

*Philip Stockbrugger*

## Mirroring Authorization in Torquato Tasso's *Rime Amoroze*

In our eyes, Torquato Tasso is forever associated with his most famous endeavour, the *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), but it is exactly this ambitious *epopeja* that mirrors the profound moral restlessness of its author. As we know, the *Gerusalemme liberata* constitutes an intermediary stage in a series of drafts that radically changed face at every turn. The *liberata* version, although it quickly had become popular, could not satisfy, and even preoccupied Tasso: in his opinion, the epic poetry as displayed in his *magnum opus* was too ambiguous. The struggles around the material of the First Crusade, with the powers of divine Good and diabolical Evil matched against each other to determine the final victory constituted a morally dubious topic, and the poet risked expressing heretic positions in trying to accord the epic language and fiction to the reality of history. Tasso was convinced of the efficacy of a commentary in order to guide the reader towards a moral high ground. This is why, some years after the publication of the *Gerusalemme*, a new version was printed (1593), this time with a narrative *Allegory*, that explained the forces at play and the events in an introductory framework, thus in fact bypassing the problem of verisimilitude, and at the same time offering the reader a sort of guideline that was not morally dubious, but quite the contrary.

From this complex editorial development, we can at the very least deduce that Tasso put great trust in the virtue of commentary, first and foremost as a way of clarifying potentially dangerous deviations from anything moral and good. We cannot therefore be amazed, if the author used this instrument when it was time to positively reframe another history of moral negativity: his own, as a lyrical poet and lover, as depicted in his *Rime amoroze* (1591). These *Rime* have not been the centre of attention for Tasso studies, which tend to focus more on the *Gerusalemme*. But even in the case of an important work that focuses on the *Rime*, such as Gerhard Regn's monograph, the perspective does not surpass the analysis of the poetic text itself. In other words, the commentary is not considered as part of the whole. The recent critical edition of the *Rime amoroze*, curated by Vania de Maldé, is a step in the right direction: it allows scholars to appreciate more easily this interchange between text and commentary, and to observe not merely punctual and erudite, but isolated *loci*. This study tries to go in this direction: it is a first attempt at subsuming some general strategies in commenting lyrical poetry by Tasso – strategies that enhance and enrich the semantic value of the *Rime* themselves.

Since at least Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, the poetic biography, as readable in fragmented collected poems, was associated with the amorous biography in a functional way. Loving meant singing the love experienced, and the change in tone was always caused by a change in affection, a continuous pendulum, that more often than not inclined towards negativity and hopelessness. Tasso, as many before him, reprised Petrarch's model, and composed a collection of poems called *Rime amorose*. They were published in Mantua in 1591 as the first part of a larger quadripartite anthology.<sup>1</sup> These *Rime amorose* should have been, in the mind of the author, the final fixation of his profuse lyrical production, a fixation that in his fragmentary, but undoubtedly coherent diegetic progression could at the same time rival with its Petrarchan example, represent Tasso as an accomplished lyrical poet, and disband any ›rumors of immorality‹. While the first two motivations appear strong, the latter can only be understood if we comprehend the nature of self-fashioning on which Petrarchan lyrical production was based in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as influenced by Pietro Bembo and others. In most *Canzonieri* of the century, a clear line is drawn in the imaginary biography of the lyrical self between *before* and *afterwards*. The turning point is always a moral, and also poetic conversion, caused by the death of the lady, as in Petrarch, or by other factors. What is important, is that at this point a sort of doubling of the poetic self takes place, where the young, passionate slave of Lust is judged from the perspective of the moral high ground occupied by the older, disenchanted poet. In Petrarch, after the death of his beloved Laura, the poet gradually takes the virtuous path of the praise of God, and we can follow this slow progression to goodness by reading the single poems.

Tasso takes a completely different road. The proof of conversion cannot be found directly in the poetic material: in the reconstructible biography of the poetic self in the *Rime* the turning point is not the death of the beloved woman, but rather the intervention of a new love, a *secondo amore*, that takes over the sovereignty from the old. From a moral standpoint, no betterment can be found: a love of the flesh is substituted with a similar one. It is in fact the commentary itself that enacts the conversion: the commentator is the result of the conversion towards Good, and his way of commenting and rejecting the appeals of Lust is the realization of such conversion.

One of the key aspects that put Tasso's *Rime* in close relationship with Petrarch's *Canzoniere* is the presence of an introductory sonnet<sup>2</sup>, *Vere fùr queste gioie e questi*

1 In the following, I will cite from the critical edition of the collected poems in the 1591 edition: Torquato Tasso, ed. by Vania de Maldé, *Rime*, Prima Parte, Tomo II, *Rime d'amore con l'esposizione dello stesso Autore*, Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Torquato Tasso IV, I, 2, Alessandria 2016.

2 On the multiple common petrarchan markers in Tasso's *Rime* see Gerhard Regn, *Tassos zyklische Liebeslyrik und die petrarkistische Tradition. Studien zur ›parte prima‹ der ›Rime‹*, Tübingen 1987.

*ardori*, which sums up the moral, and at the same time poetological struggle of the lyrical self. In *Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono* (RVF 1) Petrarch looks back on his life as a lover and lyrical poet, and condemns his juvenile mistake (*giovenile errore*) which consisted basically in thinking that any love towards a mortal object – be it a near celestial being like Laura – could be of benefit to the soul, whereas it is in fact pernicious. The comparison of Tasso's introductory sonnet with *Voi ch'ascoltate* shows the close intertextual relationship between the two sonnets:

Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono  
 di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva 'l core  
 in sul mio primo giovenile errore  
 quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'ì' sono,  
 del vario stile in ch'io piango et ragiono  
 fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore,  
 ove sia chi per prova intenda amore,  
 spero trovar pietà, nonché perdono.  
 Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto  
 favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente  
 di me medesimo meco mi vergogno;  
 et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,  
 e 'l pentersi, e 'l conoscer chiaramente  
 che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.

Vere fùr queste gioie e questi ardori  
 Ond'io piansi e cantai con vario carme,  
 Che poteva agguagliar il suon de l'arme  
 E de gli eroi le glorie e i casti amori:  
 E se non fu de' piú ostinati cori  
 Ne' vani affetti il mio, di ciò lagnarme  
 Già non devrei, ché piú laudato parme  
 Il ripentirsi, ove onestà s'onori.  
 Or con l'esempio mio gli accorti amanti,  
 Leggendo i miei dilette e 'l van desire,  
 Ritolgano ad Amor de l'alme il freno.  
 Pur ch'altri asciughi tosto i caldi pianti  
 Ed a ragion talvolta il cor s'adire,  
 Dolce è portar voglia amorosa in seno<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Tasso (as note 1), p. 4: »True were these joys and these my inner fires whereby I wept and sang in varied style / that could have equaled the very sounds of arms, / the glory of great heroes, and

At a first glance, one can notice a similarity in the internal biography of the self: a vain love (*vane speranze*, v. 7, P. – *vani affetti*, v. 7, T.) is now in the past (*or*, v. 9, P. and T.), and this love story must be taken as an *exemplum* for a betterment of some sort. This betterment is completely intimistic in Petrarch (contrast *me medesimo – popol tutto*), while Tasso insists on the exemplary quality of his story that has to positively influence the wise lovers (*accorti amanti*). This slight difference in target constitutes in fact the cornerstone of the whole concept of lyrical poetry as intended by the two poets. Petrarch's sonnet admits no room for moral ambiguity: all that is worldly (*quanto piace al mondo*) is in itself negative, and the implicit, only possible activity of the renewed poet can solely be the praise of God. Tasso on the other hand initiates his *Rime* with perhaps the most direct objection to Petrarch: love is no dream (*sogno*), but true are these joys and passions (*vere fur queste gioie e questi ardori*). The commentary to this first verse further deepens that strong assertion, because Tasso cites the authority of Plato, who in his *Philebo* states true joys can only be pursued by good men. So not only is terrestrial love not a diabolical fiction, but in its goodness for the soul it is similar to ambrosia, the divine food.<sup>4</sup>

The third and fourth verses of *Vere fur queste gioie* immediately introduce the second thematic cluster, that of poetological theory. Tasso states that the trueness of his feelings expressed in his love poetry elevates it to the level of another genre, one not directly mentioned, but which the reader can easily deduce from the subjects – arms (*armi*), glories (*glorie*), heroes (*eroi*) and, above all, innocent love (*casti amori*) – namely epic poetry (*epopeja*). Again, the commentary strengthens

their chaste loves: / And if mine never was among the hearts / most obstinate in vain affections,  
I / must not complain, for repentance seems to me / more laudable when honesty is honored.  
/ Now let wise lovers, learn from my example / as they read of my delights and vain desire: / let  
them release their souls from the chains of Love / Though some may need to dry their burning  
tears, / and the heart at times is rightly moved to wrath, / it's sweet to bear love's longing in  
one's breast.« Torquato Tasso, ed. by Maria Henry, Susette Acocella, *Rhymes of Love*, Ottawa  
2011. The rubric reads: »Questo primo sonetto è quasi proposizione de l'opera: nel quale il  
poeta dice di meritar lode d'essersi pentito tosto del suo vaneggiare, ed esorta gli amanti col suo  
esempio che ritolgano ad Amore la signoria di se medesimi.« (This sonnet is almost a general  
proposition of the *Rime*, wherein the poet claims to be laudable because he has repented early  
from his errors, and furthermore exhorts lovers to follow his example, and to take back the  
reins of the soul from Amor.)

4 Tasso (as note 1), p. 219: »E 'veri' son quelli (come scrisse Platone nel *Filebo*) de' quali si nutriscono i buoni, perciocché gli huomini malvagi si rallegrano de' falsi piaceri ch'imitano i veri, ma in un modo degno di riso. Si dee ciò nondimeno intender del nutrimento de l'animo e de l'intelletto, ch'è quella ambrosia de la quale favoleggiano gli antichi poeti.« (And 'true' are those – as Plato writes in his *Philebo* – that are food for good men, because evil men rejoice for false pleasures that imitate the true ones, but in a ridiculous fashion. We must understand this food of soul and intellect as that ambrosia about which the ancient poets used to fable.)

and deepens an already strong assertion. Quintilian is the authority now, in particular his extremely positive judgment of Stesichor. Stesichor was a poet who combined the highest thematic material with a genre that was not the *epopeja*, but rather something similar to the Dante *canzone*, the author cited next as an authority by the commentator.<sup>5</sup> So not only were the past *amori* true, but they are at times also described through the features of the highest poetic genre available to Tasso. Petrarch wrote scattered rhymes (*in rime sparse*), but Tasso uses various carms (*vario carme*), which is also technically the most accurate term to define the variety of stylistic levels used by him.

The last *terzina* of *Vere fur queste gioie* establishes the final distancing from Petrarch's famous example. It is worth mentioning that these final three verses, although they convey a message that desperately needs a clarification, are not directly commented. This is commonly the case for this edition of the *Rime*, and a further indicator of the subtle playfulness of this anthology, where sonnets often have an unexpected – even erotically charged – ending, and nevertheless the author purposefully leaves these ambiguities unsolved. As we have mentioned, the whole ethical organization of Petrarch's lyrical self is based on the fact that all mortal love is in itself dangerous, because it deviates the soul from the only true, divine love. Tasso unexpectedly concludes with a tone to which we are not used, especially after a somewhat gloomy moral condemnation: if the tears of an old love are dried by a new one, even if the soul at times justly angers, then a desire of love (*voglia amorosa*) is sweet (*dolce*) to bear. It is a hedonistic *chiusa*, but at the same time an autobiographical one, because the reader will discover that a first love will be substituted by a second, which will effectively make the lyrical self forget the pains of his previous *amore*.<sup>6</sup> All these events, internal to the *diegesis* of the soul, are as already mentioned observed from the perspective

5 Tasso (as note 1), p. 219: »Ha risguardo a quel detto di Quintiliano nel giudicio ch'egli fa di Stesichoro. »Stesichorum quam sit ingenio validus materiae quoque ostendunt maxima bella. Et clarissimos canentem, Duces, et epici carminis onera lira sustinentem«. E conforme a questa è l'opinione di Dante ne la *Volgare Eloquenza*, che l'arme siano soggetto ancora della canzone.« (It refers to that famous saying by Quintilian, in his judgement on Stesichor. »As Stesichor is of great ingenuity, he has as subject the greatest wars and heroes, and his lyre sustains the epic songs«. And in accordance with this opinion we find Dante who, in his *De vulgari eloquentia*, says that arms may be the subject of the *canzone*.)

6 The contrast between the *primo* and *secondo amore* is the theme of a cluster of poems, starting with CXLI (*L'incendio, onde tai raggi uscir già fore*), which carries the emblematic rubric: »Narra come facendo prova d'estinguer uno amore, n'habbia acceso uno altro e raccessò il primo similmente« ([The sonnet] narrates how in trying to extinguish one love, [the poet] ignites another, at the same time reigniting the first), and ends with two shorter *madrigali* celebrating two different and divergent beauties. The sonnet at the centre of this cluster, CXII (*Dal vostro sen, qual fuggitivo audace*), has the function of describing the psychological condition of the lover torn between two ladies, but it does so with ambiguous, not entirely explainable means.

of a more mature lyrical self, but with a completely different moral position from Petrarch's stern condemnation: it is in fact the patient tolerance of a condition, love, considered to be natural and inevitable, with no small degree of *bonhomie* in judging the *amanti*, whether they be wise (*accorti*) or not.

Of course, in Petrarch the thematic of love is also tightly bound to matters of poetological theory, but this *liaison* remains often implicit, whereas Tasso, with the aid of his commentary, as we already have seen from the example of the introductory sonnet, comes to the point of using his own lyrical production as a valid example of the possibilities offered to the genre when it is not restricted by too stringent interpretations of literary rules, as stated first and foremost by the greatest authority on the subject matter, Aristotle.

This complex and metapoetic *mise en scène* of the two Tassos, the young, lusty poet on one hand, and the old, morally just one on the other, combined with a highly erudite poetological theorization, can be observed throughout the entire collection of *Rime amorose*, but it is in strategically well-placed poems, especially in the form of *canzoni*, that these aspects are particularly visible and have a surplus of relevance. One of these *canzoni*, *Quel generoso mio guerriero interno*<sup>7</sup>, proves to be particularly appropriate for analyzing some of the central features of the entire *Rime*, and will therefore be at the core of my investigation.

First of all, it is essential to once again state the importance given to the *canzone* genre in the Italian poetic tradition. Dante in his *Vita nuova* chooses some *canzoni* to underline topical moments in his spiritual and poetic journey. Petrarch, soon after, places *canzoni* in key positions in his *Canzoniere*, and a *canzone* is the final prayer to the Virgin Mary, which closes his collection of poems. In the *Cinquecento*, when Petrarch had already risen to the level of canonical author, at least concerning love poetry, *canzoni* continued to be texts that intercepted some of the more arduous concepts regarding the topic of love, or the poetic, and thus metapoetic one. Not the least important reason for this is at the same time a very banal one: the length of a *canzone* permitted the development of much more complex rhetorical structures than for example a shorter sonnet. It is therefore no surprise to find that Tasso chooses this genre to present a crucial point in his interior biography.

Tasso's personal interest in assigning, as we will see, an intricate allegory of the state of his mind, or more precisely, of his will to rise to Reason, to a *canzone* can be traced in part to the patent relevance that the *genre* had enjoyed for centuries. It is certainly noteworthy that Tasso, in the decade preceding the publication of the commented edition, had published several dialogues and treatises on the

<sup>7</sup> Tasso (as note 1), pp. 118-122.

theory of poetry in general.<sup>8</sup> The *canzone*, as the ideal vernacular vehicle for hymns and odes, as exemplified in the lyric production of Pindar and Stesichor, was the singular *genre* that could elevate itself to the level of the *epopeja*, and thus carry the style and the subjects of epic poetry. This feature rendered the *canzone* the necessary choice for topics which are of a highly complex doctrinary nature. In addition to this theoretical, absolute factor, which indeed played a crucial role for the very theoretically aware Tasso, a second, shall we say ›personal‹ aspect should be mentioned. Since its composition well before the edition of 1591, Tasso had already imagined a strategic position for this poem, as can be seen by the projects of *canzonieri* in the '80s.<sup>9</sup> In order to explore this second kind of personal motivation further, we will have to analyze the poem for some of his topical aspects.

Introduce lo Sdegno a contender con Amore avanti la Ragione

Quel generoso mio guerriero interno,  
 Ch'armato in guardia del mio core alberga  
 Pur come duce di guerrieri eletti,  
 A lei, ch'in cima siede ove il governo  
 5 Ha di nostra natura e tien la verga,  
 Ch'al ben rivolge gli uni e gli altri affetti,  
 Accusa quel ch'a i suoi dolci diletti  
 L'anima invoglia, vago e lusinghiero: –  
 Donna, del giusto impero  
 10 C'hai tu dal ciel, che ti creò sembante  
 A la virtù che regge  
 I vaghi errori suoi con certa legge,  
 Non fui contrario ancora o ribellante,  
 Né mai trascorrer parmi  
 15 Sí che non possa a tuo voler frenarmi.

Ma ben presi per te l'armi sovente  
 Contra il desio, quando da te si scioglie  
 Ed a' richiami tuoi l'orecchie ha sorde,  
 E, qual di varie teste empio serpente,  
 20 Sé medesimo divide in molte voglie

8 Torquato Tasso, *Discorsi dell'Arte poetica e del Poema eroico*, ed. by Luigi Poma, Bari 1964.

9 Vincenzo Martignone, *Catalogo dei manoscritti delle Rime di Torquato Tasso*, Bergamo 2004.

Rapide tutte e cupide ed ingorde,  
 E sovra l'alma stride e fischia e morde,  
 Sí che dolente ella sospira e geme  
 E di perirne teme.  
 25 Queste sono da me percosse e dome,  
 E molte ne recido,  
 Ne fiacco molte e lui non anco uccido:  
 Ma le rinnova ei poscia e, non so come,  
 Via piú tosto ch'augello  
 30 Le piume o i tronchi rami arbor novello.

Ben il sai tu, che sovra il fosco senso  
 Nostro riluci sí da l'alta sede  
 Come il sol che rotando esce di Gange;  
 E sai come il desio piacere intenso  
 35 In quelle sparge, ond'ei l'anima fiede,  
 Profonde piaghe e le riapre e l'ange;  
 E sai come si svolga e come cange  
 Di voglia in voglia al trasformar d'un viso,  
 Quando ivi lieto un riso  
 40 O quando la pietà vi si dimostra,  
 O pur quando talora  
 Qual viola il timor ei vi colora,  
 O la bella vergogna ivi s'inostra;  
 E sai come si suole  
 45 Raddolcir anco al suon de le parole.

E sai se quella che sí altera e vaga  
 Si mostra in varie guise, e 'n varie forme  
 Quasi nuovo e gentil mostro si mira,  
 Per opra di natura o d'arte maga  
 50 Sé medesma e le voglie ancor trasforme  
 De l'alma nostra che per lei sospira.  
 Lasso! qual brina al sole o dove spira  
 Tepido vento si discioglie il ghiaccio,  
 Tal ancor io mi sfaccio  
 55 Spesso a' begli occhi ed a la dolce voce;  
 E, mentre si dilegea  
 Il mio vigor, pace io concedo o tregua  
 Al mio nemico; e quanto è men feroce



- Tanto più forte il sento,  
 60 E volontario a' danni miei consento.
- Consento che la speme, onde ristoro  
 Per mia natura prendo e mi rinfranco  
 E nel dubbio m'avanzo e nel periglio,  
 Torca da l'alto obietto a' bei crin d'oro  
 65 O la raggiri al molle avorio e bianco  
 Ed a quel volto candido e vermiglio;  
 O la rivolga al variar del ciglio,  
 Quasi fosse di lui la spene ancella  
 E fatta a me ribella.
- 70 Ma non avvien che il traditor s'acqueti;  
 Anzi del cor le porte  
 Apre e dentro ricetta estranie scorte  
 E fòra messi invia scaltri e secreti;  
 E, s'io del ver m'avveggiò,  
 75 Me prender tenta e te cacciar di seggio. —
- Cosí dic'egli, al seggio alto converso  
 Di lei che palma pur dimostra e lauro;  
 E 'l dolce lusinghier cosí risponde: —  
 Alcun non fu de' miei consorti avverso  
 80 Per sacra fame a te di lucido auro  
 Ch'ivi men s'empie ov'ella piú n'abonde;  
 Né per brama d'onor ch'i tuoi confonde  
 Ordini giusti. E s'io rara bellezza  
 Seguì sol per vaghezza,
- 85 Tu sai ch'a gli occhi desiosi apparse  
 Donna cosí gentile  
 Nel mio piú lieto e piú felice aprile  
 Che 'l giovinetto cor súbito n'arse:  
 Per questa al piacer mossi  
 90 Rapidamente e dal tuo fren mi scossi.
- Forse, io no 'l niego, incauto allor piagai  
 L'alma; e se quelle piaghe a lei fùr gravi,  
 Ella se 'l sa tanto il languir le piace  
 E per sí bella donna anzi trar guai  
 95 Toglie, che medicine ha sí soavi,

Che gioir d'altra, e ne' sospir no 'l tace.  
 Ma questo altero mio nemico audace,  
 Che per leve cagion, quando piú scherza,  
 Sé stesso infiamma e sferza,  
 100 In quella fronte piú del ciel serena  
 A pena vide un segno  
 D'irato orgoglio e d'orgoglioso sdegno  
 E d'avverso desire un'ombra a pena,  
 Che schernito si tenne,  
 105 E del dispregio sprezzator divenne.

Quanto ei superbí poscia e 'n quante guise  
 Fu crudel sovra me, già vinto e lasso  
 Nel corso e per repulse isbigottito,  
 Il dica ei che mi vinse e non m'ancise;  
 110 Se 'n glorii pur ch'io gloriare il lasso.  
 Questo io dirò, ch'ei folle, e non ardito,  
 Incontra quel voler che teco unito  
 Tale ognor segue chiare interne luci  
 Qual io gli occhi per duci,  
 115 Non men che sovra 'l mio l'armi distrinse;  
 Perché 'l vedea sí vago  
 De la beltà d'una celeste imago  
 Come foss'io, né lui da me distinse;  
 Né par che ben s'avveda  
 120 Che siam qua' figli de l'antica Leda.

Non siam però gemelli: ei di celeste,  
 Io nacqui poscia di terrena madre;  
 Ma fu il padre l'istesso, o cosí stimo:  
 E ben par ch'egualmente ambo ci deste  
 125 Un raggio di beltà, che di leggiadre  
 Forme adorna e colora il terren limo.  
 Egli s'erger sovente, ed a quel primo  
 Eterno mar d'ogni bellezza arriva  
 Ond'ogni altro deriva:  
 130 Io caggio, e 'n questa umanità m'immergo:  
 Pur a voci canore  
 Tal volta ed a soave almo splendore  
 D'occhi sereni mi raffino ed ergo,

- Per dargli senza assalto  
 135 Le chiavi di quel core in cui t'essalto.
- E con quel fido tuo, che d'alto lume  
 Scòrto si move, anch'io raccolgo e mando  
 Sguardi e sospiri, miei dolci messaggi.  
 Per questi egli talor con vaghe piume  
 140 N'esce, e tanto s'inalza al ciel volando  
 Che lascia a dietro i tuoi pensier piú saggi.  
 Altre forme piú belle ad altri raggi  
 Di piú bel sol vagheggia; ed io felice  
 Sarei, com'egli dice,  
 145 Se tutto unito a lui seco m'alzassi:  
 Ma la grave e mortale  
 Mia natura mi stanca in guisa l'ale,  
 Ch'oltre i begli occhi rado avvien ch'i' passi.  
 Con lor tratta gl'inganni  
 150 Il tuo fedel seguace, e no 'l condanni.

- Ma s'a te non dispiace, o Peregrina,  
 Che là donde in un tempo ambo partiste,  
 Egli rapido torni e varchi il cielo,  
 Condotta no, ma da virtù divina  
 155 Rapto, di forme non intese o viste;  
 A me, che nacqui in terra, e 'n questo velo  
 Vago d'altra bellezza, e non te 'l celo,  
 Perdona, ove talor troppo mi stringa  
 Con lui che mi lusinga.
- 160 Forse ancora avverrà ch'a poco a poco  
 Di non bramarlo impari,  
 E col voler mi giunga e mi rischiari  
 A' rai del suo celeste e puro foco,  
 Come nel ciel riluce
- 165 Castore unito a l'immortal Polluce. —

Canzon, cosí l'un nostro affetto e l'altro  
 Davanti a lei contende  
 Ch'ambo gli regge, e la sentenza attende.

As the rubric informs us, Tasso imagines that Disdain (*Sdegno*) accuses Amor in the presence of Reason (*Ragione*), the supreme judge. The allegorical setting is therefore clear from the beginning. Disdain, as the offended party, commences to speak. He first of all states his loyalty to Reason, for whom he has played the part of leader of soldiers against the perils of Lust. Amor, the lustful kind, and therefore identified in Disdain's speech with Lust itself, is accused of having continuously tempted Disdain with the infinite numbers of pleasures, too many to resist them all. The reply of Amor is an apology, constructed using some of the finest rhetoric subtleties.<sup>10</sup> He defends himself by accusing Disdain of being blind to the obvious. While it is true that the mortal nature of Amor prohibits him to elevate his eyes above mere sensual beauty, the mortal lustful Amor is nevertheless conjoined with the immortal Will, the Divine Lust for intellectual pleasures. Disdain, by trying to hinder mortal Lust, *de facto* hinders also the divine quality of men. In Petrarch's version of this dispute (as we will see below), Reason responds by declaring that the struggle between the self and Amor can only be decided in the distant future; Tasso is even more mysterious, because his conclusion of the *canzone* does not give a solution either: the poet imagines a scene with the two contestants awaiting the verdict.

We could use the commentary that follows every poem of this collection as a sort of barometer of the importance that Tasso attributes to each one, by using a simple quantitative proportion: the more the commentary thickens, the more the poem is charged with significance. Following this empirical rule, the sheer volume of commentary to this *canzone* astonishes. Tasso usually keeps the commentary to the bare minimum, but in this case most single verses are commented upon, often with two references per verse. Almost uniquely, an additional introductory comment can be found at the beginning as an addition, and this portion of text is particularly relevant to us, because it – at least partially – justifies the unusual extension of this commentary.<sup>11</sup>

10 We could see the commentary to vv. 91 f.: »Forse (io no ð niego) incauto allhor piagai / l'alma: è concessione, figura assai spesso usata dagli oratori.« (that is *concessione*, a *figura* often used by orators); and to v. 109: »mirabile artificio o di non manifestare i vitij de l'avversario, perch'egli medesimo li confessi, o di palesarli, dicendo di non palesarli« (wonderful artifice to not show the vices of the adversary, so that he himself might confess them, or show them, by declaring to not want to show them).

11 »In this *Canzone*, wherein the Poet imitates Petrarch's accusation to Amor, before the tribunal of Reason, and the defense of Amor. In the same manner he introduces Wrath or Disdain, who accuses Amor before the same queen [Reason]. And this is done by the Poet with no small aptness. Because in our soul you find the example, and the image of the Republic, as Plato states as the first in his dialogues on Justice. And the parts of the soul are organised as the parts of the City. Reason, to which belong the acts of thinking, counseling and deciding, represents the King, with his Senate. Wrath, or the power of anger is similar to the Soldiers, who defend; and the *concupiscibile* is the most similar to the multitude of workers, and ser-

In questa Canzona, ne la quale imita il Poeta l'accusa fatta dal Petrarca ad amore, avanti il tribunal de la ragione, e la difesa d'Amore; egli introduce ne l'istesso modo, l'ira, o lo sdegno, il qual accusa Amore avanti la medesima Regina. E non è ciò fatto dal Poeta senza molta convenevolezza, imperoché ne l'animo nostro è l'esempio, e l'immagine de la Republica, si come afferma Platone primo di tutti gli altri, ne' suoi dialoghi de la Giustitia. E le parti de l'animo sono disposte come quelle de la Città, avvegna che la ragione, di cui sono operationi il discorrere, il consigliare, l'eleggere, rappresenta il Re, co 'l Senato. L'ira, o la potenza irascibile è simile a' Soldati, che stanno a la guardia: ma la concupiscibile più s'assomiglia a la turba de gli artefici, e de' ministri. E si come queste tre potenze sono distinte, così parimente si distingue la sede di ciascuna, o 'l luogo, in cui si manifesta le sue operationi. Perché la ragione sta nel capo, l'appetito irascibile nel cuore, il concupiscibile nel fegato separato da quello, che si chiama septotransverso, e legato come bestia al presepe, o se vogliam così dire, come asino a la mangiatoia. E benché Aristotele porti contraria opinione, peroché assegnando al cuore il principato fra le parti del corpo, pomne la regia de l'anima ne l'istesso luogo: i Medici nondimeno, ch'attribuiscono il principato al cervello, seguirono il giudizio d'Hippocrate, e di Platone, i quali furono in ciò assai concordi, come dimostra Galeno nel libro de' Placitiis Hippocratis, & Platonis.<sup>12</sup>

At this point it is useful to remark that the Petrarchan poem in which the allegorical *mise en scène* of a tribunal of the soul is represented, *Quell'antiquo mio dolce empio signore*, was one of the better known texts by the author, and Tasso, just by mentioning the subject in his *commento*, enabled the reader to easily recognize the exact quote. First comes the attribution of the origin of the idea as a whole: Petrarch, in his *canzone quell'antiquo mio dolce empio signore* (RVF 360), which has a relevant position just at the end of his *Canzoniere*, imagines a similar *mise en scène*. It is similar, though not perfectly superposable. Petrarch imagines a scene where before the supreme seat of Reason stands the lyrical self, opposed to Amor, whereas Tasso maintains the supreme judge and Amore as characters, but the *io* is substituted by Disdain. Disdain/Wrath is present already in Petrarch's poem

vants. And as these three powers are distinct, so all have distinct seats, or places, where they manifest their acts. Because reason resides in the head, the angry appetite in the heart, and the lustful in the liver, divided by the so-called *septotransverso*, and bound as an animal to the barn or, in other words, as the ass to the manger. And although Aristoteles has the opposite opinion, for he attributes to the heart the supreme place amongst the parts of the body, and thus puts the control of the soul in the same place, the Physicians nonetheless, who attribute this control to the brain, follow Hippocrates' and Plato's opinion, who in this instance think very much alike, as Galen demonstrates in his *De placitiis Hippocratis, & Platonis*.«

<sup>12</sup> Tasso (as note 1), p. 295.

(v. 11), though not as an anthropomorphized being, but simply as the bitter fruit gathered by an unloved lover. In Tasso's complex allegory, these unwelcome gifts in the Petrarchan lyrical self's eyes become a personification, the aforementioned Disdain. This Disdain has a whole other status, representing in fact the opposing power to lustful Amor, that feature which could elevate a poet to the moral high ground, be it an ethical, or more accurately, a poetological one.

This reference to Petrarch is quite unexpectedly followed by the praise of Tasso himself, for having represented this struggle in an apt manner. In aid of this strong declaration of valour comes a philosophical authority, Plato, who sees a structure of the soul parallel to the one of the ideal State as traced in his *Republic*. Reason represents the rulers, the philosophers; Disdain is the soldier class, who protect the state; and Lust/ Amor is the merchant and labourer class, wherein the base instincts of humanity lie. Immediately thereafter Aristotle is cited, but interestingly enough not as an authority, but rather as a representative of a false position, in this case the conviction that the soul has his realm in the heart. Tasso then recurs again to the authority of Plato, in conjunction with Hippocrates, to state the correct theory, from his point of view, that the soul has his place in the brain, far away from the organs of Disdain, the heart, and of Lust, the liver.

With this introduction, not only is the tone of the following commentary set, but the whole conceptual architecture of the allegory is established from the start, and justly so, because this poem is a depiction, following a syncretic theorization between Platonism and Aristotelianism, of the complex of impulses and aspirations of the lyrical self, torn between Lust and the knowledge of its perils, but also aware of the inherent potential for ascension of any Love, whether it be secular or spiritual. In the lion's share of the commentaries to the other poems, the ›philologist‹ Tasso seems to have the upper hand. We can find a number of references to poetic antecedents of similes and metaphors, for example, or the recurrence of poetic *concetti* taken from a poetic tradition that goes back to Homer and the ancient Greek lyrical poets. Metaphysical and moral reflection has a far from secondary role in the general economy of this commentary, but it is undeniable that poetic theory and practice constitute the true focal points of the anthology. In the case of this *canzone*, on the other hand, we see a reversal of relevance, where the doctrinary point of view far surpasses the poetic or poetological, one. The attention to the text is in this case far more ›atomistic‹: rather than addressing small, but coherent portions of the poem, the commentator chooses to focus on single words, though ones still particularly relevant to the overall philosophical discourse.

An example of how this doctrinary level surpasses the poetic one can be found in the commentary to verse 46, where Petrarch is mentioned, but astonishingly as a somewhat imprecise poet: by calling Laura proud and disdainful (*altera e*

*disdegnosa*) the commentary claims that the medieval poet had not represented accurately the qualities of any beloved<sup>13</sup>, who must be *altera e vaga* (beautiful), as the poet Tasso correctly states, because it is the quality of *vaghezza* that captures Lust.<sup>14</sup>

The surpassing of the poetic level by the theoretical one also becomes clear through the commentary to verse 76. Here, the poet Tasso mentions the attributes of Reason, the palm (*palma*) and the aforementioned laurel (*lauro*). The commenting Tasso specifies that those are the gifts of virtue (*virtù*), and that men guided by Reason want nothing more, among the things exterior (*cose esteriori*), than honor (*honore*).<sup>15</sup> In accordance with his philosophical system, Disdain cannot aspire to anything more than human, but it is relevant to see that the laurel here does not stand for love poetry in particular, but represents rather intellectual conquests in a broader sense: Tasso once again states indirectly the high level of discourse sustained in this *canzone*, a doctrinary rather than an elegiac one.

This doctrinary level at times even forces the original meaning of the verse, or at least gives it a very specific value, much more precise than the letter originally would state. In verse 31 for example, Disdain apostrophizes Reason, by rhetorically stating that she »knows very well« (*ben il sai tu*) how many dangerous forms Lust can take. The verse functions entirely on this rhetorically charged level, but the commentary once again surprises. Aristotle is mentioned directly, where he states that »knowing things means knowing them for their causes«<sup>16</sup> – a feature of Reason, because the senses can attain only certitude, not true science. It seems that in this case, as in others, Tasso exceeds juxtaposing doctrinary material to the poetic one, attributing accidental meanings to the original text.

13 R.V.F. 105, vv. 7-9.

14 Tasso (as note 1), pp. 296-297: »Non »altera e disdegnosa« si dimostrava l'amata Donna, come la desidera il Petrarca, dicendo »Et in Donna amorosa ancor m'aggrada / Ch'in vista vada altera e disdegnosa / Non superba o ritrosa«, ma »altera e vaga« perch' in questo modo potea invaghirlo più agevolmente.« (The beloved woman was not »proud and disdainful«, as Petrarch wants her to be, saying »And in loving woman I most desire / That she shows pride and disdain / Not be haughty nor prude«.)

15 Tasso (as note 1), p. 298: »Però che questi [palma e lauro] sono i premi che distribuisce la virtù, quasi volendo accennare che l'huomo guidato da la ragione, non cerca fra le cose esteriori alcuna più de l'honore, il quale è grandissimo oltre tutti i beni.« (Because these [the palm and the laurel] are the rewards of virtue, almost as if to say, that men driven by reason, do not desire anything more among the exterior goods than honor, which is the greatest among all goods.)

16 Tasso (as note 1), p. 296: »Il saper è conoscer le cose per le cagioni, come dice Aristotele, e questo è proprio de la ragione, perché la cognitione del senso, quantunque possa essere certa, non è scienza.« (Knowing something, means understanding it through its causes, as Aristotle says, and this is a feature of reason, because knowledge through senses, albeit certain, cannot be science.)

Self-stylization as theoretician is just one part of the more articulate program enacted by Tasso in this unique edition. To ascend to the epistemological level of discourse meant of course using the *canzone* genre, but in conjunction with an elevated poetic language. This strategy is enacted firstly already on the level of the poetic text. Undoubtedly keeping in mind the model of Giovanni della Casa, but also that of his father Bernardo, both of whom were capable of producing conceptually extremely dense *canzoni*, Tasso constructs both *plaidoyers* following complex syntactic structures, as can be seen in the use of the finest judiciary rhetoric. The vocabulary as well rises to the occasion, and we can trace parallels with the one used in the *Gerusalemme*. The commentary, this time we could say in alliance with poetry, has the function of reconstructing the poetic models of Tasso, and this is a feature that can be observed throughout the entire collection. The perspective adopted here surpasses the one of mere Petrarchism often ascribed to the *Cinquecento* poet: Tasso intends to show how his poetic imagery stems from a tradition that reaches further back than Petrarch.

The commentator often enacts this strategy with a sort of two-step mechanism. Verse 80, for example, reads »the terrible hunger for shiny gold« (*per sacra fame [...] di lucido auro*). An averagely educated reader of the time could easily recognize a reference to *Aeneid*, III, but Tasso cites Dante as the first source (*Purgatory*, XXII, v. 40), and then uses the term *ad imitatione*, a technical term always used in these cases, to refer to Virgil.<sup>17</sup> A chain is thus constituted, that binds classical antiquity, place of origin of all poetry, through the Middle Ages,

17 Tasso (as note 1), p. 298: »Amore, come habbiamo detto, è ne l'appetito concupiscibile: però chiama »suoi consorti« tutti gli affetti che sono ne l'istesso appetito, i quali sono molti, et infiniti, come stima alcuno. Ma egli, tacendo le cupidità del mangiare e del bere, fa mentione di due principali: de l'avaritia, la quale è soverchia cupidigia d'havere, e de lo smoderato desiderio d'honore, che chiamiamo ambitione, dicendo che ne l'animo del Poeta niuno di questi affetti discordò da la ragione, ma tutti paiono da lei moderati. De l'avaritia parla in quel verso »Per sacra fame a te di lucido auro«. E soggiunge »Ch'ivi men s'empie, ov'ella più n'abonde, per darci a divedere che le cupidità de l'avarò sono insatiabili. Dante, ragionando nel medesimo soggetto, disse ad imitatione de Vergilio, »o sacra fame«, cioè essecrabile. Et in un altro luogo: »de la tua fame, senza fine cupa.« (Love, as we already said, is in the lustful appetite: therefore he [Tasso] calls »his consorts« all affects that are in the same appetite, and these are several, and even infinite, as some believe. But he, without mentioning the appetites of eating and drinking, names the two main ones: of greed, which is excessive lust to possess, and the excessive desire for honor, which we call ambition, saying that in the poet's soul none of these affects conflict with reason, but all are controlled by her. On greed he speaks in that verse »for terrible hunger of shiny gold«. And furthermore »that the more you have of it [greed], the less it can be filled, to show us that the appetites of the greedy are insatiable. Dante, speaking on the same subject, wrote in imitation of Vergil, »o terrible hunger«, that is execrable. And elsewhere »of your hunger, dark without an end«.)



origin of poetry in the vernacular, up into modernity, namely Tasso himself. As we have seen, another chain had been formed by Tasso already in the commentary to his introductory sonnet: there once again Dante is cited, as the theoretician of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, and put into direct relation with Quintilian, the most important theoretician of the Latin world, who in turn cites Stesichor as an example of cross-thematic lyrical poetry. These authoritative chains can be found throughout the whole *Rime*, and are much more than an erudite show of *imitatio*. Indeed they are one of the main tools through which Tasso on one hand tries to force the tight theoretical bounds ascribed by *Rinascimento* theory to the elegiac genre with the support of true examples, and on the other demonstrates his intrinsic value as *poeta doctus*. The self-stylization as theoretician is therefore complementary to the self-stylization as erudite poet.

But authorization does not only function on the level of the two responding and mirroring persons, that is Tasso the poet and Tasso the commentator. This 1591 edition plays an important role in the overall poetological strategy of the already famous author. As I have mentioned before, theoretic reflections on poetry had occupied Tasso in the years preceding the edition. A key point was the role that lyrical poetry could play in the hierarchy of genres as established by the scholastic tradition. This hierarchy appeared too stringent in Tasso's opinion, and from a mere historical standpoint already. Pindar and other poets who treated on noble poetic material remain at the borders of this theoretic architecture, but nearer to Tasso are the examples of Dante and Petrarch, and even nearer Della Casa. All these poets conveyed the noblest topics with the highest degree of poetic language, without having to practice the *epopeja* genre. The theory, empirical in a sense, is put into contact with poetic practice thanks to the accurate choice of references and annotations that are present in our commentary. The aforementioned chains of *imitatio* are just one of the means used by the theoretician Tasso. The commentary on the present poem for example, by focusing on the philosophical vocabulary, and underlining its aptness in describing the system of the appetites of the soul, *de facto* authorizes lyrical language implicitly, as being able to carry such a heavy doctrinary burden.

As we have seen, the word *lauro* is re-semanticized in the commentary to v. 76, because in this poem it does not merely represent the glory of love poetry, but of human intellectual pursuits in a broader sense. A similar strategy is used for the word *velo* (veil, v. 156), which we can read in the last stanza. Lust is at the end of his *plaidoyer*, and his reasoning has brought a surprising turn. Instead of defending himself by responding to the accusations of Disdain, the parallel structure is broken, and Lust calls to his aid the Will, that follows bright interior lights (*volere ... che segue chiare interne luci*, v. 113). This is the Will or Lust for celestial objects, the divine counterpart of the mortal Lust, but as the latter declares, both

stem from the same origin, as Castor and Pollux.<sup>18</sup> Lust states that he would gladly follow his immortal brother into the aerial regions where he ascends, if his mortal veil (*velo*) would not keep him so tightly bound to human pleasures. The veil is used in Tasso almost exclusively as an accessory of the appearance of his Beloved: it is a sign of modesty, and the corresponding unveiling is on the other hand always a sign of victory of the woman over the overwhelmed self, thanks to her beauty. The *velo* has in this case a whole other value. It represents the mortality inherent to Lust itself, an irrevocable quality that theoretically could not be lifted. But the final desiderative declaration, introduced by a maybe (*forse*), opens to the possibility of a gradual elevation to the celestial realm, just as Castor shines together with Pollux in heaven. The commentary, that had opened on Plato, closes on a commentary by Donato Acciaiuoli on Aristotle's *Ethics*<sup>19</sup>, without citing a precise passage, but clearly stating that he refers to the *locus* where the union between immortal and mortal appetites is sketched out.<sup>20</sup> The *coda* of this *canzone*, which would have been solely desiderative – not much more than wishful thinking (and especially because it lies in the position where Tasso usually delivers his final *conceitti*) – becomes on the contrary a concrete hopeful option, and this only thanks to the commentary, which conveys the philosophical basis of the whole discourse.

18 Tasso (as note 1), p. 298: »Non siam però gemelli: i due appetiti del senso e de l'intelletto sono i due amori, nati di due Veneri. Cioè da la celeste e da la volgare. L'uno immortale, l'altro mortale. Et in questa parte simili a Castore et a Polluce, ma differenti, perché quelli hebber commune la madre terrena, questi il padre celeste. Si può anche intender per la madre de l'uno, l'anima ragionevole, o la mente: e per la madre de l'altro la sensitiva. la qual nasce e muore co 'l suo corpo. E questa spositione è più conforme a la mente del Poeta, et a le parole d'Amore che mostrò di riconoscere per padre, cioè per la cagion factrice il bello, o l' »raggio« de la bellezza.« (»Though we are not twins: the appetites of the senses and of the intellect are two Amores, born from two Venuses, that is, from the celestial and from the vulgar. One immortal, the other mortal. And in this respect similar to Castor and Pollux, but different, because these had the divine father in common, whereas the appetites share the worldly mother. We could also understand the mother of the first being the rational soul, or the mens: and the mother of the second being the sensual soul, who is born and dies together with her flesh. And this explanation is more congruent to the mind of the Poet, and to the words of Amor, who recognizes as his father – that is as his effective cause – Beauty, or the »ray« of beauty.)

19 *Aristotelis Stagiritae peripateticorum principis Ethicorum ad Nichomacum libri decem. I Argropylo Byzantio interprete, cum D. Acciaoli Forentini viri [...] commentariis*, Lugduni, apud A. Vincentium, 1560.

20 Tasso (as note 1), p. 301: »l'appetito del senso, congiungendosi con quello de l'intelletto, parteciperà de la sua immortalità, come Castore di quella di Polluce. Ma di questa unione leggi l'Acciaiuolo sovra l'Etica di Aristotele.« (»The appetite of the senses, conjoining with the lust of the intellect, will partake in its immortality, like Castor enjoys the immortality of Pollux. But on this union read Acciaiuoli on the *Ethics* by Aristotle.)

At this point we have not yet unraveled this allegory, but with the aid of the commentary it becomes clear what the lyrical self intends to convey. It is true that Lust, by multiplying pleasures *ad libitum*, seriously hurts his chances of ever being set free from mortality. In the final stanzas, however, the positive potential of Lust is stated, which can elevate the soul in at least partial accordance with the divine Lust, and the conclusive silence of Reason expresses an uncertain position. It seems that Tasso wants to partially liberate his soul from a hierarchy of impulses, while simultaneously remaining open to the potential of creative elevation offered by a love poetry that engages in topics far above the mere sensual and lustful. The commentary also gives us the only true contact to the biographical reality of the lyrical self, a dimension almost completely absorbed in the dense and complex allegory. In the commentary to v. 149, we read:

»Con lor tratta gl'inganni: dapoï trasporta la colpa ne la volontà, se pur v'è alcuna colpa: ma pur che l'uno e l'altro appetito sia colpevole, l'uno per haver passati i segni ne l'amar sensualmente l'altro, perché negando la pace, haveva impedito che l'amor sensuale si convertisse in amicitia, come era l'inclinazione de la volontà.<sup>21</sup>

The concept of *amicitia* rarely appears in this collection, but it is one always latently present in Tasso's concept of Love as has been presented in this *canzone*. The surpassing of the erotic features of Amor, those that are pernicious to the soul, is here stated as necessary – of course in the defending words of *Amore* – but nevertheless this can only be possible if there had first been the presence of lustful love. Disdain, as a human appetite, could not surpass the mere sensual, whereas erotic love always has an ascensional potential, so long as it stems from a noble soul.

Once again, the genre of lyrical love poetry and the fate of the lyricist Tasso are intertwined: by giving authority to the genre – an authority that in this poem stems directly from the divine nature of the Will – the love poet is indirectly authorized. In the opposite direction, if the commentary retraces the noble origins and the general high rhetorical value of the poetic material presented, in other words, if the commentator ennobles the lyricist, the genre, which proves thus capable of sustaining an elevated song, is indirectly but logically ennobled.

Tasso, as an anxious member of the Catholic Church in times of religious unrest, is of course worried for the health of his mortal soul. This genuine an-

21 »»With them he [the Will] fights its trickeries: then he [Amor] ascribes the fault to the Will, if there even is any culpability, and if there is, then both appetites [Amor and Disdain] be guilty, one by having transgressed his bounds in loving sensually, the other, because by denying peace, he had prevented that sensual love could be converted in friendship, as was the Will's inclination.«

xiety possibly presents itself in some mediated form, and the constant worries for the perilous subjects treated in the *Gerusalemme* are in fact a manifestation of said troubles. But the moral restlessness presented in this first part of the *Rime* clearly shows a conflict already resolved in factual reality. As I have said, after the *Rime amorose* the other parts of the anthology will have the additional function of showing the reader that a conversion *has* in fact already taken place: proof thereof are the hundreds of poems dedicated to noble subjects, that thus do not require a commentary. If we understand commentary from an exclusively explanatory point of view, we cannot understand this lack of them. As I have tried to demonstrate, however, commentary for Tasso serves the purposes of self-authorization and ennoblement of the lyrical genre in itself. The repentance of the sinful, poetic youth is at this point nothing more than a poetic pose, established through the centuries, and if Tasso embraces this particular stylization, he does so precisely because he is aware of the strength of this poetic tradition, in other words, he wants to be part of a line that commences with Petrarch, without risking being identified too strongly with him.

›Forcing‹ the blatant sovereignty of Petrarch in the field of lyrical poetry without openly breaking what had become a common model for a collection of poems, the *Canzoniere*, is only a part of a much more articulate program of self-authorization. This particular *canzone* deals with the highly complex and debated topic of the moral justness of Love, and at this level as well Tasso subtly enacts his quiet ›rebellion‹ to the norm. As we have seen, Aristotle is the basis of the ethical structure that we can perceive throughout the entire *Rime amorose*, but he is not at all an undisputed authority. On the contrary, in the commentary to this *canzone*, Plato and his commentators are almost always cited as representing a different, sometimes diametrically opposed position, and the commentator himself undoubtedly favours the latter opinions. The constant mirroring authorization has here its extreme but necessary consequence: The *Rime amorose* become in themselves a *corpus exemplorum*, biographical material that can be commented from a distance, and which in its empirical truth offers more than one objection to the undisputed authority in poetic matters, Petrarch, and to the even more undisputed philosophical authority, that is Aristotle.