of imagination and eventual intellection and connection with the common intellect. This is clearly confirmed in lines 19-21 in which the lover comments that 'Tant'è gentil, che, quand'eo penso bene, / l'anima sento per lo cor tremare, / sì come quella che non pò durare'. The lover thinks, and this immediately results in the key symptoms of the trembling soul, with the lover unable to go on, at this point in the sense of being unable to achieve intellection. This then develops into a physical state in lines 29-32. Once again the lover thinks of the beloved; 'Quando 'l pensier mi vèn ch'i' voglia dire / a gentil core de la sua vertute, / i' trovo me di sì poca salute, / ch'i' non ardisco di star nel pensiero'. Here too the lover is unable to continue holding the thought, and here the physical side is more overt since 'I trovo me di sì poca salute'. There is therefore a clear physical cause for the inability to achieve intellection, as had already been alluded to in lines 19-21.

As a treatise on death, the poem reaches its purpose in lines 33-42. This section moves from 'Amor' as its opening word to 'morissi' at its close, and in the unfolding of these lines both the literal death and also the death of intellection, what may be described as the true death of the poem, are explored. At a physical level, 'una saetta aguta, / c'ha passato 'l tuo core' indicates that the heart, as seen above, has been wounded by love, and the love also causes symptoms such as 'sbigottisce' and 'soffrire'. The lover is also unable to tolerate the approach of Love since 'non può lo cor sentendola venire', in keeping with the excess of heat which love generates. The death of the imagination comes when Love declares 'tu sai, quando venisti, ch'io ti dissi / poi

che l'avéi veduta, / per forza convenia che tu morissi'. Here, in this death at first sight, the breakdown of the process triggered by the sight of the lady is succinctly laid bare.

Deh beyond *sospir**

If the alliterative 's' of *sospiro* hints at sound beyond word formation, it is in Cavalcanti's use of *deh* that the pre-vocal existence of a sigh is truly represented. Although *deh* is an expression not born with Cavalcanti²⁰, there is no precedent in Occitan or earlier Italian poetry of such a frequent employment of the term, and so it can be regarded as one of the many usages peculiar to his work and innovative in its application. *Deh* can notably be seen in sonnet VI, where it occurs four times and performs a number of functions;

'Deh, spiriti miei, quando mi vedete
con tanta pena, come non mandate
fuor della mente parole adornate
di pianto, dolorose e sbigottite?

Deh, voi che 'l core ha ferite
di sguardo e di piacer e d'umiltate:
deh, i'vi priego che voi 'l consoliate
che son da lui le sue vertù partite.

I' veggo a lui spirito apparire
alto e gentile e di tanto valore,
che fa le sue vertù tutte fuggire.

Deh, i'vi prego che deggiate dire

²⁰ There is one occurrence of 'deh' in Pier della Vigna, II,62 'deh vi deggia membrare – del suo amore'. Brunetto Latini also uses the expression twice in his *Tesoretto* (lines 1192 and 2862). See Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico for complete catalogue.

a l'alma trista, che parl' in dolore,
com'ella fu e fie sempre d'Amore'.

(VI,1-14)

The sonnet recalls XXVIII in its return, if less urgent, to a particular lexical item and, if XXVIII is taken not as has been suggested by Contini as a self-parody, but instead as an explication of the function of *spirit** in Cavalcanti (see Anichini, 2009: 108-113), perhaps XXVIII might also be read as one of the keys to understanding *sospir** in his work. The connection between *Deh* and *sospir** can be understood with reference to what Anichini (61ff.) refers to as a pre-verbal language. Cavalcanti, she argues, finds a way to overcome the issue of the collapse of the conceptualising powers of the mind once its powers of rational functioning are impeded by 'forging a language that results not from a process / complete with mental images but from the direct use of bodily affections as verbal signs' (65-66). In this way, therefore, *deh* becomes a linguistic solution which allows the poet to represent the sigh without having to enact it. As Anichini goes on to explain, *deh* is part of a series of 'rudimental, grammatically incomplete *voces* uttered, *sine deliberatione*, from a condition of 'being affected'...[which] perform the special pre-abstraction functions required by Cavalcanti's new love language' (75). *Deh*, therefore, represents a linguistic solution to the burden which the theory drawn from the medical tradition places on the poet, to represent a sigh which *sospir** cannot represent, in line with the collapse of the cognitive functioning of the lover as a result of the medical condition from which he is suffering.

In sonnet VI all four of the *deh* are employed to address the spirits. In the first case, the spirits, 'spiriti miei' are addressed directly and the use of the possessive pronoun helps to increase the urgency of the lover's imploring. On the second occasion they become 'voi', who witness the lover's heart 'ferite / di sguardo'. The gaze of the beloved has wounded the lover's

heart, and the spirits bear testimony to this state of affairs. The wound, in fact, is the generating force of the lover's state and is what causes him to no longer have a complete cognitive function, resulting in the need for *deh* in place of *sospir**. On the final two occasions that the lover addresses the spirits, he begs them, firstly to console the heart and secondly to speak to the soul. Here, therefore, the lover clings to the hope that the spirits will be able to continue to perform some kind of unifying role within the body. However, the *deh* used to address them indicates that it is, by now, too late. This play between sigh and spirit can only be understood if it is read in relation to medical literature which reveals the concepts with which Cavalcanti is experimenting in this poem.

This medical background plays a part in developing Cavalcanti's particular style of rhetoric. Indeed, Ardizzone (2002: 21) comments that 'words like 'sorrow' or 'sighs' acquire their proper meaning only when they are understood in light of the method Guido employs, a method that blends the tools of rhetoric with those of the physician'. Ardizzone argues that this fusion of ideas which Guido employs can be read as what she terms a 'rhetoric of passion' (ibid), and that sonnet VI and the application of *deh* within it provide one of the foremost examples of this rhetoric in action. Ardizzone cites Aristotle's *De interpretatione* as explaining that 'the voice-sound is a sign of the passion of the soul. According to the medical tradition, the sigh is passion' (23)²¹. Here, passion is used to refer to 'sensibility that lives according to its own perfection, a perfection that consists in being acted upon' (21). As Ardizzone explains, sensibility itself requires an object, and an agent to act upon that object. It lends itself, therefore, to the kind of dramatisation which Cavalcanti repeatedly employs.

Ardizzone also brings up the issue of *deh* as an interjection. Here again there is a reference to the ideas of speculative grammar which Anichini also touches upon in her

²¹ Ardizzone here cites Bartolomeo de Varignana's commentary on Galen's *De interioribus*, quoted in Siraisi (1981: 413-415).

discussion of the same word, which she, although admitting the debate still in existence over the influence of the Modists on the thirteenth-century Tuscan poets²², suggests is influential on Cavalcanti in terms of one main concept; naturally signifying signs. The key source which both Ardizzone and Anichini point to in this regard is Gentile da Cingoli, who worked first in Paris and then later with Taddeo Alderotti as professor of logic and philosophy from 1295 at the University of Bologna (see Siraisi, 1981: 42-45, citing Grabmann, 1940). Coming to the medically focused Bologna from a strong background in logic and philosophy, Cingoli is one of the key figures in the development of philosophy as distinct from medicine at Bologna, and some of his pupils will go on to form the Averroist group of philosophers which became influential in the 1320s and 1340s.

Of particular relevance here is Gentile da Cingoli's commentary on Martino di Dacia's *Modi significandi*, which according to Alessio marks 'forse, vent'anni dopo la sua affermazione allo Studio di Parigi, l'ingresso ufficiale della grammatica speculativa nel 'curriculum studiorum' dell'Università bolognese' (1992: 3). In this work, Cingoli makes reference to interjections in the following way;

'Ergo non est verum, quod omnis pars orationis significaret mentis conceptum, sed significat rem mediante mentis conceptum. Tunc ad minorem, quoniam dicitur: 'interiectio non significat mentis conceptum', certe dico, quod falsum est, quia dictio, que significat talem rem vel affectum qui est circa animam, non ut intelligatur ab anima et imponatur ad significandum ab anima, sed ut naturale illud significat, sicut vox quam infirmi emittunt naturaliter'. (Quoted in Alessio, 18)

These noises which escape, therefore 'ut naturale illud significat'. They signify naturally, and here, therefore, is the representation of passion, of the soul being directly acted upon rather than the creation of a mental conceptualisation of, in Cavalcanti's case, the pain of being in love. Cavalcanti is, therefore, taking parts of grammar which are usually side-lined by grammarians

²² See Anichini (2009: 70,n.17) for a discussion of the opposing positions of Corti and Maierù.

and placing them at the heart of his rhetoric, repeating and revisiting them in order to showcase rather than obscure them.

Anichini (2009: 72-75) reads Cavalcanti's use of *deh* in relation to Roger Bacon's *De signis* and the clear categorisations of signs contained within it. Bacon delineates two key sign categories; *signa naturalis* and *signa ordinata ab anima* (cited in Fredborg et al., 1978: 83-85). It is this second category which concerns human sighs, which signify 'ex intentione animae'. Within this category can be found signs 'quodam instinctu naturali et impetu naturae', whose signifying comes from nature, interjections, and signs formed 'cum deliberatione rationis et electione voluntatis'. Interjections are, therefore, an intermediary between a noise made on instinct and a word formed rationally and intentionally. Therefore, what might more loosely be called an interjection can, in fact, be said to belong to the category generated 'quodam instinctu naturali et impetu naturae'; Anichini's 'naturally signifying signs'. Indeed, as she states 'among the examples of these 'naturally signifying' signs, the grammarians indicate moans and sighs as well as exclamations of surprise and pain' (2009: 74). By promoting the *deh* to the status of an anaphora, she argues that Cavalcanti therefore makes a linguistic sign of an interjection. Although the idea of a direct connection between Cavalcanti and the modist grammarians of late thirteenth-century Bologna may be tenuous at best, Anichini's argument here does seem possible, especially when coupled with the interruption of intellection which Cavalcanti explores through the prism of Avicenna.

Ardizzone focuses on the importance of the passivity of Cavalcanti's understanding of the existence of passion and the centrality of this to the development of his rhetoric, and it is again with reference to the modist interpretation of grammar that this passivity can be fully understood. In modist theory, language production and language's relationship with reality can be understood with reference to parts; *modi essendi* (the way in which the perceived object is),

modi intelligendi (the ability to understand reality) and *modi significandi* (the way in which meaning is given). Both the *modi intelligendi* and *modi significandi* can be subdivided into active and passive and it is the *modi significandi passivi* which has a particular relevance to Cavalcanti. In the *modi significandi activi*, the mind actively gives meaning to the noises or *voces* produced by the human, in order to create signifying sounds. These signifying sounds 'correspond to the modes of signifying of the properties of the things themselves' (Anichini, 2009:69), the *modi significandi passivi*. As Bursill-Hall (1971: 73) comments 'the Modistae excluded any physiological-auditory approach to linguistic analysis, phonetics being outside the province of the grammarian, a matter more for the natural philosopher' meaning that sounds are given no more consideration than their existence as signs. *Deh*, therefore, becomes passive.

Returning to sonnet VI, Ardizzone reads an inherent passivity within it, announced by the *deh* which introduces all but one of the stanzas, and she sees the spirits as central to the creation of the passivity of the I. She comments that 'the passivity of the ego is registered and emphasised through the introduction of the spirits, which play the role of protagonist in the sonnet in order to emphasize the tyranny of sensation' (2002: 23). She reads the second and third *deh* in the second stanza as relating to the expulsion of air from the heart, interpreting 'consolate' as referring to a physiological relief. She states that 'the verb 'consolate'...which in the context is related to the heart, from which energies have departed, carries the meaning of a request for physiological relief from emotional compulsion – relief that only the spirits can provide' (ibid).

Although this is the most elaborated appearance of *deh* in Cavalcanti's work, it is not the only occurrence. Cavalcanti also uses the term in XXXV and XXX and on both occasions it is used as an address. In XXX it is used thus;

Deh, foresette, non m'abbiate a vile

per lo colpo ch'io porto;
questo cor mi fue morto
poi che 'n Tolosa fui

(XXX,9-12)

Compared with XXXV;

Deh, ballatetta, a la tu' amistate
quest'anima che trema raccomando:
menala teco, nella sua pietate.
A quella bella donna a cui' ti mando.
Deh, ballatetta, dille sospirando
quando le sè presente: “Questa
vostra servente
vien pe·ristar con voi
partita da colui
che fu servo d'Amore”

(XXXV,27-36)

In XXX, although seemingly far from the tone of VI in the opening lines, in which the country girls are bathed in a joyous rain of love, the *deh* is in fact the first word used to address the girls, and acts as a point of transition between the joyful external scene they inhabit, and the internal pain of the lover. Indeed, the lover has suffered a 'colpo' which has rendered his heart 'morto' from an unnamed but implicit lady in Toulouse. Similarities can, therefore, already be seen with the 'core ha ferite' of VI. This wound is put on display in lines 12-15 when the lover describes how 'elle con gli occhi lor si volser tanto / che vider come 'l cor era ferito / e come un spiritel nato di pianto / era per mezzo de lo colpo uscito'. A little spirit, generated from tears, is witnessed by the girls 'con gli occhi lor'. In a way which replays the original gaze of the beloved which first caused the wound, the eyes of the country girls are aligned with the departing of a

spirit from the body.

XXXV takes the use of 'deh' as an address but in this poem it develops a greater urgency, working as a crescendo which builds through the poem. The poem also moves away from an address to a girl to an address to the 'little song', the poem the poet is writing. In this way, it is more similar to the address to the spirits in VI, since the poet puts forward his poem as a representation of himself, thereby partially disappearing from it. The first address to the poem in the first stanza is simply to 'ballatetta', but in the third stanza this progresses to 'tu senti, ballatetta', before evolving into the 'deh, ballatetta' of stanza four. The poem is instructed that 'tu porterai novelle di sospiri / piene di dogli' e di molta paura'. The poem will take news to the beloved of sighs full of pain and fear. The lover does not appear at all, or rather he appears only in the guise of sighs which are to be communicated to the beloved. This is reminiscent of 'ch'altro non n'è rimasto che sospiri' in XVIII and so it is from this point that communication with the poem itself begins to break down, the 'deh' being used to emphasise this. The transition from 'sospiro' to 'deh' comes to its height when the poet instructs the little song to speak to the lover in stanza four, exploring 'Deh, ballatetta, a la tu' amistate / quest'anima che trema raccomando'. Here we see the return of the tremble, this time of the trembling soul, which as Rea and Inglese comment '[fa] parere imminente l'annientamento delle facoltà razionali' (2011: 428). The movement of the poet, already absent from his poem, further and further away from a position of rationality has therefore reached its peak in this line, before the breakdown in the instruction 'Deh, ballatetta, dille sospirando'. Here the sigh encloses both the poem itself and the verb of communication, *dire*. The poet has fallen into a state of 'deh', and now the poem itself speaks 'sospirando'. The breakdown of intellection and communication is thus complete.

CONCLUSION

On the 24th June 1300 Guido Cavalcanti, like his father before him, was exiled from Florence at the height of political instability within the ruling white Guelph party. His place of exile was Sarzana, a malarial town to the north west of his Tuscan birthplace. Unlike his father, Guido did not survive his banishment, returning to Florence only to die on the 29th August 1300. In the intervening twenty-one years before his own death in exile, Dante would produce the *Commedia* and establish his place as the first of the *tre corone* of the city. Cavalcanti, by contrast, would be reduced to the role of a bit part player in Dante's own story.

Since his death, Cavalcanti has been appropriated by various causes. In the years immediately after his death, Guido is cast as a learned but somewhat proud and solitary poet-logician by the early commentators. For Boccaccio, he is the cultured philosopher, the Epicurean and the individualist, leaping over the cemetery wall and leaving the *brigata* 'at home' with the corpses. Although recruited to the Neoplatonic cause by Ficino, he next puts in a starring appearance in English, rediscovered by Pound and promoted as the Modernists' darling. He is promoted by Rossetti too, but only as secondary to the magisterial Dante.

The picture, then, is a patchy one. When I first set out to write this thesis in 2008, I was frustrated by the failure of critics to deliver on their anniversary pledge to consider Cavalcanti as a discrete entity. At the time, my interest lay in the pre-histories which I have presented here but I was also, and to return to Cave, fascinated by the idea of tracing the afterlives of Cavalcanti's work. I took the decision to focus on establishing my own view on the meanings contained within Cavalcanti's poetry and to develop a sound knowledge of the Cavalcantian *opus*. A consideration of afterlives was therefore beyond the realms of possibility. However, as I mentioned in the Critical Approaches, little attention has been paid to the traces of Cavalcanti's thought in later works, and I believe it would be a rewarding and fascinating area to explore.

What happens to a poet who is as deliberately silenced as Guido?

Although I have not yet been able to conduct a study of Cavalcanti's afterlives, since 2008 I have been heartened to see a new edition of Guido's poetry appear in Italian and no less than three new translations in English. All this points to something of a Renaissance in the study of Cavalcanti, something which I welcome and am pleased to have contributed to in some small way. So, how do these new translations define Cavalcanti, and what can these definitions tell us about how far we have travelled and, more importantly, how far we have left to go, in establishing Cavalcanti as his own poet? I will here provide a brief overview of the West (2009), Mortimer (2010) and Slavitt (2012) introductions to Cavalcanti's *Rime* to give a flavour of the way in which Cavalcanti is currently being presented to the non specialist reader.

Slavitt offers a brief two-page preface to a work which claims no title as a critical edition but which offers perhaps the most accessible translation. He opens with the seemingly innocuous comment that 'Guido Cavalcanti was, after Dante, the most important Italian poet of the thirteenth century' (2012: vii). It is disappointing to find that, for the lay reader, little ground has been gained in the battle to re-establish Cavalcanti's position. I hope to have proven in this thesis that Cavalcanti's role in the development of thirteenth-century poetry was certainly not secondary to Dante's, and indeed that although Dante may gain the upper hand in the fourteenth century, it is Guido who dominates the thirteenth.

Mortimer takes a slightly different tack, defining Guido in relation to what he is not. He suggests that 'the poems of Guido Cavalcanti...do not constitute a sequence like Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, and even less do they resemble Dante's *Vita Nuova* with its supporting prose narrative' (2010: 154). Although it is frustrating to see Guido negatively defined when compared to Petrarch and Dante, we do at least see a more accurate comment on Guido's work. However, Mortimer reverts to a Cavalcantian stereotype when it comes to *Donna me prega*.

Taking the traditional view of Guido's *canzone*, Mortimer comments that 'the central text for an understanding of Cavalcanti is one which most English readers would be well advised to read last and not before acquiring at least a smattering of medieval philosophy' (157). If I have succeeded in my aim in this thesis, it should be clear that from my perspective *Donna me prega* should be considered less as *the central* text than as a text which works in dialogue with the rest of Guido's work. Moreover, a 'smattering' of medieval philosophy might be advised for a reader of many of Guido's poems, not just the *canzone*.

A slightly disheartening picture, therefore, of the latest introductions to Cavalcanti available to the English language reader. Disheartening, that is, until we encounter that produced by West (2009). West resists such convenient short hands as those seen above, waiting a full two full pages before even making mention of Guido and Dante (xi), in that order. He also resists placing *Donna me prega* at the centre of Cavalcanti's corpus. He is sensitive to both the lyric and philosophical influences on Cavalcanti, and highlights his originality, referring to the 'literary kaleidoscope' (xviii) that Guido leaves us. That such a thoughtful introduction to Cavalcanti's poetry is now available in English is a significant step forward and one which indicates that we are moving ever closer to achieving the aims of the post-2000 conferences.

Given the brevity of Slavitt's preface and his presentation of Cavalcanti's poetry from a non-scholarly perspective, an overview of the influences on Guido's work is beyond the scope of his edition. By contrast, both Mortimer and West engage with the medical / philosophical and lyric contexts in order to provide the reader with a background to the poet's work. When dealing with the first context, Mortimer focuses exclusively on Averroes in Cavalcanti, commenting that '[Guido's] basic analytical tool in this enterprise is the philosophy of Aristotle as modified by the great Arab commentator Averroes' (2010: 154). It will take time, it seems, for the influence of Avicenna to move into mainstream commentary. West (2009) presents a

more nuanced view, identifying Cavalcanti's scientifically informed use of spirits and recognising too the 'vanishing point' at which science dissolves into poetic expression.

Cavalcanti's relationship with the lyric tradition is given shorter shrift by both Mortimer and West. Mortimer makes brief mention of the Troubadours but prefers to highlight the early Italian tradition, commenting that 'Italian lyric poetry takes rise from the Provençal tradition of the troubadours. The influence is already felt in the work of Northern Italian poets who still write in Provençal...but the crucial impetus is given in Sicily, at the brilliant court of the learned Emperor Frederick II' (2010: 151). West (2009) also side-lines the Troubadours, focussing instead on Giacomo Lentini before skipping forwards to Guittone and Guinizelli. More work is perhaps left to do, therefore, before a more nuanced view of Cavalcanti's relationship with the lyric tradition becomes widespread.

Were I to produce my own introduction to Cavalcanti's work based on the analysis I have put forward in this thesis, I would present Cavalcanti as embedded in a community of Florentine poets, with a strong sense of his place within a literary tradition. That community may include Dante, but for Cavalcanti Dante is simply one part of a much greater whole. With a clear view on love and a highly developed concept of its effects and consequences, Cavalcanti's poetry is relatively untouched by his fellow Florentine. It is certainly true that Dante wrestles with Guido, but there is little textual evidence to suggest that the opposite is true. Dante is present in Cavalcanti, of course, but we must shift our perspective if we are to understand the world which Cavalcanti inhabits.

This world is, primarily, a world of vernacular lyric poetry. Cavalcanti is a poet, and I believe that while *Donna me prega* is an undeniably masterful philosophical treatise in verse, it does not define him. Rather than regarding it as a key to Cavalcanti, it is better to regard *Donna me prega* as working in harmony with Guido's other poems, providing clues to the

meanings contained within the ‘minor’ rhymes just as they, in turn, help us to navigate the complexities of the *canzone*. If we view things from this perspective, the ‘minor’ rhymes cease to be minor at all, and instead we find before us a rich and cohesive whole.

It is also an underestimation to regard Cavalcanti as giving a brief nod to the courtly verse of Occitania before undertaking his ‘real’ purpose in his exploration of the corporeality of love. It is easy to be seduced by the extraordinary innovation found in Cavalcanti, particularly in his use of personification, and therefore focus on the poems which delight us most with their array of charming characters, from pens, to spirits, to sighs. What we must remember is that while his exploration of the effects of love upon the body is thoroughly engaging, Cavalcanti’s broader concern is the regeneration of vernacular lyric itself. We must not forget that, at the time of writing, Italian is still being established as a language suitable for literary expression, and so Cavalcanti’s engagement with his own tradition, born in the courts of southern France, means that the Occitans infuse far more of his work than the poems traditionally regarded as *pastorele* might suggest.

Cavalcanti is embedded too, though, in the world of medieval medicine, a space which embraces philosophy, and in particular the radical Aristotelianism of Averroes and Avicenna. Cavalcanti’s understanding of medicine goes far beyond the spirits which we see given a cursory mention in West (2009) and which are the most readily identifiable manifestation of his engagement with ideas circulating at the medical school in Bologna. It certainly includes these, resulting in a poetry underpinned by the life giving forces found in Galen and beyond. However, it reaches much further, into considerations of the soul and especially, and perhaps most importantly, into a deep concern with intellection, and the very ability to produce thoughts which can become words at all.

Here, though, we must pause for a moment and remember the lyric context which I have

argued Cavalcanti truly inhabits. At the meeting point between these two influences there is raised an interesting question and one which, as I brought up in my thesis, does not yet have a satisfactory answer. Could the two, in fact, come together in the poetry of the troubadours themselves? Could Cavalcanti, therefore, be inheriting lyric poetry *and medicine* from his Occitan predecessors? It is Paterson who first tentatively raised the question of a medically understood lovesickness in the poetry of the troubadours. In my communication with her, she has indicated that she has not yet explored this avenue any further but that her intention was to suggest a path of enquiry which might relate literary *topoi* to medical theory. A fascinating question, therefore, and one left as yet unanswered.

I briefly commented above on some of the appearances which Cavalcanti has made since the thirteenth century. I will end this thesis with reference to a final commentator that I have so far neglected to mention, Italo Calvino. In his essay 'Lightness', Calvino refers to Boccaccio's depiction of Guido as an example of what he means when he refers to lightness in writing. In this scene, Cavalcanti meets the *brigata* of messer Betto by San Giovanni. As Calvino explains 'Cavalcanti is not popular with [the *brigata*] because, although wealthy and elegant, he has refused to join in their revels – and also because his mysterious philosophy is suspected of impiety' (1988: 10). Here we have Cavalcanti the philosopher, shrouded in a cloak of doubt over the potentially heretical nature of his Averroist poetry. He is a lone figure, a figure apart, a figure respected but not understood.

The *brigata* approaches the graveyard, intending to make trouble. They ride up and immediately level an accusation at Guido, frustrated by his refusal to be part of their band and demanding to know what he thinks he will have achieved once he has proven that there is no God. In response, Boccaccio puts into Cavalcanti's mouth the deftest of ripostes; 'Signori, voi mi potete dire a casa vostra ciò che vi piace'. With this, Cavalcanti springs lightly over the

cemetery wall and makes off. Calvino sees in this image the perfect example of the way in which a seemingly weighty concern such as that of the philosophy found in Guido's poetry can be transformed into a kind of intellectual weightlessness, allowing the poet to rise above the burdensome concerns of such terrestrial preoccupation as the death of the body. Boccaccio describes Cavalcanti as 'sí come colui che leggerissimo era' giving this haughty, proud and solitary intellectual an entirely new dimension.

In Calvino's thoughtful and thought-provoking discussion of Cavalcanti, he puts forward a view which is in sharp contrast to the tired notion of the poet as a learned and serious philosopher producing dense and largely incomprehensible works far beyond the understanding of most readers. There is no trace in Calvino of the daunting warnings given by Slavitt (2010) to go into a reading of Cavalcanti's poetry armed with a guide to radical Aristotelian philosophy. Instead, he sees a poet who has 'the secret of lightness' (12). He states;

'The dramatis personae of [Cavalcanti's] poems are not so much human beings as sighs, rays of light, optical images, and above all those nonmaterial impulses and messages he calls "spirits". A theme by no means "light", such as the sufferings of love, is dissolved into impalpable entities that move between / sensitive soul and intellective soul, between heart and mind, between eyes and voice' (12-13).

Here, Calvino perfectly reflects my own understanding of Guido and therefore the view which has shaped this thesis. For all his learnedness, intellectualism and complexity, Guido is ultimately concerned with language, with poetry and with the interplay between subject matter and expression. I hope I have demonstrated the way in which 'the sufferings of love [are] dissolved into impalpable entities' through my focus on the sigh which, as Calvino identifies, moves beyond the direct concerns of disease and into a far lighter space. Cavalcanti, or at least the lyric 'I' of his verse, dissolves into *sospiro*, and from *sosprio* passes into *deh*. As he reaches the heights of intensity in his subject matter, so we see in his language a contrast, achieving in

deh a point at which his language has attained such lightness that there is almost no language at all. By choosing to read Cavalcanti through *sospir**, we are able to observe this contrast, and witness what Cavalcanti achieves in his poetry from a unique perspective.

There is much that remains to be explored in the archipelagos of medieval Italy and France and much, even over 700 years after his death, which is left to learn about this complex Florentine poet. What I have contributed to the mapping of this territory is an investigation of the prehistories of an intriguing word in Cavalcanti's poetry but one which has not, until now, been extensively researched. In doing this I have allowed a reading of Guido's work from a new perspective. I have attempted to read without undue preconceptions, using an understanding of the two contexts I have chosen to explore as a way to balance an over-reading of either one. My thesis has spoken to existing research, complimenting Rea in the area of lyric poetry and engaging with (and sometimes challenging) Anichini and Ardizzone in the sphere of medicine and philosophy. By taking this approach I have put to one side concerns over the relationship between Cavalcanti and Dante and instead allowed Guido's poetry to speak to us from its historical context. I will conclude with a quote from Calvino (1988: 12), and with an optimistic outlook for Cavalcanti's fate in the twenty-first century;

'Were I to choose an auspicious image for the new millennium, I would choose that one: the sudden agile leap of the poet-philosopher who raises himself above the weight of the world, showing that with all his gravity he has the secret of lightness, and that what many consider to be the vitality of the times – noisy, aggressive, revving and roaring – belongs to the realm of death, like a cemetery for rusty old cars'.

APPENDICES

Appendix One: Concordances of *sospir** in Cavalcanti

<u>N</u>	<u>Concordance</u>	<u>Word #</u>	<u>5-e.nt. #</u>	<u>Sent. Pos.</u>	<u>Para. Pos.</u>	<u>5-e.ct. Pos.</u>	<u>%</u>
1	a che lo corgia nme i eVE:Sse: di sospir t::rme:nb tanto. che: d	852	31	44.003(12.31%	12.31%	12.00%
2	sialo:r che did::lcczza lIE sospir' Am:::fe. Qu:sto n010 pi	2fj77	90	S5.:15%	38.e:m	38.58%	39.00%
3	nims si trigs di paiir , e li !D ir' che:mends 1 ror d:::le	7E6	28	ec.00%	10.92%	10.92%	11.00%
4	d:::le:nte e paurca piange ne: li so ir' ch n: lror trCY.3, 51	194)	68	47.e2%	28.03%	28.03%	28.00%
5	!) piecemistringetant:> che 1> soir 5 imcw, par che nel c	1678	E9	36.e7%	24.25%	24.25%	24.00%
6	na dritta: po' torn'il, pie:n'il di !D spir' , n: l cere. site a m	2a55	119	e2.ED%	52.81%	lj2.81%	52.00%
7	ass:>, cha pierl dido:al a di sospir' 5-d qjni ps:re pri;o	4192	140	.E.:%	6..0.57%	eil57%	ec.00%
8	ndo la sgu'lr'd>, chf srt > l:: sospir tr:msr n: l rore: esci	3987	134	25.53*	57.61%	57.61%	57.00%
9	rlilfe nulcmo p:::te. ma cias cun !D ira ? O Oeo. che smbra qu	397	13	100.00%	5.74 (,	5.74%	6.00%
10	i mi dices1d:::lci p91:::e. che: !D spirando pi te chiamEle5te:	2*1ED	75	92.00%	31.00%	31.0e%	31.003(,
11	e a llangcbics9 ita me. ell!: sospira ndo la ditrugge Amore.	1548	53	88.:16%	22.3%	2237%	22.00%
12	lo ciX' 5:tdBldcla VE:flre, cte sospirando dice: «b ti disp.e	1063	:?9	..:e.E1%	15.4D%	15.40%	15.00%
13	m911d>. De:h, bsllatetta, dill sospirando , quand:::-b's= pre	4786	163	41.83*	69.1 %	e.s 1	es.00%
14	voi digr andatm'il semJ%E: sospirando =VElgogms e: lo no	D2	156	65.38%	et'.49%	66.49*	e8.00%
15	i. dang::s ci::s idiltt i miEi sospiri . ch: nascon d:lla rllEn	17	60	48.58%	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%
16	a. f 5Blt:> piange fclli miei sospiri , quando la mente di l	29	1	16.00%	58.2*%	58.21%	5.8.00%
17	e, ch'aJtrO non VE rimes> ch !D spiri . Or 'vi prsghi9n qusnt	2039	71	100.00%	29.48%	2*9.4e%	29.00%
18	E trasse: poide: liocchitu:>' sospiri . i qua'm: seettc n: l	23ec	82	4D.91%	34.10(,	34.103(,	14.00%
19	stto lC'Stro sid: X': per che: sospiri Ed:::ll% mi pigiaro,	5,1)3	17	79!:9%	7.27%	7.27%	7.00%
20	cnr . Tu pooElain::v Ue: di !D spiri pèllE dido:al' di		159	11.76%	67.32%	e7.32%	e7.00%
21	nanz.a e' ri;om:n son dogli sospiri : gu'lr'di cias cunc e mi	4224	141	00.00%	61.03%	61.03%	ec.00%
22	tre#3. La ncw- quslita me\!: !D spiri , i: vol chcm miri -	3313	108	13.21%	47.87%	7.87%	47.00%
23	ell!:, me gu'lr'dando, - una wfa sospiri . N:>v:lla doglia me n	12.20	43	100.00%	17.63%	17.e3%	17.00%
24	trE!Y'lrè e m::v::ns i lIEiranims sospiri ch: :licon: o:Gusrda; s	2942	97	74!:5%	42.51	.:12.51%	42.00%
25	a di merzs:l in=tJila Oant: un sospro mssagg:r d:l rore: su	5236	m	17.39%	75.66%	75ee%	75.00%
26	sE!ltE si psrte d'ii l:>c::re uno sospiro chi: w dicend::: «Spr	4418	148	75.00%	63.83%	e3.83%	63.00%
27	a doglia iipooi grave: pE!1> !D iro , che di me fa lume:1>	57	203	25.00%	82.79%	82.79*	83.003(,

Appendix Two: Keywords in Cavalcanti

N	Key word	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC.%	Ke:tness	P
1	COR	48	0.699708462	101	0.046294175	154.3426514	4.5902E-16
2	CORE	38	0.553935885	71	0.032543428	128.9006348	9.36015E-16
3	SPIRITO	27	0.39358601	61	0.027959848	83.84500885	6.45989E-15
4	DONNA	52	0.75801748	392	0.179676399	66.81642914	2.26369E-14
5	PO	12	0.174927115	8		57.3670311	6.27017E-14
6	N	33	0.481049567	211	0.096713573	50.17350388	1.89094E-13
7	DELLA	12	0.174927115	16		46.53916168	4.05774E-13
8	SENTE	14	0.20408164	28	0.012834028	46.02560425	4.60012E-13
9	VALORE	17	0.247813419	53	0.024292983	44.38368988	7.14554E-13
10	MORTE	21	0.306122452	97	0.04446074	42.13607788	1.4854E-12
11	VEN	6	0.087463558	0		41.8914032	1.6279E-12
12	SOSPIR	8	0.116618074	4		40.82852173	2.51252E-12
13	GUIDO	11	0.160349861	19		38.55386353	8.4713E-12
14	OCCHI	37	0.539358616	356	0.163175508	35.18050766	4.86277E-10
15	VE NE	5	0.072886296	0		34.90879822	5.30459E-10
16	FORE	5	0.072886296	0		34.90879822	5.30459E-10
17	DOLENTE	13	0.18950437	39	0.017875968	34.70524979	9.11257E-10
18	BALLATETIA	7	0.10204082	4		34.70112228	9.19399E-10
19	SENTO	10	0.145772591	19		33.63669968	3.71805E-09
20	MENTE	27	0.39358601	209	0.095796853	33.6307373	3.73845E-09
21	D'AMOR	14	0.20408164	61	0.027959848	29.32940102	5.81375E-08
22	PESANZA	6	0.087463558	4		28.67863274	8.25166E-08
23	GENTIL	14	0.20408164	64	0.029334921	28.30189705	1.0087E-07
24	CAVALCANTI	4	0.058309037	0		27.92647171	1.23089E-07
25	TI	39	0.568513095	455	0.208552957	27.64370918	1.42921E-07
26	MORE	7	0.10204082	9		27.50095749	1.54092E-07
27	AMOR	20	0.291545182	142	0.065086856	27.35057068	1.6679E-07
28	DEGLI	5	0.072886296	2		26.65677071	2.40073E-07
29	DI	203	2.959183693	4412	2.022276163	25.71065903	3.93706E-07
30	QUAND	6	0.087463558	6		25.62706757	4.11264E-07
31	MI	81	1.180757999	1386	0.635284424	24.80346489	6.31908E-07
32	SENZA	5	0.072886296	3		24.50940704	7.36555E-07
33	DE	31	0.451895058	2164	0.991887033	-24.92232895	5.93946E-07

Appendix Three: Catalogue of *sospir** in Troubadours

Poet	Poem(s)
1 Ademar lo Negre Ademar de	PC3,3.27
2 Rocaficha	PC5,2.25
3 Aimeric de Belenoi	PC9,11.2; PC9,11.49; PC9,12.2; PC9,13.8; PC9,13.28
4 Aimeric de Peguilhan	PC10,3.22; PC10,7.38; PC10,7.40; PC10,20.40; PC10,20.42; PC10,29.13; PC10,30.45; PC10,43.2; PC10,46.37
5 Aimeric de Sarlat	PC11,4.18
6 Alberico da Romano	PC16a,2.16
7 Amanieu de la Broquière	PC21,2.38
8 Alphonse II d'Aragon	PC23,1.40
9 Arnaut Daniel	PC29,1.41; PC29,14a.18
10 Arnaut de Mareuil	PC30,9.45; PC30,12.18; PC30,14.46; PC30,15.7
11 Arnaut de Tintignac	PC34,1.12
12 Bernart Bernart de	PC52,5.24
13 Bondelhs	PC59,1.15
14 Bernart de la Fon	PC62,1.50
15 Bernart Sicart	PC67,1.18
16 Bernart de Ventadour	PC70,4.53; PC70,7.34; PC70,9.37; PC70,9.38; PC70,11.22; PC70,31.19; PC70,38.16; PC70,40.7; PC70,43.22; PC70,44.72
17 Bertolome Zorzi	PC74,9.62
18 Bertran de Born	PC80,6a.59
19 Blacasset	PC96,7a.23
20 Blacatz	PC97,4.47
21 Bonifaci Calvo	PC101,2.29; PC101,12.31; PC101,15.12
22 Cercamon	PC112,1b.13; PC112,1c.10; PC112,4.4
23 Clara d'Anduze	PC115,1.27
24 Daude de Pradas	PC124,1.27; PC124,3.4; PC124,3.56; PC124,6.6; PC124,7.3; PC124,7.4; PC124,14.14; PC124,16.17
25 Elias de Barjols	PC132,7.13; PC132,7.14; PC132,9.11; PC132, 12.8
26 Elias Cairel	PC133,8.19; PC133,13.2
27 Folquet de Marseille	PC155,1.18; PC155,13.39; PC155,22.13; PC155,27.66; PC155,27.68
28 Folquet de Romans	PC156,8.22; PC156,8.31

- 29 Gaucelm Faidit PC167,1.4; PC167,5.5; PC167,9.16; PC167,17.8;
PC167,20.54; PC167,21.81; PC167,29.17; PC167,32.78;
PC167,33.39; PC167,34.34; PC167,34.46; PC167,35.6;
PC167,35.15; PC167,37.5; PC167,37.31; PC167,40.20;
PC167,40.31; PC167,49.7; PC167,55.19; PC167,58.9;
PC167,60.35
- 30 Gausbert de
Puicibot PC173,10.55; PC173,13.19
- 31 Gavaudan PC174,3.26; PC174,9.16
- 32 Gui d'Ussell PC194,3.3; PC194,14.26
- 33 Guilhem Ademar PC202,3.71; PC202,12.32
- 34 Guilhem Augier PC205,4b.11; PC205,3.27
- 35 Guilhem de
Capestany PC213,2.32; PC213,4.41; PC213,5.66; PC213,7.25
- 36 Guilhem Godin PC219,1.6
- 37 Guilhem Magret PC223,2.23
- 38 Guilhem Raimon
de Gironela PC230,1a.16
- 39 Guilhem de Saint-
Didier PC234,6.19; PC234,11.27
- 40 Guilhem de la Tor PC236,2.85; PC236,4.29; PC236,7.20; PC236,7.34;
PC236,12.60
- 41 Guilhem Uc PC237,1.25
- 42 Guiraud lo Ros PC240,7.8; PC240,2.2
- 43 Giraut de Borneil PC242,8.29; PC242,13.12; PC242,16.106; PC242,18.32;
PC242,39.62; PC242,43.24; PC242,51.32; PC242,56.1
- 44 Giraut d'Espagne PC244,1a.10
PC248,3.28; PC248,4.6 (repeated refrain); PC248,21.31;
- 45 Giraut Riquier PC248,63.44; PC248,66.44
- 46 Iseut de Chapieu PC253,1.5
- 47 Isarn Rizol PC257,1.38
- 48 Jaufre Rudel PC262,1.42; PC262,4.51
- 49 Jordan Bonel PC273,1.25
- 50 Rambertino
Buvaletti PC281,1.17; PC281,5.11; PC281,8.18
- 51 Lanfranc Cigala PC282,1c.10; PC282,19.34
- 52 Marcabru PC293,1.16; PC293,9.5; PC293,9.11; PC293,31.30
- 53 Matieu de Quercy PC299,1.15
- 54 Jaufre de Foixa PC304,2.44
- 55 Motet PC308,1.25
PC319,2.9 (Refrain repeated throughout poem);
- 56 Paulet de Marseille PC319,8.29
- 57 Peire Basc PC327,1.3
- 58 Peire Bremon Ricas PC330,2.48; PC330,3.54; PC330,8.2; PC330,17.24;

	Novas	PC330,19.61
59	Peire Bremon lo Tort	PC331,1.31; PC331,2.13
60	Peire Cardenal	PC335,7.4
61	Peire de Cols	PC337,1.20
62	Peire Espanhol	PC342,2.40; PC342,3.44
63	Peire Milon	PC349,1.23; PC349,3.2; PC349,7.46; PC349,8.4
64	Peire Raimon de Toulouse	PC355,7.43; PC355,7.48; PC355,15.46; PC355,16.14; PC355,16.21; PC355,18.48; PC355,20.3
65	Peire Rogier	PC356,3.26; PC356,4.33
66	Peire Vidal	PC364,2.31; PC364,12.19; PC364,13.31; PC364,24.77; PC364,27.14; PC364,33.6; PC364,39.51; PC364,49.6
67	Peirol	PC366,2.12; PC366,4.30; PC366,8.71; PC366,14.44; PC366,21.23; PC366,27a.16; PC366,33.31 PC370,5.5; PC370,5.12; PC370,8.22; PC370,10.4;
68	Perdigon	PC370,14.44
69	Pistoleta	PC372,1.1 PC375,1.39; PC375,6.11; PC375,7.49; PC375,9.7;
70	Pons de Chapeuil	PC375,16.12; PC375,26.31
71	Pons D'Ortaffa	PC379,1.25; PC379,1.40; PC379,2.15
72	Ponson	PC381,1.19; PC381,2.1
73	Pujol	PC386,2.3
74	Raimbaut d'Orange	PC389,25.62; PC389,27.61; PC389,31.30; PC389,38.17
75	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras	PC392,2.2; PC392,9.56; PC392,13.42; PC392,18.19; PC392,29.23
76	Raimon Jordan	PC404,3.26; PC404,7.33; PC404,12.47
77	Raimon Menudet	PC405,1.34 PC406,2.49; PC406,8.15; PC406,27.57; PC406,38.57;
78	Raimon de Miraval	PC406,47.32
79	Raimon de las Salas	PC409,4.9
80	Rigaut de Barbezieux	PC421,2.41; PC421,4.48; PC421,5a.1
81	Rostanh Berenguier	PC427,8.12 PC434,2.48; PC434,6a.26; PC434,6b.31; PC434,14a.28;
82	Cerveri	PC434a,1.22; PC434a,21.7; PC434a,24.11; PC434a,27.27; PC434a,49.29; PC434a,50.37; PC434a,59.34; PC434a,60.10; PC434a,62.3; PC434a,62.15; PC434a,62.40; PC434a,71.8; PC434a,72.11
83	Sordel	PC432,17.31; PC437,34.5
84	Uc Brunenc	PC450,2.1; PC450,4.43; PC450,7.44
85	Uc de Penne	PC456,1.14

86 Uc de Saint-Circ PC457,1.31; PC457,3.6; PC457,9.13; PC457,16.21;
PC457,38.27; PC457,40.28

Key

Planh form

Plan*

Plor*

Plan* and Plor*

Languir*

Cor

Mor

Mal (d'amor)

Angoissos

Doutz*

Quantified

Appendix Four: Translations of Occitan poetry

Poems are ordered by the Frank (1966) numberings. The source of the translation is given below each section.

Aimeric de Peguilhan

PC10,43.1-8

After my fair and wicked love has committed to me more than one hundred sighs as a fund, like a faithful partner I have since increased them every day by a thousand. Therefore, henceforth it should be common stock, if only she willed it so, in such a way that we might share them equally, for that is the law of partnerships.

PC10,46.31-39

And never was any man who loved overcome more easily; for, when I kissed her beautiful hand as I drew off her glove, that kiss penetrated me so far that it drew the heart from my body with an exhaled sigh, so that she makes life and death mingle together in me.

Aimeric de Péguilhan (1950) *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan*. Edited by F. M. Chambers and W. P. Shepard. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Bernard de Ventadour

PC70,4.49-56

Lady, can nothing express
My single-hearted attachment?
I'd have died of sighs a year since
If a beautiful face
Weren't doubling my desires.

PC70,9.33-40

She overturns my reason
But I don't turn from her
From my desire
I sigh for her
She sighs not at all
And so I see the template of my death
When I contemplate her beauty.

PC70,43.21-24

Mirror, I admired
Now mired in sighs
I drown
Like poor Narcissus in the pond.

Apter, R. and Harman, M. (1999) *A Bilingual Edition of the Love Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn*. New York: Mellen.

Bonifaci Calvo

PC101,12.28-36

So much was she skillful in saying and doing everything well that I do not pray God that he welcome her into Paradise; for, through fear that I might have or be accustomed to have, that he might have placed her in oblivion, I do not sigh nor do I lament; for it seems to me that Paradise would not be nobly complete with graciousness without her. Therefore, I do not fear or doubt at all that God may not have her with him there where he is, nor do I lament any more, because I am far from her company.

Bonifaci Calvo (1966) *The Poems of Bonifacio Calvo*. Edited by W. D. Horan. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Daude de Pradas

PC124,1.25-28

IV. Celui qui sait quelque chose en fait de druerie peut reconnaître et distinguer que le beaux semblants et les doux soupirs ne sont pas messagers de refus.

Daude de Pradas (1933) *Poésies de Daude de Pradas*. Edited by A. H. Schutz. Toulouse: Privat.

Gaucelm Faidit

PC167,1.1-8

Par le chant il me faut me distraire du chagrin et du souci, car j'ai été en telle affliction que ses soupirs m'ont presque tué ; et j'aurais besoin que par merci je puisse faire une conquête qu'elle améliore la matière de mes chansons et qu'elle mette plus de joie en mon cœur.

PC167,5.1-10

Jamais je n'aurais cru que dans sa prison Amour me fît encore entrer, mais il me fait maintenant veiller la nuit, et le jour il me donne abondance de soupirs et de soucis, à cause d'une personne en qui se trouvent beauté et jeunesse, mérite et valeur accomplis, ainsi qu'honneur et courtoisie, et c'est pourquoi je lui crie humblement merci pour qu'il me prenne en pitié.

PC167,29.14-26

Ah ! elle me captive avec tant de grâce, la belle que je courtise, quand je me souviens de mon cœur, qu'elle me déroba, tout soupirant, lorsque son haleine vint vers moi, en me donnant un baiser sur la bouche ! et le cœur suivit l'haleine, car elle le tira à elle par cet artifice, et ce doux baiser eut si douce saveur ! La belle qui me comble me témoigna ensuite tant de faveur que depuis, plus jamais ne me manque la Joie !

PC167,40.29-33

Car, lorsque je considère les yeux, le clair visage et 'air gracieux qui en elle m'ont captivé, je

ne fais plus que soupirer et languir ; je tremble et je tressaille, et meurs de pur désir, parce que je ne suis pas là-bas pour la servir à son coucher.

Gaucelm Faidit (1965) *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit, troubador du XIIe siècle*. 3rd edn. Edited by J-D. Mouzat. Paris: Les Classiques d'Oc.

Guilhem de Capestany

PC213,7.25-28

Va-t'en, soupir, en place de bon messager, droit chez ma dame où toutes les qualités se réunissent, et dis-lui qu'aucune autre femme ne m'aime ni je ne me soumetts à aucune autre seigneurie.

Guilhem de Capestany (1924) *Les Chansons de Guilhem de Cabestanh*. Edited by A. Långfors. Paris: C.F.M.A.

Matieu de Quercy

PC299,1.12-22

I lack joyfulness and I see grief overcome me, and find nothing to my good or profit, when I recall the good King of Aragon; then I take to sighing deeply and value the world as little as mud, for he was noble, kind, of few words but great deeds, so that above all the kings who have ever been found in Spain he was the highest in conquering valour; and since the king was worth so much, reason requires the whole world to mourn him.

Translation by Linda Paterson (2013) *Rialto*, 30(4). Available at:
[http://www.rialto.unina.it/MatQuercy/299.1\(Paterson\).htm](http://www.rialto.unina.it/MatQuercy/299.1(Paterson).htm)

Peirol

PC366,21.15-21

Never will I separate my thoughts from her; whatever hurt she inflict upon me, I can wish her no ill, for so much do her good sense and beauty enhance her that, in respect of the trouble that is mine, my behaviour is wisely foolish. But, nay, wrongly do I speak thus, on the contrary I am foolishly foolish, for never indeed was Narcissus, who loved his own reflection, more foolish than I, even though he died in consequence.

Peirol (1953) *Peirol, Troubador of Auvergne*. Edited by S. C. Aston. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pons de Chapteuil

PC375,9.46-50

Ah! What a loss is the death of Lady Azalais! There is nothing for me but to abandon Joy and bid farewell to singing: grief and lamentation and many a sigh from the heart have wrung my soul with anguish at her loss.

Lucas, H. (1958) 'Pons de Capduoill and Azalais de Mercuor: A study of the *Planh*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 2, pp. 119-131.

Rigaut de Barbezieux

PC421,5a.1-4

In cantando, [io] piango e sospiro il gran danno toccato alla Provenza, chè morta è la migliore delle cose che nel mondo potesse scegliere.

Bertoni, G. (1911) 'Un "pianto" inedito per la morte del conte di Provenza (1209)', in G. Vandelli (ed.) *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna nel quarantesimo anno del suo insegnamento, Firenze 1911*. Milan: Hoepli, pp. 593-604.

Cerveri de Girona

PC434a,62.1-7

Si por tristeza, por congoja, por preocupación y por dolor puede alguien morir de pena, yo, que suspiro y, lamentándome, me quejo y lloro, debería fundirme, desgraciado, penando [y] languideciendo, por la grave muerte, dura y mala de oír, del rey Jaime, que valía más que [el mismo] mérito, por lo que cumple que todo hombre valiente se apene'.

Appendix Five: *Sospir** in Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico

Giacomo da Lentini, c. 1230/50 (tosc.)

1) D[ubbie] 1, v. 4 - pag. 386, riga 4

mia, / c'a piè baciando i' vi diceva "a Deo", / sì forte mi combatton li **sospire** / pur aspetando, bella, quella dia, / com'eo ritorni a voi, dolze amor meo. / Sì languisco

2) 1, v. 56 - pag. 14, riga 11

campan per lo getto / di loco periglioso; / similmente eo getto / a voi, bella, li mei **sospiri** e pianti. / Che s'eo no li gittasse / parria che soffondasse, / e bene soffondara, / lo

3) 12, v. 2 - pag. 165, riga 2

Madonna mia, a voi mando / in gioi li mei **sospiri**, / ca lungiamente amando / non vi porea mai dire / com'era vostro amante / e lèalmente amava, /

4) 12, v. 15 - pag. 165, riga 15

per messaggio parlando, / und'eo prego l'Amore, / a cui prega ogni amanti, / li mei **sospiri** e pianti / vo pungano lo core. / Ben vorria, s'eo potesse, / quanti sospiri getto, / c'

5) 12, v. 18 - pag. 165, riga 18

li mei sospiri e pianti / vo pungano lo core. / Ben vorria, s'eo potesse, / quanti **sospiri** getto, / c'ogni sospiro avesse / spirito e intelletto, / c'a voi, donna, d'amare / dimandasser

6) 1, v. 64 - pag. 15, riga 2

disio; / che tanto frange a terra / tempesta, che s'atterra, / ed eo così rinfrango, / quando **sospiro** e piango - posar crio. / Assai mi son mostrato / a voi, donna spietata, / com'eo so'

7) 2, v. 41 - pag. 32, riga 7

inver' voi no mi giro, / bella, per riguardare; / andando, ad ogni passo / getto uno gran **sospiro** / ca facemi ancosciare; / e certo bene ancoscio, / c'a pena mi conosco, / tanto bella mi

8) 12, v. 19 - pag. 166, riga 1

pianti / vo pungano lo core. / Ben vorria, s'eo potesse, / quanti sospiri getto, / c'ogni **sospiro** avesse / spirito e intelletto, / c'a voi, donna, d'amare / dimandasser pietanza, / da poi ch'

9) 13, v. 2 - pag. 176, riga 2

S'io doglio no è meraviglia / e s'io **sospiro** e lamento: / amor lontano mi piglia / dogliosa pena ch'eo sento, / membrando ch'eo sia

Tomaso di Sasso (ed. Contini), XIII pm. (tosc.)

1) canz., v. 4 - pag. 91, riga 4

dolzi planti m'ha mandato / Amor, che m'ha donato - a donna amare. / Già senza **sospirare** / Amore me no lascia solo un'ora. / Deo, che folle natura - ello m'aprese! / Ch'

2) canz., v. 2 - pag. 91, riga 2

D'amoroso paese / **sospiri** e dolzi planti m'ha mandato / Amor, che m'ha donato - a donna amare. / Già

Guido delle Colonne, XIII pm. (tosc.)

1) 5, v. 29 - pag. 108, riga 10

si fa sentire in quel ch'è amadore: / cusì, donna d'aunore, / lo meo gran **sospirare** / vi poria certa fare / de l'amorosa flamma und'eo so' involto. / Ma non so

2) 5, v. 26 - pag. 108, riga 7

Amore è uno spirito d'ardore, / che non si pò vedire, / ma sol per li **sospiri** / si fa sentire in quel ch'è amadore: /

cusì, donna d'aunore, / lo meo gran

Rinaldo d'Aquino (ed. Panvini), XIII pm. (tos.)

1) 5, v. 12 - pag. 106, riga 9

contrata / e no lo mi manda a diri / ed io rimagno ingannata: / tanti sono li **sospiri**, / che mi fanno gran guerra / la notte co la dia, / né 'n celo ned in

2) 7, v. 28 - pag. 112, riga 7

mico, / ched eo tut[t]o lo v'ò dato / e ne son rimaso in pene; / di **sospiri** mi notrico, / membrando da voi so errato / ed io so perché m'avene: / per li

Giac. Pugliese, Rime (ed. Panvini), XIII pm. (tos.)

1) 5, v. 40 - pag. 190, riga 18

la partuta, / amore. / Donna, non ti pesa fare / fallimento o villania? / Quando mi vedi passare / **sospirando** per la via, / asconditi per mostranza: / tut[t]a gente ti rampogna, / a voi ne torna bassanza /

2) 7, v. 44 - pag. 195, riga 7

averei sì ric[c]a tenuta! / Ch'io [mi] partia / da voi intando / *dicivi a mia* / [in] **sospirando**: / «Se vai, meo sire, e fai dimoranza, / ve' ch'io m'arendo e faccio altra

3) 4, v. 1 - pag. 187, riga 11

Lontano amore manda **sospiri**, / merzé cherendo inver l'amorosa, / che falso non mi degia teniri, / ché falsitate già non

Giac. Pugliese, Morte, XIII pm. (tos.)

4) , v. 15 - pag. 146, riga 15

è gita madonna in paradiso, / portòne la dolce speranza mia; / lasciòmi in pene e con **sospiri** e planti, / levòmi da [sollazzo] [e] gioco e canti / e compagnia: / or no la veg[g]io,

5) , v. 48 - pag. 148, riga 4

in quella dia - che si n'andao / madonna, d'esta vita trapassao, / con gran tristanza, / **sospiri** e pene e pianti mi lascio; / e già mai nulla gioia mi mandao / per confortanza. /

Federico II (ed. Panvini), a. 1250 (tos.)

1) 1, v. 18 - pag. 158, riga 2

gente, / che per neiente - vanno disturbando / e rampognando - chi ama lealmente; / ond'io sovente - vado **sospirando**. / Sospiro e sto ['n] rancura; / ch'io son sì disioso / e pauroso - mi face penare. /

2) 1, v. 19 - pag. 158, riga 3

che per neiente - vanno disturbando / e rampognando - chi ama lealmente; / ond'io sovente - vado sospirando. / **Sospiro** e sto ['n] rancura; / ch'io son sì disioso / e pauroso - mi face penare. / Ma

Stefano Protonotaro, XIII m. (tos.)

1) canz. 2, v. 46 - pag. 135, riga 26

volontate. / Così pianto e lamento / mi dà granm benenanza, / ch'io sento mia gravanza / per **sospiri** amortare; / e dammi insegnamento / nave c'ha tempestanza, / che torna in allegranza / per suo peso

2) canz. 2, v. 36 - pag. 135, riga 16

pesanza, / poi ch'io so' canoscente / ch'ella non cura nente / di ciò dond'io **sospiro**. / E piango per usag[g]io, / come fa lo malato / che si sente agravato / e dotta in

Re Enzo, Amor mi fa sovente, a. 1272 (tos.)

1), v. 3 - pag. 54, riga 3

Amor mi fa sovente / lo meo core penare, / d'ami pene e **sospiri**; / e son forte temente / per lung'adimorare / ciò che poria avveniri: / non c'aggia dubitanza /

Bonagiunta Orb. (ed. Parducci), XIII m. (lucch.)

1) canz. 5, v. 40 - pag. 57, riga 24

tale manera / ca, vivendo, par che pèra. / Ma l'amoroso viso, che mi tene / in **sospiri** e in pene, / non credo che soffèra / che per lui morte mi fèra. /

2) son. 17, v. 11 - pag. 88, riga 25

Ella è saggia e di tanta beltate, / che qual la vede convene che allora / mova **sospiri** di pianto d'amore. / Però lo dico chi ha gentil core / che tegna mente sì

3) son. 17, v. 5 - pag. 88, riga 19

sì grande tremore, / ch'i' ho temenza che non sieno ancisi. / E poco stando, un **sospiro** sì mi si / parte, ch'ahi! mess'ha l'anima in errore, / e ben sembra

Guglielmo Beroardi, Rime, a. 1282 (fior.)

1) 2, v. 8 - pag. 92, riga 8

lutto e 'n pensamiento; / del meo tormento - non posso partire; / ca tuttor ardo e 'ncendo, / **sospirando** e piangendo; / c'Amor mi fa languire / per quell' a ch'eo m'arrendo, / di

2) 2, v. 23 - pag. 93, riga 5

ché suoi dolci sembianti, / gioiosi ed avenanti / mi fanno tormentoso / istar sovra li amanti / in **sospiri** ed in pianti / lo mio cor doloroso. / Condotto - l'Amor m'ave / in sospiri ed

3) 2, v. 26 - pag. 93, riga 8

in sospiri ed in pianti / lo mio cor doloroso. / Condotto - l'Amor m'ave / in **sospiri** ed in pianto; / di gioi afranto - sono miso in pene; / son rotto - como nave / che

Guittone, Rime (ed. Contini), a. 1294 (tosc.)

1) canz. 8, v. 17 - pag. 222, riga 17

accoglienza, / norma di cavalier', di donne assempro. / Oh, quando mai mi tempro / di pianto, di **sospiri** e di lamento, / poi d'onni ben ti veggio / in mal ch'aduce peggio, / sì

Guittone, Rime (ed. Egidi), a. 1294 (tosc.)

2) son. (D.) 119, v. 4 - pag. 198, riga 18

di smarrimento / sono rimasto amante disamato. / Tuttor languisco, peno e sto in pavento, / piango e **sospir** di quel ch'ho disiato. / Il meo gran bene asciso è in tormento: / or son

3) canz. 26, v. 4 - pag. 62, riga 1

reconoscendo / co male usai la fior del tempo mio. / Perché no lo meo cor sempre **sospira**, / e gli occhi perché mai finan piangendo, / e la bocca di dir: merzede, Dio, / poi

4) son. (D.) 122, v. 7 - pag. 200, riga 7

mi date doglia, che mi tene / e che m'ancide, se voi non m'atate. / **Sospira** 'l core, quando mi sovvene / che voi m'amavi, ed ora non m'amate. / E

5) canz. 18, v. 31 - pag. 40, riga 13

esser gaudente / non avendo neente, / ch'aver lo secol tutto / dimorando a corrotto. / Piangendo e **sospirando** / non acquista l'om terra, / ma per forza di guerra / saggiamente pugnando. / E quello è

6) son. (D.) 122, v. 1 - pag. 200, riga 1

Doglio e **sospiro** di ciò che m'avvene, / che servo voi, soprana di biltate, / ed in redoppio mi

7) son. (D.) 133, v. 5 - pag. 205, riga 19

Pensando miro e guardo infra la gente, / e non mi rende il sole claritate. / Poi **sospiro** e dico: Ohimè, dolente, / taupino me, che spero vanitate! / Perduto aggio lo core con la

Guittone (ed. Leonardi), a. 1294 (tosc.)

8) 45, v. 2 - pag. 135, riga 2

Lasso!, non sete là dov'eo tormento / piangendo e **sospirando**, amor, per voi, / che bene vi parrea più, per un cento, / ch'eo non vo

Chiario Davanzati, XIII sm. (fior.)

1) canz. 19, v. 17 - pag. 72, riga 14

e presso di finire. / Amore amaro dico, / guerra d'affanno e d'ira; / assai forte **sospira** / quegli che gli è più amico; / chi co' llui più si smira / fa di dolor

2) son. 15, v. 8 - pag. 233, riga 8

voi siete, nel mi' cor pensando; / e sì dottosamente inconinzai, / ch'ad ogni passo movo **sospirando**: / perché sì magna e diletosa gioia / non s'averia ad om di mio parag[gi]o; / ed

3) canz. 8, v. 25 - pag. 36, riga 10

compiuta sua piagenza. / Poi che di lui servenza / non ho, che deg[gi]o fare? / Piangere e **sospirare** / tutavia, / o la sua signoria / compiuta raquistare. / Eo raquistar non posso, / lassa, già mai diletto, /

4) canz. 8, v. 41 - pag. 36, riga 26

maninconia. / Da poi che m'ha 'n obria, / non so che deg[gi]a fare: / pianger e **sospirare** / tanto ch'amenderag[gi]o la follia. / Lo mio greve folloro, / lassa me dolorosa, / fu quand'io

5) canz. 4, v. 6 - pag. 20, riga 2

mostrano ben che 'l core / trovi merzede alquanto; / ma io nonn ho valore, / ca di **sospiri** e pianto / sovente mi ramanto, / veg[gi]endo ch'a voi piace il meo dolore. / Ma non

6) canz. 6, v. 34 - pag. 28, riga 31

in beninanza. / Quando penso ed isguardo / la vostra gran bieltate, / in ciascun membro sento li **sospiri**, / cotanto n'ho riguardo / de lo tardar che fate / non perdan ciò, ond'atendon disiri. /

7) canz. 8, v. 62 - pag. 37, riga 7

meo sir, piangendo, / umilmente cherendo / del mio fallir perdono: / e s'io colpata sono, / honne **sospiri** e pianti; / li miei dolor' son tanti / ch'io tut[t]a ardo ed incendio: / però, se

8) canz. 30, v. 76 - pag. 113, riga 14

Gli amator' tut[t]i quanti, / le donne e le donzelle / che d'amore hanno cura, / con **sospiri** e con pianti / più che non son le stelle / assai oltre misura, / io fo priego

9) canz. 36, v. 24 - pag. 130, riga 24

è lo potere. / Quando mi risovene / come non pò capere / in voi per suo valere, / **sospiri** n'ag[gi]o e pene: / ché so che sag[gi]o siete / in ogni altra scienza, / ma de

10) canz. 49, v. 23 - pag. 171, riga 7

pare: - or non deg[gi]o dolore, / ché bene aver - talora altrui rincesce: / dunque riesce - chi **sospiri** manda / colà dove anda - suo core a gioire. / S'eo mando 'l core e spero

11) canz. 49, v. 29 - pag. 171, riga 13

rivene, / ché si contene - di far dimoranza; / piaceli tanto, che poi nonn ha ardire: / rimandami **sospiri**, a me non vene; / dico infra mene: - scur'è mia possanza. / Per qual sembianza - fueme

12) canz. 57, v. 2 - pag. 193, riga 2

Di lontana riviera / **sospiri** e pensamento / m'aduce amor, memblando a l'avenente, / de la sua dolce cera / e

13) canz. 61, v. 62 - pag. 207, riga 8

e miri: / di gran martiri - in gioia fuor trambondui / metendo 'n amendar solo disiri, / obriando **sospiri**: / ché Dio l'ave promesso ad onne è cui: / né son né fui - già mai

14) son. 22, v. 14 - pag. 240, riga 3

per inanti, / infin ch'i' torni al suo dolze piacere, / ché 'l dimorar mi dà **sospiri** e pianti. /

15) son. 56, v. 8 - pag. 275, riga 8

gioco / che tutto tempo non han solenanza; / abita ne lo core e fa suo loco, / **sospiri** e pianti rende per usanza. / E' ven de lo vedere e d'udienza, / de lo

16) son. 83, v. 4 - pag. 304, riga 4

ché 'l cor mi batte ed ha tanto volere / che fa bagnare gli oc[c]hi di **sospiri**; / s'io no gli'nalzo a voi, bella, vedere, / ogni mio membro par ch'a

17) canz. 17, v. 28 - pag. 64, riga 28

e possa me, sì come gli altri amanti, / alegra far di canti, / ed ogne meo **sospiro** far gioioso: / però fermezza deg[g]iate pigliare / ch'altra voglienza già più non m'incora, / se

18) canz. 17, v. 56 - pag. 65, riga 27

quel laond'io fui cominciatore: / più di voi n'ho dolore, / e fra me stessa **sospiro** piangendo; / e se non fosse ch'io non mi dispero, / pensando de la vostra gentilia, /

19) canz. 21, v. 46 - pag. 79, riga 14

agenzia. / Pensando li sembianti che mi face, / tanto forte travaglio, / che come matto vegno disarmuto: / **sospiro**, piango, dico: «Perché 'l face, / già per lei ched io vaglio, / e non mi dona

20) canz. 51, v. 31 - pag. 177, riga 19

se mio servir è lo mio foco, / lo diservire non m'è già bontate: / però **sospiro** e doglio fortemente / e getto in disperanza la mia vita, / ché la veg[g]io disorata

21) canz. 55, v. 11 - pag. 188, riga 11

amore: / tant'è di fedel core / che va a morire e pareli verace; / e io **sospiro** e piango, e gioia dimeno: / per non turbare, lo meo mal raffreno. / Non dico che

22) son. 12, v. 6 - pag. 230, riga 3

gioia: sed io [no] la sento, / assettomi 'n u· lloco e mi sog[g]iorno, / piango e **sospiro** ed ho greve tormento; / e poi rimiro per lo viso adorno: / se 'l veg[g]io, canto,

23) son. 66, v. 13 - pag. 287, riga 13

veg[g]io al mio parere: / però non credo d'altra mai prendesse; / e perciò non gitatene **sospiro**, / ché da voi non poria cangiar volere. /

24) son. D. 11, v. 7 - pag. 395, riga 7

provvedere: / ché sson per voi in sì gravoso stato, / ch'apena posso vita sostenere; / piango, **sospiro**, doglio e sto infiammato / del vostro amor, che tanto m'è 'n piacere / ch'ogni

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