



## Petrarch's "Original" of the *Fragmenta* 1362-1558: From Boccaccio to Rovillio's Third Printing

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**Abstract:** This essay questions the use of the term *original* to refer to Petrarch's partial holograph of the *Fragmenta* (Vaticano Latino 3195) by examining the essential scribal change of register, from "fair" to "service" copy, that the poet imposed upon the still unsewn quires. Especially for an author like Petrarch, keen upon revising minute details of his lyrics and upon authorizing an "edition" of his own work, a fair copy produced by a professional copyist under his supervision was, as we see in much of Latino 3195 and in professional copies of other works supervised by the poet, a key component of his "original." Examining four integrated critical and material approaches to Petrarch's work not only in the partial holograph but also in early codices and early printed editions, this study analyzes the utility of early fair copies in tracing the "original" of the *Fragmenta*.

It is appropriate that first we acknowledge a term that can get us into trouble: *original*. The definition might not be as simple as we think. Moreover, how we understand the term *original* has a profound impact on how we consider a literary and cultural icon like Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. Since the early fifteenth century, *original* and its associated terms, among them "ipsa manu," have been used both with striking historical and critical significance and with disconcerting abandonment of philological principles. Might how we define *original* depend as well on the paleographical and codicological status of the copy declared to be original? Especially in the context of professional writers, such as Francesco da Barberino and Francesco Petrarca, who depended upon professional copyists to render their authorial drafts into clean copies for circulation or personal use, can *original* also mean the fair copy sanctioned by the poet but in a professional copyist's hand? Can the original be a draft copy regardless of the status of (authorial) variants? Indeed our definitions and uses of *original* have a profound impact on how we treat even other copies of the work. In the case of Vaticano Latino 3195, the manuscript's status as a partial holograph supervised by Petrarch has afforded it a privileged status, especially in establishing the definitive text of the *Fragmenta*.<sup>1</sup> The title of Giovanni Mestica's 1896 edition pairs both the notion of "authority" of the partial holograph with the problematic methodological approach of textual recourse to the early manuscript tradition and early printed editions of the work: *Le rime di Francesco Petrarca restituite nell'ordine e nella lezione del testo originario sugli autografi col sussidio di altri codici e di stampe* ("... restored to the order and reading of the original text according to the holographs with the aid of other manuscripts and printed books"). It will be, in fact, that phrase "col sussidio di

altri codici e stampe” (“with the aid of other manuscripts and printed books”) that will be—far too often—ignored by twentieth-century textual scholars. Marco Vattasso’s 1905 assessment of prominent manuscripts and their possible relationships to Vaticano Latino 3195 was essential for Wilkins’ early studies in the 1920s.<sup>2</sup> But Vattasso’s arrival at the notion of “original” is not direct. Vaticano Latino 3195 is, as he explains, “partially in the hand of the poet, partly in that of a copyist, and completely revised and corrected by the poet” (vii). But, as Vattasso immediately clarifies, the codex is not necessarily the first—or original version—of many of the poems, but rather the “the exemplar ... in which [Petrarch] collected the corrected versions of poems, which he continued to hone until the end of his life. Thus the codex contains [the works’] final revisions and constitutes the expression of the poet’s final will. Those poems excluded from this version should be considered either apocryphal or rejected; individual readings not present [in this codex] are either inauthentic or rejected by the author” (vii).<sup>3</sup> In truth, authors, like copyists, make mistakes, and there are enough made in Latino 3195—both by Malpaghini and Petrarch—that require an editor’s departure from the *lectiones* “approved” by the poet. Moreover, authors, unlike copyists, tend to experiment in their draft and service copies, where—especially in the margins—much communication with copyists (and copies) occurs. Traces of Petrarch’s experiments, especially with the reordering of compositions, can be seen on the surface of the codex. But not all his experiments can be “final wishes.”

Recent research on Vaticano Latino 3195 for the 2004 facsimile establishes that the manuscript demonstrates significant changes in its status once Petrarch abandons the idea of maintaining then still unsewn fascicles as a fair copy.<sup>4</sup> Numerous aspects of Vaticano Latino 3195 reveal a codex that sometime between 1370-1373 became a service copy in which the poet not only erased and emended wholecloth his text but also experimented with different orders for the last thirty-one poems (Storey, “All’interno” 146-47). Does then the manuscript’s changed status ultimately represent the poet’s definitive wishes? Or is it simply the last extant incarnation of the work in the poet’s hand before his death in 1374? Would later manuscripts have been made at the poet’s request that are reflected in copies produced even after the poet’s death? Do features of Vaticano Latino 3195 that reveal a manuscript *in fieri* tell us that that codex is not “the original” or the only original? Do those numbers in the margins of the last thirty-one poems give us the order with which Petrarch was content to leave it? If so, why is there not one codex that reflects the changed order laid out in that renumbering? Were subsequent readers and copyists oblivious to those numbers? And were the three-and-a-half blank but ruled chartae (cc. 49v-52v) designed not only to separate perhaps a part 1 from a part 2, as Boccaccio’s early copy (Vaticano Chigiano L v 176, cc. 72r-73r) seems to suggest, but also to contain additional lyrics?

In 2003 these and other questions caused Maddalena Signorini to ponder again, after Vattasso in 1905, the possibility that an early (fifteenth-century) fair copy of the *Fragmenta*, owned by Coluccio Salutati before its entry into Cosimo De’ Medici’s library, Laurenziano 41.10, actually reflects “Petrarch’s original” (133-54). But could this beautiful fair copy of the work be a “realization of the original”? The antegraph of Laurenziano 41.10 does not apparently report, for example, Petrarch’s changes in the ordering of the final thirty-one

poems.<sup>5</sup> Nor is Laurenziano 41.10 attentive to many of what we presume are Petrarch's erasures and marks to expunge letters for prosodic reasons. Always philologically cautious in his assessments, Gino Belloni demonstrates that Laurenziano 41.10 actually reproduces a stage in the development of Latino 3195 before Petrarch had completed all the erasures and revisions it now contains ("Nota" 82). So its exemplar, or antegraph, might well be Petrarch's famous service copy, but it predates the macrotext's actual final form in Vaticano Latino 3195.

We must ask ourselves: what did Petrarch's "original" actually spawn? Thanks to previous work by Paolo Sambin and to Gino Belloni's essay in the 2004 commentary (see esp. 73-80) we know that Petrarch's partial holograph was first in the hands of his son-in-law, Francescuolo da Brossano, and ultimately bound and in the library of family of Tommasina Savonarola and Daniele Santasofia in Padova, where probably the redactor of the Valdezoco edition and assuredly Pietro Bembo and Alessandro Vellutello at least had a look at the codex before producing their own editions of Petrarch in, respectively, 1472, 1501, and 1525.<sup>6</sup>

Philologically speaking, we are forced to say that especially in terms of the ordering of the microtexts in the *Fragmenta*, it is very possible that the most feasible "original" lies somewhere among several codices produced as fair copies, potentially by professional copyists, as a composite archetype of a *vulgata* tradition even if the author's final and definitive wishes for the text are expressed in Vaticano Latino 3195. Until recently, the textual authority of that vulgate tradition has been set aside in favor of what we can now identify as the service copy (Vaticano Latino 3195) partially in the author's hand. In fact, as we shall see, this claim to authenticity guaranteed by the author's hand, the "original," does not begin with Aldo Manuzio's postscript to his readers in 1501 nor with Giovanni Mestica's discovery of Petrarch's experimental renumbering of compositions 337-365 in the margins of 3195's chartae 66v-71r. We cannot date with any degree of accuracy Petrarch's addition of the insert of the four chartae (or the binion that would become cc. 67-70). The use of scribal renumbering to reorder compositions in a subsequent copy was not only common before Petrarch but applied even in the case of the best witness of the so-called Malatesta copy of the *Fragmenta*, Laurenziano 41.17, which promised addenda of poems on single sheets ("in papyro") to be inserted to complete the fair copy that accompanied Petrarch's letter *Varia* 9 to Pandolfo Malatesta.<sup>7</sup> What we don't know is how much Petrarch experimented with the final reordering of these poems up until the time of his death nor can we assert with absolute certainty that the reordering that we see in the marginal numbers from 1 to 31 is final. We take it on faith that this renumbering on the last chartae of the manuscript in Petrarch's hand represents his final intention. It is—I repeat—an intention that was never fully realized in any extant copy we have until Mestica's 1896 edition. The large number of fifteenth-century codices that simply replicate the physical order of the poems leads me to believe that Petrarch's final experiment in the last thirty-one poems with marginal numbers was relatively late and well after the release of other manuscripts based on unrevised addenda.

Consequently, to trace the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscript tradition is something of an exercise in controlled chaos in as much as the order of some sections of the *Fragmenta* is concerned. Some manuscripts certainly underwent contaminations of diverse stages of Petrarch's emendations and changes. Wilkins' results in *The Making of the Canzoniere* provide raw evidence of the cross-fertilization of manuscripts in which scribes seem to have resorted to multiple copies of the *Fragmenta*, as well as other poetic collections by Petrarch and Trecento poets to assemble their copies.<sup>8</sup> However, textual variants tell us a different story. The individual microtexts demonstrate remarkably stable texts. The problem is Petrarch's seemingly endless penchant for emendation and experimentation. Even before abandoning the idea of a fair copy, the poet often intervened to erase (scrape) and revise and revise again, sometimes entire poems. Once Petrarch converts the manuscript from a fair to a service copy, this process of scraping and revising increases substantially. In light of the large number of copies made of the *Fragmenta* at several of its various stages of evolution, Boccaccio's being the first (Chigiano L v 176), copies—and copies of these copies—were made in which subsequent Petrarchan emendations made in Vat. Lat. 3195 were not recorded.

If this state of textual affairs seems somewhat mind-boggling that's because it is. Perfectly competent paleographers and philologists have made claims that have been undone by the revelation of a microscopic detail in the target codex. And sometimes we simply never know whether the error rests with Petrarch or the copyist transcribing him.

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In every case up through the early printed editions, we can, however, rely on several features of the target codex or book to help us evaluate the macrottexts and the individual microtexts of the *Fragmenta*. Seldom is one feature determinative in sorting out whether the copyist had access to Petrarch's service copy or a reliable fair copy made from that service copy. The first was the basis of Wilkins' monumental study: the ordering of the individual poems. In the last few years the growing philological view of Wilkins' method based on conjecture and probability has been relatively negative, especially with regard to the fact that the American scholar never actually studied directly many of the manuscripts he discusses in detail, including the colors of ink he interprets to reflect work intervals in the preparation of Vaticano Latino 3195.<sup>9</sup> To my mind, the most controversial and yet the most widely accepted result of his work on the order of the poems has been the division of numerous manuscripts into family groups according to the order of the compositions. Petrarch's penchant for experimenting with and altering the order makes this category a useful tool when used with other characteristics, especially the problems posed by cross-fertilization of codices. But the difficult task of dating the periods in which certain orderings were definitively effected by the poet limits its use as an effective tool.<sup>10</sup>

Probably in mid-1368, Petrarch had the partial holograph Vaticano Latino 3195, still destined to be a fair copy, sent to Milano to be rubricated. While I will not speculate here about Petrarch's intentions, I will point out: a) that it was unusual for partially completed codices to be rubricated, and b) that the poet's (and now copyist's) uncertainty about the

finality of the manuscript's texts would become at least partially emblematic of the textual condition of the early manuscript tradition. Not even the rubricated poems in Latino 3195, such as the previous *Rvf* 121 ("Donna mi vene spesso ne la mente") would be secure against Petrarch's revisionist pen-knife (Storey, *Transcription* 366-77). Consequently, it is easy for us to understand the condition of the *Fragmenta*'s early tradition. Many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts of the work demonstrate clearly that a first hand had only a partial antegraph at his disposal, often—as in the cases of Laurenziano 41.17 and Queriniano D II 21—ending with the final canzone "Vergine bella" (*Rvf* 366) but were missing poems added subsequently by copyists both to what we today refer to as parts 1 and 2. While these addenda were eventually incorporated in various ways, it is useful to remember Petrarch's own formulation in his letter to Pandolfo Malatesta (*Varia* 9), which we have already touched upon. Petrarch's instruction to his copyist to leave for each of the parts "in fine bona spatia" in the copy of the *Fragmenta* he has sent to Pandolfo signals what he might well have considered his best material strategy for adding poems to the fair copy of an established corpus of lyrics already in the possession of select readers. This might well have meant that Malatesta's copyist would have had to adopt a system for reordering the poems similar to those we see in Latino 3195 or Escorial e.III.23 as he transferred poems from the loose sheets of addenda onto the blank chartae at the end of the two parts. As we know, Petrarch resorted to the simple insertion of bifolia among the still loose gatherings of his service collection to achieve the basis for reordering in poems 337-365 precisely because his copy was not bound (Storey, *Transcription* 380-88).

In truth, in codices such as Laurenziano 41.17 and Queriniano D II 21 the actual order of the poems is perhaps less important than the reconstruction of the material forms of the addenda themselves and their material relationships with Petrarch's inserts into his own service copy. In Laurenziano 41.17 the copyist resorts to a system of letters and numbers for poems transcribed after the concluding canzone "Vergine bella" (c. 64r-65r), which itself carries the rubric "In fine libri pon" (Storey and Capelli, "Modalità di ordinamento" 177-86). The second, third, and fourth hands of the late-fourteenth-century Queriniano D II 21 relied on the addition of extra bifolia to insert additional poems, mostly before the final canzone "Vergina bella" (*Rvf* 366). Notably, however, in both codices the block of sonnets from "Il mal mi preme" to "Arbor victoriosa" (*Rvf* 244-263) are added by a subsequent hand. These same sonnets are contained on cc. 47r- 49r of the partial holograph and must have been collected separately on two bifolia. Even more noteworthy in the Queriniano manuscript is the sequence of poems and the quality of the readings for the final compositions. It is helpful to visualize Petrarch's holograph before the insertion of the binion to remember that c. 66v once faced c. 71r and their sequence of poems was:

- 66v: Vidi fra mille dozme una gia tale (335)
- Tornami a mente anzi ue dentro quella (336)
- Questo nostro caduco *et* fragil bene (337 [*re*350])
- O tempo o ciel uolubil che fuggendo (338 [*re*355])
- 71r: Dolci dureçe et placide repulse (362 [*re*351])
- Spirto felice che si dolcemente (363 [*re*352])

De porgi mano alaffannato ingegno (364 [re354])  
 Vago augelletto che cantando vai (365 [re353])

Between “Tornami a mente” (*Rvf* 336) and “Vergine bella” (*Rvf* 366) are remnants that demonstrate one of the few copies of a partially revised numbering that Petrarch wrote in the margins of his service copy. Immediately after “Tornami a mente” (336) we find on the same charta (46v) not, according to the physical sequence of the manuscript, the sonnet “Questo nostro caduco et fragil bene” but the reordered 337 “Quel che d’odore et di color vincea” (*Rvf* 339). The sequence on c. 47 recto and verso suggests that the copyist had at his disposal the first page of a slightly reordered form of Petrarch’s final insert (c. 67r-v) plus the unrevised contents of c. 71 of Petrarch’s holograph. Petrarch’s experiment of redistributing “Questo nostro caduco” (337) and “O tempo o ciel volubil” (338) among the poems of the insert is already in place:

Queriniiano D II 21:

c. 46v	Tornami a mente	[c. 66v1]
	Quel che d’odore et di color vincea	[Petrarch’s insert c. 67r1]
c. 47r	Lasciatai morte sença sole il mondo	[Petrarch’s insert c. 67r2]
	Conobbi quantol ciel li occhi maprese	[Petrarch’s insert c. 67r3]
	Del cibo ondel signor mio sempre abonda	[Petrarch’s insert c. 67v2]
	Dolce mio caro et pretioso pegno	[Petrarch’s insert c. 67r4]
	Questo nostro caduco e fragil bene	[c. 66v3]
	Dolci dureççe et placide repulse	[c. 71r1]
c. 47v	Spirto felice che si dolcemente	[c. 71r2]
	De porgi mano alaffannato ingegno	[c. 71r3]
	Vago augelletto che cantando vai	[c. 71r4]
	O tempo o ciel uolubil che fuggendo	[c. 66r4]

Nor can we discount a remarkable feature when we consider this process of establishing the order of the poems in this early tradition: the editorial skills of the copyist. As we have already mentioned in another context, after the final poem of part 1, “Arbor victoriosa triumphale” (263) on c. 34r of Queriniiano D II 21, the copyist inserts one of Petrarch’s sonnets not normally included in the *Fragmenta*: “Per utile per dilecto e per honore” (14a in Paolino, *Rime* 708-11).<sup>11</sup> Wilkins notes only its inclusion but does not consider the scribal culture at work in the addendum nor its contents (*Making*). “Per utile, per dilecto” is not, however, a casual insertion on the charta to fill space. It is a sonnet about the nature of carnal love and passion (“Carnale amor non tiene in sé drittura” [v. 9]) under whose influence Petrarch states he has been not one but twenty-two years (“non dico un sol, ma più di ventidui” [v. 15]). The copyist has added an anniversary poem that establishes, now as the last poem of part 1, an additional contrast to the content and tone of part 2.

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The second kind of analytical tool we have at our disposal fuses Petrarch the copyist with Petrarch the poet in the consistent transcriptional forms that he used to develop his

poetics not only in the partial holograph but for most of his career, that is from the earliest extant holograph transcriptions of sonnets such as “Per mirar Policleto a prova fiso” and “Quando giunse a Simon l’altro concetto” on c. 7r of Vaticano Latino 3196. Less of a professional copyist than Boccaccio, Petrarch was nevertheless a *grafomane*. Continually engaged in writing and copying, for Petrarch the act of writing itself was the foundation of an intellectual ideology.<sup>12</sup> In his *Fragmenta*, there is a strict correlation among the poem’s meaning, the copyist’s strict transcriptional formulae for its genre, and the poem’s intricate role in the macrotext.<sup>13</sup> For example, though the sestina is part of the canzone family, Petrarch distinguished it definitively as a separate genre with characteristics unique from his canzoni. His sonnets were always written on the same seven lines, two verses per line. This was not to save parchment; it was an essential part of the genre’s ideological formation that contributed to the poem’s significance. In the late fourteenth century the copyist of Riccardiano 1088 interrupts his own copy with two *maniculae* to complain about Petrarch’s difficult two-column layout with changing reading strategies (see Fig. 1 [27r]). He simultaneously warns his reader of the new copy style he will use and surrenders to his culture’s standardizing formulae for poetic genres. Thus when we see a manuscript with Petrarch’s transcriptional forms for the five genres in the *Fragmenta*, we are closer to a rigorous copyist who is more attentive to the Petrarchan copy than to the transcriptional formulae of his own culture.

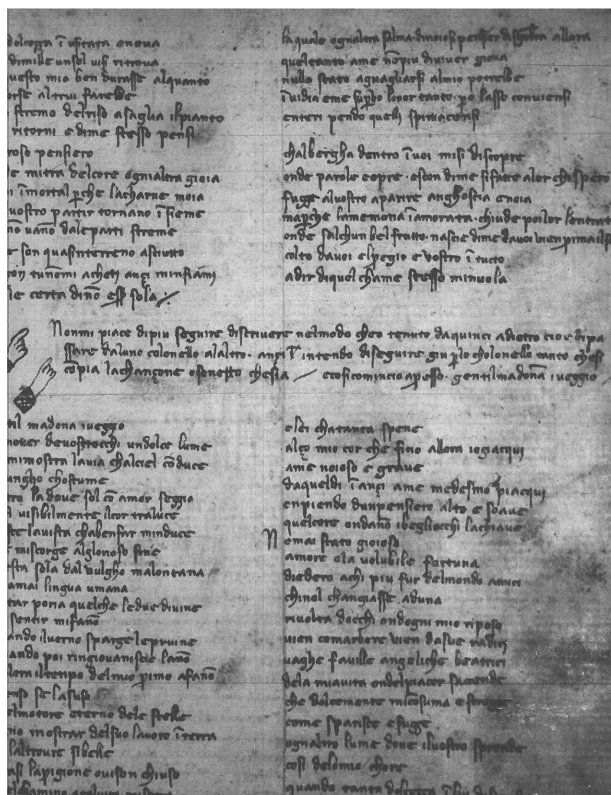


Figure 1: Riccardiano 1088, c. 27R (detail)

Both Laurenziano 41.17 and Queriniano D II 21 reflect our second determinative

category: Petrarch's standardized formulae for the transcription of the five poetic genres of the *Fragmenta*. These strict forms are applicable not only to the individual genres of the sonnet, the sestina, the subgenres of the canzone, the ballata, and the madrigale, but to the actual charta itself, creating two integrated levels of visual poetics within the codex: within the individual composition and on the charta as a unit. Historically speaking the fifteenth century's rapid abandonment of this dimension of Petrarch's transcriptional poetics significantly ushers in the final conversion of those original poetics in 1470 and 1472, in the *princeps* printed by Johann de Speyer, and in Valdezoco's 1472 Paduan edition. With the standardization of what I call "Petrarch's book in the vernacular," typified by Laurenziano 41.14, the poetics of the page have been reduced to two sonnets per charta and Petrarch's transcriptional poetics lost. On the other hand, most of the fourteenth-century copies and even some early fifteenth-century codices, such as Laurenziano Pluteo 41.10 and Laurenziano Segniano 1, attempt to follow carefully Petrarch's layouts for the genres. But Petrarch's "poetics of the page" were difficult for copyists precisely because it was based on a strict 31-line-per-charta writing space that depended on an exact writing style. As we know, two of the basic features of Petrarch's "poetics of the charta" were: a) the grouping of four complete sonnets per side of each charta (see Fig. 2), and b) the placement on the same charta of a sonnet and a sestina (see Fig. 3), designed especially to draw into sharp contrast the different reading strategies of the two genres and their very different relationships of content to form (Storey, *Transcription* 225-60).

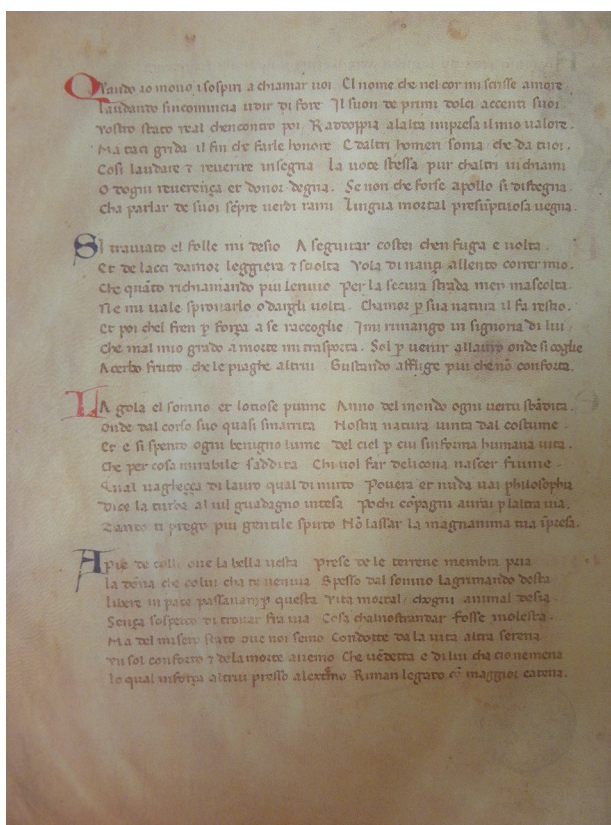


Figure 2: Vaticano Latino 3195, c. 1v



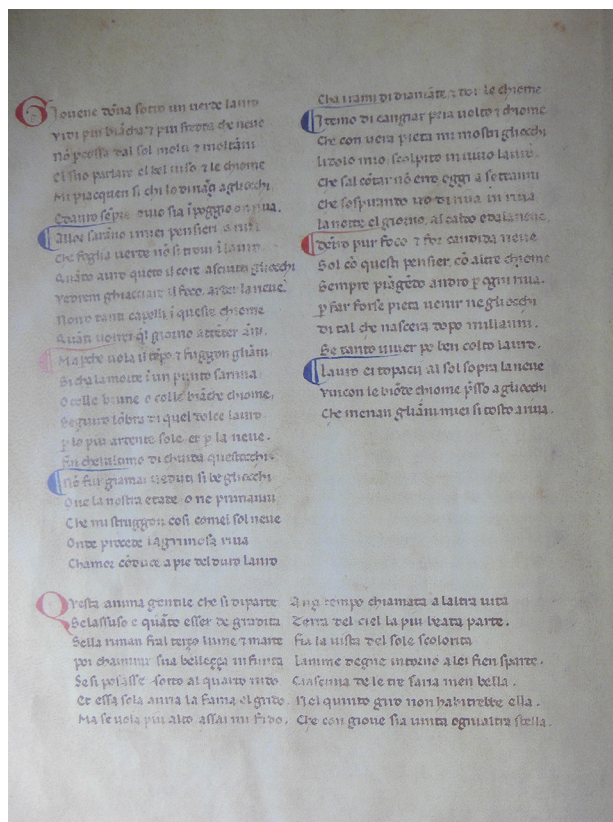


Figure 3: Vaticano Latino 3195, c. 7v

The dynamic sonnet, read horizontally across the charta from column to column, was balanced on seven transcriptional lines; the static sestina, read down the column, was always written in two columns of uneven length. Copyists who tried to follow charta-by-charta Petrarch's formulae were restricted to the same number of transcriptional lines per charta: thirty-one.

The copyist of Morgan M 502, probably produced in the Veneto in the early 1380s, is one of the best examples of the format at work and, ultimately, in failure because he tends to use thirty-two transcriptional lines for each charta. But he has his successes as well, especially in his adherence to Petrarch's mathematical combinations of hendecasyllables and *settenari* per line in diverse categories of canzoni such as "Lasso me, ch'i' non so in qual parte pieghi" (*Rvf*70), "S'i' 'l dissi mai" (*Rvf*206), and "Tacer non posso" (*Rvf*325) as well as in the formulae for the other four genres (Storey, "All'interno" 160-71). The copyist of the Morgan codex is so accurate that we have to turn to his copy of canz. 356 [*re*360], "Quel' antiquo mio dolce empio signore" (cc. 61v-62v), to understand Petrarch's form, compromised in the insert by the limitations of space in the binion.<sup>14</sup>

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The third category of distinguishing features is constituted by microscopic variants by which we can trace particular readings back to a given moment before Petrarch revised a letter or word here or part of a verse there. Many "characteristic readings" reveal those

places in the partial holograph that can potentially tell us what subsequent copyists have and have not seen, especially from what stage of Petrarch's revisions their antegraps were copied. With careful and usually microscopic analyses they can supply us with readings that are either corrupt or no longer visible in the partial holograph. This is an operation that has not been foremost among the approaches to Petrarch's *Fragmenta* since there has been little interest in the collation of individual witnesses in light of the partial holograph's seeming authority in establishing the text of the work. This kind of close study both of variants and forms of manuscripts such as Morgan M. 502, Queriniano D II 21, and Segniano 1, requires as well careful attention to the microscopic details of the partial holograph, the *minimalia*—as I called them elsewhere—or, according to Gino Belloni, the “*caratteristiche*” of Latino 3195 that serve as pivotal guides to tracing in earlier and later fair copies the origins of unique readings altered by Petrarch.<sup>15</sup> The three categories of Belloni's and my own combined approaches to these unique indicators are: 1) prosody, what Belloni calls the “*ipometrie grafiche*” in some cases corrected by a single expunction point, or period, under the extra vowel; 2) errors, defects, or difficult readings in the manuscript; and 3) unique material features in the execution of pivotal codices, such as the partial holograph, Boccaccio's Chigiano L v 176, or Petrarch's holograph Latino 3196.

Given the multiple levels of manuscript production and subsequent interventions by readers and owners of codices, all three categories represent potential areas of codicological and paleographic interpretation. Belloni's first entry in Tavola 2 (103), “*Que' ch'infinita*” (*Rvf4*) is an excellent example of how a material issue of production and the interpretation of hands and inks in the partial holograph can be at odds with the tradition. Belloni notes, along with Modigliani and Storey, that the *l* of “*Qvel*” on c. 1r (*Rvf4*) is in a different hand from that of Malpaghini, the copyist of this section, or Petrarch.<sup>16</sup> Upon closer scrutiny, in 2004 I noted in print that under the canceled *l* is another *l*, Malpaghini's *l* attached to the ascending tick mark typical of Malpaghini's and Petrarch's *e* (“*Edizione diplomatica*” 388). The particular ink, a reddish brown, used to intervene in this case is found in other sections of the codex as well (388) and could well represent the hand of a later corrector, who traced Malpaghini's *l*, attaching an atypical horizontal *pes*, or foot, that extends to the right. The corrector subsequently puts an expunction point under the *l*. Belloni reads the *l* and “*Quel*” as a variant, but deems it of little use as a “*characteristic*” that would link another copy to the partial holograph as a antegraps. But the preponderant weight of the manuscript tradition favors by far the form *Que*. Savoca, for example, opts for “*Quel*” not only against the early tradition but also the inherited wisdom of editions from Bembo (1501) to Bettarini (2005).<sup>17</sup> In 2008, Savoca follows my suggestion (2004) of Malpaghini's *l*, but declares it “*probabilmente aggiunta da Petrarca in sede di revisione, perché poi Malpaghini la mettesse al suo posto, come in seguito fece, dimenticando però di eradere il segno in basso (un punto che assomiglia a una macchiolina irregolare)*” (6-7). Here Savoca embarks upon conjectures—telling us, like Wilkins, what Petrarch probably did and what Malpaghini forgot—that only obfuscate a true material and textual problem that the partial holograph does not seem able to resolve.<sup>18</sup> Already in 1896, Mestica, who saw the added *l* in an “*inchiestro violaceo*” (a color of ink never used by Petrarch in his holographs [74]),

suggested turning to the early fifteenth-century fair copy Laurenziano 41.10 to solve the uncertainty of the holograph. But we also have an earlier copy of the sonnet made by a reliable scribe, Giovanni Boccaccio, directly from a Petrarchan copy of the *Fragmentorum liber* (Chigiano L v 176), in which we find the reading “Que ch’infinita prouedença *et* arte” (c. 43v), an incipit that proves to be stable both before the final redaction of the *Fragmenta* and in the Tre- and Quattrocento manuscript traditions. In truth, in the face of the partial holograph’s corruption, a dependable textual tradition of fair copies actually reveals the complex layers of production instilled in the author’s own fair-turned-service copy that has undergone uncertain interventions.

Obviously one of the problems with this method of analysis rests in the verification of authentic hands in the partial holograph. And the truth is that even with my own close study, for example, of how erasures were indicated by Petrarch and then executed, we still don’t have a fail-proof way of knowing who actually erased letters.<sup>19</sup> In most cases in Vaticano Latino 3195 we can presume that the erasure is executed by the poet or under the poet’s supervision. But some examples leave us in doubt.

The next sample led to recent criticism of my work, so I am happy to have the occasion to reiterate my own findings. On c. 44v of Petrarch’s holograph, v. 5 of “Amor co la man dextra il lato mano” (*Rvf* 228) reads: “Voncer di pe~~n~~na / con sospir del fianco”: the first minium after the two of the *n* is curved top and bottom to the right (see Fig. 4).

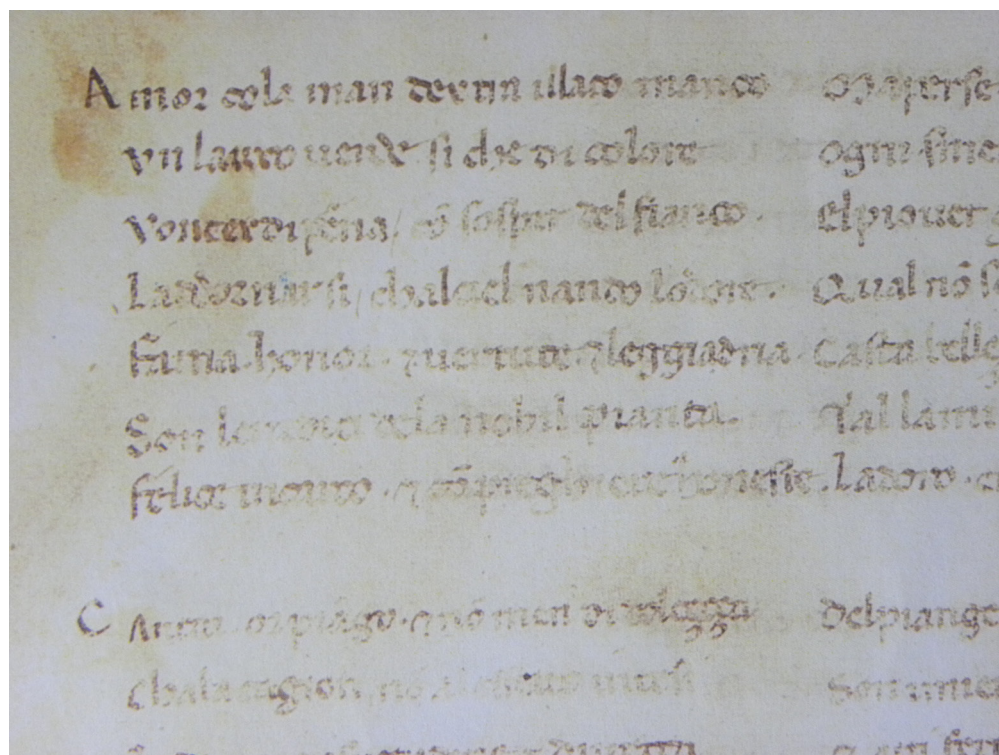


Figure 4: Vaticano Latino 3195, c. 44v (detail)

I confess that I could not see signs of erasure that Modigliani identified in 1904, but there is evidence that letters have been retraced. This calls into question also the strike-through of



the *titulus* over the *e* of “pena” that cancels the first *n* and signals a change from “penna” to “pena” in v. 5. The weight of the interpretative tradition (“vomer di penna”) rests on any philologist—even the non-Italian philologist—who examines the passage, which Guido Bezzola identified as a strained prosecution of the allegory of the “pen as plow” (401). From the copyist of Laurenziano 41.17, who serves as witness to one of the earliest releases of the poem, the often definitive Morgan M 502, and Bembo’s 1501 edition, to Rovillio (1558), Muratori (1711), Carducci-Ferrari (1899), and even Mestica (1896) read “Vomer di penna” in v. 7.<sup>20</sup> Rosanna Bettarini cites Modigliani and Contini as origins of the revised reading “Vomer di pena” based on the poet’s own elimination of the *titulus* over the *e*. But there are others who report seeing something different in this untidy textual space. It is impossible to know who turned “Vomer” into “Voncer”; it is a passage that has clearly been corrupted by a later hand. But we can date the change between 1374 and the publication of the Valdezoco edition of 1472, which reads from the holograph: “Voncer di penna” (c. 95v; see Fig. 5). Trust me; this is no conspiracy between me and the redactor of the 1472 edition. Yet just a few years before, in 1463, the copyist of Laurenziano 41.14, who seems to have access to a copy privileged by the poet, notes in the margin of c. 114v the variant “pena” to the text’s “penna” for v. 5.<sup>21</sup>

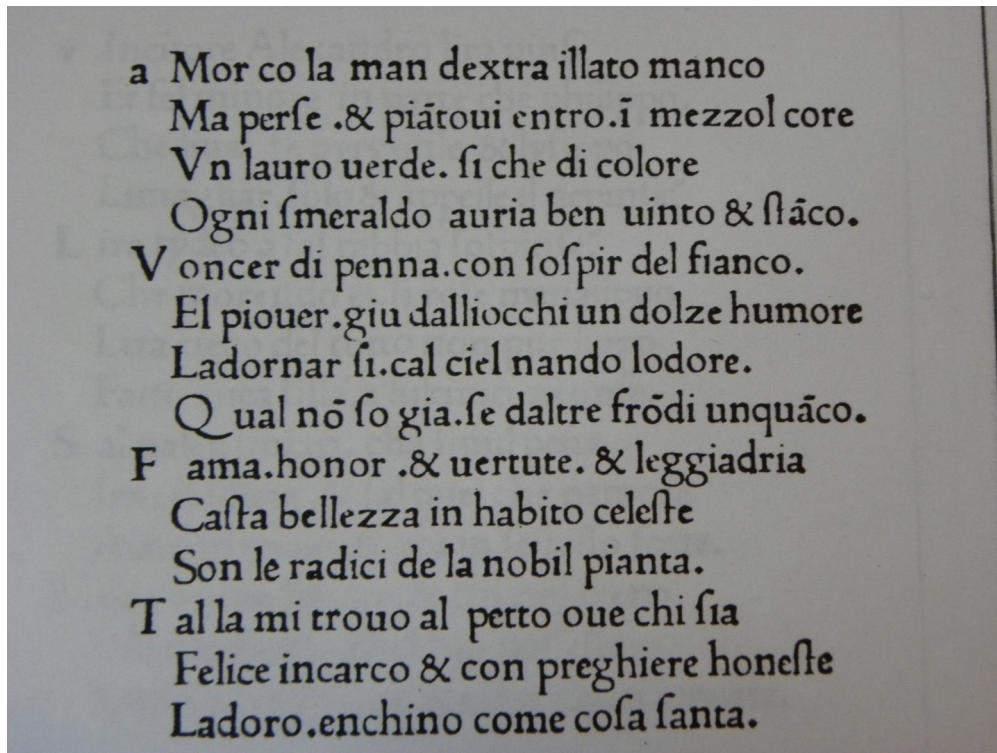


Figure 5: Valdezoco ed. of 1472, c 95v (detail)

\* \* \* \* \*

We must note that our fourth and final classification is the one that is perhaps most tied to the general confusion surrounding a “final form” of the *Fragmenta* even right after

Petrarch's death and up through the eighteenth century: the claim of editorial authenticity based on the poet's personal copy, the "original." It is an odd and somewhat unique category into which Petrarch's *Fragmenta* and *Triumph* often fall. (We seldom see such insistence in the case of Antonio Pucci's manuscripts or even of Boccaccio's, even though both authors left a significant number of holograph copies.) Not only did Aldo Manuzio proclaim Bembo's access to Petrarch's personal copies as the foundation for his 1501 edition, in 1525 and 1528 Alessandro Vellutello denied that same authenticity to justify his biographical reordering of most of the poems and leaves no doubt that he has seen the manuscript that today we know as Vaticano Latino 3195. But the practice began long before these two fierce competitors of the Venetian book trade. Among the earliest copies we have of the *Fragmenta*, we find in the very title of the codex the claim that the exemplar has been taken from an antegraph that is the poet's own copy in his own hand. This rubric is a double-edged sword. There is little doubt it was to Aldo Manuzio's economic advantage to make such a claim, but the truth is that Bembo's suspicions were driven by a rapid check of the partial holograph after most of his copytext for the 1501 edition (today Vaticano Latino 3197) had already been completed on the basis of two other manuscripts.<sup>22</sup> Some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copyists engaged in similar declarations of authenticity to advance the quality of their transcriptions. But about the time we become dismissive of the authenticating phrase as a rhetorical device, we discover that there is—as we shall see—a significant grain of truth in the phrase included in the title "Scripto ipsa manu" ("written by his own hand") in the early fourteenth-century Laurenziano Segniano 1. The copyist of the fifteenth-century Vaticano Reginense 1110 states in a rubric on c. 107v, right before the beginning of the canzone "I vo pensando" (*Rvf* 264): "Que sequuntur post mortem domine Lauree scripta sunt. Ita enim proprio codice domini Francisci annotatum est, et carte quatuor pretermisse vacue" ("Those [poems] that follow the death of Laura are written here. Thus it is noted in master Francesco's own copy and he left four blank chartae"). Virtually the same eye-witness report of the blank but ruled chartae left in Petrarch's partial holograph, cc. 49v-52v, is found also in Beinecke M 706 (c.107r) and supported by a colophon from Verona in 1393 (c. 186r). But, as Dario Del Puppo has noted, the script betrays the actual age of the copy ("Shaping Interpretations," esp. 108-20). Beinecke 706 was made in the late fifteenth century, but the colophon and the rubrics are copied from a much earlier codex.

Here again our method turns to minimalia for help in clarifying this important rubric in Petrarchan manuscripts. The Laurentian codex Segniano 1 is an unassuming paper codex probably produced in the 1420s or '30s. It had caught Vattasso's eye in his 1905 introduction to the photographic edition. But its incomplete state left it of little use to Wilkins and others whose interests lay in the wholecloth order of the microtexts to establish families of witnesses. The manuscript was known to me as one of the few fifteenth-century codices that maintains Petrarch's transcriptional formulae. Its copyist uses generally a 31-line transcriptional field, respecting the construction of the single charta in Petrarch's partial holograph. The manuscript's sole copyist is unusually accurate, even engaging in a form of hyper-correction in his transcription of the *Fragmenta's* sestine with the same

general horizontal layout of the verses that we find in use for the other genres in the partial holograph.

I did not at first realize how accurate the copyist of Segniano 1 actually was. One detail to which some paleographers pay little attention is medieval scribes' use of capital letters, majuscules, except at the beginnings of transcriptional lines and verses. Proper names and even *nomina sacra* are hardly ever capitalized in medieval manuscripts. But preparing my diplomatic-interpretative edition of the *Fragmenta* I elected to indicate Malpaghini's and Petrarch's use of majuscules whether they correspond to modern usage or not. Petrarch and, on a few occasions, Malpaghini had the unusual, but erratic, habit of capitalizing the initial letter in mid-verse, usually after the verse's caesura. Precisely because this practice is erratic it is unique to Petrarch's service copy. Segniano 1 maintains all the numerous instances of these unique majuscules, a feature that it shares with no other manuscript that I have been able to find.<sup>23</sup> In vv. 10-12 of the sonnet "Tra quantunque leggiadre donne et belle" (*Rvf* 218 [Latino 3195: c. 43r]), Petrarch punctuates the minor pause after *venti* (.) and then capitalizes in midverse the *A* of "A la terra":

A laere i venti. A la terra herbe *et* fronde.  
Aluomo *et* lintelecto *et* le parole. *Et* Almar ritollesse i pesci *et* londe.

In the final quire of the autograph codex, Petrarch punctuates the pause in exactly the same way in v. 50 of "Quando il soave mio fido conforto" (*Rvf* 355; revised as 359, c. 69r) and capitalizes the *I* of "Il" after the medial pause (.) in the verse "Vinsi il mondo *et* me stessa. Il lauro segna"; in Segniano 1 this verse appears as:

Vinsi il mondo / et me stessa. In lauro segna

In v. 4 of the ballata "Amor quando fioria" (*Rvf* 324) on c. 50r of Segniano 1 (c. 43r), we find the same majuscule *A* after the short pause after "morte" that we find in the partial holograph:

Ai dispietata morte / Ai crudel vita. Luna ma posto in doglia

And in v. 12 of "Quel vago, dolce, caro, honesto sguardo" (*Rvf* 330) on c. 65r of Latino 3195 Petrarch adopts the majuscule *A* after the medial pause ("Il ciel naspetta. A uoi parra *per* tempo"), a graphological nuance taken up by the copyist of Segniano 1:

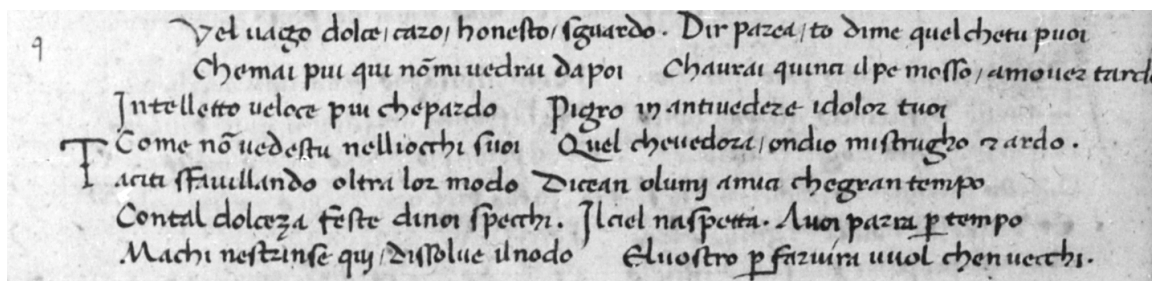


Figure 6: Laur. Segniano 1, c.48v

We can determine additionally that Segniano 1's contact with Petrarch's service copy predated two emendations signaled by Belloni ("Nota"). Malpaghini's original transcription

of v. 44 of “O aspectata in ciel beata e bella” (*Rvf* 28) reads: “qua figli mai qual donne” (cf. Bettarini 142). Petrarch later emends the verse by erasing the *l* of “qual” to the form we know today: “qua’ figli mai, qua’ donne” (cf. Savoca 43). But Segniano 1, c. 6r, like Laurenziano 41.10, still has the older form:

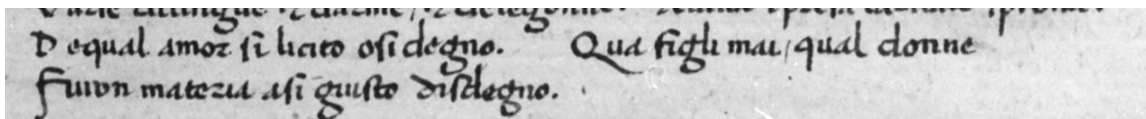


Figure 7: Laur. Segniano 1, c. 6r

“qua figli mai qual donne” (cf., however, Boccaccio’s transcription in Chigiano L v 176, c. 47v: “quai figli mai quai donne”). And again on c. 16r, Segniano 1 registers the reading of v. 21 of “Perché la vita è breve” (71): “Non che laguagli altrui parlar, o mio” before the erasure of the *g* and its insertion marker on c. 15v of the poet’s partial holograph.

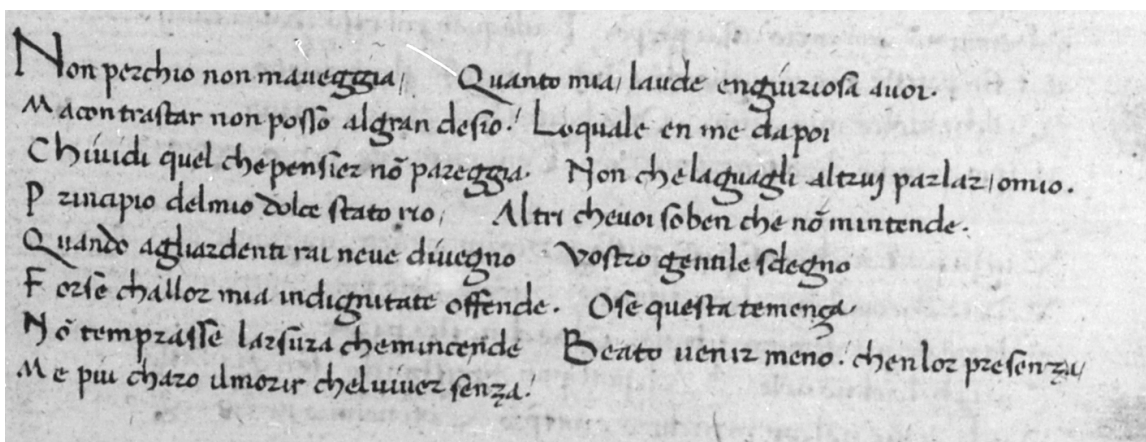


Figure 8: Laur. Segniano 1, c. 16r

These and other minimalia seem to confirm that the copyist of Segniano 1 worked either directly from the service copy at a stage of its preparation when Petrarch had become its sole copyist but before its final emendations or from a very carefully prepared antigraph. We have every reason to believe the copyist’s rubric: “Francisci Petrarce laureati poete ... scripto ipsa manu decti poete” (c. 1r).

If Segniano 1 marks a distinctive height of accuracy in the copying of Petrarch’s *Fragmenta*, the slightly later Laurenziano 41.14 supplies us with two other milestones in the history of the diffusion of Petrarch’s service copy. Dated reliably in its colophon to 1463, this paper codex supplies the model for what I call the “new vernacular Petrarch edition.” Its apparatus begins with a translation into Italian of Aretino’s “Life of Petrarch” and Petrarch’s own “Laura propriis virtutibus illustris”—by then a standard in most Petrarch manuscripts—followed by its translation into Italian, and an alphabetical table of the poems. This introductory apparatus is followed by the *Fragmenta* and the *Triumphs*. Gone are the graphetic features of Petrarch’s transcriptional poetics, replaced by a system of two sonnets per page. We are still thirteen years away from Francesco Filelfo’s partial



commentary, first printed in Bologna, and twenty-one years away from the first complete commentary finished by Girolamo Squarciafico in 1484. Nevertheless we are fully within the model of the vernacular edition whose formula dates back to the early Italian manuscripts of Occitan verse, especially the early fourteenth-century Tuscan Laurenziano 41.42 with its *vidas* and trilingual glossaries. Laurenziano 41.14 represents the apogee of the Petrarchan apparatus upon which much of the sixteenth-century printed tradition will be constructed. Moreover, it is a manuscript that is famous for its authorial variants of the *Triumph* listed in the margins and countersigned by the letters “d.m<sup>a</sup>.d.p.” (and “d.p.”): “di mano del poeta.” The title of the *Fragmenta* does not lay claim to such an authorial antigraph, but the text itself does bear witness to both text and marginal corrections that suggest at least a collation of either Petrarch’s service copy or an early fair copy.

Thus by the second half of the fifteenth century, both in manuscript and in print we have two models for constructing a book of vernacular Petrarch: 1) the text with sparse or no apparatus that boasted its authenticity and connection to the poet, from Valdezoco’s 1472 Paduan edition to the Aldine editions of 1501 and 1514; and 2) editions which offered the user an ever greater interpretative apparatus, from the Bolognese Filelfo commentary tradition of the late fifteenth century to the heavily annotated apparatuses of Vellutello in 1525 and Guglielmo Rovillo’s Lyonese editions of the 1550s. Just two short years after Bembo’s 1501 Aldine edition we see an explosion of editions with multiple commentaries (Filelfo’s, Antonio da Tempo’s, Girolamo Squarciafico’s) in which the text, especially of canzoni, is practically lost under the weight of commentary that isolates stanzas and separates with ever greater distance the space between the work’s microtexts. This is particularly the case with Angelo Scinzenzeler’s 1507 Milanese edition (*Petrarca con doi commenti sopra li soneti et canzone*, which included Nicolò Peranzone’s commentary to the *Triumph*, and Bernardo Stagnino’s 1522 Venetian *Petrarcha con doi commenti sopra li sonetti et canzone*). The ideal but imperfect diary of Petrarch’s *Fragmenta* becomes—especially in Vellutello and thus for the early French Petrarchists as well—the poet’s biography that guides us through interpretation. There is no greater contrast than between, on the one hand, Vellutello’s 1525 Venetian *Volgari opere del Petrarca*—with its table of sonnets and canzoni, its fold-out map, the commentator’s preface, his treatise on the order of the poems, his essay on the life and customs of the poet, and his biography of “Madonna Laura with a description of Vauclus and of the place where the poet first fell in love with her” before the text of his part 1 and extensive commentary begins—and, on the other hand, Melchior Sessa’s 1526 edition of *Li sonetti, canzoni et Triomphi di messer Francesco Petrarca historiati*, which is essentially a reprinting of Bembo’s unannotated 1514 Aldine edition with its significant shift in the beginning of the “Sonetti et canzoni di messer Francesco Petrarca in morte di Madonna Laura” and a concluding table of sonnets and canzoni. The brief and anonymous “A gli lettori” does anything other than create a history (“historiare”) from the poems. Rather its appeal is to the reader: “he who doesn’t see in [Petrarch’s] very lovely verses that he loved so very intensely” (“Chi non vede ne suoi leggiadrissimi versi lui tanto caldamente havere amato”) (c. 1v; signature a Iv).



By the time we reach the 1558 third printing in Lyon of Guglielmo Rovillio's *Petrarca* we find a fusion of Bembo's second edition with the extensive realization of a key element in Vellutello's 1528 title: utility. The apparatus of Rovillio's edition contains annotations for each poem from Bembo's *Prose*, a short life of Petrarch and a description of the birth of Laura, Benedetto Varchi's sonnet for Petrarch's tomb, and François I's epitaph for Laura's tomb. But the utility announced in the title of Rovillio's edition takes us a step further: tools for those who want to write poetry like Petrarch's. After the *Triumph*, Rovillio inserted in unnumbered pages a table of rhyme endings in the *Fragmenta*; he then added with a new pagination and a title page for Luc'Antonio Ridolfi's Table and Guide for *centoni*, or poetic imitations. By 1558 questions of authenticity have given way to issues of imitability, which means that Petrarch's poetry and poetics must in truth conform to late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century standards. Alessandro Tassoni will insist that he hears the French Loreta, rather than Laureta, among the verses of "Quand'io movo i sospiri a chiamar voi" (*Rvf* 5), and added to the sonnet's new poetics we find from then until today another innovation never contemplated by Petrarch: the capitalization and highlighting of "Lau-re-ta" in verses 3, 5, and 7 (cf. Petrarch's version of the poem in Figure 2). But this is a story of a new Petrarch that I leave to others.

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<sup>1</sup> The identification of the codex as belonging to Petrarch's hand was pivotal to the authority of the Aldine edition (*Cose volgari di messer Francesco Petrarca* [1501]) purportedly based on Petrarch's own manuscript, and to Vellutello's counterclaims of its "original status" in 1525 (*Le volgari opere del Petrarca con la esposizione di Alessandro Vellutello da Lucca*) as a basis for his reordering of the poems. See Storey, "Economies of Authority" and Storey, Review of Savoca, *Codicologia ed ecdotica* and *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. Note that throughout this essay abbreviations in diplomatic transcriptions are expanded in italics rather than in parentheses.

<sup>2</sup> See Vattasso, "Introduzione," vii-xxxvii. Ernest Hatch Wilkins' studies, published as individual essays, were assembled and revised in *The Making of the Canzoniere and Other Petrarchan Studies*. Wilkins' conjectures regarding early versions of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* posited forms of the macrotext, rather than variants within the microtexts, working backwards from the state of the last draft available to us, Vaticano Latino 3195, toward the first draft copy, Vaticano Latino 3196.

<sup>3</sup> The draft manuscript Vaticano Latino 3196 contains numerous marginal notations by Petrarch himself that Vattasso believed attest to another manuscript in which poems were ordered as a macrotext, signaled by the pre-1357 annotations of "*transcriptum in ordine*" (1905, xvi-xvii).

<sup>4</sup> See Zamponi, "Il libro del Canzoniere: Modelli, strutture, funzioni," 13-72 and Storey, "All'interno della poetica grafico-visiva di Petrarca," 131-71.

<sup>5</sup> The codex follows the physical ordering of the 366 poems rather than the revised order renumbered in Vat. Lat. 3195.

<sup>6</sup> The reference is, of course, to the landmark editions of Bortolamio Valdezoco, *Francesco Petrarca* in 1472; Pietro Bembo, *Cose volgari* in 1501; and Alessandro Vellutello, *Volgari opere* in 1525. Vellutello's discussion of the "codex bound in white leather" in his introductory remarks, "Trattato de l'ordine de son. et canz. del Pet. Mutato," to the 1525 and 1528 editions makes it clear that he saw and discussed the manuscript with Pietro Bembo, but arrived at conclusions that are very different from those of the publisher of Bembo's 1501 edition, Aldo il Romano (see Storey, "Economies of Authority").

<sup>7</sup> On the scribal use of marginal markers to reorder compositions in a manuscript, see Storey and Capelli, "Modalità," 169-86; and in specific reference to the workshop copy MS Escorial e.III.23, that contains two orderings of Stilnovist poems produced by an elaborate system of markers, see Capelli, "Nuove indagini sulla raccolta di rime italiane del MS. Escorial e.III.23," 73-113. On the origins of the "Malatesta" family of copies of the *Fragmenta* and Petrarch's letter, see Petrarch's *Varia* 9, later redacted by Petrarch as *Senilis* XIII 11, to Pandolfo Malatesta (dated 4 January 1372). Petrarch regrets the poor quality of the binding of the copy of his vernacular poems ("[n]ugellas meas vulgares") that has been sent to Pandolfo. It is the postscriptum of *Varia* 9 ("Sunt apud me ... nihilominus in papyro") that describes how Petrarch has had the copyist leave a good amount of blank space at the end of the two parts so that poems that he sends later, as he sorts through them, can be added: "ideoque mandavi quod utriusque in fine bona spatia linquerentur: et si quidquam occurreret, mittam tibi reclusum nihilominus in papyro" (cited from Fracassetti, *Francisci Petrarcae*, vol. 3, 323). See also Storey, "Petrarch's Concepts of Text and Textual Reform," 201-24.

<sup>8</sup> Two brief examples will have to suffice. The first comes from the multiple placements of the madrigal "Or vedi Amor" that replaces the ballata "Donna mi vene spesso ne la mente" at position 121 in many manuscripts, yet is also found in otherwise authoritative codices, such as Morgan M. 502, in positions relatively near to 121. The other examples come from the fifteenth-century codices Queriniano D II 21 and Riccardiano 1088. In the first manuscript, a second copyist selects a sonnet from Petrarch's *disperse*, or unordered sonnets, "Per utile, per dilecto, e per honore" (c. 36r), to complete part 1 (= 263bis). But in the Riccardiano manuscript, the primary copyist transcribes the popular sonnet "Alessandro lasciò la signoria" immediately after "Arbor victoriosa triumphale" (*Rvf* 263) to fill the charta's right column and to conclude part 1. Notably the same copyist will recycle the same sonnet, but with distinct variants later in the same codex, and attribute it to Dante (see Storey, "Il codice Pierpont Morgan M. 502," 487-504 and Storey, "The Illusion of Authentic Philology.")

<sup>9</sup> See Del Puppo and Storey, 495-512; Zamponi, 13-16; Barolini, 21-44; and, most recently, Pulsoni, 257-68.

<sup>10</sup> Certainly Wilkins' tendency to "narrativize" a history of production was informed by his profound knowledge of the poet's works. But his reliance on probability, conjecture, an indirect knowledge of the material tradition, and what we might call a cultural inclination to impose artificial scientific systems, such as his creation of three categories of intervals between the periods of work Petrarch devoted to the assembly of Vaticano Latino 3195, render his results in some cases unreliable.

<sup>11</sup> On Queriniano D II 21 and this sonnet, see Gaffuri, 75-91.

<sup>12</sup> See Armando Petrucci's pages on Petrarch's philosophical orientation to writing in *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca*, 58-70, expanded upon in Storey, "Petrarch's Concepts."

<sup>13</sup> Much of what follows on Petrarch's visual poetics is taken generally from Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*, 225-419. For specifics on the five individual genres in the *Fragmenta*, see Storey, "All'interno." For an *excursus* on the development of the transcription of Italian lyrics in the Due- and the Trecento and the implications of that development in Petrarch's *Fragmenta*, see Brugnolo, 105-29.

<sup>14</sup> See Storey, "Il codice Pierpont Morgan," 501. By my calculations, if Petrarch had not reverted to this singular departure from his transcriptional formula for the canzone, he would have needed to use an additional bifolium, one folded sheet, adding two chartae to the insert, something that would have drastically changed his material plan for the two loose bifolia that would become cc. 67-70 in Vaticano Latino 3195. This plan for an altered transcriptional formula that will fit the material support of the two bifolia signals additionally, I believe, his transformation of the codex into a service copy not for circulation. In the construction of a new fair copy, Petrarch's insert would have been "unpacked" into a more readable form and the renumbered compositions repositioned.

<sup>15</sup> See the appendix of Belloni, "Storia," 102-04, entitled "Caratteristiche del Vat. Lat. 3195: Guida agli indicatori per codici da esso trascritti," and, for the codex's "minimalia," see Storey, "L'edizione diplomatica di Ettore Modigliani," in Belloni, et al., 385-92.

<sup>16</sup> Modigliani, *Il canzoniere di Francesco Petrarca*, now reproduced in Belloni, et al., 181-384, from which all citations are taken in this essay.

<sup>17</sup> Savoca, 6-7; Bettarini, 18.

<sup>18</sup> For additional discussion of the manuscript and early-print tradition, especially the case of Valdezoco's reading of "Quel" in *Rvf* 4, v. 1, see Storey, review of Savoca in *Textual Cultures*.

<sup>19</sup> On the remnants of the process of erasure left on the parchment of Vaticano Latino 3195, see Storey, "All'interno," 142-43, and *Transcription*, 353-77.

<sup>20</sup> Rovillio, 301; Muratori, 446; Carducci and Ferrari, 322.

<sup>21</sup> For my proposed restoration of Petrarch's intended reading of v. 9 of "Geri, quando talor meco s'adira" (on c. 37r of the holograph) from the modern conjecture of "Eccio non fusse and non altramente" to "Se ciò non fusse" (guaranteed by the tradition against the holograph's reading altered by a later hand) and other problematic readings, see Storey, "Doubting Petrarca's Last Words," esp. 81-83 for an extended excursus on this reading.

<sup>22</sup> See Sandra Giarin's detailed study of Bembo's actual use of Petrarch's partial holograph "Petrarca e Bembo."

<sup>23</sup> See Storey, "All'interno" 148-50 for a more extensive discussion of Segniano 1's replication of Petrarch's use of the mid-verse majuscule, a topic upon which I am preparing a more detailed study.

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