Courtney Joseph Wells

Dante da Maiano
S'el fis amors anc ten el meu corragge (*BdT* 121.2)
Las! ço qe m'es al cor plus fins e gars (*BdT* 121.1)

Any approach to Dante da Maiano's pair of Old Occitan sonnets should begin with a recognition of the elephant in the room. Or, in the case of *il Maianese*, perhaps it would be best to speak of a herd of elephants. At the head of the herd, of course, is Dante Alighieri, a literary figure who exerts such an outsize influence that the mere coincidence of the first name shared between these two authors has justified the use of the moniker *l'altro Dante*—a sobriquet that firmly establishes the literary hierarchy between the two contemporary Tuscan authors. Not far behind, though, is the problematic transmission history of 'the other Dante's' texts: his 47 sonnets (eight of which are in *tenzone* exchanges), 5 *ballate*, and 2 *canzoni* are transmitted solely in the 1527 printed collection of *Sonetti e canzoni di diversi antichi autori toscani*, known commonly as the *Giuntina*.[1] The only manuscript testimony of his

---

[1] For an overview of Dante da Maiano and the count of his works, see especially Giovanni Bertacchi, *Le rime di Dante da Maiano: ristampate ed illustrate*, Bergamo 1896, pp. IX-LVI; Dante da Maiano, *Rime*, a cura di Rosanna Bettarini, Firenze 1969, pp. XV-XXXVIII; and Christopher Kleinhenz, «A Trio of Sonnets in Occitan: A Lyrical Duet and an Historic Solo», *Tenso*, 13, 1998, pp. 33-49. Cf. Saverio Guida and Gerardo Larghi, *Dizionario Biografico dei Trovatori*, Modena 2013, p. 160: «quarantotto sonetti di cui nove in tenzone». For the most recent edition of his works in Italian, see Bettarini, *Rime*. For the most recent count of his works, see Pasquale Stoppelli, *L'equivoco del nome: rime incerte fra Dante*

poetry is the fifteenth-century Old Occitan paper songbook **c**, which contains the two Occitan poems edited here.[2] On the grounds that he is absent in the major medieval manuscripts collecting Italian lyrics, the nineteenth-century scholar Adolfo Borgognoni called the author's very existence into question and argued that his Italian poems collected in the *Giuntina*, as well as the two Occitan sonnets contained in songbook **c**, were the work of a sixteenth-century literary impostor.[3] Meanwhile, other critics have perceived such a wide chasm in terms of style, thought, and literary quality between the two Dantes that one has questioned the authenticity of the *tenzone* exchanges traded between the two as a complete forgery staged by Dante da Maiano «per accreditare a sé stesso».[4]

With accusations of forgery on both sides—on one hand, Borgogni's accusation that Dante da Maiano and his poetry were a literary hoax created by Renaissance humanists; and on the other, the recent suggestions that many of the works associated with Dante Alighieri's development as a poet during his youth, such as the *Fiore* and the *tenzone del 'Duol d'amore'*, were in fact the work of Dante da Maiano[5]—there should be little wonder that *il Maianese* has not received the critical attention that his works merit. Indeed, the majority of the bibliography of Dante da Maiano's works is concerned with defining his corpus or just plain proving that he existed, to say nothing of the

---

Alighieri e Dante da Maiano, Roma 2020, p. 51, which confirms my own, before suggesting that Dante Alighieri's own participation in the *tenzone del 'Duol d'amore'* is fictitious and a forgery wrought by *il Maianese* (see especially p. 63).

[2] For a diplomatic edition of **c**, see Mario Peleaz, «Il canzoniere provenzale *c* (Laurenziano, Pl. 90 Inf. 26)», *Studi di filologia romanza*, 7, 1899, pp. 244-401. For a diplomatic edition of a sixteenth-century copy of **c**, **cᵃ**, see Edmund Stengel, *Die altprovenzalische Liedersammlung c der Laurenziana in Florenz nach einer in seinem Besitz befindlichen alten Abschrift*, Leipzig 1899. While the poem *Convemmi dir, madonna* is attested in Italian songbook **Ch**, it is not attributed to Dante da Maiano, but Maestro Rinuccio. For more details, see Domenico de Robertis, *Sonetti e canzoni di diversi antichi autori toscani*, I. *Introduzione e indici*, Firenze 1977, pp. 58-60.

[3] For a good summary of the 'questione maianese', as it is often called, see Bettarini, *Rime*, pp. XV-XX.

[4] Stoppelli, *L'equivoco del nome*, p. 63.

[5] For detailed arguments see both Pasquale Stoppelli, *Dante e la paternità del Fiore*, Roma 2011; and Id., *L'equivoco del nome*.

remaining literary studies that mostly weigh his literary exchanges with Dante Alighieri and find him wanting.[6]

One exception of note to this trend of literary studies on *il Maianese* can be found in an article published by the American Dantist Justin Steinberg, who argues that Dante da Maiano's response to Dante Alighieri's *A ciascun'alma*, *Di ciò che stato sè dimandatore*, becomes inscribed within the very heart of the poetic and hermeneutic vision of Dante's *Vita nuova* and that the *canzone Donna pietosa e di novella etate* is Alighieri's response to Dante da Maiano's crude reply to *A ciascun'alma*.[7] Steinberg thus identifies the importance of *il Maianese*'s position within a poetic debate sparked by Dante Alighieri among the «famosi trovatori in quel tempo» (*Vita nuova* I.20).[8] While the Florentine poet does not name Dante da Maiano explicitly in the *Vita nuova*, his namesake's reply to *A ciascun'alma* puts him among the ranks of some of the most respected poets of Dante's Florence and adds his name to that of Guido Cavalcanti, Terino da Castelfiorentino (or Cino da Pistoia), and Dante Alighieri himself.

Of course, Dante da Maiano's importance in the *Giuntina* would certainly favor Steinberg's argument. However, *il Maianese*'s absence from the major Italian songbook collections remains something of a mystery, one that will be difficult to solve based solely on modern evaluations of his poetic style and form.[9] Nevertheless, because the only

[6] A very good example of the latter form of criticism can be found most recently in Teodolinda Barolini, *Dante's Lyric Poetry: Poems of Youth and of the* Vita nuova *(1283-1292)*, Toronto 2014, pp. 37-41, 43-51; Ead., «"Amicus eius": Dante and the Semantics of Friendship», *Dante Studies*, 133, 2015, pp. 46-69; and Ead., «The Poetic Exchanges between Dante Alighieri and his "Amico" Dante da Maiano: A Young Man Takes his Place in the World», in *"Legato con amore in un volume": Essays in Honour of John A. Scott*, edited by John J. Kinder and Diana Glenn, Firenze 2013, pp. 39-61.

[7] Justin Steinberg, «Dante's First Dream between Reception and Allegory: The Response to Dante da Maiano in the *Vita nova*», in *Dante the Lyric and Ethical Poet: Dante lirico e etico*, edited by Zygmunt G. Barański and Martin McLaughlin, London 2010, pp. 92-118.

[8] Dante Alighieri, *Vita nova*, edited by Guglielmo Gorni, in *Dante Alighieri: Opere,* I, *Rime, Vita nova, De vulgari eloquentia*, directed by Marco Santagata, Milano 2015.

[9] Much of Dante da Maiano's poetry appears in manuscripts outside of the *Giuntina*, but these have all been proven to be copies of the texts contained in the

manuscript testimony we have of his works is the Old Occitan songbook
c (other than *Convemmi dir, madonna*, which is attributed to Maestro
Rinuccino by **Ch**),[10] it is of the utmost importance that philologists and
literary scholars revisit **c** in order to evaluate Dante da Maiano's work
as an Old Occitan poet operating in Tuscany at the time of Dante.

Because of Dante da Maiano's recognized *guittonismo* and his ten-
dency to create literary patchworks made up of bits of poetry from older
French, Italian, and Occitan verse, the critical tendency once was to
identify him as older than Dante Alighieri.[11] However, since the publi-
cation of Rosanna Bettarini's edition of his works, the critical consen-
sus has been that Dante da Maiano is «press'a poco dell'età dell'Alighi-
eri».[12] The reason the age of Dante da Maiano, who also appears to be
attested in a document dated to 1301,[13] is so important for our under-
standing of his Occitan sonnets is that it makes him more or less a con-
temporary not just with Dante but with a circle of Tuscan poets who, in
addition to composing lyric texts in Italian, also composed in Occitan.[14]
This circle includes Dante da Maiano, Paolo Lanfranchi da Pistoia, who
composed a *cobla* in the form of a sonnet in 1285,[15] Terramagnino da
Pisa, who wrote a verse adaptation of Ramon Vidal's *Razos de trobar*,

Giuntina, which remains the sole authentic witness for his Italian works. See Bet-
tarini, *Rime*, pp. XXXIII-XXXVIII for a summary of these post-*Giuntina* manuscripts.

[10] Bettarini, *Rime*, p. XVII.

[11] See especially Salvatore Santangelo, «Dante Alighieri e Dante da Maiano»,
Bolletino della società dantesca italiana, 27, 1920, pp. 61-75.

[12] Bettarini, *Rime*, p. XVI. This view is confirmed by Barolini, *Dante's Lyric
Poetry*, p. 44. See Gianfranco Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*, 2 voll., Milano-Napoli
1960, vol. I, p. 477, who agrees with Bettarini that Dante da Maiano is «press'a
poco coetaneo» with Dante Alighieri.

[13] The act, dated May 1301, is published in Bertacchi, *Le rime*, p. 21.

[14] For a study of this circle of Tuscan poets who composed works in Occitan,
see Courtney Joseph Wells, «"Pensemus qualiter viri prehonorati a propria divert-
erunt" (*DVE*, I, xiv, 5): els textos occitans d'un cercle de poetes toscans», *Mot so
razo*, 18, 2019, pp. 23-40.

[15] See especially Cesare Mascitelli, «Il sonetto provenzale di Paolo Lanfran-
chi: tra Raimbaut de Vaqueiras e la corte d'Aragona», *Carte romanze*, 3, 2015, pp.
127-156; Giuseppe Noto, «Paolo Lanfranchi di Pistoia, *Valenz senher, rei dels Ar-
agones* (*BdT* 317.1)», *Lecturae tropatorum*, 10, 2017, pp. 15; and Courtney Joseph
Wells, «But Singing Makes It So: Occitan as Poetic Language in the French Cru-
sade against the Medieval Crown of Aragon», *Tenso*, 33, 2018, pp. 29-65.

the *Doctrina d'Acort*,[16] the author(s) of a number of anonymous Occitan *coblas* written on Tuscan themes,[17] and finally Dante Alighieri himself, who composed at least one *cobla* in Occitan that is delivered by the shade of the troubadour Arnaut Daniel at the end of *Purgatorio* 26 (vv. 140-147).

While it is true that Dante da Maiano's two Old Occitan sonnets are a clear «testimonianza … della diffusione e dell'apprezzamento [della lirica occitana] nella Toscana della seconda metà del XIII secolo»,[18] as Saverio Guida and Gerardo Larghi have put it, they are also signs of a «solido radicamento del trobadorismo nella regione».[19] The implications of this active practice of troubadour literature by late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century Tuscan authors are considerable and should change our perspective on troubadour literature's dynamic presence in Tuscany. The first implication is a revised perspective on these poets' relationship with troubadour poetics. So many approaches to Dante's knowledge of troubadour texts focus on *which* manuscripts he was consulting while composing *De vulgari eloquentia* with its many troubadour citations, the *Convivio* where the troubadours loom large in Book I but are not quoted, and the *Commedia*.[20] But this approach misses the key point of interest, namely, not which manuscripts Dante used, but how manuscripts such as songbook **P** are expressions of the same active Occitan literary culture in Tuscany to which belong Dante, Dante da Maiano, Paolo Lanfranchi da Pistoia, and Terramagnino da Pisa. Stefano Asperti rejects the quest to find any particular manuscripts used by Dante but instead uses the dovetailing

---

[16] See especially Simone Ventura, «La *Doctrina d'acort* di Terramagnino da Pisa fra copia e riscrittura», in *Transcrire et/ou traduire: variation et changement linguistique dans la tradition manuscrite des textes médiévaux.* Actes du congrès international, Klagenfurt, 15-16 novembre 2012, edited by Raymund Wilhelm, Heidelberg 2013, pp. 151-189.

[17] For an edition and study of these poems, see Giuseppe Noto, «Anonimo, *Ges al meu grat non sui joglar* (*BdT* 461.126); con Anonimi, *Per zo no·m voil desconortar* (*BdT* 461.193), *Va, cobla: al Juge de Galur* (*BdT* 461.246), *Seigner Juge, ben aug dir a la gen* (*BdT* 461.217), *Ges per li diz non er bons prez sabuz* (*BdT* 461.133)», *Lecturae tropatorum*, 5, 2012, pp. 23.

[18] Guida and Larghi, *Dizionario*, p. 160.

[19] Stefano Resconi, «La lirica trobadorica nella Toscana del Duecento: canali e forme della diffusione», *Carte romanze*, 2, 2014, pp. 269-300, p. 285.

[20] See Salvatore Santangelo, *Dante e i trovatori provenzali*, Catania 1921.

literary interests of the texts compiled in **P** with those of Dante Alighieri
to hypothesize that

> la consolidata presenza di una tradizione italiana in Toscana abbia fornito
> il terreno su cui si poté insediare l'ultima stagione italiana della lirica tro-
> badorica ed al quale va ricondotta, non solo per mera contiguità geogra-
> fica, la compilazione del canzoniere **P**.[21]

Rather than imagine these poets (or scribes, in the case of **P**) as collec-
tors saving vestiges of a forgotten, foreign, and decadent literary tradi-
tion, it is more accurate to see them as participants in an active commu-
nity of literary practices that tied Italian poetics to the Occitan lyric.[22]

---

[21] Stefano Asperti, *Carlo I d'Angio e i trovatori: componenti "provenzali" e
angioine nella tradizione manoscritta della lirica trobadorica*, Ravenna 1995, p.
210.

[22] The argument that these poets were *pasticheurs* and collectors of a lost lit-
erary tradition is ubiquitous in what has been written about this circle of Italian
poets. For this perspective on Terramagnino, see John H. Marshall, *The "Razos de
trobar" of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, London 1972, p. LXXXIX, for whom
«the language of the troubadours was already a dead language, to be studied
through documents it had left behind … . He was an antiquarian whose erudition,
though ostentatious, was shallow». For Paolo Lanfranchi, his sonnet is described
by Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores: historia literaria y textos*, Barcelona 2011,
p. 1662, as a «chapucera composición». Giulio Bertoni, *I trovatori d'Italia (bio-
grafie, testi, traduzioni, note)*, Modena 1915, p. 118, describes his Occitan sonnet
as a «lacrimevole cosa», and as a «povera cosa» (p. 120). For Dante da Maiano,
his editors have not spared him similar judgements. Pierre Bec, «Les deux sonnets
occitans de Dante da Maiano (XIIIe siècle)», *Perspectives médiévales*, 22 (suppl.),
1996, pp. 47-57, p. 48, calls Dante da Maiano a «pasticheur de talent»; while Bet-
tarini, *Rime*, p. XVII, describes his method of composition as «archeologico e cen-
tonistico» and his Occitan as «molto approssimativo» (p. XXX). Even Dante Alighi-
eri's Occitan composition in *Purgatorio* 26 is not spared. Pietro G. Beltrami, «Ar-
naut Daniel e la "bella scola" dei trovatori di Dante», in *Le culture di Dante: studi
in onore di Robert Hollander. Atti del quarto Seminario dantesco internazionale*,
University of Notre Dame (Ind.), USA (25-27 settembre 2003)*, a cura di Miche-
langelo Picone, Theodore J. Cachey Jr. e Margherita Mesirca, Firenze 2004, pp.
29-59, p. 50, says «È logico dunque che questi versi … risultino da una serie di
fonti diverse cui Dante ricorre per appoggiare il proprio provenzale». Similarly,
Giuseppe E. Sansone, «Varia ermeneutica di *Purgatorio* XXVI», *Medioevo ro-
manzo*, 13, 1988, pp. 55-74, p. 72, says that Dante, «in questi otto timidi versetti
occitanici (lunarmente distanti dal suo latino e dalla sua lingua di *sì*), si muove con
la circospezione tipica di chi si prova in una scrittura d'accatto». For excellent ana-
lyses of both Dante da Maiano as interlocutor of Dante Alighieri and for the lyric

The second implication is a change in our understanding of the networks that existed between these authors. We know that these poets were mostly aware of the others' work (when chronologically possible) in both Italian and Occitan. From the *tenzone* exchange initiated by Dante Alighieri's *A ciascun'alma*, the *tenzone del 'Duol d'amore'*, and Dante's response to *il Maianese*'s *Provedi, saggio*, we know that the two Dantes were in literary dialogue. From the Tuscan origins of Terramagnino da Pisa's *Doctrina d'acort*, its connection to Nino Visconti «iutge Ogolin de Galur»,[23] and his use of one of Terramagnino's more remarkable metaphors from the *Doctrina* in Book I of the *Convivio*, we can say with a fair degree of certainty that Dante Alighieri knew the *Doctrina*.[24] Dante's *A ciascun'alma*, to which Dante da Maiano responds, has much in common with Paolo Lanfranchi's Italian dream sonnet, *L'altrer, dormendo*—as well as Dante da Maiano's *Provedi, saggio*, to which Dante responds with his *Savete giudicar*—though there are important differences between Dante's text and Paolo's, as Maria Luisa Meneghetti has pointed out.[25]

Even when it does not necessarily prove with certainty that one poet knew the other's work, this dense web of connections between these Tuscan poets implies a common literary culture that is anchored in the medieval Occitan grammatical and poetic tradition. As Meneghetti—and later, Marco Grimaldi—has argued, the dream sonnets of Dante da Maiano, Paolo Lanfranchi, and Dante Alighieri all find

culture that informs their *tenzone* exchanges, see relevant *cappelli* and notes in Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova, Rime*, a cura di Donato Pirovano e Marco Grimaldi, Introduzione di Enrico Malato, tomo I, Roma 2015 ("Nuova Edizione Commentata delle Opere di Dante", vol. 1), especially pp. 346-350, 592-635. See also relevant commentary in Dante Alighieri, *Opere*, a cura di Claudio Giunta, Guglielmo Gorni, Mirko Tavoni, introduzione di Marco Santagata, 2 voll., Milano 2011-2014, vol. I, *Rime, Vita nova, De vulgari eloquentia*, Milano 2011, especially pp. 77-122.

[23] Marshall, *Razos*, p. 31.

[24] See Wells, «"Pensemus"», pp. 34-36, for a summary of these connections.

[25] Maria Luisa Meneghetti, «Beatrice al chiaro di luna: la prassi poetica delle visioni amorose con invito all'interpretazione dai provenzali allo stilnovo», in *Symposium in honorem prof. M. de Riquer*, Barcelona 1986, pp. 239-255. Cf. Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova*, a cura di Domenico de Robertis, in Dante Alighieri, *Opere minori*, I. *Vita nuova, Rime, Il fiore e Il detto d'Amore (attribuibili a Dante Alighieri)*, Milano-Napoli 1980, pp. 42-43. In his textual notes, De Robertis argues for the genealogy that traces Dante's dream poem back to Dante da Maiano's and Paolo Lanfranchi's dream sonnets.

a common ancestry in the Old Occitan genre of the *somni*.[26] Since it is preferable to view the «terza tradizione»[27] of Old Occitan manuscripts as an expression of the literary Occitan culture developed in Tuscany, so too should we view this circle of Tuscan poets steeped in troubadour literary culture as individual proponents of important literary trends of the time, rather than as an organized group of poets working together towards common aesthetic ends. Although their paths seem to cross at key moments, their itineraries are clearly divergent—as becomes abundantly clear, for example, with Dante da Maiano's sonnet response to Dante Alighieri's *A ciascun'alma*, *Di ciò che sei stato dimandatore*, where *il Maianese* suggests that the Florentine poet's dream is the result of sickness and that he should rinse his testicles and have his urine tested by a doctor.[28]

The third implication of the recognition of a developed Tuscan Occitan literary culture to consider is fundamental to any approach to these texts: namely, the extent to which this culture was familiar and rooted in the context of Tuscan literature. Most critical approaches to the Occitan texts of these Tuscan authors tend to view them as marginal in every sense possible: chronologically, culturally, generically, geographically, linguistically, and poetically. As the citations contained in note 22 illustrate, many critics call into question the originality of these poems the correctness of the Occitan used within them, their value as literary texts, their status as 'troubadour literature'—since it is argued that troubadour literature is already defunct at this time—and their viability as troubadour texts, since there appears to be a critical bias for Occitan works that come from the south of France, rather than Northern

[26] Marco Grimaldi, «Cerveri de Girona, *Entr'Arago e Navarra jazia* (*BdT* 434.7a), *Lecturae tropatorum*, 1, 2008. In his commentary to Dante's *Rime*, Grimaldi points out how widespread knowledge of 'dream literature' was in medieval Italy; Grimaldi, *Rime*, pp. 346-348.

[27] D'Arco Silvio Avalle, *I manoscritti della letteratura in lingua d'oc*, nuova edizione a cura di Lino Leonardi, Torino 1993, p. 98. The *terza tradizione* includes songbooks **P**, **S**, **U**, and **c**—the very manuscripts that transmit the Occitan sonnet of Paolo Lanfranchi and the Tuscan themed anonymous Old Occitan *coblas* (**P**), as well as the Occitan texts of Dante da Maiano (**c**).

[28] Poem 47, vv. 7-14, Bettarini, *Rime*, p. 151. All references to Dante da Maiano will be to Bettarini's edition and will include both the poem and verse numbers, where relevant.

Italy or Catalonia.[29] As even a brief glance at François Zufferey's bibliography of fourteenth and fifteenth century Occitan poets shows, troubadour literature continued well beyond the late thirteenth century when these Tuscan poets composed their works,[30] and there is much that suggests that Occitan was far from a «lingua strana» (*Convivio* I.xi.15), as Dante would have it.[31] To the contrary, Dante himself is one of our best sources for how much troubadour literature had taken root in Tuscany and the rest of Northern Italy—aside from the many Italian troubadours whose works come down to us in the Old Occitan songbooks.[32] In a passage condemning the use of Old Occitan in Italy, rather than Dante's «italica loquela» (*Convivio* I.x.14), Dante explains that he has decided to defend the Italian language against those who believe Occitan to be superior:

> Mossimi ancora per difendere lui da molti suoi accusatori, li quali dispregiano esso e commendano li altri, massimamente quello di lingua d'oco, dicendo che è più bello e migliore quello che questo (*Convivio* I.x.11).

Likening Italian authors who use Occitan instead of their native vernaculars to craftsmen who blame their poor work on the iron they have to work with, rather than their own poor craftsmanship (*Convivio* I.xi.11), Dante takes to task those Italian authors who blame their vernacular to justify their adoption of Occitan. But from behind this condemnation peeks the reality that Dante is trying to argue against: Italians are

---

[29] See Wells, «Pensemus», for a detailed analysis of critical bias against these texts.

[30] François Zufferey, *Bibliographie des poètes provençaux des XIVe et XVe siècles*, Genève 1981. See the remarkable analysis of critical bias against later Occitan literature from Catalonia in Miriam Cabré and Sadurní Martí, «Poetic Language in the Multilingual Crown of Aragon», *Tenso*, 33, 2018, pp. 67-91, especially pp. 80-86.

[31] Dante, *Opere*, vol. II, *Convivio, Monarchia, Epistole, Egloge*, Milano 2014.

[32] For Occitan's fundamental role in the construction of Italian literary identity, see Stefano Asperti, «Presentazione», in *L'Italia dei trovatori*, a cura di Paolo Di Luca e Marco Grimaldi, pp. VII-X, especially p. VIII, where he speaks of «la profonda connessione della lirica d'oc con la realtà italiana di quel secolo, come fatto culturale specifico e caratterizzante di una società in cerca anche di nuovi riferimenti identitari». For the troubadours in Italy, see especially the essays collected in Di Luca and Grimaldi, *L'Italia dei trovatori*, as well as the companion website: https://www.idt.unina.it.

actively cultivating Occitan poetics at the beginning of the fourteenth century when Dante is writing the *Convivio* in exile. His argument against the practice is what proves its existence, and his final jeremiad against these *trovatori d'Italia* implies just how widespread this practice is:

> E tutti questi cotali sono li abomineoli cattivi d'Italia che hanno a vile questo prezioso volgare [i.e., *del sì*]: lo quale, s'è vile in alcuna cosa, non è se non in quanto ello suona nella bocca meretrice di questi adulteri (*Convivio* I.xi.21).

The description of *tutti questi cotali*, 'all such as these', implies a widespread practice in Dante's Italy—one that he intends to work against. It is difficult to imagine that Dante saves these choice words for *trovatori italiani* such as Bertolome Zorzi, Bonifaci Calvo, Lanfranc Cigala, and Sordello, considering that these authors come from the previous generation and would have been dead for nearly 50 years when Dante is writing the *Convivio*. It is more likely that his anger is directed at authors such as, but not necessarily, Dante da Maiano, Terramagnino da Pisa, and the anonymous authors of the Tuscan-themed *coblas* contained in **P**.

Dante's perceived need to fight so valiantly to defend the Italian vernacular against Occitan in Italy demonstrates to what extent it was so firmly rooted in Italy. Therefore, scholars of the Occitan literature of Italy should be very careful when they condemn perceived 'Italianisms' of these authors. In more cases than not, these condemnations of linguistic usage hide biases that frame Italian Occitanophone poets as inept users of a language that had been firmly rooted in Italy for more than a hundred years. So, why then should we think they did not know how to use the language? The first reason is the perceived foreignness of Occitan in Northern Italy—a perception that is not justified by the evidence that we have at our disposal.[33] Instead, the evidence seems to suggest that, while a poet would need to study and practice Occitan as a literary language, Italian existed on a Romance continuum with

---

[33] On the sociolinguistics of Occitan in Italy, see Courtney Joseph Wells, «"In lingua est diversitas": Medieval Francophone and Occitanophone Literary Cultures in Catalonia and Italy», in *Medieval Francophone Literary Culture outside France: Studies in the Moving Word*, edited by Nicola Morato and Dirk Schoenaers, Turnhout 2018, pp. 473-505.

vernaculars such as Occitan and French, and that trained performers or poets could code-switch from one to the next, depending on the requirements of the communicative situation. This seems to be suggested by a passage from the Latin version of Marco Polo's *Devisement du monde* contained in manuscript **Z**, where Marco explains the multilingualism of Mangi in Southern China. He says:

> Sed scire debetis quod per totam provinciam Manci una servatur loquela et una maneries litterarum. Tamen in lingua est diversitas per contratas, veluti apud laycos inter Lonbardos, Provinciales, Francigenas, etcetera; ita tamen quod, in provincia Mançi, gens cuius libet contrate potest gentis alterius intelligere ydioma.[34]

Just as Italians (*Lonbardos*), Provençaux, French, and other speakers across the Romance continuum can understand one another across different forms of speech, so too can the inhabitants of Mangi in Southern China. This high degree of intercomprehension seems equally suggested by Dante's presentation of the *lingua d'oc*, *oïl*, and *sì* as being parts of the same language that he calls *ydioma nostrum* in the *DVE*—an idea that Ramon Vidal had argued for some one hundred years earlier, but that he called *nostre lingatge*.[35]

Of course, Occitan remained a language that was used in circumscribed contexts (for example, when singing a lyric) in Italy; but it was far too familiar a feature of the cultural landscape for it to be considered foreign. Occitan was not the maternal language of Northern Italy, but it was one of the languages used to compose literary texts there for a hundred years by the turn of the century. We should therefore be careful not to dismiss perceived departures from what is considered standard literary Occitan as Italianisms, and thus as errors. Just as with Franco-Italian, the dialect of French reserved in Italy for literary composition, we should keep in mind that literary Occitan in Italy maintains certain Italianized features that are not linguistic errors but features of the dialect. Just as *com* is frequently used interchangeably with *ab* in the *vidas*

[34] Marco Polo, *Milione. Redazione latina del manoscritto Z*, a cura di Alvaro Barbieri, Parma 1998, p. 250.

[35] For further arguments in favor of this practice of literary code-switching in Catalonia, France, and Italy, see Wells, «"In lingua est diversitas"», and «But Singing Makes It So».

and *razos*,[36] these texts contain a number of forms that seem to be features rather than bugs.[37]

However, critical evaluations of Dante da Maiano's Occitan—in addition to Terramagnino's, Paolo Lanfranchi's, and Dante Alighieri's (see note 22 for examples of critical evaluations of their command of Occitan)—are less than favorable. Bettarini accuses him of adding flexional -*s* in all sorts of contexts it does not belong in for «colore locale».[38] Bertoni is so matter of fact in his low opinion of Dante da Maiano's language and versification that he refuses to print his two Occitan sonnets in the body of his *Trovatori d'Italia*, preferring instead to print a diplomatic edition of the two in a footnote. On account of their «barbarismi, le locuzioni contorte, le inesattezze più stridenti», he states that he has put them in a footnote so as not to include them «fra i saggi degli altri nostri trovatori».[39] Tellingly, one of the only critics to defend Dante da Maiano's Occitan is the Occitanist Pierre Bec, who posits that the metrical infelicities and linguistic patina of the two sonnets may very well be due to scribal intervention and textual transmission, rather than the poet's ineptitude. He adds: «Il est certain que Dante da Maiano connaissait bien les troubadours».[40]

When we approach Dante da Maiano's sonnets bearing these three ideas in mind—namely, 1) that they are part of a dynamic presence of Occitan poetry in Tuscany, rather than derivative and antiquarian reproductions of a lost literary past; 2) that they are one of a number of poetic expressions of a lively debate around vernacular eloquence, poetry's hermeneutic and representative possibilities, and Occitan's contribution

---

[36] For the different Italianisms of the *vidas* and *razos*, see Jean Boutière e Alexander H. Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, édition refondue par J. B. avec la collaboration d'I.-M. Cluzel, Paris 1964, pp. X-XI.

[37] For Franco-Italian as a consolidated literary dialect, see especially Lorenzo Renzi, «Il francese come lingua letteraria e il franco lombardo: l'epica carolingia nel Veneto», in *Storia della cultura veneta*, diretta da Girolamo Arnaldi e Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 6 voll., Vicenza 1976-1986, vol. I. *Dalle origini al Trecento*, pp. 563-589; Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's "Le devisement du monde": Narrative voice, Language, and Diversity*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 14-16; www.rialfri.eu; and www.francigena-unipd.com.

[38] Bettarini, *Rime*, p. XXXI.

[39] Bertoni, *I trovatori*, p. 141.

[40] Bec, «Les deux sonnets», p. 50. See Bec's careful study of the many Occitan forms contained in Dante da Maiano's Italian poetry. Bec argues that these forms reveal a strong knowledge of Occitan.

to this literary dialogue in Tuscany, rather than isolated attempts of individual poets to exhibit their linguistic and poetic knowledge of a chronologically and geographically distant literary tradition of which they are inheritors; and 3) that they are the fruit of a consolidated and rooted Occitanophone literary culture in Tuscany at the end of the thirteenth century, rather than bungled attempts to appropriate a foreign language for a hubristic literary experiment bound to fail—then another image of these pieces comes into focus. A far cry from simple literary exercises, Occitan one-offs without a clear audience, they are part of the literary landscape of late thirteenth century Tuscany.

<div align="center">*</div>

Dante da Maiano's two sonnets are transmitted uniquely in the fifteenth-century songbook **c** but were also recorded in the lost sixteenth-century copy of **c**, **c**ᵃ. Ms. **c**ᵃ was Piero di Simone del Nero's copy of **c** (or, perhaps of another sixteenth-century copy of **c** in the possession of Niccolò Gaddi, **c**ᵇ).[41] Once in the personal collection of Edmund Stengel, **c**ᵃ was later transferred to the University of Leuven, where it was destroyed in a fire in 1940.[42] Because **c**ᵇ only comes down to us in fragmentary form, **c** remains the only manuscript testimony of the two sonnets available today. Nevertheless, we know from Edmund Stengel's diplomatic edition of **c**ᵃ that *il Maianese*'s two sonnets were included. From a table compiled by Piero that is contained at the end of songbook **a**¹,[43] we know that Dante da Maiano's two sonnets were also included in the so-called *libro Gaddi* (**c**ᵇ), as well, since their incipits are included under the headings *L* and *S*.

---

[41] For details on the genealogy and history of **c**ᵃ and **c**ᵇ, see especially Luciana Borghi Cedrini and Walter Meliga, *«Intavulare». Tavole di canzonieri romanzi*, serie coordinata da Anna Ferrari, I. *Canzonieri provenzali*, 14. Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana **a**, **aII** (2814); Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria **a**¹ (Campori γ.N.8.4: 11-13) (Canzoniere di Bernart Amoros), Modena 2020, pp. 38-51.

[42] Borghi Cedrini and Meliga, *«Intavulare»*, p. 38, note 24.

[43] See Borghi Cedrini and Meliga, *«Intavulare»*, p. 47, for a description of this table. A pdf of **a**¹ is available for download from the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria's website and can be accessed using Courtney Joseph Wells, *trobaretz: Occitan Manuscripts Online* (https://trobaretz.wordpress.com).

It is therefore impossible to know if the variants contained in Stengel's diplomatic transcription of the sonnets are due to interpretation or if they were copied differently in **cᵃ**(see the list of variants after the edition of each sonnet). While we cannot even speculate about the versions of these poems contained in **cᵇ**—since these parts of the manuscript have been lost—from the copy of their incipits in Piero's table of the *libro Gaddi*, we can at least say that the incipits are identical.

Dante da Maiano's Occitan resembles in many ways that of his peers. Many words such as *coragge* and *poderagge* can be found with Italian graphy rather than Occitan (cf. *coratge* and *poderatge*). There are a number of Sicilianisms (and one Latinism) in Dante da Maiano's Occitan, just as there are in his Italian. Of note is the presence of *qa* (for *ca*), the preterite form *dimostrau* for *dimostret*, and *formavi* for *formet*.[44] However, this use of Sicilian forms should be of little surprise, considering that one of the principal languages in competition with Occitan for lyric composition in Dante da Maiano's Italy was the Sicilian literary language used by the Sicilian school and imitated by later northern poets.[45] Because they are undoubtedly a feature of how these texts were transmitted, I have refrained from correcting any of these perceived Italianisms.

In our study of the Occitan used by Tuscan poets, it is time for us to end the *a priori* assumption that they did not have a good working knowledge of Occitan as a living language.[46] Time and again, critics assume their derivative and antiquarian impulse when approaching these texts. The underlying supposition, of course, is that these poets

---

[44] For an overview of Sicilianisms in Italian poetry, see Ghino Ghinassi, «Sicilianismi», in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, Roma 1970, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sicilianismi_%28Enciclopedia-Dantesca%29/ (consulted on November 7, 2022), where Ghinassi argues that verbs in the perfect ending in *-vi*, such as *formavi* here, are both a Latinism and a Sicilianism, depending on the context. See commentary below. For a complete list of Dante da Maiano's Sicilianisms, see Bec, «Les deux sonnets», pp. 50-51; and Bettarini, *Rime*, pp. 189-193.

[45] Ghinassi, «Sicilianismi», describes the Sicilian *koinè* in Tuscany as «il linguaggio lirico per eccellenza, una specie di superlinguaggio a uso del poeta, come lo era stato e, in parte, lo era ancora la lingua provenzale». This is consistent with the testimony of Jofre de Foixà, who includes Sicilian, along with Occitan («prohensals») and Galician, as literary languages in his *Regles de trobar*; Marshall, *Razos de trobar*, p. 65.

[46] See note 22 above for this nearly ubiquitous critical assumption.

had a bookish, and therefore limited knowledge of Occitan. For example, Marshall says of Terramagnino da Pisa's Occitan: «It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Terramagnino's knowledge of the *sound* of Provençal was of the most approximate kind».[47] However, there is evidence that these poets had much more of a knowledge of Occitan language than previously thought. I have already mentioned Bec's argument for Dante da Maiano's knowledge of Occitan. Recently, Walter Meliga has argued that Dante may have had considerable knowledge of spoken Occitan—or at least access to someone who did.[48] If we add to this the likelihood that Paolo Lanfranchi da Pistoia composed his Occitan sonnet as a contribution to the *cobla* «cycle of 1285» on site in Catalonia (as Espadaler and Masciatelli suggest), then it would be highly unlikely that he did not have a strong command of Occitan as a spoken language.[49]

If so, then why do these texts come down to us with so many hyper- and hypo-metric verses, so many linguistic uncertainties? Bec rejects the idea that Dante da Maiano's Occitan would have been insufficient («ce qui est en contradiction avec la perfection linguistique des troubadours italiens de la grande époque»[50]) and suggests that the years that intervene between the death of Dante da Maiano and the compilation of **c** in the fifteenth century most likely account for the linguistic and metrical degradation of the poem. However, Bec explains that the majority of linguistic errors have to do with the flexional *-s*, which he uses «au petit bonheur», rather than his mastery of vocabulary and morphology.[51] But even here, I would argue that Dante da Maiano suffers from the prejudice of his critics and editors. For example, in v. 9 of *Se·l fis amors*, all of the editions read the flectional *-s* at the end of *domna* as a haphazard use of the declensional system and have the line read as *qe*

[47] Marshall, *Razos*, p. LXXXVIII. Another similar judgement can be found just before the citation on the same page: «The presence of this barbarism casts serious doubt on Terramagnino's knowledge of the tongue which he professed to teach».

[48] Walter Meliga, «Una nota per *escalina* (*Purg.*, XXVI 146)», *Rivista di studi danteschi*, 18, 2018, pp. 364-379, especially pp. 377-379.

[49] Anton Maria Esapadaler, «La Catalogna dei rei», in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 13 voll., Roma 1992-2006, 2. *Il medioevo volgare*, a cura di Piero Boitani, Mario Mancini e Alberto Varvaro, vol. 1.2 *La produzione del testo*, pp. 873-933, pp. 900-901; and Mascitelli, «Il sonetto provenzale», p. 150.

[50] Bec, «Les deux sonnets», p. 50.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

tal domnas mi da sa benvolliença. However, rather than assume that the -*s* should be added to *domnas*, it seems far more likely that -*s* would have originally been attached to the following word, which itself seems an Italianate form (or at least an Old Occitan form that corresponds with Italian) of the personal pronoun *me*. But I would posit that the scribe of **c**, or the scribe of one of his sources, just mistook *domna si·m* for *domnas mi* through a misinterpretation of the three minims that followed -*s* (see note to v. 9 in the following edition). If this proposed emendation is correct, then the argument can be made that critics and editors have seen errors even where they do not exist.[52]

Nevertheless, not all cases of metrical and linguistic irregularities in these two texts can be explained so easily. Because we do not know how these texts circulated before being recorded in **c**, it is difficult for us to know with any certainty. Be that as it may, most of these irregularities can be emended with minimal editorial intervention. Bec's proposed emendations for vv. 1, 2, and 4 of *Se·l fis amors* and vv. 3, 7, and 13 of *Las! ço que* had already been proposed by Bertoni a hundred years previously in the footnote he dedicates to Dante da Maiano's Occitan corpus.[53] The complicated transmission of Dante Alighieri's Occitan *cobla* of *Purgatorio* 26.140-147 certainly requires as much editorial intervention as the 'other Dante's' texts do. Hyper- and hypo-metrical verses, unattested forms, Gallicisms, Italianisms, missing enclitics, uncommon hiatus or syneresis in verses—all of the texts of our circle of Tuscan authors who compose Occitan works share these features. But if the evidence at our disposal suggests that these authors had significant experience with Occitan both as a literary and a living language, then it seems that the transmission of these irregularities is likely due to scribal intervention, rather than authorial ineptitude.[54]

Dante da Maiano's editor, Rosanna Bettarini, is skeptical that the scribe of **c**—who according to Peleaz copies «molto accuratamente il testo»[55]—could have made errors only with Dante da Maiano's Occitan

---

[52] This is certainly the case with Dante's *escalina*, according to Meliga's insightful analysis.

[53] Bertoni, *I trovatori*, pp. 141-142, note 3.

[54] Bec, «Les deux sonnets», p. 54, quite rightly points out that Italianisms in an Occitan text are far from being errors, just as the proliferation of Occitanisms in Dante da Maiano's Italian verse should not be considered as erroneous.

[55] Peleaz, «Il canzoniere», p. 247.

sonnets. But this conclusion would assume that Dante da Maiano's Occitan texts were contained in the same source as the other texts of the *canzoniere*. Now, from Peleaz we know that

> il copista dovette avere davanti altre fonti, perché si trovano sparse in tutta la raccolta varianti marginali che hanno per iscopo generale di offrire per qualche passo un'altra lezione, e talvolta di riempire una lacuna del modello principale.

It is possible, therefore, that the scribe of **c** had another source for Dante da Maiano's poems, a source that was far more inaccurate in comparison to the source for the other poems. The exceptional source for Dante da Maiano's Occitan poems might be further confirmed by their separation from the rest of the poems in the songbook. Between *En joi que·m demora* by Peirol on 91r and Dante da Maiano's 138v there are nearly fifty blank pages. While it is impossible to know what the scribe intended to fill these blank pages with,[56] they do suggest that the two Occitan poems were somehow different from the other lyrics of the songbook anthology. While Peleaz prefers to chalk this difference up to the Italian origins of Dante da Maiano

> mi par probabile che il copista avendo intenzione di riempire queste [pagine] colle poesia di altri trovadori di nascita, abbia voluto relegare in fondo le due composizioni dell'unico trovadore italiano cui facea luogo nella sua raccolta, per separarle dalle altre[57]

it may be, as Bec suggests, that this space was reserved for material, regardless of its origin, coming from yet another source.

<div align="center">*</div>

The present edition has been prepared as one step in the direction of an ultimate goal: the rehabilitation of a set of lyric texts that have been relegated to the margins of Occitan studies. With Giuseppe Noto's already-cited editions of Paolo Lanfranchi da Pistoia's sonnet and the

---

[56] Bec, «Les deux sonnets», p. 49: «Que signifie alors ce grand nombre de feuillets inutilisés? A quels poètes, de langue italienne ou provençale, ce grand espace était-il réservé? Dante da Maiano, comme bien d'autres *trovatori d'Italia*, aurait-il écrit d'autres pièces en occitan?».

[57] Peleaz, «Il canzoniere», pp. 245-246.

Tuscan-themed *coblas* of **P**, my intent is that the edition of these two Occitan sonnets will pave the way for further scholarship. If we are to understand accurately

1) the mechanisms of reception of the troubadour lyric in Italy;

2) the active practice of Occitan literary poetics in Italy throughout the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth;

3) Tuscany's particular role as forum for the study and practice of Occitan poetics in the second half of the thirteenth century;

and 4) Dante da Maiano's particularly privileged position in the development of Italian (and Occitan) poetics within the context of peninsular literature,

then we must give these texts the place they deserve within the Occitan literary tradition. Rather than allow them to be relegated to footnotes or left in diplomatic (Bertoni, Peleaz, Stengel) or semi-diplomatic (Bertacchi, Bettarini) editions, we must consider them, along with the *terza tradizione* studied so carefully by Santangelo, as important literary evidence of the active engagement with troubadour culture during the time of Dante Alighieri.

Dante da Maiano
S'el fis amors anc ten el meu corragge
(*BdT* 121.2)

Ms.: **c** 138v (*Dante da Maiano*).

Previous editions: Bec, «Les deux sonnets», pp. 55-56; Bertacchi, *Le rime*, p. 40; Bettarini, *Rime*, pp. 189-191.

Diplomatic editions: Bertoni, *I trovatori*, pp.141-142, note 3; Peleaz, «Il canzoniere», pp. 395-396; Stengel, *Die altprovenzalische Liedersammlung*, pp. 74-75.

Versification: a10' b10a10'b10 a10' b10 a10' b10 c10' d10 c10' d10 c10' d10 (Frank 255:2). Sonnet.

Text: Text based on **c**. Certain emendations are based on Bec's proposals and are explained in the notes. In nearly all cases I have maintained perceived 'Italianisms' and have not corrected for reasons explained in my Introduction. While much has been written about this sonnet in Occitan, most of it has been about this poem's perceived correctness (or incorrectness). One notable exception to this critical trend can be found in Bec, «Les deux sonnets». There are a number of features in this lyric that merit more critical attention. The first is the wide use of key terms that are present elsewhere in *il Maianese*'s Italian poetry; e.g., *corragge* (*coraggio* in Bettarini, *Rime*, 4.10; 22.9, 12; 27.9; 30.11; 32.7; 45.29, 47; 46.24; and l'Alighieri employs the term in a response in his *tenzone* with Dante da Maiano in *Qual che voi siate, amico*, v. 9); *agençar* [«s'agença», v. 13] (*agenzare* in Bettarini, *Rime*, 32.5; 44.32; 45.45; 53.12; 54.4); etc. Of equal interest is his use of Latinate form *formavi*, which is consistent with Dante's use of a Latinate verbal form *audivi* in *Inferno* 26.78, where Dante wishes to call out the formal poetic register of Virgil speaking to Ulysses and Diomedes.[58] *Il Maianese* inserts himself into a long Occitan tradition of identifying the roots and ramifications of love—here, he aligns himself with Folquet de Marselha, Jaufre Rudel, Aimeric de Peguilhan, and others; however, the other Dante distances himself from these poets by identifying himself as the root, fruit, and branches of love, instead of the *domna* who normally occupies this position (as it is in the poems quoted in the textual notes). Could this be a scribal error? Or an innovation in the tradition? In this poem, Dante da Maiano demonstrates his mastery of troubadour poetics and the

---

[58] For Dante's use of this Latinism, see especially Daniel J. Donno, «Dante's Ulysses and Virgil's Prohibition: Inferno XXVI, 70-75», *Italica*, 50, 1973, pp. 26-37;for the hybrid Sicilian and Latinate nature of verbs ending in *-avi*, see Ghinassi, «Sicilianismi».

success with which they can be blended with motifs from the Italian lyric tra-
dition (Kleinhenz, «A Trio», pp. 38-42).

I Se·l fis amors anc ten el meu corragge
   mais de nula res en greu marrimen
   o dimostrau vas mi son poderagge
   in un loc di dolors o di tormen,   4

II ara mi da di lui tal segnoragge
   qe semblant m'es qe pur lo pensamen
   mi menderala 'sperda e·l dampnagge,
   qar anc mi det di seu 'namoramen.   8

Deviations from base:
1 anc *missing*; tenc] ten 2 nula *missing* 4 Illoc 8 de

Previous editions: Bec, Bertacchi, Bettarini; diplomatic editions: Peleaz (**c**), Stengel (**cᵃ**). I only include variants from the diplomatic editions that represent departures from either my own reading of the manuscript or those of other editions. I list only the variant readings from Bec's emended text, since his 'original' edition follows that of Bettarini.

1 *S'el* Bec; *Sel* Bertacchi; *fins* Bec; meu] *men* Stengel; *coratge* Bec 2 *marriment* Bec 3 *poderatge* Bec 4 *illoc* Bertacchi, Bettarini 5 *senhoratge* Bec 6 *que* Bec; *semblant* Bec; *mes* Bertacchi; *que* Bec; *pensament* Bec 7 *mi mendera la (s) perda* Bec; *mi mendera la sperda* Bertacchi, Bettarini; *e'l* Bec; *el* Bertacchi, Bettarini; *dapnagge* Bertacchi, Bettarini; *damnatge* Bec 8 *car* Bec; *de* Bertacchi, Bettarini; *'namorament* Bec

  I. If *fin'amor* has held my heart captive in grave sadness more than anything else or has shown its power through pain and torment,
  II. it has now given me so much power over it that it seems to me that thought alone could cure every loss and injury, for never before has it granted me love.

III   Qe tal domna si·m da sa benvolliença
        qe m'es avis poi Dieu formavi Adam
        non fos alcuna qe tan di plagiença

IV   ages ab leis qon sella q'eu plus am.   12
        En leis plazer e cortesia s'agença
        e·n sui d'amor radiç e fruit e ram.

9 domnas mi   14 plaier

9 *Qe tal domnas mi da* Bertacchi, Bettarini; *Que tal domna(s) mi da*; *benvolhença* Bec
10 *que* Bec; *formain* Stengel   11 *que* Bec; *plasença* Bec   12 qon] *com* Bec   13 plazer]
plaser Bec; *plaier* Bertacchi, Bettarini; *sagença* Bertacchi   14 *en* Bertacchi; *e'n* Bec;
damor Bertacchi

   III. For such a lady has given me her love that it seems that, since God
created Adam, there has been no one so pleasing
   IV. as she whom I love the most. In her reside pleasure and courtesy,
while I am the root, fruit, and branch of love.

   1. *anc*: Bec proposes this addition to emend the hypometric verse. Bertoni
prefers *tenc ja*. Bettarini says of *ten*: «s'interpreta come se fosse un perfetto
naturalmente all'italiana (prov. *tenc*)» (p. 189).
   2. *nula*: Bec proposes this emendation, while maintaining the possibility
that the second *emistichio* might have a correction as easy as *[tan] greu marri-
men*. Of course, this would leave the first *emistichio* down a syllable, so he
opts for *nula* to square the syllable count.
   3. *dimostrau*: a Sicilianism for *demostret*.
   4. *in un loc*: the manuscript reads *Illoc*. I have retained the Italianate form
in, while Bec prefers the Occitan form *en*. The addition of *un* repairs the hypo-
metric verse.
   6. *pur*: Bettarini calls this an Italianism, while Bec argues that *pur* mean-
ing 'seulement' is well attested in Old Occitan.
   7. *mendera*: Bec argues for an Old Occitan conditional, *mendèra*, rather
than a future Italian form. Bettarini agrees with Bec on this point and points to
this usage as a sign that «Dante da Maiano, qua e là, rivela una certa praticaccia
con la grammatica d'oltralpe» (*Rime*, p. 190, note 7); *'sperda*: the Old Occitan
forms *perda* and *esperda* are attested, but not *sperda*. While it is possible to
think of *sperda* an Italianism, it seems more likely that it is apheresis, just as
in the next verse with *namoramen*. See Bec, «Les deux sonnets», p. 51.
   8. *'namoramen*: see previous note.

9. *domna si·m*: **c** reads *domnas mi da*. The three minims, *iii*, could have been misread as *mi*, rather than *im*.

10. *formavi*: Latinism for *formet*. *Genesis* 2.7: *formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae*. Cf. *Inferno* 26.78: «in questa forma lui parlare audivi».

14. *e·n sui d'amor radiç e fruit e ram*: Bettarini, *Rime*, p. 191, identifies this reference as coming from Jaufre Rudel (*BEdT* 262.4, v. 34) and Folquet de Marselha (*BEdT* 153.23, vv. 8-9). Kleinhenz shows how this trope is used in Italian lyric (pp. 40-41). The image is used throughout the poetry of Aimeric de Peguilhan. See, for example, *Mangtas vetz sui enqueritz* (*BEdT* 10.34), vv. 43-45: «Qu'ieu no sia enamoratz / de tal qu'es sima e razitz / de Pretz». As all of these examples attest, this expression is most often used with the third person of the verb *esser*, *es*, rather than the first person, *sui*, which is striking here.

Dante da Maiano
Las! ço qe m'es al cor plus fins e cars
(*BdT* 121.1)

Ms.: **c**138v (*Dante da Maiano*)

Previous editions: Bec, «Les deux sonnets», pp. 55-57; Bertacchi, *Le Rime*, p. 41; Bettarini, *Rime*, pp. 192-193.

Diplomatic editions: Bertoni, *I trovatori*, pp.141-142, note 3; Peleaz, «Il canzoniere», pp. 396; Stengel, *Die altprovenzalische Liedersammlung*, p. 75.

Versification: a10 b10 a10 b10 a10 b10 a10 b10 c10 d10 c10 d10 c10 d10 (Frank 255:1). Sonnet.

Text: Edition based on the sole manuscript that transmits the poem, **c**. Certain emendations are based on Bec's proposals and are explained in the notes. In nearly all cases I have maintained perceived 'Italianisms' and have not corrected for reasons explained in my Introduction. For reasons of thematic unity and clarity of expression, this poem might be considered the stronger of Dante da Maiano's two sonnets. In it, he faithfully captures the plaintive lyric lamenting the *mal d'amor* of the poet (so common in troubadours such as Bernart de Ventadorn, for example). The ever-receding figure of the *domna* is reminiscent of Jaufre Rudel, who, in *BEdT* 262.6, vv. 245-248, describes the flight of his lady each time he approaches her. The projectile lodged in the poet's heart is a common metaphor for the *mal d'amor* in both Italian and Occitan lyric (see, for example, Giacomo da Lentini, *Sì come il sol che manda la sua spera*, vv. 6, 9; and, for Occitan, Guiraut de Calanso, *BEdT* 243.2, vv. 9-16). It is worth pointing out that we see *il Maianese* employing structures here that he used in his other Occitan sonnet. So, in this poem, we see death and life united in the person of the *domna* (v. 11), just as courtliness and pleasure resided in the person of the lady in *Se·l fis amors* (v. 13). A line such as «*qe·l fis amors* mi *ten el qor* un dars» finds its echo in «*Se·l fis amors* anc *ten el meu corragge*» (I have put corresponding elements in italics). Rather than see these 'pre-fab' structures as signs of a lack of mastery (linguistic, metrical, poetic), it is preferable to see the recycling of common structures found in other poems as part and parcel of troubadour poetics in Italy—after all, we see similar techniques frequently employed by poets as diverse as Giacomo da Lentini and Dante.[59] For its clarity, its economy of expression, and its effective use of some of the most tried and true of troubadour tropes, this poem stands out from the remaining Occitan sonnets from the Middle Ages.

---

[59] For features common to troubadour texts diffused in Italy, see Courtney Joseph Wells, «Cobbling Together the Lyric Text: Parody, Imitation, and Obscenity in the Old Occitan *Cobla* Anthologies», *Mediaevalia*, 39, 2018, pp. 143-183.

I   Las! ço qe m'es al cor plus fins e cars
     ades vai de mi parten e lungian
     e la pena e·l trebail ai tot ses pars
     on mantes veç n'ai greu langir ploran   4

II   qe·l fis amors mi ten el qor un dars
     on eu cre qe·l partir non es ses dan,
     tro q'a midons ab lo sieuien parlars
     prenda merseis del mal q'eu trag tan gran.   8

Deviations from base:
1 gars   3 aieu   5 qe·l] Qel s *erased, then* el *with addition of* q *as lettrine*
6 eus   7 sieu *missing*

Previous editions: Bec, Bertacchi, Bettarini; diplomatic editions: Peleaz (**c**),
Stengel (**cᵃ**). I only include variants from the diplomatic editions that represent
departures from either my own reading of the manuscript or those of other edi-
tions. I list only the variant readings from Bec's emended text, since his 'orig-
inal' edition follows that of Bettarini.

1 *mes* Bertacchi; *gars* Bertacchi, Bettarini   2 *ades de mi vai partent e lunhant*
Bec   3 *Et* Bec; *pean* Bec; *e'l* Bec; *el* Bertacchi   4 *Ont mantas vetz* Bec; *nai*
Bertacchi; *languir plorant* Bec; 5 *qel* Bertacchi; *Que'l fins* Bec; *uns dars* Sten-
gel   6 *Ont* Bec; *eus* Bertacchi, Bettarini; *qel* Bertacchi; *que'l* Bec; *er* Bertacchi
7 *qu'a* Bec; *qa* Bertacchi; *gen* Bec; *iens parlars* Stengel   8 *mersei(s)* Bec;
qu'eu Bec; *qeu* Bertacchi

     I. Alas! That which is dearest and most perfect to my heart now flees and
is moving away from me, and I am left all of the unbearable pain and hardship
that drive me often to heavy tearful languishing
     II. for *fin'amor* has lodged a dart in my heart that I believe is impossible
to remove without further damage, until my lady with her graceful speech takes
mercy on the great wound I suffer from.

III   Leu fora se·m volgues midonç garir
      de la dolor q'ai al cor tan soven,
      qar en lei es ma vida e mon morir.

IV   Merse l'encer a mia domna valen,   12
     qar per merseis deia mon precs coillir
     e perdon faça al mieu grans ardimen.

13 ca; acoillir

9 *se'm* Bec; *sem* Bertacchi; *midons* Bec; *mi donç* Bertacchi   10 *qu'ai* Bec; *qai*
Bertacchi; *sovent* Bec   11 *Car* Bec   12 *Merce* Bec; *lencer* Bertacchi; *l'en cer*
Bettarini; *le'n quer* Bec; *valent* Bec   13 *Car* Bec; *qa* Bertacchi, Bettarini;
mercei(s) Bec; *prec(s)* Bec; *(a)colhir* Bec; *acoillir* Bertacchi; *acollir* Bettarini
14 *gran(s)* Bec

   III. It would be easy for my lady to heal me, if she wanted to, from the
pain I have in my heart so often, for in her reside my life and my death.
   IV. I seek mercy of my noble lady so that she might receive my prayer
and grant me pardon for my great passion.

   1. *gars*: I have corrected *gars* to *cars*.
   3. Hypermetric verse. I have followed Bec, whose reasoning is sound: «Il
suffit de supprimer le pronom personnel sujet *eu*, parfaitement inutile» (p. 52).
   5. *fis amors*: It is worth pointing out that here, as in v. 1 of the previous
poem, *fin'amor* is in the masculine.
   7. Hypometric verse. Bec, like Bertoni before him, proposes *sieu*, which
I have adopted. The word at the rime, *parlars*, has a flexional -*s*, one supposes,
to rime with *dars*, which rhymes with *cars* and *pars*.
   12. Rather than contort the syntax here with 'Mercy, I ask it of my lady',
I have opted to read the pronoun *l'* as a reduplication of either the indirect
object, *a mia domna valen*, or the direct object preceding the verb, *encer*.
   13. **c** reads *qa*, which could be a Sicilianism for *ca = che*. In this case, the
conjunction *que* would be needed. Since *car* would be perfectly acceptable
here and *qar* is consistent with the graphy of the text (see v. 11), I have fol-
lowed Bec's emendation. I have followed Bec and Bertoni in adopting *coillir*,
rather than *acoillir*, since the verse is hypermetric.

                                    Hobart and William Smith Colleges

Nota bibliografica

Manoscritti

a   Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2814.
a[1]   Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Campori γ.N.8.4: 11-13.
c   Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,plut. 90 inf. 26.
c[a]   Manuscript from the private collection of Edmund Stengel, now lost.
c[b]   Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. 1198.
Ch   Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. L.VIII.305
P   Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 41. 42.
S   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 269.
U   Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 41. 43.
Z   Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, Zelada 49. 20.

Opere di consultazione

BEdT   *Bibliografia Elettronica dei Trovatori*, a cura di Stefano Asperti, in rete, 2003ss.

BdT   Alfred Pillet, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, ergänzt, weitergeführt und herausgegeben von Henry Carstens, Halle 1933.

COM 1   *Concordance de l'occitan médiéval (COM 1). Les troubadours.* Direction scientifique Peter T. Ricketts, CD-rom, Turnhout 2001.

Frank   István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 voll., Paris 1953-1957.

Edizioni

Aimeric de Peguilhan
          Aimeric de Peguilhan, *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan*,edited by William P. Shepard and Frank M. Chambers, Evanston 1950.

Bible
          Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem, edited by Roger Gryson, Stuttgart 2007.

Dante Alighieri

> *Inferno*, edited by Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi, Milano 1991.
> *Purgatorio*, edited by Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi, Milano 1994.

Folquet de Marselha

> *Le poesie di Folchetto di Marsiglia*, edizione critica a cura di Paolo Squillacioti, Pisa1999.

Giacomo da Lentini

> *I poeti della Scuola siciliana*. Edizione promossa dal Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani: vol. I. *Giacomo da Lentini*, edizione critica con commento a cura di Roberto Antonelli; vol. II. *Poeti della corte di Federico II*, edizione critica con commento diretta da Costanzo Di Girolamo; vol. III. *Poeti siculo-toscani*, edizione critica con commento diretta da Rosario Coluccia, Milano 2008.

Guiraut de Calanso

> Willy Ernst, «Die Lieder des provenzalischen Trobadors Guiraut von Calanso», *Romanische Forschungen*, 44, 1930, pp. 255-406.

Jaufre Rudel

> *Il canzoniere di Jaufre Rudel*, a cura di Giorgio Chiarini, L'Aquila 1985.