

# Ecdotica

*Fondata da Francisco Rico,  
con Gian Mario Anselmi  
ed Emilio Pasquini*



# Ecdotica

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## INDICE

LOREDANA CHINES, PAOLA ITALIA, « <i>Rigore e audacia</i> » di un maestro. <i>Francisco Rico a Bologna</i>	9
BARBARA BORDALEJO, <i>A humble account and little homage for Paco</i>	24
<b>Saggi / Essays.</b> Filologia italiana e digital culture. A cura di Igor Candido / <i>Italian philology and digital culture. Edited by Igor Candido.</i>	
IGOR CANDIDO, <i>Rethinking Italian Philology: Textual Criticism and Digital Practice</i>	27
NADIA CANNATA, <i>Memory and loss: digital tools and the writing of history. A few considerations</i>	37
ATTILIO CICCHELLA, <i>Browsing through the search engines and digital archives of Accademia della Crusca: chapters of the history of indirect tradition</i>	51
GAIA TOMAZZOLI, <i>Digital resources for Dante studies: a critical survey</i>	77
IGOR CANDIDO, <i>Notes Serving the Critical Edition of Petrarch's De vita solitaria</i>	113
ISABELLA MAGNI, <i>From Codex to &lt;Code&gt;: Digital Perspectives in the Study of the Materiality of Medieval Texts</i>	159
WAYNE STOREY, <i>The Bifolium, the Fascicle, Petrarch's «Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta» and the «Petrarchive»'s Fascicler</i>	187
BRENDAN O'CONNELL, <i>The Afterlives of Adam Scriveyn: Chaucer's Scribe in Dantes's Inferno</i>	231
<b>Foro / Meeting.</b> Postille d'autore. Tipologie e criteri di edizione / <i>Authorial annotations. Types and editorial criteria.</i>	
MAURIZIO FIORILLA, <i>Il sistema di annotazione di Boccaccio: tipologie di glosse e questioni ecdotiche (con una proposta per il Decameron) / On Boccaccio's marginalia: glossing procedures and ecdotic issues (with a proposal for the Decameron)</i>	247
ERMINIA ARDISSINO, <i>Le postille del Tasso a Plotino: tipologia e struttura / Tasso's annotations to Plotinus: types and structure</i>	269

- CHRISTIAN DEL VENTO, Per una tassonomia delle postille: il caso di Alfieri / *For a taxonomy of authorial annotations: the case of Alfieri* 299
- PAOLO D'IORIO, L'edizione della biblioteca e delle letture di Nietzsche / *The edition of Nietzsche's library and readings* 336

### Questioni / Issues

- BEATRICE NAVA, Edizioni a sistema? Il percorso editoriale dei *Promessi sposi* dal progetto di Isella all'orizzonte digitale / *Editions as a System? The Editorial Journey of I Promessi Sposi from Isella's Project to the Digital Horizon* 363

### Rassegne / Reviews

Elena Gatti, *Francesco Zambrini tra filologia e bibliografia* (A. ANTONELLI), p. 383 · Robert Darnton, *Editori e pirati* (F. FORMIGARI), p. 387 · Maria Gioia Tavoni, «Libri all'antica». *Le Edizioni dell'Elefante nel panorama dell'editoria italiana (1964-2011)* (M. ZACCARELLO), p. 397 · Pasquale Stoppelli, *L'arte del filologo* (V. BRIGATTI), p. 402 · Alberto Cadioli, *Il testo in tipografia. Lo studio filologico delle edizioni a stampa* (P. STOPPELLI), p. 410 · Anne Baillot, *From Handwriting to Footprinting. Text and Heritage in the Age of Climate Crisis* (R. PRIORE), p. 412 · Dirk Van Hulle & Mark Nixon (ed.), *Write, cut, rewrite. The cutting-room Floor of Modern Literature* (P. ITALIA), p. 420 · Ilaria Burattini, *Il copialettere di Francesco Guicciardini. Una fonte per la «Storia d'Italia»* (M. FANTACCI), p. 428 · Dirk Van Hulle (ed.), *Genetic Narratology: Analysing Narrative across Versions* (E. SPADINI), p. 434 · Nathalie Ferrand, *Dans l'atelier de Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Genèse et interprétation* (M. MORSELLI), p. 437

### Cronache / Chronicles

- JESSICA TASSELLI, Textkritik, Metrik, und Paläographie im Leben und Werk von Paul Maas (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 19 novembre 2024) 441
- FILIPPO PELACCI, Genesis Bologna 2024: Costants and Variants in Genetic Criticism (University of Bologna-Ariostea Library, Ferrara, 9-11 May 2024) 444
- LUCIA GIAGNOLINI, MARIANGELA GIGLIO, Il Futuro della Memoria: Dove, Come, Cosa Salvare (Milano, 5 novembre 2024) 458

# THE BIFOLIUM, THE FASCICLE, PETRARCH'S «RERUM VULGARIUM FRAGMENTA» AND THE «PETRARCHIVE»'S FASCICLER

H. WAYNE STOREY

## ABSTRACT

The folding of a single sheet of parchment or paper to create two *chartae* (four modern “pages”) has long been recognized as the fundamental building block of medieval and early modern manuscripts and thus of European literature. While some might dismiss such a material feature, the construction of often highly articulated literary structures within and among works, from sonnets to the multiple texts of miscellanies, often involves the manipulation of gatherings of *bifolia* at the core of a literary product. While some manuscripts demonstrate a seemingly well-planned regularity in the assembly of quaternions or quinions, others reveal a far more complex management of materials, and thus of literary space.

This essay investigates the problems and solutions of assembly of gatherings of a single work in multiple scribal products, Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (or *Canzoniere*), and the literary, historical and cultural implications at the core of their constructions in MSS as diverse as Laurenziano 41.17 (ca. 1375?), Vaticano Latino 3195 (Petrarch's partial holograph of the work unbound at the time of his death in 1374), British Library Kings 321, apparently copied in a Venetian prison and completed in 1400, and Cornell MS 4648n22 [and 22A], produced around 1470. All four MSS reveal unique constructions that reflect key structural strategies both of the authorial formulation of the work, from its genesis to its revised execution, and of its transmission and reception in textual cultures drawn to the *Fragmenta* as a literary icon that they ultimately convert into later material codes.

Given the fundamental kinds of information that the construction of *bifolia* and gatherings can tell us about a work and its cultural reception, one of the goals of the *Petrarch archive editions* (<http://petrarch.org>) has been to develop a digital representation and teaching tool capable of communicating the linkage between concept and material execution of literary form instilled in the structures of bifolia and their gatherings. The formula typically found in manuscript descriptions and designed to communicate solely to specialists (such as 1<sup>8</sup>, 2<sup>8</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>8</sup>,

7<sup>4</sup>, 8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>4</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup> [the fascicles of Petrarch's partial holograph Vatican Latino 3195]) never tells the story of the architectural and conceptual complexities of a text's gatherings. In the *Petrarch* we attempted to address this complexity by linking the construction of fascicles to the contents of the individual *chartae* (together with line graphs of their scribal structure). But we felt the tool was of limited value and began building the more visually oriented 'fascicler' ([http://dcl.slis.indiana.edu/petrarchive/visindex\\_fascicles.php](http://dcl.slis.indiana.edu/petrarchive/visindex_fascicles.php)), which more accurately contextualizes individual *chartae* within their *bifolia* and to the texts they contain, visually explaining their functions within the gathering and in the construction of the work, or macrotext, itself. The last part of the essay examines and analyzes the development of the *Petrarch* 'fascicler' as a digital tool in reclaiming the materiality of early works such as Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*.

### Keywords

bifolium, fascicle (gathering), medieval manuscripts, *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, Petrarch.

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The folding of a single sheet of parchment or paper to create two *chartae* (four modern 'pages' front and back) has long been recognized as the fundamental building block of medieval and early modern manuscripts, and thus of European literature. While some might dismiss such a material feature, the construction of often highly articulated literary structures within and among works – from sonnets to the multiple texts of miscellanies – often involves the manipulation of gatherings of *bifolia* as a core element of a literary product.<sup>1</sup> While some manuscripts demon-

\* The *Petrarch*'s Fascicler, a principal subject of this study, and the *Petrarch*'s Scalable Vector Graphics (SVGs) depend on color distinctions for their functionality and visualization of the construction and composition of the gatherings (fascicles) and individual *chartae* of Petrarch's holograph manuscript of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Vaticano Latino 3195). Both printed and online in black and white and grey tones only, Ecdotica is unable to address this fundamental feature. Please consult <http://Petrarch.org> for these restored forms.

<sup>1</sup> Born from early modern manuscript library censuses and augmented by the language of rare booksellers, the often inconsistent terminology of codicology is in long need of standardization. At the core of that standardization is the use of the term 'folio', a single sheet, which is then folded to construct a *bifolium* that consists of two '*chartae*' (cc.), each of which contains a *recto* and a *verso*. A miscellany is a manuscript that con-



strate a seemingly well-planned regularity in the assembly of gatherings in the form of quaternions or quinions, others reveal a far more complex management of materials, and thus of literary space.<sup>2</sup> Thus from medieval Romance anthologies as diverse as Laurenziano Pluteo 41.42, Paris BnF fr. 847, and Vatican Latino 3793, and authorially supervised – or even

tains several or even numerous works compiled by the same copyist or group of copyists. The miscellany is distinct from the composite manuscript, which is constructed by assembling separate manuscripts produced potentially even years after their transcriptions. The distinction between miscellanies and composite manuscripts is aided by the accurate identification of their codicological features, especially the ruled writing space of each transcription rather than relying solely on the external measurements of manuscript ‘pages’, which have often been trimmed and resized.

<sup>2</sup> In keeping with the important reform and standardization of codicological vocabulary proposed by Denis Muzerelle in 1985, the use of a more consistent terminology for describing gatherings builds logically upon the number of *bifolia* used to construct the fascicle, from the independent *bifolium* (alternatively but not unproblematically called a ‘unione’ or, preferred by Ornato 2000 [p. 42, n. 15], a ‘monione’) and the binion, a gathering of two interleaved *bifolia* (previously called a ‘duerno’), to the ternion (three interleaved *bifolia*, or six *chartae* / 12 modern pages), the quaternion (four *bifolia*), the quinion, the senion, settenion and the ottonion (see also Maniaci 1996, pp. 132–136; and especially Ornato 2000, pp. 41–51). Ornato’s privileging of the quaternion and quinion in these pages reflects the focus of his statistical analysis of entire fascicles from a large database of manuscripts of geographically and chronologically diverse production (see particularly Busonero 1999) without considering the structural variables in the composition of individual fascicles, notably offset by his own example of the primordial forms of unbound and circulating university *peciae* documented especially in Bologna, where copyists were not paid according to the length of the copies they made but the length of their models (antegraphs), which were not complete quinions or senions but unbound binions (two interleaved *bifolia* [see Ornato 2000, p. 72]). For the question of the use of ‘booklets’ in medieval manuscripts, see Robinson 1980 and, in response, Hanna 1986. The pragmatic question of the role of the ‘booklet’ in the production of literary texts spans early Italian literature from Ms. Vaticano Latino 3793, a collection of booklets organized according to individual poets and their ‘schools’ (Antonelli 1992; Storey 1993, pp. 5–69) to the copy of Vergil and Statius commissioned by Petrarch’s father for his son (Billanovich 1985; Storey 2018) and the complex workshop copy – organized by fascicles – of Stilnovist poetry, Ms. Escorial e.III.23 (see Capelli 2004) reveals the often strict relationship between a text and its material strategies of presentation and cultural alteration. For the study of the construction of fascicles and booklets, Gilissen 1977 is still a fundamental starting point. But the most innovative and methodologically thorough study of literary construction by fascicles/booklets is Giosuè Lachin’s introduction to the earliest Italian poets, who wrote in Old Occitan, for the volume *I trovatori nel Veneto e a Venezia*. Lachin (2008) details fascicle-by-fascicle the historical composition of the mid-thirteenth-century codex a.R.4.4 (today owned by the Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria in Modena and commonly referred to as manuscript ‘D’ in the Old Occitan tradition).

penned – works, such as Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Vatican Latino 3195) and Giovanni Boccaccio's notebooks ([Zibaldoni] Laurenziano Pluteo 29.8) to sixteenth-century printed editions recycled by publishers with new introductions and dedications, the *bifolium* has played a pivotal structural role not just in the production and dissemination of literature but even in the conceptualization of authors' poetics.

Thus what we usually see of the *bifolium* is the individual *charta*, front or back, or the single manuscript page, which is actually part of a larger unit often hidden from the reader thanks to the sewn construction of the manuscript's gatherings.<sup>3</sup> But for the copyist who has the task of preparing individual *bifolia* to be interleaved usually one inside another to make gatherings, or fascicles, that will be sewn together with other gatherings to make the book we are to read, the *bifolium* is an essential tool and point of orientation.<sup>4</sup> What we often see in the digital or photographic representation of a manuscript is, of course, the single page, the *recto* or *verso* of a *charta* isolated from two material contexts: first, its scribally oriented conjunct leaf, whose contents might appear further away in the fascicle, and second, for users who read from one *charta* – or photographic image – to the next, the far more complex context of the interrelationships of *bifolia* across which the text moves in its linear unfolding.<sup>5</sup> In fact, it is the folding of the single sheet of parchment or paper and the successive interleaving of those folded sheets that constitutes through its divisions, or folding, a unity of content and material. It is enough to consider a manuscript whose gatherings have been reas-

<sup>3</sup> See Ornato's observation (Ornato 2000, p. 36) on the relatively 'invisible' nature of manuscript gatherings for the reader, except in the case of parchment codices for the copyist's adherence to 'Gregory's rule', by which the hair and flesh sides of the skin were matched.

<sup>4</sup> This interleaved construction is critical in distinguishing literary and other genres of works from the binding of separate historical documents, typically sewn together one entire folded unit after another as units and not interleaved. However, even in the case of some literary manuscripts, interleaving is not always a standard usage. Emily Dickinson's mid-nineteenth-century literary 'Fascicles' were not interleaved by the poet but bound together one folded sheet after the previous folded sheet with the individual units stitched together in a process known as 'stab binding' (see Werner 1995, pp. 11-12). This same stab binding, or 'filze', is often used by archivists for historical documents.

<sup>5</sup> Notably in many digital archives of rare book libraries, a 'dual-page visibility' is available. Except where the manuscript is open to the fascicle's central internal *bifolium*, this view by necessity incorporates the materials of two separate *bifolia*, that is – on the left – the *verso* of the preceding *bifolium* and – on the right – the *recto* of a different *bifolium*.

sembled incorrectly during a codex's rebinding or the puzzle that ensues for readers and editors who must painfully reconstruct misplaced (or worse, missing) content in a contaminated material sequence.

Thus at the core of the *bifolium*'s use in the hands of copyists and authors alike are the key strategies of reception/perception on the one hand and representation on the other. In both cases, as I have discussed elsewhere, filters such as traditions of literary genres, scribal training and local trends in the preparation and reading of works have often dictated the structural deployment of the *bifolium* and the larger unit of the gathering, or fascicle, itself.<sup>6</sup> Such historical and geographical conditions ultimately require a careful assessment of the manuscript or printed witness, its producer(s) and the cultural context of its production.<sup>7</sup> First and foremost, however, both the *bifolium* and the gathering were units of production almost invariably 'sewn into' the greater structural complexities of a text to such an extent that the material unit was normally designed not to be immediately apparent in the 'finished product', that is for the reader's eyes. In some cases, the very unity of a work or, in the case of a miscellany, a book that contained multiple works, appears to have depended upon the seamlessness of the gatherings. The above-noted example of the copy of Vergil and Statius prepared for Petrarch (today MS Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A79 inf. Sala Prefetto 10/27 [*olim* A49 inf. 1], the so-called Virgilio Ambrosiano) was purposefully copied and assembled so that no individual work would conclude at the end of a fascicle, or begin on the first *charta* of a new gathering.<sup>8</sup> While clearly stressing the unity of the gatherings as a book, this material technique of seamlessness represents an important step away from the medieval formula of booklet-to-work or groupings of works that could be assembled as relatively independent units by a copyist or a compiler. The literary-material implications of this subtle technique can be found, for example, in the transitions between fascicles of Petrarch's own copy of his *Fragmenta* (Vaticano Latino 3195). The poet uses 'canzoni' to span and link Fascicles I-II, II-III, III-IV (*Rvf* 37,

<sup>6</sup> See Storey 1993, pp. 203–206; Petrucci 1967, pp. 10–12, but also Ornato 2000, pp. 72–73.

<sup>7</sup> Pioneered by Bozzolo and Ornato (1980), the field of quantitative codicology establishes geo-cultural tendencies by which we can measure the production and differences among individual copyists and compilers in a given period and geographical location. See also Ornato 1997 and Storey 2013.

<sup>8</sup> See Storey 2018, 20–23. While Petrarch's 'Vergil' (and Statius) cannot be directly consulted, the reader can turn to Bibliotheca Ambrosiana 1930. For a more detailed study, see Billanovich 1985.

72, and 119 respectively) of the First Project's total six gatherings (quaternions) and one binion (today: I-V, VIII and IX), or 32 of the project's original 52 *chartae*. Notably the songbook's Part II, today's Fascicle VIII, opens on a new gathering with a canzone, *I' vo pensando* (Rvf 264). But the more complex mechanics of seamlessness for the copyist will demonstrate a reciprocal aesthetic and nuanced functionality for readers, and not just for Petrarch's readers. In its opposition to the independence of the medieval textual unit of the fascicle, this new kind of interdependence of fascicles reveals a significant shift in early readers' orientation to and aesthetic for the material assembly of works they commissioned and read.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, also part of what we might call an 'anticipated spatial aesthetic', the common practice of employing blank space as a form of macro-punctuation, as much as the entire side of a *charta*, in some instances logically corresponded to the end of a gathering, most notably in the case of the end of Part I and the beginning of Part II of Petrarch's own copy of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (MS Vaticano Latino 3195, cc. 52v-53r: Fascicles VII [cc. 49-52] to VIII [cc. 53-60]), in which c. 52v is blank.<sup>10</sup> Boccaccio's ca. 1360-1362 copy of an early draft of Petrarch's *Fragmenta* employs the same blank *charta* (MS Vaticano Chigiano L v 176, c. 72v) before the beginning of Part II (*Io vo pensando, et nel pensier m'assale*) on c. 73r. Here it is enough to remember that the structure of Boccaccio's copy, part of what we believe was a much larger 'Dante project', does not accommodate the division with the same transition between the two fascicles. Rather, organized by quaternions, the break in Boccaccio's transcription in MS Chigiano L v 176 between Part I and Part II falls within one of the codex's regular quaternions (cc. 71-78) that contains the final 11 sonnets of Part I (as the *Fragmentorum liber* was then constituted) and all the poems of Part II, from the canzone *I' vo pensando* (Rvf 264) to the sonnet *Mentre che 'l cor dagli amorosi vermi*

<sup>9</sup> For more on the intricacies of this aesthetic, see Ornato 2000, pp. 33-39; and, more recently, Storey 2018.

<sup>10</sup> This tradition of the blank page to distinguish sections of a text continues into early modern printing for some works, such as the Paganini's *Commedia* (1527-1532), but not for others, such as Pietro de Nicolini da Sabio's 1537 *Decameron*, in which initials mark new sections of the work. In Petrarch's Vaticano Latino 3195, the verso of c. 52 is part of a binion (Fascicle VII: cc. 49-52) added by Petrarch to accommodate sonnets Rvf 260-263 on c. 49r. While cc. 49v-52r are all ruled for additional transcription, Petrarch leaves them blank. A later, fifteenth-century hand adds a colophon at the top of c. 49v, which was subsequently partially erased. The binion's internal *bifolium*, cc. 50-51, is entirely blank.

(Rvf304).<sup>11</sup> This would be a relatively insignificant material fact if it were not for Boccaccio's other habits of spatial organization in the rest of the manuscript, which notably now contains in his own hand his *Origine vita costumi e studi del chiarissimo poeta Dante Alighieri di Firenze et dell'opere composte dallui* (cc. 1r-13r), Dante's *Vita nuova* (cc. 13r-28v), Dino del Garbo's commentary to the text of Guido Cavalcanti's *Donna mi priega* (cc. 29r-32v), Boccaccio's *Ytalie iam certus* (c. 34r), and Dante's *canzoni distese* (cc. 34v-43r) before his transcription of Petrarch's *Fragmentorum liber* (cc. 43v-79r). Boccaccio's own *Vita di Dante* concludes on c. 13r with just enough space for the rubric that announces the *explicit* of his *Vita* and the *incipit* of Dante's *Vita nuova*. In much the same fashion, the beginning of Boccaccio's transcription of Petrarch's *Fragmentorum liber* follows immediately on the *verso* of the very same *charta* on which he concludes Dante's *canzoni distese* (43r), a section that Boccaccio closes with the simple rubric: *Finiscono le canzoni distese di Dante*. On this last *charta* devoted to Dante's lyric poetry, Boccaccio uses only 35 transcriptional lines of his usual 42-line canvas (the rubric occupies line 37). Thus at the very center of the quaternion (cc. 39-46), on the *bifolium*'s contiguous sheet, cc. 43v-44r, Boccaccio introduces the rubric of the work he is copying, the *incipit* and first eight full sonnets and 11 verses of Rvf 9 (*Quando 'l pianeta che distingue l'ore*).<sup>12</sup> It would seem that the spatial calculation for the *mise-en-présentation* from the end of Dante's *canzoni distese* to Petrarch's *Fragmentorum liber* is typical of Boccaccio the copyist in this manuscript. And yet in the very same codex Boccaccio marks the *Liber*'s internal partition between Parts I and II, which is at this moment in the history of the *Fragmenta* between

<sup>11</sup> For a partial study of the conjecturable antigraph from which the copyist Boccaccio and Petrarch's primary scribe, probably Giovanni Malpaghini, copied the bulk of Petrarch's 'First Project' of the *Fragmenta* now in MS Vaticano Latino 3195, see Storey 2015-2016. For a description of the 'First Project', see the Glossary *ad vocem* of the *Petrarchiche* (Aresu, et al. 2015-2024).

<sup>12</sup> The rubric, again in Boccaccio's hand, at the top of c. 43v is: *Viri illustris atq(ue) poete celeberrimi francisci petrarche de florentia nuper laureati. fragmentorum liber incipit feliciter*; the illustrated initial V of the incipit of *Voi chascoltate in rime sparse il suono* occupies over three transcriptional lines and extends eight letter spaces into the body of the text, slightly over the rubric and well out into the left margin. It is slightly wider than it is tall and significantly larger than the I of *Io vo pensando* at c. 73r. Notably the first *charta*, c. 43v, contains the first four sonnets, as Petrarch's own holograph (Latino 3195) will, but in a different textual layout. The second *charta* of the conjunct leaf of the fascicle's internal *bifolium*, c. 44r, presents Rvf 5-8 and the first 11 verses of Rvf 9, *Quando 'l pianeta che distingue l'ore*.

*Passa la nave mia colma d'obblío* (Rvf 189 [c. 72r] and *Io vo pensando et nel pensier m'assale* (Rvf 264 [c. 73r]) by leaving c. 72v completely blank. Notably only 14 of the 42 transcriptional lines on *charta* 72r are used by the copyist to complete *Mille piagge in un giorno et mille rivi* (Rvf 177) and *Passa la nave* (Rvf 189). The remaining blank 28 transcriptional lines the copyist still has available are not kept in reserve for additional entries.<sup>13</sup> Nor do they seem designed to signal anything other than the closure of Part I. In the context of Boccaccio's Chigiano L v 176, this is a significant editorial and material marker that punctuates the imposition of an additional system on Boccaccio's treatment of the text. If we can assume that Boccaccio treated the rubric and the *incipit* of the *Fragmenta* in his typical scribal fashion, as we saw in his handling of Dante's textual units in the *Vita nova* and his own *Vita di Dante*, the division between Parts I and II would seem to be suggested – if not imposed – by his antigraph, the Petrarchan exemplar from which he copied the *Liber* and which probably served Giovanni Malpaghini as his base copy.<sup>14</sup>

But what is it that we see in these two different material examples of the very same passage of text in the hands of two copyists (Boccaccio and Petrarch) from roughly the same period (1360s-1370s)? And what does that difference tell us both about Petrarch's work and its preparation and eventual circulation? And even more importantly, the role of the *bifolium* itself? And finally, especially for our goals here in examining the relationships between manuscript and digital representation, how do we as researchers represent these fundamental material and conceptual features of works to readers?

Given the fundamental kinds of information that the construction of *bifolia* and gatherings can tell us about a work and its cultural reception, one of the goals of the *Petrarch* editions (<http://petrarch.org>) has been to develop a digital representation and teaching tool capable of communicating the linkage between concept and material execution of literary form instilled in the structures of *bifolia* and their gatherings,

<sup>13</sup> The scribal technique of leaving blank space 'in reserve' to insert additional poems was used by numerous medieval copyists, including the primary scribe of Petrarch's partial holograph (Vaticano Latino 3195), the amanuensis of Laurenziano 41.17 and the early fifteenth-century copyist of the 'Gorizia Petrarch', especially on pp. 58-59, where the scribe left space for two sonnets between Rvf 156 and 159. I discuss the complex scribal system of the Laurenziano codex in Capelli-Storey 2006. I am grateful to my colleague on the *Petrarch*, Giulia Benghi, for sharing her detailed work with me on the Gorizia manuscript.

<sup>14</sup> See Storey 2015-2016 for the partial reconstruction of this exemplar.

or fascicles. The formula typically found in manuscript descriptions and designed, it would seem, to communicate solely to specialists (such as 1<sup>8</sup>, 2<sup>8</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>4</sup>, 8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>4</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup> [the fascicles of Petrarch's partial holograph Vaticano Latino 3195]) seems to tell rather poorly the story of the architectural and conceptual complexities of the innerworkings of a text's gatherings and even smaller material units. In the *Petrarchive* we originally attempted to address this complexity by linking the construction of fascicles to the contents of the individual *chartae* (together with line graphs of their scribal structure). But we felt the tool was of limited value and began building the more visually oriented 'fascicler', which more accurately contextualizes individual *chartae* within their *bifolia* and to the texts they contain, while visually explaining their functions within the gathering and in the construction of the work, or macrotext, itself.<sup>15</sup> Many of the images used in this essay are taken from the site's digital tools, especially the *Petrarchive* Fascicler. For obvious reasons they are not here interactive as they are in the site's Visual Index. As we move forward in the work of the *Petrarchive*, we will be exploring ways to make the tool more responsive to the intricate patterns of scribal manipulation we are about to explore in this essay.<sup>16</sup>

To answer our first questions, however, we should review the basic steps in the preparation and use of these two kinds of *bifolia* and of the unit in general. In our two cases above the role of the *bifolium* within the fascicle, from a free-standing *bifolium* to the folded sheet in larger constructions, such as trinions, quaternions, quinions, etc., the function of the *bifolium* is almost invariably one of an integrated design and planning. But in each case, the textual and visual relationships change according to what De Robertis long ago noted – in the context of the sequencing of poems – as an essential question of 'contiguity'.<sup>17</sup> In the actual preparation of a *bifolium*, 'proximity' (or contiguity) takes two forms: the first actualizes the potential space of ruled parchment or paper usually already planned to host a particular kind of text or texts and, potentially, paratexts. This pre-arrangement of the *bifolium*'s space is almost certainly executed in coordination with other *bifolia* that will comprise the gathering. Thus in the preparation phase of a quater-

<sup>15</sup> To access the Fascicler in the *Petrarchive*: go to <http://petrarchive.org>, select the *Visual Index*, and then select the *Petrarchive Visual Index (Arranged by Fascicles)*.

<sup>16</sup> For more on the development of the *Petrarchive*'s tools and the conceptual and editorial origins of the project out of my own failed diplomatic (print) edition of MS Vaticano Latino 3195, see Storey 2020.

<sup>17</sup> See De Robertis 1985.



nion, constituted by the four *bifolia* each eventually inserted consecutively one inside the previous *bifolium*, the text copied on the *recto* of the first *charta* of the outermost *bifolium* (1r [or 1Ar]) bears a greater material relationship with the texts that will occupy the very same side of the sheet of parchment and that will become the gathering's final *verso* (8v, but materially Fascicle I.1Bv).

FIG. 1



The other kind of proximity is the result of the assembly of the material pieces that constitute the sequenced unity of the gathering, or fascicle.<sup>18</sup> This proximity is representational. We might presume at this level of textuality the role of the *bifolium* is reduced if not, as Ezio Ornato has proposed, virtually invisible.<sup>19</sup> Notably the juncture between material and representational proximity surfaces most clearly at the center of the gathering, in the case of a quaternion cc. 4v-5r, or the first *charta* of the fourth *bifolium* (4A) and the second *charta* of the folded sheet (4B).<sup>20</sup> It is here that textual sequence and material contiguity of the central internal *bifolium* and, potentially, the larger fascicle are obviously aligned. Within the context of Petrarch's supervised and then holograph copy,

<sup>18</sup> More interactive forms of the Fascicler can be found at the *Petrarchive* (<http://petrarchive.org> [Aresu et al. 2015-2024]), the *Petrarchive Visual Index (Arranged by Fascicles)*.

<sup>19</sup> Ornato 2000, p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> Throughout this essay the interleaved structure of fascicles will be noted by fascicle, *bifolium*, side of the folded sheet and, where necessary, the front (*recto*) or back (*verso*) of the sheet. Thus Fascicle III.2Av, for example, indicates the *verso* of the second *charta* in Fascicle III, while III.2Br describes the *recto* of its conjunct leaf, the second half of the folded sheet, c. 7, in the same fascicle.

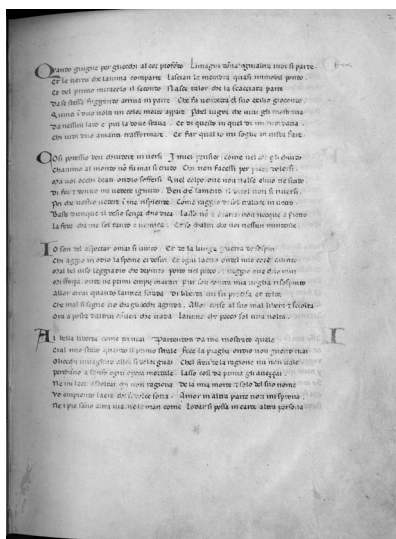
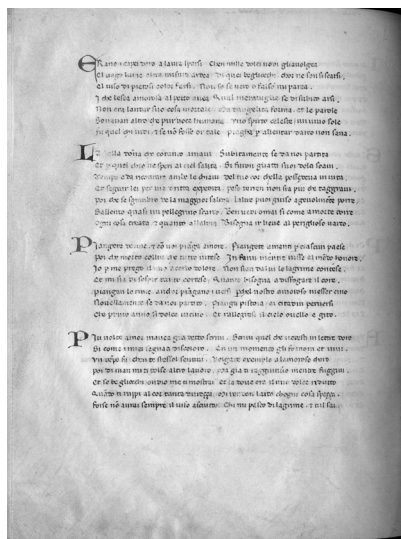


this contiguity at the core of the central *bifolium* and the fascicle can be delineated by one of two material-textual circumstances.

This contiguity at the core of the *bifolium* and the fascicle can reveal either specular or contrastive representational structures. The specular structure of open, facing leaves obviously reinforces the unifying continuum of the *mise-en-page*, in this case of the two-verses-per-line transcription of Petrarch's typical four-sonnets-per-charta presentation extended over a 31-line scribal canvas:

FIG. 2

MS Vaticano Latino 3195, cc. 20v-21r, the open conjunct leaves of the central *bifolium* (4) of Fascicle III (cc. 17-24): Fascicle III.4Av-4Br.



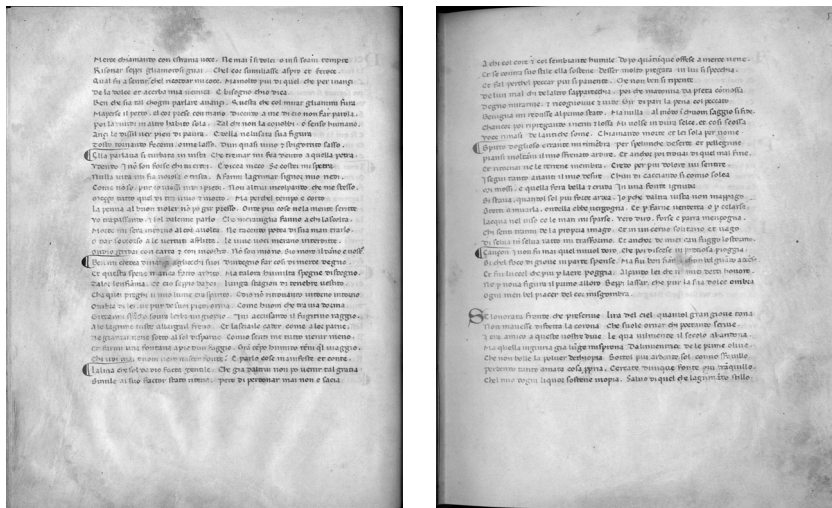
On the other hand, a contrastive structure underscores to the reader the diversity of genres collected in such close material proximity.<sup>21</sup> This construction operates in direct contrast to late medieval poetic anthologies arranged by similarity of genre and not diverse transcriptional sys-

<sup>21</sup> Petrarch's innovative juxtaposition of lyric genres was diametrically opposed to the segregation of genres in early lyric anthologies (such as MSS Vaticano Latino 3793, Laurenziano Rediano 9 and the slightly later Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze Banco Rari 217), in which shorter genres (sonnets, ballate, madrigals) were usually transcribed in a different section of the codex from the longer canzoni. Dante's *Vita nuova*, in which

tems. Petrarch's contrastive structure also sets in clear relief – for reader and copyist alike – the complexity of contiguous transcriptional and prosodic systems. At the center of the first quaternion (Fascicle I) Petrarch's copyist sets vv. 63–169 of the *Fragmenta*'s first canzone *Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade* (Rvf 23) two hendecasyllables per transcriptional line, except for the final, standalone verse 169, against the sonnet (*Se l'onorata fronde che prescrive* [Rvf 24]) on c. 5r (and against the memory of the transcriptionally complex sonnet-sestina combination on c. 3v [*Mille fiato o dolce mia guerrera* (Rvf 21) – *A qualunque animale alberga in terra* (Rvf 22)]):

FIG. 3

MS Vaticano Latino 3195, cc. 4v–5r, the open conjunct leaves of the central *bifolium* (4) of Fascicle I (cc. 1–8): Fascicle I.4Av–4Br.



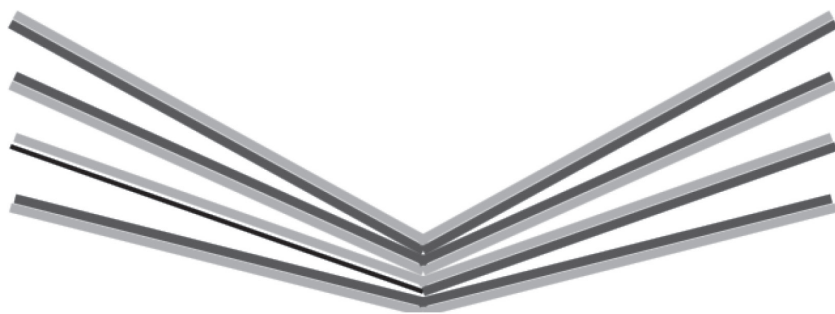
Of the eleven fascicles that constitute MS Vaticano Latino 3195, the central open conjunct leaves of five fascicles (III [cc. 17–24]: cc. 20v–21r, IV [cc. 25–32]: cc. 28v–29r, V [cc. 33–40]: cc. 36v–37r, VI [cc. 41–48]: cc. 44v–45r, and VIII [cc. 53–60]: cc. 56v–57r) are specular, demonstrating either two facing *chartae* of four sonnets each (III, V, VI, and VIII) or the continuation of a canzone (IV). Four fascicles (I [cc. 1–8]: cc. 4v–5r, II [cc. 9–

genres were mixed but usually sutured together by prose narrative and explanations, was a forerunner of Petrarch's more aggressive and scribally controlled experiment.

16]: 12v-13r, X [cc. 63-66]: cc. 64v-65r and XI [cc. 67-70]: cc. 68v-69r) represent contrastive genres, with three lyric forms (canzone, sonnet, ballata) transcribed at the center of Fascicle II.<sup>22</sup> However, the scribal execution of representational specularity and contrast on the same side of a sheet destined for the center of the fascicle is different from the artificially constructed contrast planned and produced a-linearly across *bifolia* both within the same fascicle and across fascicles. This difference is also at the core of the material gap between the copyist's a-linear material preparation of the codex and readers' reception of the results of that preparation once the manuscript is bound. As we remember, in the case of Petrarch's partial holograph of the *Fragmenta* in Vaticano Latino 3195, the codex was never bound in his lifetime; until his death in 1374 it remained a site of a-linear spatial relationships whose final steps in the process of rendering the fascicles as 'readerly' never occurred, leaving – as we have noted – an entirely blank but ruled *bifolium* (cc. 50-51) at the center of Fascicle VII (today, cc. 49-52).

The artificially constructed contiguity of representations across *bifolia* reveals the role of the copyist's calculation in producing a-linearly the effect of specular and contrastive sequences to the linear-reading eye of the manuscript's user. Fascicle VIII (cc. 53-60), prepared entirely by Petrarch's copyist Malpaghini, is an excellent example of this structuring:

FIG. 4

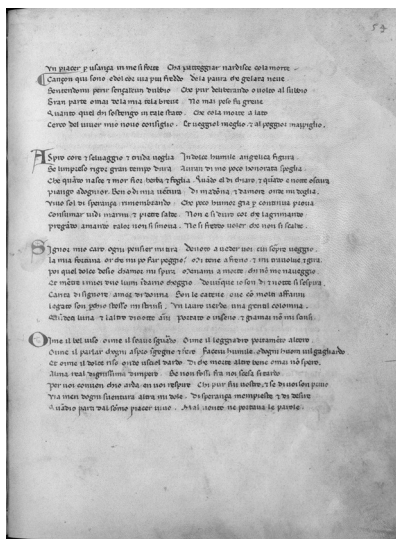
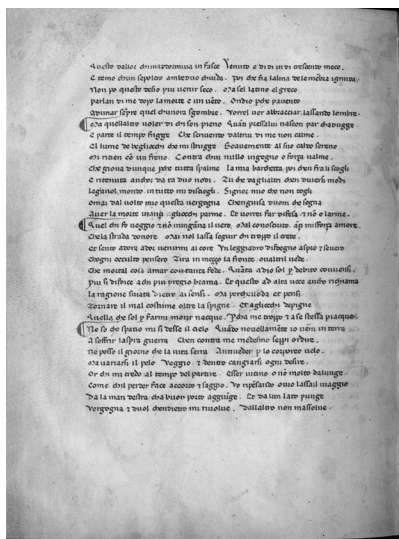


<sup>22</sup> The numbering of the *chartae* follows the state of the manuscript today. Fascicle VII (a binion [two interleaved *bifolia*], cc. 49-52) is comprised almost exclusively of blank *chartae*. Fascicle IX (a binion, in today's numbering cc. 61-62 and 71-72) has been spatially divided by the insertion of Fascicles X (cc. 63-66) and XI (cc. 67-70).



FIG. 5

MS Vaticano Latino 3195, cc. 53v-54r, the opening canzone of Part II spans two of Fascicle VIII's *bifolia* (1—> 2 = VIII.1Av-2Ar).



That this particular construction also facilitated an intense and enigmatic contrast between the two poems that would alternate in the sixteenth century as the beginning of Part II (*I' vo pensando* [Rvf 264] and the sonnet *Oimè il bel viso, oimè il soave sguardo* [Rvf 267]) remains an interpretative problem that would haunt the *Fragmenta*'s reception for centuries.<sup>24</sup> This material layout does not recommend Rvf 267 as the *incipit* of Part II.<sup>25</sup> But it is the contrast between these two notions, and relative operability, of contiguity that concerns us here in light of

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, the interpretative accretion, 'IN MORTE', inserted by a sixteenth-century hand on p. 67, between Rvf 266 (*Signor mio caro, ogni penser mi tira*) and Rvf 267 of the early fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Fragmenta* found in the Seminario teologico di Gorizia. The manuscript's original layout contains a blank *recto* on the *charta* on whose *verso* (p. 64) we find the incipit of *I' vo pensando* (Rvf 264), guaranteeing that the copyist considered the canzone the beginning of Part II of the *Fragmenta*.

<sup>25</sup> In fact, Bembo's, or – more likely – the printer Aldo Manuzio's, 1514 interpretation of *Oimè il bel viso* as the opening poem of Part II is based on biographical and thematic elements in the sonnet, ignoring the material structures of the manuscript utilized, for example, by Valdezoco for his 1472 Paduan edition of the *Fragmenta* (see cc. 105v-108v) and later consulted – and then much later owned (1544) – by Pietro Bembo himself, that is the manuscript today owned by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Latino 3195.

the material functionality of the *bifolium*. The seemingly vast chasm between the readerly invisibility of the *bifolium* and its essential structural role amounts not just to a question of specialist investigation but of the tension between our processes of linear interpretation and copyists' much more complex systems of construction and preservation. If we as modern readers, even of manuscripts, question what constitutes a text, then the copyists and compilers of the components of ancient books are ultimately the arbiters of the construction and representation of the macrotext, of how all those textual pieces are laid out and fit together. The preparation of the *bifolium* in its numerous uses requires both a linear plan and an a-linear execution across the material boundaries of *recto* and *verso*.<sup>26</sup> This is the tension at the core of Petrarch's visual poetics and its material execution in the hands of subsequent copyists, from slavish but inevitably flawed early transcriptions such as MSS Laurenziano 41.10, Laurenziano 41.17, Morgan M502 and even the uniquely conservative and slightly later Laurenziano Segniano 1 to memorializing but highly interpretative copies such as MSS British Library Kings 321, Laurenziano Ashburnham 1263, Bodmer 131 and Laurenziano Stroziano 172.<sup>27</sup> Ultimately even those copies made in the later phases of the work's first and second circulation, distant from the more rigorous material constructions of Laurenziano 41.10, Morgan M502, Trivulziano 1015 and Queriniano D II 21, reveal traces of the effects of the conversion from Petrarch's horizontally oriented visual poetics to a single verse per

<sup>26</sup> The a-linear execution of obviously unbound manuscripts unfolded not only in the text but also, when present, in the illustrations, during which individual colors were usually applied simultaneously across multiple *bifolia*. Thus, for example, all the ochre or the cyan was applied in those places where the illuminator planned, followed by other colors. See the mid-fifteenth-century Morgan Library M358 (<http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/77128>), noted for its successive layers of incompleteness in the application of colors across its gatherings. One of the most famous examples in early Italian studies of the coordination of illustration and text comes from the codex of the *Commedia*, MS Cortona 88, for which the catchwords and their accompanying cartouches at the end of each fascicle were executed according to the predetermined calculation and layout for the text before the two columns of the work's text were ever begun (see Pomaro 1994).

<sup>27</sup> For introductions to the Laurenziana MSS Pluteo 41.10, Pluteo 41.17 and Segniano 1 in the context of the early copies of Petrarch's *Rvf*, see Vattasso 1905, XXI-XXXIII; for the Morgan Library codex M502, see Storey 2006. British Library King's Collection MS 321 is the subject of a new description and study, especially of the functional construction of its gatherings, in preparation by this author. The more intricate questions of the unique presentational features and conservatism of Laurenziano Segniano 1 are examined in Storey 2004, pp. 143-149, esp. p. 149, n. 49.



transcriptional line and the eventual adjustments that must be made in the organization of the *bifolia* and gatherings.<sup>28</sup> Subsequent groups of fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, such as Vaticano Latino 4787, Latino 4786, Boston Public Library q.Med.130 and Cornell Fiske 4686n22 (the last a member of the so-called Mazzatosta manuscripts) demonstrate distinct categories of the treatment and interpretation of gatherings.

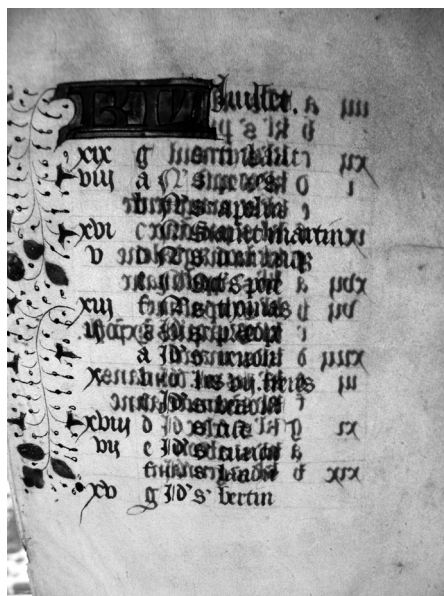
In his *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, Petrarch's poetics depend upon regular but also complex spatial-syntactic relationships not only on the face of each *charta* and across *bifolia* and entire gatherings but also through the porous nature of the parchment itself from *recto* to *verso*. While such an aesthetic might seem the stuff of a 'modern theoretical perspective', there is little doubt that this porousness was a calculated visual and textual feature of medieval manuscripts, especially those constructed of thinner – and thus more elaborated in their preparation and more expensive – parchment: a relationship anticipated and built on in codices that were often illuminated. What might be a distraction for us today are the text and images of the *verso* that seem to invade the *recto* as the book is lifted to the light to be read or to turn the page, the thin parchment revealing the anticipated but still unread text of the *verso*.<sup>29</sup> This porousness served both to announce and obscure, partially anticipating and partially concealing the continuation of the text. The material functionality of such porousness played multiple textual roles.

<sup>28</sup> One of the more famous examples of this kind of material adjustment is the re-calculation of fascicles required by the copyist of Riccardiano 1088, who radically alters the *mise-en-page* of the copy he is producing and leaves us a note to that effect on c. 27r. The change subsequently alters the final *charta* and fascicle of Part I (see Storey 2014, pp. 27–32). Perhaps the most dramatic alteration in the use of added fascicles is to be found in Petrarch's own addition of binions (two interleaved *bifolia*) at the end of Parts I and II of his partial holograph (Vaticano Latino 3195) to expand the *Fragmenta*. He adjoins the four *chartae* of Fascicle VII to insert only four sonnets Rvf 260–263 on c. 49r and leaves the remaining seven sides of parchment (cc. 49v–52v) blank. These blank *chartae* figure into Part II that begins with *I' vo pensando* (Rvf 264) on the *recto* of c. 53 of the quaternion (now Fascicle VIII) previously prepared by Malpaghini. The «carte vacue» of most of the binion was noted in manuscripts such as Beinecke M706, Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 1110 and, by no less than Angelo Colocci in the margin of c. 99v of Vaticano Latino 4787 with the corrective «vidi [...] cartas tres vacuas». At the end of Part II, Petrarch inserts two binions (Fascicles X and XI) inside the final binion (Fascicle IX, today numbered cc. 61–62 and 71–72) to add 25 poems with Fascicle X (Rvf 323–338 [revised 355]) and 23 poems with Fascicle XI (Rvf 339 [revised 337] to 361 [revised 365]).

<sup>29</sup> Thicker and less costly parchment resists this same degree of porousness but not the relationship of concealment and revelation inherent in the *recto*'s orientation to its *verso*.

FIG. 6

Single leaf of a calendar in a single *charta* from a fifteenth-century Book of Hours, in which the *verso* visibly invades the *recto*. (Private Collection)

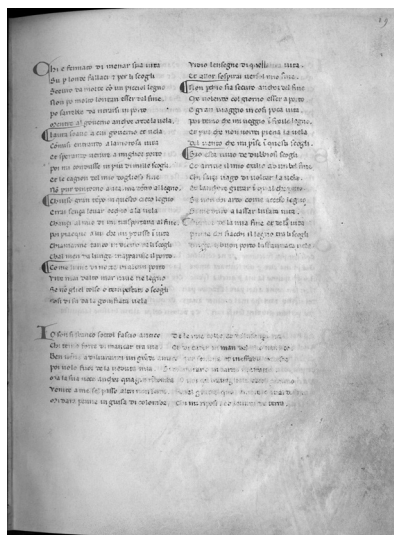
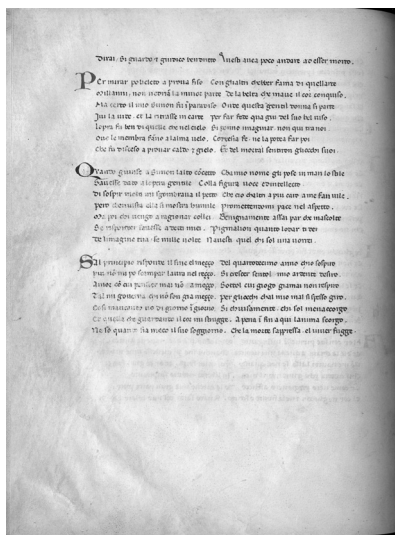


Nowhere is the dynamic of the textual and material porousness more at work in Petrarch's masterpiece than in the purposeful contrast between the construction of c. 22 *recto* and its *verso* in Petrarch's partial holograph Vaticano Latino 3195. In the third *bifolium* of the same gathering, Fascicle III (cc. 17-24), a quaternion, the conjunct leaves cc. 19 and 22 demonstrate three of Petrarch's essential visual poetic techniques. Across this single material unit of the *bifolium* Petrarch's copyist must lay out the contrastive horizontal and vertical reading strategies of the poet's typical sestina-sonnet page on c. 19r (*Rvf* 80-81 [*Chi è fermato – Io son sì stanco*]), a construction the copyist has set up by adapting the previous *bifolium* (cc. 18|23) so that the last six transcriptional lines of c. 18v are left blank. Notably, these six lines are not 'textual space', nor 'potential textual space', not even the space of a 'textual pause', all encoded differently in the digital representation of space in the *Petrarch-archi*, but what can only be termed 'adaptive space' solely at the presentational service of Petrarch's standard sestina-sonnet page in the next *bifolium* on c. 19r:



FIG. 7

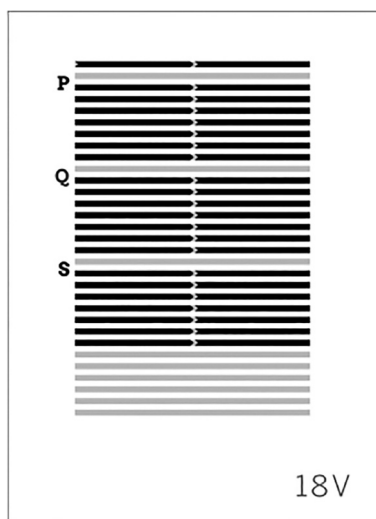
MS Vaticano Latino 3195, cc. 18v-19r, from *bifolia* 2 and 3 of Fascicle III (cc. 1-8), III.2Av-3Ar. Reprinted with the kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



The two perceptions of the space at the bottom of c. 18v – the copyist's and the reader's – signal potentially a divergence between, on the one hand, the planning and execution of these two *bifolia* and, on the other, the reader's integration of the space in anticipation of the more dynamic visual-poetic unit of the sestina-sonnet page already established in Petrarch's *Fragmenta* as a significant, recurring textual construction on cc. 3v, 7v, and 14v. The commanding textual space of the sestina-sonnet page's two different reading strategies, marked up as the blank 'sestina space' always in the shorter second column of the sestina's vertically read text, shifts from the previous sonnet's horizontal strategy. Petrarch's 'sestina space' identifies the genre's unique *mise-en-page* and unique reading strategy among the genres of the *Rvf* and defines the page, even from a distance. The challenging shift in reading directionality moves the reader's attention away from what the copyist has calculated. In its digital representation, the 'adaptive space' of c. 18v favors the copyist's execution by highlighting the empty lines of the 31-line transcriptional canvas that serves as the background of the writing space for each *charta*:

FIG. 8

Scalable Vector Graphic (SVG) of c. 18v from the *Petrarch* archive. The representation of the textual contents, the verse breaks and directionality of the reading strategy is on a 'background' of each *charta*'s 31-line ruled writing space or 'canvas'.



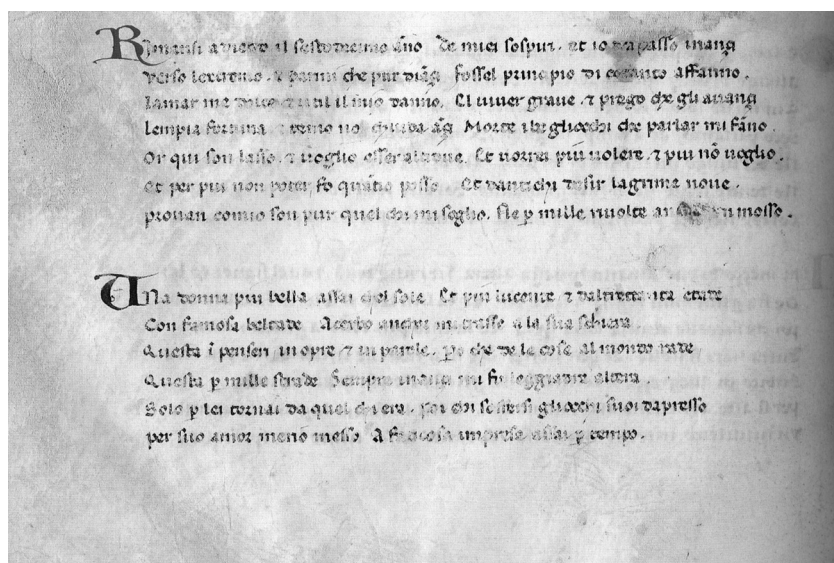
This use of blank space is a significant technique we will see employed to a different effect on the *recto* of c. 19's conjunct leaf, c. 22 (Fascicle III.3B). The additional contrast of c. 19r with the manuscript's standard four-sonnet *verso* of c. 19v (*Rvf* 82-85 [*Io non fu' d'amar – Io amai sempre*]) returns the sonnet range *Rvf* 86-101 (*Io avrò sempre in odio – Lasso, ben so*) as the sole genre of the gathering's fourth and central *bifolium* (cc. 20-21), a material and poetic structure that both isolates the political sonnets 102-104 (*Cesare, poi che 'l traditor – L'aspectata virtù*) on the *recto* of the third *bifolium*'s conjunct c. 22 and visually prepares what would seem to be one of the pivotal material-poetic announcements of the macrotext.

The blank space of the seven empty transcriptional lines recalls, as we remember, the same technique on c. 18v. But the blank space on c. 22r is instead a 'macro-pause' that anticipates the announcement of the canzone-manifesto *Mai non vo' più cantar com'io soleva* (*Rvf* 105) on the *verso* of c. 22. It is a canzone that Petrarch's copyist could easily have started to copy in the blank space below *Rvf* 104 on the *charta*'s *recto*, just as we see two *chartae* later when Malpaghini transcribes the first twelve

verses of the canzone *Una donna più bella assai che 'l sole* (Rvf 119) on six transcriptional lines of c. 24v in the very same third gathering (Fascicle III):

FIG. 9

MS Vaticano Latino 3195, c. 24v (detail of Rvf 118 and the first 12 verses of Rvf 119).

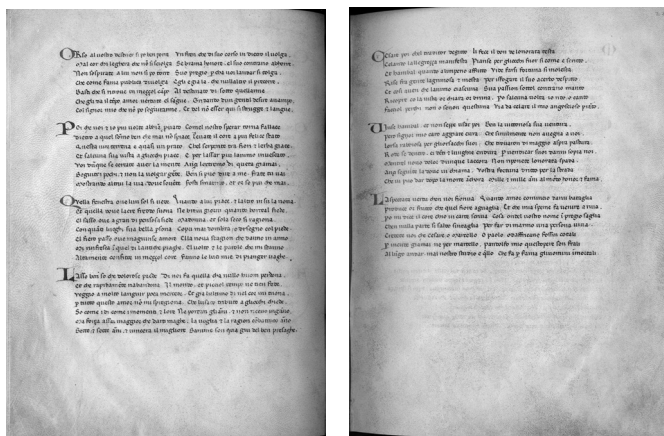


The dramatic, introductory pause at the bottom of the transcriptional field of c. 22r before the canzone-manifesto *Mai non vo' più cantar* on c. 22v demonstrates the material-poetic function of blocking the normally porous continuity of a *recto-to-verso* strategy. The copyist's (and author's) manipulation of writing space now coincides with the reader's consideration of the space that is sufficient to contain another (fourth) sonnet as per Petrarch's usual layout for the side of a *charta*, the space of a missing text highlighted precisely by the specular c. 21v, which holds – like so many other *chartae* in the codex – four sonnets (Rvf 98–101):<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> For the statistics on the number of four-sonnet pages vs the sonnet-sestina page, see <http://petrarche.org>, *Glossary: Sonnet* («There are 42 'sonnet pages' in Part I [= 168 sonnets] and 20 "sonnet pages" in Part II [= 80 sonnets]. *Chartae* on which we find mixtures of sonnets and sestine, as well as sonnets and ballate, madrigals and even canzoni, account for the collocation of the remaining 69 sonnets»; and *Glossary: Sestina*.

FIG. 10

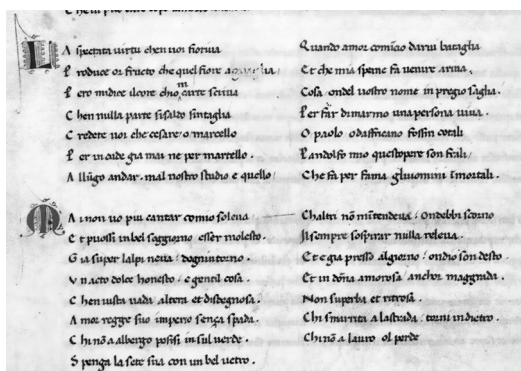
MS Vaticano Latino 3195, cc. 21v-22r, the leaves of the fourth and third *bifolia* of Fascicle III (cc. 17-24): Fascicle III.4bv-3br. Reprinted with the kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



It is, however, an authorial spatial pause that is lost to centuries of readers as early as even the careful copy of Laurenziano Pluteo 41.10, c. 21v:<sup>31</sup>

FIG. 11

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Pluteo 41.10, c. 21v (detail: passage from *Rvf* 104 [*L'aspectata virtù che 'n voi fioriva*] to *Rvf* 105 [*Mai non vo' più cantar com'io soleva*]).



<sup>31</sup> Datable to the first decade of the fifteenth century, Laurenziano 41.10 is remarkable for its copyist's care in following the transcriptional layouts for the five genres of

The intricacies and nuance of the scribal-poetic structuring of the third *bifolium* and its relationships with other *bifolia* in the third Fascicle, cc. 17-24, reveal a level of preparation and execution of a construction that is virtually invisible to readers of Petrarch's *Rvf* in modern editions in print. However, the obligation of digital philology – and the archives and digital editions that issue from this more rigorous scholarly practice – to identify and describe a work's 'reportable surfaces' has the added challenge of tracing and, where possible, reproducing these material-poetic structures that ultimately form the work's micro and macro-structures.<sup>32</sup> Such a philological operation requires tools perhaps only available to digital editors. The ability to 'sfascicolare virtualmente', to virtually unbind the fascicle, allows digital editors and readers the ability to trace the genesis of the poetic-scribal construction of a work. And yet the challenge remains how to represent the texts of such an intricately material macrotext both in their scribal preparation and an authentic readerly form.

The ability to delve into these deep structures relies as much upon representations of textuality as it does the text. The first step in a series of representations is to identify the nature and form of the fascicle, or gathering, itself. The *Petrarchive*'s 'Visual Index' (arranged by fascicles) provides, for example, a primary tool not only in the identification of the gathering but also in the role of the conjunct leaves/*chartae*. The 'fascicler' feature represents the four folded sheets, their hair and their flesh sides, and their relationships to the other *bifolia* in the gathering. The line-graph constructions (Scalable Vector Graphics [SVG]) represent the transcriptional formulae of – as we saw in the case of c. 19v – the four sonnets (and their initial letters) that inhabit the 31-line canvas

Petrarch's *Rvf* (see SIGNORINI 2003). For a complete, online view of MS Pluteo 41.10, c. 21v, see: [http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOlep8E1A4r7GxMH1o&c=Aliud%20exemplar%20\[Francisci%20Petrarchae%20Carmina%20italica\]#/oro/62](http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOlep8E1A4r7GxMH1o&c=Aliud%20exemplar%20[Francisci%20Petrarchae%20Carmina%20italica]#/oro/62).

<sup>32</sup> My use of 'reportable surfaces' goes back to my own experience in the early preparation of my diplomatic edition of Petrarch's holograph copy of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. Given the new technical tools of analysis at our disposal, the questions not only of how much information could be collected from the surface of the manuscript and just below the surface but also how to represent the often-multiple layers of information in print became essential in devising protocols and keys for conveying as accurately as possible the manuscript's 'surface'. In the course of my work on Petrarch's partial holograph and other manuscripts, both Petrarchan and those belonging to other authors and traditions, it became clear that the definition of 'reportable surface' must change and must find other methods, especially in the realm of the digital, for representing the layers of such surfaces.

which demonstrates in light blue also the three blank transcriptional lines used on c. 19v to separate the four sonnets.<sup>33</sup>

FIG. 12

The conjunct leaf, the *recto* of the *bifolium*'s sixth *charta*, c. 22r (Fascicle III.3B), shows immediately the contrast on the same surface as c. 19v (Fascicle III.3A):

**Fascicle III:**  
**quaternion**

017r -  
024v

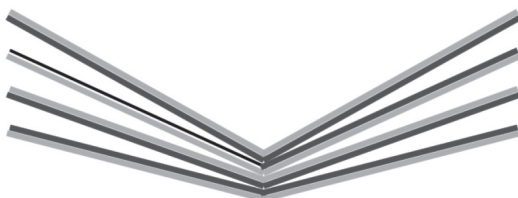
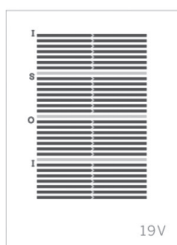
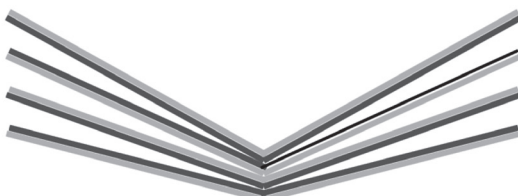


FIG. 13

**Fascicle III:**  
**quaternion**

017r -  
024v



The conjunct leaf, c. 22r, reveals the same 31-line transcriptional canvas populated by three seven-line works in double columns that we see on c. 19v with one glaring difference: the additional seven blank transcriptional lines at the bottom of c. 22r. The collocation of the ‘manifesto’ *Mai non vo’ più cantar* (Rvf 105) that begins on the *verso* of the same c. 22 after this spatial pause on 22r, will have significant implications for the macrotext of the *Fragmenta*.

<sup>33</sup> At any point in the comparison of these two contrasting *chartae* (19 and 22), the user can opt to ‘View Full Text’ and return to the poems themselves on the *chartae*.



The blank space, or ‘macro pause’, at the bottom of c. 22r ultimately effects what was possibly an error between Petrarch’s visual-poetic system and Malpaghini’s original calculations for the use of space in the manuscript, especially in Fascicle IV (cc. 25-32). While in all other instances of the vertically read genre, the sestina is transcribed entirely on a single side of a *charta* together with a single, horizontally read sonnet, Malpaghini must situate *A la dolce ombra de le belle frondi* (Rvf142) onto the *recto* and *verso* of c. 32. The normally ironclad layout of Petrarch’s pages in Vaticano Latino 3195 falters in Fascicle IV (cc. 25-32). While Petrarch’s standard visual poetics rely in part – as we have noted – on the contrast between the different layouts of the sonnet and the sestina organized on the same face of a *charta* (see cc. 3v, 7v, 14v, 19r, 42v, 45v, 46r of MS Vaticano Latino 3195), the presentation of the sonnet-sestina sequence Rvf141-142 (*Come talora al caldo tempo sole* – *A la dolce ombra de le belle frondi*) strays significantly from Petrarch’s model thanks to the material presence of Rvf140 (the sonnet *Amor che nel penser mio vive et regna*) on the same *recto* as Rvf141-142, vv. 1-30.

FIG. 14

MS Vaticano Latino 3195, c. 32r, from the first *bifolium* of Fascicle IV (cc. 25-32): IV.1Br.

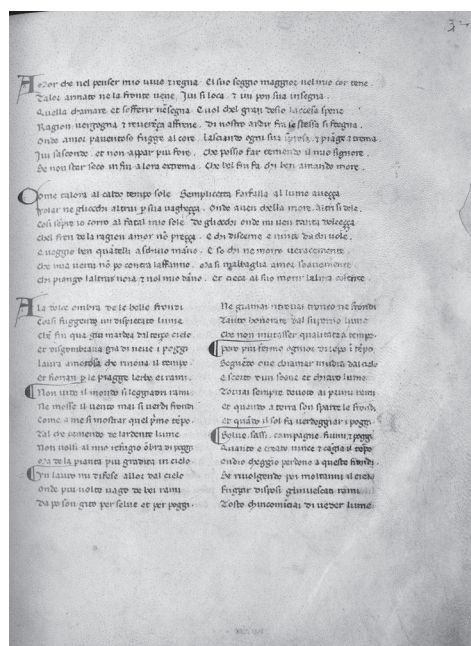
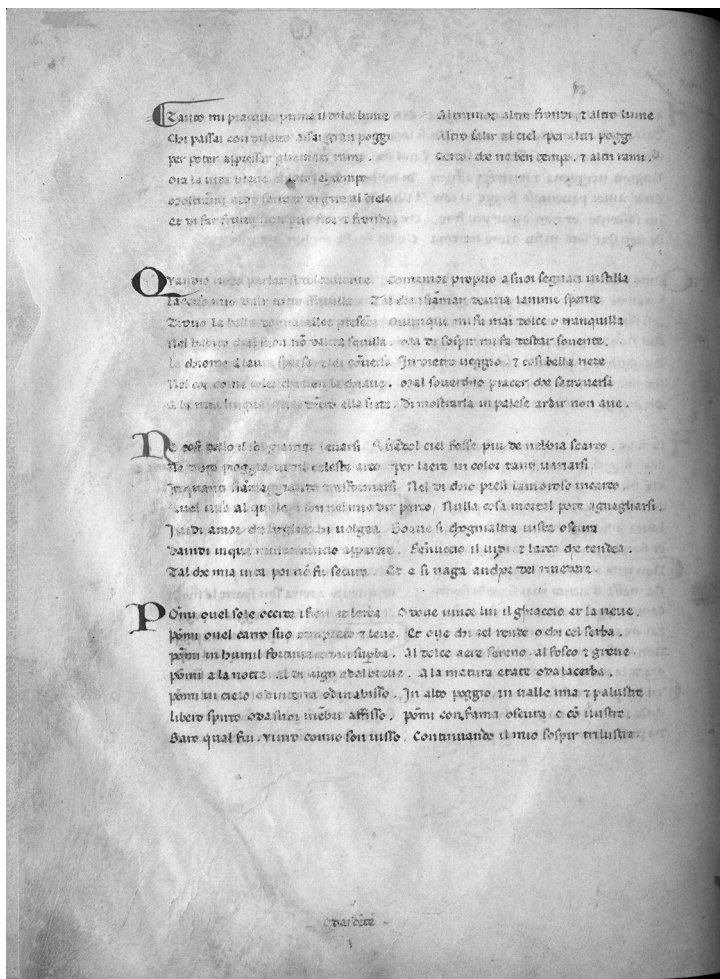


FIG. 15

MS Vaticano Latino 3195, c. 32v, from the first *bifolium* of Fascicle IV (cc. 25-32): III.1Bv.



Ultimately Petrarch's copyist is forced to conclude the sestina's last stanza and its final three-verse envoi on the first six transcriptional lines of c. 32v, reducing as well the sestina's identifying blank lines, or 'sestina space', in the right column of the *verso*.<sup>34</sup> The *Petrarchive* Fascicler

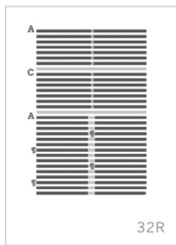
<sup>34</sup> The sestina's usual blank spaces in the right-hand column have been uniquely eliminated on the *recto* of c. 32.



has the task of representing this error while the edited text in the edition of the *Petrarcharchive* can propose its virtual (readerly) correction.

FIG. 16

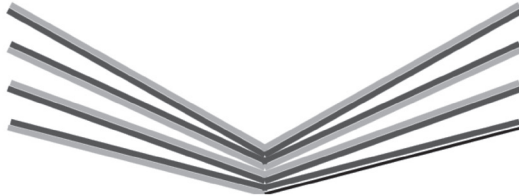
**Fascicle IV:**  
**quaternion**      025r -  
                             032v



[View full Text](#)

FIG. 17

**Fascicle IV:**  
**quaternion**      025r -  
                             032v



[View full Text](#)

It cannot escape us that we again witness the porous nature of the *charta*'s *recto* and *verso* but now as what might have been an organizational error whose cause occurs back in the dramatic pause we just saw in the blank lines that separate the texts on c. 22r from the 'manifesto' of c. 22v. It could well have been that Malpaghini's plan did not include Petrarch's macro pause, which would have shifted the layout of the *chartae* from 22v to 32r by a full seven transcriptional lines, enough for a sonnet. Such a shift would have eliminated the need to transcribe the sonnet *Rvf* 140 (*Amor, che nel penser mio*) onto Petrarch's usually stable sonnet-sestina

page at c. 32r. In this case c. 32r would have contained solely *Rvf* 141 and 142. If our critical assessment of Petrarch's imposed 'macro pause' to heighten the effect of the canzone-manifesto *Mai non vo' più cantar* (*Rvf* 105) is correct, we can well imagine that Petrarch's directive came after Malpaghini's spatial plan was firmly established, potentially creating a conflict between authorial intention and the scribe's original layout for multiple fascicles.

With this potential identification of what might well have been Petrarch's own untimely intervention in Malpaghini's transcription of c. 22r-22v we can discern an additional, subtle fusion of space and poetics in the macrotext of Petrarch's *Fragmenta*. The implications are profound for our understanding of what we know was Petrarch's constant tinkering and revisions even for texts that would have been in final form and fashioned as the antegraph for fair copy reproduction that would become the *Fragmenta*'s 'first project' originally calculated and laid out by Malpaghini on six quaternions (four *bifolia* each [48 *chartae*]) and one binion (two interleaved *bifolia* [4 *chartae*]) for a total of 52 *chartae* of what are today the 72 *chartae* of MS Vaticano Latino 3195.<sup>35</sup> The additional 'punctuation space' at the bottom of c. 22r reiterates Petrarch's experimentation that is so evident throughout the manuscript at both micro and macro levels of the work, from his microscopic erasures and emendations to changes in the order and structure of the work itself: from the erasure and substitution of *Donna mi vene spesso ne la mente* (*Rvf* 121, c. 26r) and the blank space for a sonnet on c. 37r and the delayed decision on the insertion of *Geri, quando talor meco s'adira* (*Rvf* 179) to the numerical reordering on cc. 66v-71v of the last 31 poems in the three final binions (Fascicles IX, X and XI) of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. But the digital editor must also face the question of whether to 'correct' the manuscript and adhere to Petrarch's own system or to note the error and offer a virtual alternative to the material fact of how the codex and the work itself were executed, creating an 'ideal reconstruction'. Digital philology provides us with the tools for such an alternative at the level of the primary text; print philology does not and has occasionally led to editors' undocumented corrections of authorial 'errors' and scribal accretions.<sup>36</sup> The expanded flexibility of the digital in the representa-

<sup>35</sup> See the longer description of the *Fragmenta*'s First Project in the *Petrarche's Glossary: First Project* (<http://petrarche.org>: 'Appendix Glossary' from the menu).

<sup>36</sup> For an introduction to editorial and scribal accretions, especially in the *Rvf*, see Storey 2017, pp. 93-109. The question of the correction of errors in authorially supervised or executed manuscripts is even more complex and too often rests on slight or

tion of texts and their conditions ultimately affords digital philology a more conservative methodology, a stance sometimes claimed by traditional philology.<sup>37</sup>

The manipulation of c. 22r's space and the unique error, or visual *variatio*, at c. 32r in the otherwise constant presentation throughout the first six fascicles of the contrastive sonnet-sestina page on c. 32r-32v underscores the significance of the use of space in the planned textual layout of each *charta*, especially as a macrotextual punctuation device in the preparation of Petrarch's *bifolia* and his book.<sup>38</sup> Even in the four *bifolia* gathered as Fascicle VI by Petrarch (cc. 41-48; *Rvf* 207-259 [*Ben mi credea – Cercato ò sempre solitaria vita*]), after Malpaghini's sudden departure from the project, reflects the poet-copyist's adherence to the transcriptional principles of the *charta* that have provided the foundations of his construction of the *Fragmenta*. In the only quaternion produced entirely by Petrarch, but in a service-copy hand, the elderly copyist still carefully lays out the horizontal reading strategy of his two distinct columns for his canzone *Ben mi credea passar mio tempo omai* (*Rvf* 207 [c. 41r-v]), constructing his 13-verse stanzas two verses per transcriptional line except for the seventh, eighth and ninth verses (two *settenari* and a hen-

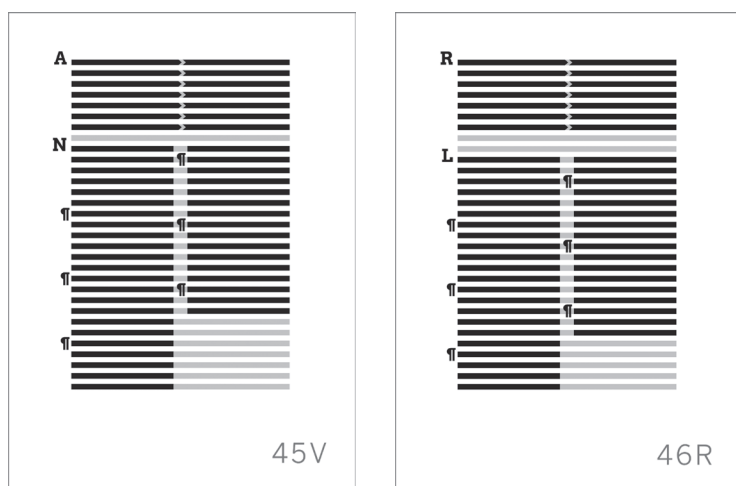
no documentation of the editor's emendations. While this lack of editorial transparency is corrected in the *Petrarchive*'s 'Material Commentary', a more detailed exegesis of the problems inherent in the philological approach based on authorial copies ('filologia d'autore') nears completion under my authorship.

<sup>37</sup> Among numerous examples of Petrarch's autograph being corrected in silence by editors, and according to the tenets of 'filologia d'autore' without recourse to other witnesses, one of the thorniest problems is presented by v. 11 of the sonnet *Se l'onorata fronde che prescrive* (*Rvf* 24). Based on Contini's sole and modest explanation of the 'Nota al testo' of the 1949 Tallone edition of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, most editors correct in silence the 'mistake' in the poet's own manuscript – here in Malpaghini's hand but always under Petrarch's supervision – of *propria* in rhyme with *Ethiopia* and *inopia* (vv. 9, 13). While methodologically problematic, the 'correction' fails to account for the case, present in early Italian lyrics, of assonance in *-òpia* / *-òpria*, a usage perhaps identified by the copyists of Queriniano D II 21, Laurenziano Pluteo 41.10 and Cornell 4648 n22, who repeat Malpaghini's 'error' *propria*. See also Avals 1973, 57-73 (and, in particular, Avals's conclusions on the standardization of rhymes in early Italian texts on p. 73: «la regolarità si è rivelata, in molti casi, il frutto di interventi seriori [...]») and Menichetti 1966, 'Nota al testo' and the rich apparatus that accompanies each poem. Far more troubling is the less-than-transparent abandonment of the holograph's justifiable «da» *Rvf* 277.13 («Contende lor da disiata luce») for 'la', amply discussed by Mestica 1896, 401-402 in his notes to *S'Amor novo consiglio* and in my own commentary to *Rvf* 277 in the *Petrarchive*.

<sup>38</sup> I am grateful to Francesco Marco Aresu for the observation on Petrarch's possible disruption of the systematic *mise-en-page* of the sonnet-sestina page as a form of *variatio*.

decasyllable) placed on a single transcriptional line (2+2+2+3+2+2).<sup>39</sup> Petrarch also adheres consistently to his four-sonnet per page presentation (cc. 42r, 43r, 43v-45r, 46v-48v). And he maintains his strict formula for the sonnet-sestina page (c. 42v), assembling a uniquely specular presentation of the two sonnet-sestina pages for *Amor, io fallo* (Rvf 236) and *Non à tanti animali* (Rvf 237) mirrored by the sonnet *Real natura* (Rvf 238) and the sestina *Là ver' l'aurora* (Rvf 239) across the fourth and third *bifolia* on cc. 45v-46r.

FIG. 18



Even in this service-copy section of the work, *chartae* that Petrarch would have intended to have a professional copyist transcribe in a fair hand, Petrarch's layout carefully follows the fair-hand models executed earlier by Malpaghini, models that were essential to the visual poetics he had developed for his lyric poetry even in the early sections of his draft manuscript, Vaticano Latino 3196, some of which would later enter into the *Fragmenta*.

At the heart, however, of Petrarch's complex material-poetic and editorial constructions is always the simple *bifolium*, the fundamental tool of the poet and the copyist to whom he entrusts the fair copy of his work. Some of the most striking evidence is curiously enough found

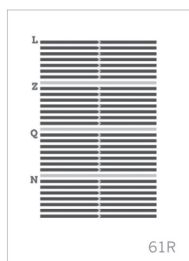
<sup>39</sup> See Storey 2004a, 166-171 for a review of the canzone's prosody and *mise-en-page* in the context of the Rvf's other canzonì.

in materials that are often ignored by modern critical editors, in print and in the digital. They are in fact *chartae* that remained as potential workspaces, especially given his penchant for erasure and emendation even after the completion of a final copy, in the realm of a manuscript over which he toiled and tinkered for over six years.<sup>40</sup> Still to this day, the last ruled *bifolia* of Part I (Fascicle VII, cc. 49-52) bear the burden of the closure – and yet potential re-aperture – of Part I, before the *incipit* of Part II on c. 53r: *I' vo pensando* (Rvf 264).

With Petrarch's virtual completion of the sixth fascicle (cc. 41-48 [Rvf 207 to 259]), the poet-copyist, now well advanced in the final stages of his project, takes two interleaved *bifolia* (cc. 49|52 and, inside the first *bifolium* a second folded sheet also ruled for transcription, today cc. 50|51) and prepares an addendum to his Part I. As we know from the last three gatherings of his work (Fascicles IX, X and XI, respectively in today's numbering cc. 61-62|71-72, 63-66, and 67-70), the binion – or two *bifolia* folded one inside the other – is his preferred tool for expanding his text. His technique is represented in the visualization of Fascicles IX, X and XI in the *Petrarchive*'s Fascicler:

FIG. 19

Fascicles IX, X and XI:  
two binions within a  
binion



However, of the two *bifolia* (49|52 and 50|51) that constitute the binion that is Fascicle VII, only one is operative in the context of the book:

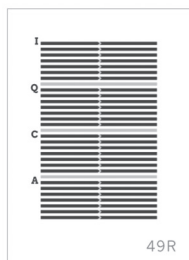
<sup>40</sup> For the digital treatment in the *Petrarchive* of one of Petrarch's most famous emendations of a text in the already complete and rubricated fair copy of the *Fragmenta*, the erasure of *Donna mi vene spesso ne la mente* and the substitution of *Or vedi, Amor, che giovenetta donna* (Rvf 121) on c. 26r of the partial holograph, see <http://petrarchive.org>: c. 26r and Storey 2021, pp. 107-111.

cc. 49|52. On c. 49r Petrarch transcribed *Rvf* 260-263 (*In tale stella, Qual donna attende, Cara la vita and Arbor victoriosa*), creating a typical four-sonnet page, one of the principle page constructions in his visual poetics for the *Fragmenta*:

FIG. 20

Fascicle VII: binion

049r - 052v



The *verso* of the conjunct leaf of the *bifolium*, today c. 52v, would have been – as we saw earlier – left blank to mark the closure between Part I and Part II, which begins on c. 53r. It is noteworthy that the internal leaves of the binion, Fascicle VII, are blank, even in a service copy. It is possible that the risk of inserting and ultimately attempting to bind the then needed half-*bifolium* (c. 49), that is only half of a single folded leaf, might have weighed against the use of a smaller material unit. In fact, eventually a later, probably fifteenth-century hand would use the *verso* of c. 49 to add a colophon to Part I (now erased but still partially legible).<sup>41</sup> And another fifteenth-century hand, perhaps associated with the eventual binding of the *bifolia* into a book for the library of the Santasofia family in Padova, would include the catchwords (now erased) *Io vo pe s* on the *verso* of the final *charta* of the first *bifolium* (c. 52v).<sup>42</sup>

We can explain the blank sides of cc. 49 and 52 and the functions of 49r and 52v in the macrostructure of Petrarch's *Fragmenta*. But the completely blank internal *bifolium* of the binion, cc. 50|51, remains a

<sup>41</sup> The erased rubric added by a fifteenth-century hand to note the end of Part I is in part legible as: *Francisci Petrarce expliciunt soneta de Vita amaxie sue. Amen et Deo gratias. Un bel morir tuta la vita honora* (Zamponi 2004, 42; rather than Vattasso 1905, p. x1).

<sup>42</sup> For a history of the manuscript's itinerary, see Belloni 2004. On the second erased catchword on c. 52v, see Storey 2004b, p. 391, and Zamponi 2004, p. 42.

mystery. In medieval usage, parchment formed as a *bifolium* and ruled is usually destined for use, for written texts or even painted illustrations. We cannot know Petrarch's plan for the additional two *chartae* (four modern pages); we can only weigh the material evidence, both Petrarchan and cultural. We are again deep in the woods of reportable surfaces. Modigliani's 1904 diplomatic edition of the *Fragmenta* is the only twentieth-century edition which represents the three and a half blank *chartae*. But their presence in Petrarch's partial holograph calls into question not just the potential textual space that the poet-copyist left unused, but especially how they are to be treated in the work's critical tradition. Even the blank *chartae* of Fascicle VII bear no other erasures or text, they will become pivotal in some later manuscripts, such as Vaticano Reginense 1110 and Beinecke M706, in copyists' and readers' identification of what they proposed to be their authentic exemplars in Petrarch's own hand.

Given the *Petrarchive* edition's material baseline of the poet's 31-line transcriptional canvas that underlies all of the texts in edited and line-graph forms, the ruled surface not only of the internal blank *bifolium* (cc. 50|51) but of the external *bifolium* as well (cc. 49v|52r-v) supplies evidence that these internal blank pages are 'potential primary textual space', and the *Petrarchive* team encoded it as such. This step, possible in the layers of textual representation of the digital edition, makes the blank *chartae* of Petrarch's holograph that have been ignored by textual scholars relevant as a potential genetic trajectory, relevant not only to Petrarch's work but to the history of its traditions and reception.

For Petrarch's macrotext, the relevance of intentionality in the material construction of the *Fragmenta* suggests that even near the end of his life as he prepared the final *bifolia* of his still unbound service copy of the work, Petrarch did not close off Part I to conclude definitively at *Rvf* 263. But as we have seen in other studies, the finality of *Vergine bella* did not preclude the internal expansion of the collection through the insertion of *bifolia* imported and interleaved into other *bifolia* to add poems to Part II.<sup>43</sup> Petrarch's subsequent (and multiple) experiments with the reordering of the imported poems through marginal numbers (some of whose earlier experiments have been erased) at the close of Part II could

<sup>43</sup> On the nature and traces of these experiments and erasures, see Storey 2004a, pp. 138-143; and Storey 1993, pp. 377-396. Specifically on the Laurenziano codex 41.17's demonstration of the internal expansion of the last 31 poems of the *Fragmenta* and the copyist's system for inserting the poems, see Capelli and Storey 2006.

easily have been part of his plan for Part I. Indeed the four sonnets of c. 49r and the additional ruled *chartae* would seem to indicate that the poet's material methods for expanding the final sections of Part II were also part of his plan for Part I.

But, as I noted above, the absence of text on the blank *chartae* of the binion that Petrarch inserts between Fascicle VI (cc. 41-48) and what would become Fascicle VIII, which Malpaghini had prepared before Petrarch takes over the task of principal copyist, does not exclude this material evidence from a critical edition nor from its role in the history of the text.

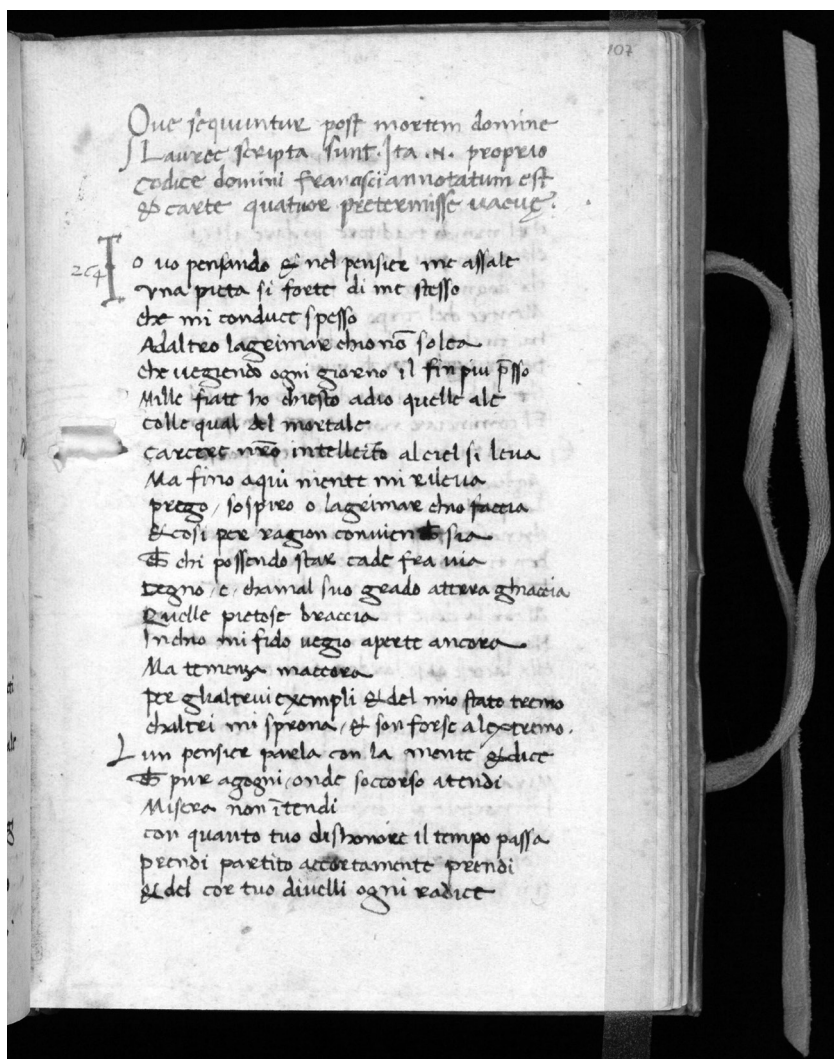
Early in the transmission of Petrarch's *Fragmenta*, questions of authenticity of a given version were sometimes addressed by copyists' claims to the poet's own authorized version of the work. This was certainly Aldo Manuzio's claim in his 1501 edition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Triumphs*. But long before Aldo's declaration and Alessandro Velutello's strident editorial rebuttals in 1525 and 1532, as early as 1393 – as best I can date it – copyists use the power of an exemplar «written in Petrarch's own hand» as a tool for authentication. In several manuscripts we find readings marked with the letters «mfp» («mano di francesco petrarca» or «manu francisci petrarce»). The Veronese exemplar that served as the antegraph of the codex Beinecke M706 is clear in citing Petrarch's hand: the scribe claims on c. 107r to have directly consulted Petrarch's original manuscript («*proprio codice domini francisci annotatum est*»). But the Beinecke copyist goes one step further in supporting his claim by identifying four empty *chartae* between the sonnet *Arbor victoriosa* (Rvf 263) and the canzone *I' vo pensando* (Rvf 264) in what turned out to be the last surviving manuscript of the *Fragmenta* at least partially in Petrarch's hand: «*et carte quatuor pretermisse vacue*» (and in between [the two parts] were placed four empty *chartae*), a material fact known – especially in 1393 – only to those who had seen what is now Vatican Latino 3195, probably still in the custody of Petrarch's son-in-law Francescuolo da Brossano and prior to the manuscript's transfer to Padova:<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See as well the later codex Vaticano Reginense Latino 1110 for the same declaration of authenticity. On the Beinecke codex, see Del Puppo 2007, pp. 108-120.



FIG. 21

Fifteenth-century hand's exact copy of the 1393 rubric between *Rvf* 263 and 264 describing the four blank *chartae* in Petrarch's own manuscript: MS Yale, Beinecke M706, c. 107r.

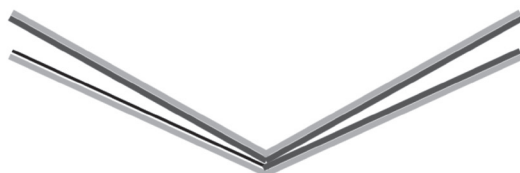


Thus the four blank *chartae* (in truth, three and a half *chartae*, or seven pages of the two *bifolia* of Vaticano Latino 3195, cc. 49v-52v) represent a critical moment in digital philology's obligation to explore more

advanced means to represent a work's reportable surfaces. At the core of the *Petrarch*'s representation of these *chartae* is, as I have noted, the foundation of what we call the 31-line transcriptional canvas of Petrarch's holograph manuscript. As we move from Fascicle VII's c. 49r with its four sonnets to the blank transcriptional lines of c. 49v, the leaf's potential is depicted in the *Petrarch* edition by its 31 ruled lines of potential canvas:

FIG. 22

**Fascicle VII: binion** 049r -  
052v



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While it might seem at first inconsequential, the constructional values of Petrarch's supervised ruling of a 31-line canvas will prove critical in the imitation of Petrarch's *mise-en-page* in the early manuscript tradition of the *Fragmenta*. While some *chartae* of Latino 3195 will contain more or less than the usual 28 to 31 lines of actual transcription, Malpaghini's and, later, Petrarch's close adherence to this canvas functions at the material core of his visual poetics. Those *chartae* that demonstrate fewer transcribed lines and the sole *recto* (69) that expands the field to accommodate a 32d line of transcription reveal precise purposes in their use of the text block.

On c. 69r of Vaticano Latino 3195, Petrarch expands his writing field to accommodate the entire canzone *Quando il soave mio fido conforto* (Rvf 355, later numerically revised by Petrarch as Rvf 359). One of the poet's goals must have been precisely to utilize as efficiently as possible the binion's two *bifolia* to insert, within Fascicle IX (cc. 61-62|71-72), poems into the collection before its absolute closure at the final canzone *Vergine bella* (Rvf 366; cc. 71v-72v). *Charta* 69r is part of the very problematic addition of Fascicle XI (cc. 67-70), a binion whose space is pro-

foundly manipulated by Petrarch the copyist, who in this case is constrained by the material limits of the eight sides of his four *chartae* if the material addendum is to work effectively as an insert. Petrarch's manipulation of space is especially evident in his treatment of the canzone *Quel' antiquo mio dolce empio signore* (*Rvf* 356 revised as *Rvf* 360), which occupies cc. 69v and 70r. Petrarch squeezes the canzone's 157 verses into the textual space of a side and a half of two *chartae*, across the two *bifolia* that constitute the binion (XI.2Bv-1Br), when the verses should have taken up two and a half sides of two *chartae* if Petrarch had followed the visual-poetic layout of the canzone's prosodic twin *Una donna più bella assai che 'l sole* (*Rvf* 119, cc. 24v-25v).<sup>45</sup> As I have noted elsewhere, Petrarch designs a kind of packed 'zip file' for *Quel' antiquo* that would be eventually expanded into its proper layout, by cautious copyists such as those of the early manuscript Morgan Library M.502, cc. 61v-62v (ca. 1375-1385) and of Laurenziano Segniano 1, cc. 52v-[54r] (ca. 1400-1420).<sup>46</sup> Other copyists, as we find in Laurenziano 41.10 and 41.17, did not expand Petrarch's zip file, but rather very carefully transcribed his 15-verse stanzas onto five dense transcriptional lines of three verses each, just as Petrarch had been materially forced to copy them into Fascicle XI. The movement from the diplomatic edition of Petrarch's zip file to the expanded form that he intended it to take according to his visual poetic models is, for the user, a simple toggle between DIPLOMATIC and EDITED in the *Petrarch* rich-text edition (<http://petrarch.org>: select *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* from the menu, and navigate to c. 69v).<sup>47</sup> One of the advantages of the digital is its ability to imitate manuscript culture not only through ever-improved visual tools but also through the encoding of the manuscript's stratification of information, not unlike

<sup>45</sup> See the prosodic and visual-poetic tables for the *Fragmenta*'s 29 canzoni in Storey 1993, pp. 427-433, especially Category D. c2 (p. 432); also available in Storey 2004a, pp. 166-171 (Category D c2 at p. 170).

<sup>46</sup> The chartulation of the canzone's expanded transcription, according to the prosodic model of *Rvf* 119 (*Una donna più bella*) is noteworthy: both the Morgan and the Segniano copyists employ at least three sides of parchment – the number of *chartae* that Petrarch should have used in Vaticano Latino 3195 – to complete their transcriptions. The *charta* on which the Segniano copyist would have completed the canzone's last 14 verses is missing; thus we can conjecture a few additional lines of transcription on c. [54r]. Both copyists were attentive to Petrarch's graphological-prosodic layouts for the five poetic genres in the *Rvf* and varied only in the number of ruled lines per *charta* that they prepared for their copies.

<sup>47</sup> These pages are also accessible by selecting *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (*Rvf*) through the menu of <http://petrarch.org>.

the copyist's ability to layer in additional features and manipulation of the parchment's space.<sup>48</sup>

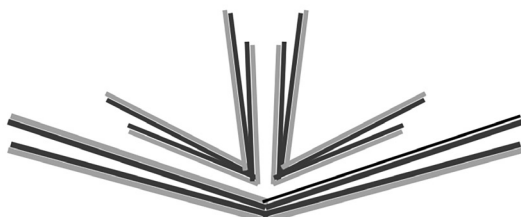
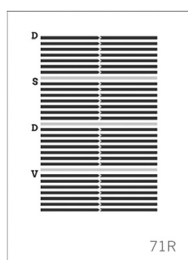
The *Petrarch* archive's digital expansion of *Quel' antiquo* also creates more virtual space within Petrarch's book. But we are in those sections of Petrarch's deep workspace for the *Fragmenta* (in Fascicles VI, VII, IX, X and XI), in that part of the codex that Petrarch would have had transcribed by a trusted professional scribe as a fair copy. As best we can tell, we do not have a complete and final fair copy of the *Fragmenta*, only a working copy with emendations and experimental reorderings for its ultimate design.

One of those experimental rearrangements of poetic order would have taken shape through the poet's use of marginal numbers, at least one set of numbers erased and another still visible in some places, that would have spatially redistributed the last 31 poems across three binions (Fascicles X, XI and IX, cc. 66v-71v [X.1Bv – XI.1A – B-IX.2B]). We recall the depiction of the three final fascicles, all binions, in the Fascicler:

FIG. 23

The view from the *Petrarch* Fascicler of the three binions that constitute Fascicles IX, X and XI (cc. 61-72) of Vaticano Latino 3195, with c. 71r highlighted. Within Fascicle IX (cc. 61-62|71-72) Petrarch inserted Fascicle X (on the left, cc. 63-66) and Fascicle XI (on the right, cc. 67-70).

**Fascicles IX, X and XI:** 061r - 072v  
two binions within a  
binion



The intricacy of what appears to be the last remaining set of marginal numbers (1-31) demonstrates two pivotal points of aperture on c. 66v (of

<sup>48</sup> For more discussion of Petrarch's scribal technique in the case of *Quel' antiquo* and its digital rendering, see Storey 2020, pp. 20-22, as well as the pages of material commentary on the poem in the *Petrarch* archive (Aresu, Magni, Storey and Walsh 2015-2024), cc. 69v-70r.

Fascicle X.1v): *Rvf* 337 (*Questo nostro caduco e fragil bene*, revised as *Rvf* 350), renumbered as #15, and *Rvf* 338 (*O tempo, o ciel volubil che fuggendo*, revised as *Rvf* 355), renumbered as #20. From the final sequence of marginal numbers, with the residue of other erased experimental orderings still vaguely visible, it appears that Petrarch ultimately conceived of the insertion of 23 additional poems (21 sonnets and two canzoni) after the sonnet *Tornami a mente, anzi v'è dentro, quella* (*Rvf* 336) and before the songbook's final canzone *Vergine bella* (*Rvf* 366) in two blocks of sequential texts all on Fascicle XI (a binion, cc. 67r-70v). Among these 23 poems he intended to reposition the final two sonnets over Fascicle X (on c. 66v: *Rvf* 337 [rev. 350] and *Rvf* 338 [rev. 355]). The first block of 13 sonnets (from *Quel che d'odore to E' mi par d'or in hora* [in sequence *Rvf* 339-351]) comprised cc. 67r, 67v, 68r and the first sonnet of c. 68v and were to be inserted between #1 (*Tornami a mente*) and #15 (*Questo nostro caduco*). The second sequence of eight sonnets and two canzoni intended for the addendum, from #21 to #30 on cc. 68v-70v (from *Laura mia sacra to I' vo piangendo* [in sequence *Rvf* 352-361]) were to be inserted after the fourth sonnet on c. 66v (#20): *O tempo, o ciel volubil*. However, this second unit of ten poems, #21-#30, would have been preceded by the insertion of a third grouping of four sonnets between *Questo nostro caduco* (#15) and *O tempo, o ciel volubil* (#20) on c. 66v. This unit of four sonnets was to be taken from c. 71r in Fascicle IX (IX.2Br) and were in their final sequence marginally numbered as 16, 17, 19, and 18 (from *Dolci durezza to Vago augelletto* [in their physical order *Rvf* 362-365]).<sup>49</sup> We can presume that Petrarch drew circles around the marginal numbers 1 on c. 66v and 21 n c. 68v, the topic of previous speculation, to draw the attention of the copyist who would have prepared the fair copy to the dramatic shifts in the reordering of the poems on c. 66v (marginal numbers 1, 15 and 20) and c. 68v (marginal numbers 14, 21, 22, 23). With such a pragmatic technique, we might have expected the poet-copyist to circle the marginal .16. on c. 71r (IX.2Br).<sup>50</sup> But the unbound condition of the independent bin-

<sup>49</sup> In 1904 Ettore Modigliani noted that each of the numbers (16, 17, 19 and 18) were written next to an erasure. With the aid of ultraviolet light, I was able to verify not only these erasures but also additional sequences with which Petrarch experimented in these last fascicles of the working copy part of his manuscript Vaticano Latino 3195. See also Storey 2004b, esp. pp. 391-392.

<sup>50</sup> Even with ultraviolet light and magnification it is difficult to verify the presence of the left part of a circle that might have been erased above the .16. in the upper right corner of c. 71r. See [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3195](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3195), and navigate to the photograph under ultraviolet light of c. 71r.

ions (Fascicles IX, X and XI) as Petrarch worked on them – and as they would have been passed to the fair copy scribe – would have made the skip in the sequence from #30 on c. 70v of Fascicle XI (XI.1Bv) to #16 on c. 71r of Fascicle IX (IX.2Br) more visible to the copyist than those on cc. 66v and 68v.<sup>51</sup> The Table below demonstrates the placement and virtually reordering of these three blocks of texts among Fascicles IX, X and XI.

FIG. 24

Table of the Integration of Fascicles IX, X and XI of Vaticano Latino 3195.

#### Integration of Fascicles IX, X and XI

Fascicle IX: cc. 61–62 | 71–72

Fascicle X: cc. 63–66

Fascicle XI: cc. 67–70

c. 66v<sup>1-4</sup> = Fascicle X.1Bv

Rvf335 *Vidi fra mille donne una già tale*

Rvf336 *Tornami a mente, anzi v'è dentro, quella* 1

Rvf337[350] *Questo nostro caduco e fragil bene* 15

Rvf338[355] *O tempo, o ciel volubil, che fuggendo* 20

c. 71v – 72v = Fascicle IX.2Bv – IX.1Bv

Rvf366 *Vergine bella caduco e fragil bene* 31

#### Fascicles XI and IX.2

Block I: cc. 67r–68v<sup>1</sup> Fascicle XI.1Ar–v, XI.2Ar–v<sup>1</sup> (13 sonnets; Rvf339–351)

2 Rvf339 *Quel che d'odore et di color vincea*

14 Rvf351 *E' mi par d'or in hora udire il messo*

Block II: cc. 68v<sup>2</sup>–70v Fascicle XI.2Av<sup>2</sup>–XI.1Bv (8 sonnets, 2 canzoni; Rvf352–361)

21 Rvf352 *Laura mia sacra al mio stanco riposo*

30 Rvf361 *I' vo piangendo i miei passati tempi*

Block III: c. 71r Fascicle IX.2Br (4 sonnets; Rvf362–365)

16 Rvf362 *Dolci durezza et placide repulse*

17 Rvf363 *Spirto felice che sì dolcemente*

19 Rvf364 *De! porgi mano a l'affannato ingegno*

18 Rvf365 *Vago augelletto che cantando vai*

This final section of the *addenda* demonstrates the intricate integration of Fascicle XI into the materials of Fascicles X (X.1Bv) and IX (IX.2Br), which Petrarch had already produced. Rather than accepting the material sequence of c. 71 *recto* to *verso* (in physical order Rvf 362–366 that would become in revised form Rvf 351, 352, 354, 353, 366), through the material challenges of Fascicle XI Petrarch triggers a profound poetic revision and re-envisioning of the last 31 poems as well as the closure of the *Fragmenta*. To begin to understand how he affected that revised closure requires a clear visual comprehension of the *Fragmenta*'s essential materiality and how Petrarch manipulates it to revise his songbook.

In digital form in the *Petrarch* archive, a single click reorders the last thirty-one poems from their physical form (which Wilkins 1959 established

<sup>51</sup> For a magnified view of these marginal numbers see the ultraviolet photos of cc. 66v–71r online, navigate to the *chartae* at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3195](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3195). It is worth remembering that few copyists and editors noticed Petrarch's marginal numbers until Mestica 1896.



as a standard) to their renumbered, revised order according to the still visible numbers in the margins of Fascicles X, XI and IX. As the *Petrarch-chive* moves with a click between the diplomatic and edited forms of the *Fragmenta*, so a single click can move us not only into Petrarch's revisions but also into the different orderings and constructions of diverse manuscripts. Rather than dispensing with what we now know are significant spaces and materials as happens in print editions, the digital allows for greater fields of visualization and philological study.

A few years ago, when asked by a well-meaning colleague – with a press at his disposal – if I would be willing to see my rich-text edition in print, I could only consent politely. But I mused long and hard over what would be a difficult conversion from an interactive digital resource with a complex architecture into a medium whose structural thinking and conceptualization I had to abandon in order to represent the multiple layers of Petrarch's *Fragmenta*, both as a text and as an evolving construct that would become for most readers simply the *Canzoniere*. With the advent of ever-improving software for OCR (Optical Character Recognition), the possibility of scanning and digitizing printed texts for big data mining or for wider distribution can represent a useful tool for readers. It is, however, a tool we should use cautiously. A book scanned, say, for Google Books is digitized but not digital. Instead, the task of representing a text or a work into a multi-layered digital design in order to represent that work in its more flexible, richer and more authentic forms commensurate with its condition(s) in manuscript cultures, such as those of late medieval Italy, produces scholarship and texts that perhaps simply cannot be converted to print-thinking and production. Speaking as one who tried to do it, print simply fails to represent adequately the stratification of information that can ultimately be represented more accurately by the digital. Though sometimes resistant, those of us who have toiled for decades among the pages of print-thinking are beginning to see in the digital better tools for interrogating the complex manuscript page and its coordinates within gatherings and across entire codices. From antiquity to the twentieth century – from Luca Martini's 1548 collations of a now-lost 1330 *Commedia* in the margins of a 1515 Aldine Dante to Sandro Penna's scribbling in the 1930s of his poem *La vita ... è ricordarsi di un risveglio* in the margins of a newspaper – careful digital philology offers us not just an 'archive' but the opportunity to represent ever more accurately texts and their textuality. In the case of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, the comparative consultation of digital facsimile images, the diplomatic and the



edited forms of the lyrics, easily toggled, and numerous other paratextual tools can help us trace and rediscover profound and dynamic features of a poetics that had been, like Petrarch's partial holograph, lost to us for hundreds of years.

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- eventuale numero del volume (se l'opera è composta da più tomi) in cifra romana;
- eventuale curatore (iniziale del nome puntata, cognome per esteso), in tondo, preceduto dalla dizione 'a cura di';
- luogo di edizione, casa editrice, anno;
- eventuali numeri di pagina, in cifre arabe e/o romane tonde, da indicare con 'p.' o 'pp.', in tondo minuscolo. L'eventuale intervallo di pp. oggetto di particolare attenzione va indicato dopo i due punti (es.: pp. 12-34; 13-15)

In **seconda citazione** si indichino solo il cognome dell'autore, il titolo abbreviato dell'opera seguito, dopo una virgola, dal numero delle pp. interessate (senza "cit.", "op. cit.", "ed. cit." etc...); nei casi in cui si debba ripetere di séguito la citazione della medesima opera, variata in qualche suo elemento – ad esempio con l'aggiunta dei numeri di pagina –, si usi 'ivi' (in tondo); si usi *ibidem* (in corsivo), in forma non abbreviata, quando la citazione è invece ripetuta in maniera identica subito dopo.

Esempi:

A. Monteverchi, *Gli uomini e i tempi. Studi da Machiavelli a Malvezzi*, Bologna, Pàtron, 2016.

A. Benassi, «La teoria e la prassi dell'emblema e dell'impresa», in *Letteratura e arti visive nel Rinascimento*, a cura di G. Genovese, A. Torre, Roma, Carocci, 2019.

S. Petrelli, *La stampa in Occidente. Analisi critica*, IV, Berlino-New York, de Gruyter, 2000<sup>5</sup>, pp. 23-28.

Petrelli, *La stampa in Occidente*, pp. 25-26.

Ivi, p. 25.

*Ibidem*

La citazione bibliografica di un **articolo pubblicato su un periodico** deve essere composta come segue:

- Autore in tondo, con l'iniziale del nome puntato
- Titolo dell'articolo in tondo tra virgolette basse («...»)
- Titolo della rivista in corsivo
- Eventuale numero di serie in cifra romana tonda;
- Eventuale numero di annata in cifre romane tonde;
- Eventuale numero di fascicolo in cifre arabe o romane tonde, a seconda dell'indicazione fornita sulla copertina della rivista;
- Anno di edizione, in cifre arabe tonde e fra parentesi;
- Intervallo di pp. dell'articolo, eventualmente seguite da due punti e la p. o le pp.

## Esempi:

C. De Cesare, «Una corrispondenza corale. Alcune integrazioni al corpus epistolare ariostesco a partire dal carteggio del suo luogotenente», *Bollettino di italianistica*, n.s., a. XIX, 2 (2022), pp. 121-134.

M. Petoletti, «Poesia epigrafica pavese di età longobarda: le iscrizioni sui monumenti», *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, LX (2019), pp. 1-32.

Nel caso che i **nomi degli autori**, curatori, prefatori, traduttori, ecc. siano più di uno, essi si separano con una virgola (ad es.: G.M. Anselmi, L. Chines, C. Varotti) e non con il lineato breve unito.

I **numeri delle pagine** e degli anni vanno indicati per esteso (ad es.: pp. 112-146 e non 112-46; 113-118 e non 113-8; 1953-1964 e non 1953-964 o 1953-64 o 1953-4).

I **siti Internet** vanno citati in tondo minuscolo senza virgolette (« » o < >) qualora si specifichi l'intero indirizzo elettronico (es.: [www.griseldaonline.it](http://www.griseldaonline.it)). Se invece si indica solo il nome, essi vanno in corsivo senza virgolette al pari del titolo di un'opera (es.: *Griseldaonline*).

Se è necessario usare il termine *Idem* per indicare un autore, scriverlo per esteso.

I **rientri di paragrafo** vanno fatti con un TAB; non vanno fatti nel paragrafo iniziale del contributo.

Nel caso in cui si scelgano **criteri citazionali all'anglosassone**, è possibile rendere sinteticamente le note a piè di pagina con sola indicazione del cognome dell'autore in tondo, data ed, eventualmente, indicazione della pagina da cui proviene la citazione, senza specificare né il volume né il periodico di riferimento, ugualmente si può inserire la fonte direttamente nel corpo del contributo.

La bibliografia finale, da posizionarsi necessariamente al termine di ciascun contributo dovrà essere, invece, compilata per esteso; per i criteri della stessa si rimanda alle indicazioni fornite per il sistema citazionale all'italiana.

## Esempi:

• Nel corpo del testo o in nota, valido per ciascun esempio seguente: (Craig 2004).

Nella bibliografia finale: Craig 2004: H. Craig, «Stylistic analysis and authorship studies», in *A companion to Digital Humanities*, a cura di S. Schreibman, R. Siemens, J. Unsworth, Blackwell, Oxford 2004.

• Adams, Barker 1993: T.R. Adams, N. Barker, «A new model for the study of the book» in *A potencie of life. Books in society: The Clark lectures 1986-1987*, London, British Library 1993.

• Avellini et al. 2009: *Prospettive degli Studi culturali*, a cura di L. Avellini et al., Bologna, I Libri di Emil, 2009, pp. 190-19.

• Carriero et al 2020: V.A. Carriero, M. Daquino, A. Gangemi, A.G. Nuzzolese, S. Peroni, V. Presutti, F. Tomasi, «The Landscape of Ontology Reuse Approaches», in *Applications and Practices in Ontology Design, Extraction, and Reasoning*, Amsterdam, IOS Press, 2020, pp. 21-38.

Se si fa riferimento ad una citazione specifica di un'opera, è necessario inserire la pagina:

- (Eggert 1990, pp. 19-40) (nel testo o in nota).

In bibliografia finale: Eggert 1990: Eggert P. «Textual product or textual process: procedures and assumptions of critical editing» in *Editing in Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press 1990, pp. 19-40.

- In caso di omonimia nel riferimento a testo o in nota specificare l'iniziale del nome dell'autore o autrice.

### *Referaggio*

Tutti i contributi presenti in rivista sono sottoposti preventivamente a processo di *double-blind peer review* (processo di doppio referaggio cieco) e sono, pertanto, esaminati e valutati da revisori anonimi così come anonimo è anche l'autore del saggio in analisi, al fine di rendere limpido e coerente il risultato finale.



# Editorial rules

Since its very beginning Ecdotica, intending to favour different philological sensibilities and methods, enables authors to choose between different referencing styles, the Italian and 'Harvard' ones. However, it is fundamental to coherence when choosing one of them.

All the papers must be delivered with the formatting to a minimum (no paragraph indent is permitted), typed in Times New Roman 12 point, single-spaces. All the quotes exceeding 3 lines must be in font size 10, single spaces, separated with a blank space from the text (no paragraph indent). Each footnote number has to be put after the punctuation. All the footnotes will be collocated at the bottom of the page instead of at the end of the article.

All the quotes lesser than 3 lines must be collocated in the body text between quotation marks «...». If there is a quote inside a quote, it has to be written between double quotes "...". The latter or single quotation marks ('..') may be used for words or sentences to be highlighted, emphatic expressions, phrases, and translations. Please keep formatting such as italics to a minimum (to be used just for work and journal titles, e.g. *Contemporary German editorial theory*, *A companion to Digital Humanities*, and for foreign words.

N.B: For all the sections named *Saggi*, *Foro* and *Questioni*, the authors are required, at the beginning of the article, to put the paper's title, an abstract, and 5 keywords, and, at the end of the article, institutional mail address and academic membership.

For the section named *Rassegne*: reviews should begin with the reviewed volume's bibliographic information organized by:

Author (last name in small caps), first name. Date. *Title* (in italics). Place of publication: publisher. ISBN 13. # of pages (and, where appropriate, illustrations/figures/musical examples). Hardcover or softcover. Price (preferably in dollars and/or euros).

In case the author(s) chooses the Italian quoting system, he/she has to respect the following rules.

The bibliographic quotation of a book or of an essay in a book must be composed by:

- Author in Roman type, with the name initial;
- The volume's title in Italics type; the paper's title between quotation marks «...» followed by "in" and the title of the volume (if the title contains another title inside, it must be in Italics);
- The number of the volume, if any, in Roman numbers;
- The name of the editor must be indicated with the name initial and full surname, in Roman type, preceded by 'edited by';
- Place of publishing, name of publisher, year;

- Number of pages in Arab or Roman number preceded by 'p.' or 'pp.', in Roman type. If there is a particular page range to be referred to, it must be indicated as following pp-12-34: 13-15.

If the quotes are repeated after the first time, please indicate just the surname of the author, a short title of the work after a comma, the number of the pages (no "cit.", "op. cit.", "ed. cit." etc.).

Use 'ivi' (Roman type) when citing the same work as previously, but changing the range of pages; use *ibidem* (Italics), in full, when citing the same quotation shortly after.

Examples:

A. Montevercchi, *Gli uomini e i tempi. Studi da Machiavelli a Malvezzi*, Bologna, Pàtron, 2016.

A. Benassi, «La teoria e la prassi dell'emblema e dell'impresa», in *Letteratura e arti visive nel Rinascimento*, a cura di G. Genovese, A. Torre, Roma, Carocci, 2019.

S. Petrelli, *La stampa in Occidente. Analisi critica*, ivi, Berlino-New York, de Gruyter, 20005, pp. 23-28.

Petrelli, *La stampa in Occidente*, pp. 25-26.

Ivi, p. 25.

*Ibidem*

The bibliographic quotation of an article published in a journal or book must be composed by

- Author in Roman type, with the name initial;
- The article's title in Roman type between quotation marks «...» (if the title contains another title inside, it must be in Italics);
- The title of the journal or the book in Italics type;
- The number of the volume, if any, in Roman numbers;
- The year of the journal in Roman number;
- Issue number (if any), in Arabic numbers;
- Year of publication in Arabic number between brackets;
- Number of pages in Arab or Roman number preceded by 'p.' or 'pp.', in Roman type. If there is a particular page range to be referred to, it must be indicated as following pp-12-34: 13-15.

Examples:

C. De Cesare, «Una corrispondenza corale. Alcune integrazioni al corpus epistolare ariostesco a partire del carteggio del suo luogotenente», *Bollettino di italianistica*, n.s., a. XIX, 2 (2022), pp. 121-134.

M. Petoletti, «Poesia epigrafica pavese di età longobarda: le iscrizioni sui monumenti», *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, LX (2019), pp. 1-32.

When authors, editors, prefaces, translators, etc., are more than one, they should be separated by a comma (e.g. G.M. Anselmi, L. Chines, C. Varotti) and not by a hyphen. Page and year numbers should be written in full (e.g. pp. 112-146, not 112-46; 113-118, not 113-8; 1953-1964, not 1953-964 or 1953-64 or 1953-4). Internet sites should be cited in lowercase without quotation marks (« » or < >) if specifying the full web address (e.g. [www.griseldaonline.it](http://www.griseldaonline.it)). If only the name is provided, it should be italicized without quotation marks like a title of a work (e.g. *Griseldaonline*).

If necessary to use the term “Idem” to indicate an author, write it out in full.

Paragraph indentation should be done with a TAB; no indentation should be made in the initial paragraph of the contribution.

In case the Anglo-Saxon citation criteria are chosen, it is possible to make footnotes more concise with only the author’s surname in round brackets, date, and possibly the page number from which the citation is taken, without specifying the volume or periodical reference. Similarly, the source can be directly inserted into the body of the contribution. However, the final bibliography, to be positioned necessarily at the end of each contribution, must be compiled in full; for its criteria, reference is made to the instructions provided for the Italian citation system.

Examples:

- In the body of the text or in a note, valid for each following example: (Craig 2004).

In the final bibliography: Craig 2004: H. Craig, «Stylistic analysis and authorship studies», in *A companion to Digital Humanities*, edited by S. Schreibman, R. Siemens, J. Unsworth, Blackwell, Oxford 2004.

- Adams, Barker 1993: T.R. Adams, N. Barker, «A new model for the study of the book», in *A potencie of life. Books in society: The Clark lectures 1986-1987*, London, British Library, 1993.

- Avellini et al. 2009: *Prospettive degli Studi culturali*, edited by L. Avellini et al., Bologna, I Libri di Emil, 2009, pp. 190-19.

- Carriero et al 2020: V.A. Carriero, M. Daquino, A. Gangemi, A.G. Nuzzolese, S. Peroni, V. Presutti, F. Tomasi, «The Landscape of Ontology Reuse Approaches», in *Applications and Practices in Ontology Design, Extraction, and Reasoning*, Amsterdam, IOS Press, 2020, pp. 21-38.

If referring to a specific citation from a work, it is necessary to include the page number:

- (Eggert 1990, pp. 19-40) (in the text or in a note)

In the final bibliography: Eggert 1990: Eggert P., «Textual product or textual process: procedures and assumptions of critical editing», in *Editing in Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press 1990, pp. 19-40.

In case of homonymy in reference to a text or in a note, specify the initial of the author's name.

*Peer review*

All contributions to the journal undergo a double-blind peer review process, whereby they are examined and evaluated by anonymous reviewers, as is the author of the essay under analysis, to ensure clarity and coherence in the final outcome.

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