



2021

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### Recommended Citation

Penna, Cristina Teresa (2021) "The Stuttgart 'Commedia'. New Investigation On A Famous Dante Manuscript," *Bibliotheca Dantesca: Journal of Dante Studies*: Vol. 4 , Article 5.

Available at: <https://repository.upenn.edu/bibdant/vol4/iss1/5>

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**THE STUTTGART 'COMMEDIA'. NEW INVESTIGATION ON  
A FAMOUS DANTE MANUSCRIPT**

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This paper offers an investigation on an ancient witness of Dante's *Commedia*, the "German" cod. poet. et phil. fol. 19 (Stocc), preserved in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek. The codex became fortuitously famous in the second half of the 19th century, thanks to the attention of the great Dantista Adolfo Mussafia, who studied and entirely collated it, together with a second manuscript from Wien. But in recent years Stocc has returned to attract the scholars' interest for its uncertain linguistic traits and for the possibility of a backdating within the chronological limit of the "antica vulgata" established by Giorgio Petrocchi. The essay can be divided in two sections: the first one is dedicated to resume the critical history of the witness and to point out some interesting codicological and textual features. The second part, instead, is reserved to the *Linguistic appendix*, a short and partial report on the language of Stocc.

Keywords: Dante, *Commedia*, Dante philology, Adolfo Mussafia, Stuttgart

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At the dawn of the modern Dante's philology, Bartolomeo Perazzini was the first to recognize the actual problems related to the *restitutio textus* of the *Commedia*, as recently recalled by Riccardo Viel.<sup>1</sup> In his essay of 1775, Perazzini theorized the inevitability of a complete *recensio* and the construction of a *stemma codicum* through the collation of all the variants and the support of *lectio difficilior* and *usus scribendi*.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Perazzini's intuition remained unheard, especially due to the fact that Lachmann's stemmatic method was far from being implemented. It took about a century for the first modern edition of Dante's poem to be eventually published; it was undoubtedly original, but presented very questionable results. Precisely, in 1862 the German philologist Karl

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<sup>1</sup> Riccardo Viel, "Sulla tradizione manoscritta della 'Commedia'. Metodo e prassi in centocinquant'anni di ricerca," *Critica del testo* 14, no. 1 (2011): 459-518, 461.

<sup>2</sup> Bartolomeo Perazzini, "Retractatio critica in Dantis Comoediam," in *In editionem Tractatum vel Sermonum S. Zenonis episcopi Veronensis a Petro et Hieronymo fratribus Balleriniis adornatam correctiones et explicationes* (Verona: apud Marcum Moroni, 1775).

Witte published *Dante Alighieri's Divine Comedy corrected on four of the most authoritative manuscripts*.<sup>3</sup> Since Witte recognized the actual impossibility of an integral *collatio*, the philologist tried to identify the main families of manuscripts, starting with a comparison between the third cantos of the *Inferno* in 407 codices. The following step regarded the search for possible earlier examples of Dante's poem by selecting some *loci critici* – a series of verses in which the divergence between manuscripts is more significant.<sup>4</sup> In this phase, Witte compared the texts with variants considered genuine and he discarded the witnesses containing errors or trivializations. However, this analysis turned out to be ineffective. The final result led to the choice of four manuscripts which are now considered completely unreliable for textual criticism.<sup>5</sup> It is worth adding that Witte's contemporaries expressed skepticism in the same way.

On January 18<sup>th</sup> 1865, the great Dalmatian scholar Adolfo Mussafia presented in Vienna in front of the Academy of Sciences his study on two codices of the *Commedia*, which will be published later that year to celebrate Dante's 600<sup>th</sup> birthday.<sup>6</sup> In particular, Mussafia highlighted the need for establishing genealogical connections of the manuscripts; for reconstructing text families and identifying their earliest examples. He criticized Witte for not having explained any genetic connection among the codices he had selected for his edition. Moreover, since Mussafia realized that the *recensio* and *collatio* – which means the collection and comparison – of all the codices were not immediately available, he suggested to move forward by studying the greatest number of manuscripts as a whole, in order to classify them. For this reason, he collated all the variants of the two witnesses he examined, using Witte's text from

<sup>3</sup> Karl Witte, ed., *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna* (Berlin: Rodolfo Decker, 1862).

<sup>4</sup> Enrico Malato, *Lessico filologico. Un approccio alla filologia* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2008), 76-77.

<sup>5</sup> The four manuscripts selected by Witte were Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS 26 sin. I (LauSC), Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 3199 (Vat), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Ital. 136, and the now lost Sermoneta Caetani codex.

<sup>6</sup> Adolfo Mussafia, "I codici della Divina Commedia che si conservano alla Biblioteca Imperiale di Vienna ed alla Reale di Stoccarda," *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 49 (1865): 141-212, then in Adolfo Mussafia, *Sul testo della Divina Commedia. Studi di Adolfo Mussafia. I. I codici di Vienna e di Stoccarda* (Vienna: Tipografia di corte e di stato, 1865). See also Donato Pirovano, "Mussafia e il testo della 'Divina Commedia'," in *Letteratura Dalmata Italiana. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Trieste, 27-28 febbraio 2015)*, eds. Giorgio Baroni, Cristina Benussi (Pisa-Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2016), 40-44.

1862 as the basis.<sup>7</sup> He urged all the other scholars of Dante to follow the same model of investigation. A fundamental contribution, although incomplete,<sup>8</sup> was provided a few years later by the English Edward Moore, who collated 17 manuscripts in full for the first *cantica*, so to complete the philological examination of the poem with the help of 180 *loci selecti* for *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*.<sup>9</sup> The text edited by Moore for the Oxford Dante Society (1894), presented in his *Contributions*,<sup>10</sup> is still considered today “the first scientific edition provided with variants, at least for the *Inferno*”.<sup>11</sup>

For this investigation it is pointless to analyse the ecdotic history of the poem. Conversely, before moving on, it is paramount to focus on the philological contribution of Mussafia. He had been living in Vienna since 1852, where he was an academic, as well as

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<sup>7</sup> See the preliminary remarks made by the author in Mussafia, *Sul testo della Divina Commedia*, 3-6, and in particular at pages 4-5 (home translation; the same goes for the other Italian quotations in this paper): “Now that we have begun, it would be worthy to move forward promptly, and fully examine as many manuscripts as possible, and give an exact and complete report, in order to make clear the mutual connection and reduce their exuberant quantity to a few items. It would be highly desirable that any of the many talented philologists of Italy take part in this work; [...] Studies like this one, that I offer to the future critic, have a tenuous importance: they are only stones from which the building will be erected; rings of a large chain; but the final, decisive work must necessarily be preceded by the partial, modest and patient ones; and it is for this reason that I decided to contribute, as far as the useful enterprise was concerned, by making known some of those codices that are preserved in the various libraries of Germany. I begin now with the two from Vienna and Stuttgart, closely allied; I hope to be able soon to examine those of Altona, Wrocław and Frankfurt” (“Giovarebbe adunque ora, che il principio s’è fatto, procedere alacramente, ed esaminare da un capo all’altro il maggior numero possibile di manoscritti, e darne relazione esatta e completa, cosicchè a mano a mano riesca metterne in chiaro la vicendevole relazione e ridurre a pochi capi l’esuberante loro quantità. Sarebbe vivamente da desiderare che a tale lavoro s’accingesse alcuno de’ tanti valenti filologi d’Italia; [...] Studii come questo ch’io offro al critico futuro, hanno da sè un’importanza tenue: non sono che tante pietre, onde s’erigerà l’edifizio; anelli d’una grande catena; ma al lavoro finale, decisivo è forza che vadano innanzi i parziali, modesti e pazienti; ed è perciò che io fermai meco stesso di cooperare per quanto è da me all’utile impresa col far conoscere alcuni di quei codici che si conservano nelle varie biblioteche della Germania. Incomincio ora coi due di Vienna e di Stoccarda, strettamente affini; nutro speranza di potere fra breve esaminare quelli d’Altona, di Breslavia e di Francoforte”).

<sup>8</sup> The only one to fully accept Mussafia’s suggestion was the Venetian philologist Antonio Fiammazzo, who, about twenty years later, published some studies dedicated to Friulian and Venetian manuscripts paying attention to their physical characteristics and textual variants (see Pirovano, “Mussafia e il testo della ‘Divina Commedia’,” 44).

<sup>9</sup> The codices studied by Edward Moore are all “English”: 13 are kept at the Bodleian Library in Oxford; 3 at the University Library of Cambridge and one, the famous Egerton code 943 (Eg), at the British Library in London.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Moore, *Contributions to the textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889).

<sup>11</sup> Viel, “Sulla tradizione manoscritta della ‘Commedia’,” 468 (“la prima affidabile edizione scientifica con apparato di varianti, almeno per quanto riguarda l’*Inferno*”).

a librarian at Viennese Court Library since 1860. As mentioned before, Mussafia presented his contribution on the celebration for the centenary “as German correspondent”.<sup>12</sup> In particular, he devoted himself to collate two “non-Italian” witnesses. The first source from Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 2600) is a parchment manuscript that can be dated back to the first half of 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> It is also known as “Eugenian” since it belonged to Prince Eugenio of Savoia. The second source is kept in Stuttgart, at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (cod. poet. et phil. fol. 19). The latter had a modest reputation for about a century and a half, due to the fact that it was the fortuitous object of study of an exceptional Dante scholar, i.e. Mussafia himself. However, in recent years the Stuttgart text proved to be a singular and potentially appealing witness.<sup>14</sup>

The historical bibliography related to the Stuttgart codex (henceforth Stocc)<sup>15</sup> is not extensive. The first description of this witness was published in the *Bibliografia dantesca*, a catalogue of editions, translations, manuscripts and commentaries on the *Commedia* and other Dante works; it was edited by the French Paul Colomb De Batines.<sup>16</sup> The codex, listed among the German manuscripts, was widely considered as “not flawless” (“di lezione non troppo corretta”) due to Karl Witte’s influence on the author. Colomb De Batines started with a brief description, which dated back Stocc to 14<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, in this section, the author provided some information on the history of Stocc. The codex was part of the library of Prince Federico Cesi (1585–1630), a Roman scientist and founder of the Accademia dei Lincei, one of the oldest

<sup>12</sup> Pirovano, “Mussafia e il testo della ‘Divina Commedia’,” 43 (“in qualità di corrispondente alemanno”).

<sup>13</sup> See the manuscript description in Fabio Romanini, “Altri testimoni della ‘Commedia’,” in *Nuove prospettive sulla tradizione della ‘Commedia’, Una guida filologico-linguistica al poema dantesco*, ed. Paolo Trovato (Florence: Franco Cesati Editore, 2007), 61–94, 94.

<sup>14</sup> The excellent manuscript digitization is freely available on the Württembergische Landesbibliothek website: [http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx\\_dlf%5Bpage%5D=3&tx\\_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fdig-ital.wlb-stuttgart.de%2Fmets%2Furn%3Anbn%3Ade%3Absz%3A24-digibib-bsz3671434029&tx\\_dlf%5Bdou-ble%5D=0&cHash=e9946f9bb3968e44b13886e44e58ae8a](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=3&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fdig-ital.wlb-stuttgart.de%2Fmets%2Furn%3Anbn%3Ade%3Absz%3A24-digibib-bsz3671434029&tx_dlf%5Bdou-ble%5D=0&cHash=e9946f9bb3968e44b13886e44e58ae8a).

<sup>15</sup> As it is called in Romanini, “Altri testimoni della ‘Commedia’,” 92 and already in Petrocchi’s “Regesto dei codici della ‘Commedia’” in *La Commedia secondo l’antica vulgata*, ed. Giorgio Petrocchi, 4 vols. (Milan: Mondadori, 1966–1967 [Florence: Le Lettere, 1994]), 1, 496.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Colomb De Batines, *Bibliografia Dantesca*, 2 vols. (Prato: Tipografia Aldina, 1845–46). The codex description (no. 523) is in the second volume, page 271. Batines states that the manuscript was mentioned in a *Notizia* about the Stuttgart Library published on the journal *Il gondoliere* 7 (Venice: 1845).

and most prestigious European scientific institutions. Later, it was integrated in the Dante collection of the abbot De Rulle from Nancy, then it was eventually purchased by the Royal Library of Stuttgart, where Adolfo Mussafia began his investigation.<sup>17</sup> In the opening pages, the Dalmatian scholar assumed the main information on the manuscript from Batines and added further codicological remarks about its illustrative body and content. However, the most interesting part of the investigation regarded the linguistic analysis on Stocc and the Eugenic manuscript as well. He stated that “both the manuscripts appear to be written in Northern Italy”.<sup>18</sup> As a matter of fact, this statement is supported with a list of specific graphic characteristics, that are typical of northern dialects. In addition to this, Mussafia expressed a personal opinion on the level of education of the two copyists. Several “gross mistakes” (“errori grossolani”) reveals “the large ignorance” (“la grande ignoranza”) of the copyist of V (abbreviation he used for the Viennese codex), who “didn’t understand what he wrote” (“non comprendeva quello ch’ei si scrivesse”). On the other hand, Stocc, for its higher quality, “proves to be written by a copist more educated” (“mostra essere stato scritto da persona più istruita”).<sup>19</sup> In conclusion of the volume, after the integral collation of the two witnesses, it is inserted the diplomatic transcription of two different cantos (*Par.* 27 for Stocc; *Purg.* 8 for V), as an example of the graphic habits of the two scribes, and a *Saggio delle rubriche*. Information relating to Stocc can also be found in Edward Moore’s *Contributions*, in the section entitled *Account of mss. examined or collated*. The English Dantista, even though he recognizes the authority of Mussafia’s work, which he defines “[a] very careful monograph,” does not exempt himself from proposing a personal observation: “Mussafia thinks it was written in North Italy, though its dialectic peculiarities are not so strongly marked as those of V. Both he and Batines assign it to the 14<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>20</sup> Subsequently, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Stocc was included by Ludwig Volkmann in a list of Dante manuscripts in his volume *Iconografia dantesca*, concerning the different figurative representations of the poem during the centuries.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Mussafia, *Sul testo della Divina Commedia*; see Pirovano, “Mussafia e il testo della ‘Divina Commedia’.”

<sup>18</sup> Mussafia, *Sul testo della Divina Commedia*, 7 (“ambidue i codici sembrano essere stati scritti nell’Italia settentrionale”).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 13.

<sup>20</sup> Moore, *Contributions*, 560.

<sup>21</sup> Ludwig Volkmann, *Iconografia dantesca. Le rappresentazioni figurative della Divina Commedia*, ed. Guglielmo Locella (Florence-Venice: Olschki, 1898), 22-23.

In more recent years, most of the information on the witness has been collected in the inventory of manuscripts of the *Commedia* by Marcella Roddewig.<sup>22</sup> In these pages the author suggests the hypothesis of a Venetian antigraph which would have been used by a copyist from Umbria/Marche; according to the scholar, the manuscript could belong, from a textual point of view, to the family *e* of Petrocchi's *stemma codicum* (together, therefore, with the Bolognese Riccardiano-Braidense [Rb], Urbinate 366 [Urb] and the Madrilenio codex [Mad], within the northern  $\beta$  branch). The description prepared by Marisa Boschi Rotiroti – decidedly more concise – doesn't add further information about the history, the language and the textual tradition of the ms., but stands out for an inedited and accurate codicological report.<sup>23</sup> Regarding the linguistic aspect, however, different is the more recent opinion of Fabio Romanini, who, recovering the authoritative judgment of Mussafia, favors a localization of the codex in the Emilia-Romagna area, also “in light of the miniatures that refer to the Paduan-Bolognese context [...] in any case not far from U[rbinat] and F[lorio], with whom it shares various linguistic traits”.<sup>24</sup> Among the most characterizing traits reported by the scholar there are *scempiamenti* (*sabion, ochi, mughia, maggior, Teghiaio, fiamegiare, symonigiando, burato* ecc.), exchanges between *-i* and *-e* (*me vidi* for ‘mi vide’), anti-Florentine diphthongs (such as *puoi* ‘poi’, *suonni* ‘sonni’, and especially for the verb ‘essere’: *sie, fuo, fuosti, fuosse, fuossero* ecc.).

The list of studies that have been published throughout the last two centuries is therefore interesting, specifically to highlight the second characteristic of the witness: its uncertain linguistic

<sup>22</sup> Marcella Roddewig, *Dante Alighieri. Die Göttliche Komödie. Vergleichende Bestandsaufnahme der Commedia-Handschriften* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1984), 323–24. Roddewig – regarding the bibliographic references for Stocc – nominates also, in addition to Batines, Mussafia, Moore and Volkmann, Berthold Wiese, “Die in Deutschland vorhandenen Handschriften der Göttlichen Komödie,” *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* 11 (1929): 44–52; Maria Provvienza La Valva, “Presenza di Dante nelle biblioteche tedesche,” *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* 43 (1965): 90–111; Peter Amelung, *Die Dante-Sammlung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek* (Stuttgart: Italienisches Kulturinstitut, 1965); Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 1, 496 (a short note in *Regesto dei codici della 'Commedia'*).

<sup>23</sup> See Marisa Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della 'Commedia'. Entro e oltre l'antica vulgata* (Rome: Viella, 2004), 141–42.

<sup>24</sup> Romanini, “Altri testimoni della ‘Commedia’,” 93 (“alla luce delle miniature che rinviano all’ambito padovano-bolognese [...] comunque non lontano da U[rbinat] e da F[lorio], con i quali condivide vari tratti linguistici”). Another description, detailing the physical characteristics of the manuscript, is found in Enrico Malato and Andrea Mazzucchi, eds., *Censimento dei Commenti danteschi. 1. I commenti di tradizione manoscritta (fino al 1480)*, 2 vols., 2 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2011), 1051.

features. In summary, they resulted mainly debated between two theses: on one side the northern proposal of Mussafia (sustained by Fabio Romanini and Paolo Trovato, and also confirmed by the iconographic appearance of Stocc), and on the other hand, with the endorsement of Marcella Roddewig and Marisa Boschi Rotiroti, the origin from Umbria/Marche. The hypothetical linguistic approach to the area of the famous Urbinate 366 (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Urb. Lat. 366) – copied “between Romagna and Bologna in 1352” –<sup>25</sup> and to the geography of Dante’s latest years cannot leave us indifferent, noted that, after the publication of Sanguineti’s *Comedia*,<sup>26</sup> the northern witnesses enjoy an excellent reputation. The linguistic theory of the greater conservativeness of peripheral areas can in fact be validly applied to philological investigation: in the case of the *Commedia*, far from the fervent and tireless activity of Florentine and Tuscan copyists in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the peripheral witnesses (coming from a place – Northern Italy – to which Dante himself was linked in the last years of his life) may have preserved a more genuine text, hypothetically closer to the original source. After all – as Roddewig had already proposed, but with reference to the now outdated Petrocchi *stemma* – even Paolo Trovato, currently close to the publication of a new critical edition of the *Commedia*, has reserved for Stocc a place in the orbit of Urbinate 366, the most authoritative of northern codices.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Fabio Romanini, “Manoscritti e postillati dell’antica vulgata,” in Trovato, *Nuove prospettive sulla tradizione della ‘Commedia’*, 49-60, 59 (“tra la Romagna e Bologna nel 1352”).

<sup>26</sup> Federico Sanguineti, ed., *Dantis Alagherii Comedia* (Tavarnuzze: SISMEL-Edizioni Del Galluzzo, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> See in particular Paolo Trovato, “Fuori dall’antica vulgata. Nuove prospettive sulla tradizione della ‘Commedia’,” in Paolo Trovato, ed., *Nuove prospettive sulla tradizione della ‘Commedia’*, 669-715, 702, and the stemma updated version in Paolo Trovato, “Nuovi dati sulla famiglia p,” in Elisabetta Tonello and Paolo Trovato, eds., *Nuove prospettive sulla tradizione della ‘Commedia’. Seconda serie (2008-2013)* (Monterotondo: Libreriauniversitaria.it, 2013), 183-205. According to the scholar Stocc would be placed, more precisely, within the family *p*, a “field of the northern tradition that the stream of Florentine mass production has marginalized” (“un filone della tradizione settentrionale che la fiumana della produzione in serie fiorentina ha finito per marginalizzare”) and that would preserve “rather faithfully the characteristics of a considerably older Emilia-Romagna antigraph” (“piuttosto fedelmente le caratteristiche di un antigrafo emiliano-romagnolo notevolmente più antico,” 204-205). Even if “by virtue of various separative errors, we can apparently exclude that *p* descends from  $\beta$ ” (“in virtù di vari errori separativi, si può, a quanto pare, escludere che *p* discenda da  $\beta$ ”) – that is the family that includes the famous Urbinate 366 – Trovato concludes that “*p* is noted, as we have seen, as the group that comes closest to  $\beta$  and especially to Urb” (“*p* si segnala, come si è visto, come il gruppo che più si accosta a  $\beta$  e specialmente a Urb,” 204). In disagreement with the stemmatic



*Codicological and paleographic notes*

From a chronological perspective, the codex dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> Besides Dante's poem (ff. 1r-90r), it includes the *Capitolo* of Bosone da Gubbio (ff. 90v-91v), the *Capitolo* of Iacopo Alighieri (ff. 91v-92v) and Cecco d'Ascoli's *L'Acerba* (ff. 93r-124r). It was written on parchment, with dry ruling (mm 28 [240] 77x26 [80 (18) 80] 41; rr. 43 / ll. 42 (14 tercets)). The text, written by a single hand in a high quality *littera textualis*, is arranged in two columns with protruding initials for every tercet. After a later revision, probably at the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century, the vernacular long rubrics in simplified *littera textualis* were added,<sup>29</sup> although they are missing in *Inf.* 1 e in *Par.* 26-33. On folio 1r and 8v there is the stamp – the effigy of a lynx, symbol of the Accademia dei Lincei – of Federico Cesi (1585-1630), who used to own the codex. Since 1714 the manuscript belonged to the Roman library of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779) and it was later purchased by the abbot De Rulle of Nancy, probably from Albani's collection. Then, thanks to the intervention of Duke Carl Eugen, the city of Stuttgart acquired the codex. There are large miniated canticle initials (inked in blue, red and gold) decorated with leaves in the margins of the page. The canto initials depict small-scale scenes, portraits and half busts.<sup>30</sup> The ink is faded and, at times, illegible in the opening folios

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innovations advanced by Trovato and with the consequent reevaluation of a large group of northern manuscripts is instead Giorgio Inglese, "Una discussione sul testo della *Commedia* dantesca," *L'Alighieri* 39, no. 1 (2012): 123-31; see also Giorgio Inglese, "«Cara piota». Proposte per la 'Commedia'," *Studi Danteschi* 84 (2019): 15-56, especially 48-50.

<sup>28</sup> See Boschi Rotiroli, *Codicologia trecentesca della 'Commedia'*, 141-42; Romanini, "Altri testimoni della 'Commedia'," 93; Malato and Mazzucchi, *Censimento dei Commenti danteschi*, 1051.

<sup>29</sup> In Malato and Mazzucchi, *Censimento dei Commenti danteschi*, 1051, however, the rubric of *Par.* 25 is attributed to a third hand.

<sup>30</sup> Volkman, *Iconografia dantesca*, 23: "[I]n the Canto initials there are heads, half-length portraits and half busts. Often Dante, Virgil, Christ, devils' heads and saints, but sometimes there are also scenes from the *Poema*, such as in the *Infèrno* in Canto VIII, Dante in front of the crenelated walls of the City of Dite; Canto XIX, heads in the flames, a misunderstanding of the punishments of the Simoniacs; Canto XXV, Vanni Fucci cursing with pierced thumb; Canto XXVI, the heads of the fraudulent advisers in the flames; Canto XXVIII, Mohammed with a cracked body; Canto XXIX, a sinner covered with buboes; Canto XXXI, Nembrotte blows the horn; Canto XXXIII, Ugolino and Ruggieri. In *Purgatorio*: Canto IX, the rising of the sun; Canto X, one who carries heavy burdens (the prouds); Canto XIX, Dante asleep; Canto XXVIII, Dante crowned by Virgil. In *Paradiso* there are there are numerous half-length portraits of Dante and Beatrice, who is often with her gaze turned to the stars, angels, saints – including in Canto XXIV, Peter with the keys, Christ or the Virgin Mary. You can well get an idea of the studio of a miniaturist where similar codices were illuminated and certainly the owner was happy to be able to find without any effort, through the initials, any passage of the *Poema*. ("[N]elle iniziali d'ogni

of the three canticles (1r, 31r, 61r), in particular the first one. The composition of the folios is i + 124, with 14 fascicles and a fascicular caesura between the canticles: i<sup>8</sup>, ii<sup>12</sup>, iii<sup>10</sup> (*Inf.*), iv<sup>10</sup>, v<sup>8</sup>, vi<sup>12</sup> (*Purg.*), vii-x<sup>8</sup> (*Par.* + *Capitoli*), xi-xiv<sup>8</sup> (*L'Acerba*); dimension: 345 x 245 mm.

The data listed above depict a highly standardized manuscript, that incorporate the most traditional features of the books of the *Commedia* in 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> In fact, it is a parchment codex of medium-large size, paged on two columns and with a qualitatively high decorative level. Quaternions – 10 quaternions, 2 quinions, 2 senions – are predominant, but in line with the tendency of parchment mss., mainly composed of fascicles of four bifolios and quinions. Furthermore, a *caesura* between each canticle is evident, which is a highly frequent characteristic in the manuscripts of the *Commedia*.

However, the distinctiveness of the witness must be sought in its writing. Marisa Boschi Rotiroti carried out an investigation on 292 codices of Dante's poem, all dated back in 14<sup>th</sup> century. It produced a substantial framework of physical characteristics of the manuscripts of the early editions, which included the type of writing with which the text was written at that time. With regard to the paleographic analysis, it was noted that "the majority of codices were copied using cursive".<sup>32</sup> In particular, out of the 292, 182 witnesses were copied in cursive, 101 in *littera textualis* and 9 presented both types of writing within the same codex. Among the 182 codices in cursive, 106 would be post *antica vulgata* (1355), while only 9 of the 101 codices in *littera textualis* could be dated

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Canto si trovano teste, ritratti in mezza figura e mezze figure. Spesso Dante, Virgilio, Cristo, teste di diavoli e Santi, ma in alcune sono ritratte pure scene del *Poema*, così nell'*Inferno* a Canto VIII, Dante davanti alle mura merlate della Città di Dite; Canto XIX, teste fra le fiamme, un malinteso delle pene dei Simoniaci; Canto XXV, Vanni Fucci bestemmante col pollice trafitto; Canto XXVI, le teste dei consiglieri fraudolenti nelle fiamme; Canto XXVIII, Maometto col corpo fesso; Canto XXIX, un peccatore coperto di bubboni; Canto XXXI, Nembrotte suona il corno; Canto XXXIII, Ugolino e Ruggieri. Nel *Purgatorio*: Canto IX, il levar del sole; Canto X, uno che porta gravi pesi (superbi); Canto XIX, Dante addormentato; Canto XXVIII, Dante incoronato da Virgilio. Nel *Paradiso* numerosi i ritratti in mezza figura di Dante e Beatrice, questa spesso collo sguardo rivolto alle stelle, angeli, santi – tra quali a Canto XXIV, Pietro colle chiavi, Cristo o la Madonna. Si può ben farsi un'idea dello studio d'un miniatore dove si illuminavano simili Codici e certo il possessore era ben lieto di poter trovare senza fatica alcuna a mezzo delle iniziali quello o tal altro passo del *Poema*").

<sup>31</sup> See Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della 'Commedia'*, 21-105.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 65 ("la maggioranza dei codici sono stati copiati utilizzando scritture corsive o di matrice corsiva").

before 1355.<sup>33</sup> Here, the conditional tense is a must, especially considering the opinion of the paleographer Sandro Bertelli on the *Commedia* in *littera textualis*:

a sort of prejudice still seems to be underway, which means that the codices written in this graphic typology are considered by the scholars *a priori* as *recenziori* compared to those in cursive writing (in bastard on a chancery basis), especially if they present a *mise en page* on single column page, that is, with the text more or less positioned in the center of the page. In other words, it means that, with the same aspect, or better still, with the sharing of formal aspects, i.e. by changing only the graphic typology, we tend to consider older a codex written in bastard on a chancery basis of a witness copied in *littera textualis*.<sup>34</sup>

The causes of these misleading beliefs, lacking any scientific foundation, are essentially two. Firstly, an objectively difficult evaluation of this writing occurs, as it did not show any morphological variation over time.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, the fame and reputation of two witnesses in the *antica vulgata*, i.e. Urb (Urbinate 366) from 1352 and Laur (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS 40.22) from 1355, forced a codicological model based on the *littera textualis* from the 1360s onwards. Hence, it determined a consequent shift forward in the dating of this book typology, which included also the three well-known codices copied by Boccaccio (mss. Tolodano 104.6, Riccardiano 1035, Chigiano L VI 213).<sup>36</sup> Going back to Stocc, although its *littera textualis* could be dated back to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, it could also represent a valid starting point for a more accurate chronological cataloguing. In fact, according to the renowned opinion of Sandro Bertelli, the manuscript could be backdated within the first half of the century just because of its writing.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Sandro Bertelli, *La tradizione della 'Commedia' dai manoscritti al testo. I codici trecenteschi (entro l'antica vulgata) conservati a Firenze* (Florence: Olschki, 2011), 1, 27 (“sembra tuttora in vigore una sorta di pregiudizio, che fa sì che i codici vergati in questa tipologia grafica vengano dagli studiosi considerati a priori come *recenziori* rispetto a quelli in scrittura di matrice corsiva (in bastarda su base cancelleresca), soprattutto se presentano una *mise en page* a colonna unica, cioè col testo più o meno posizionato al centro della pagina. In altre parole, si vuol dire che, a parità di aspetto, o meglio ancora, di condivisione di aspetti formali, mutando cioè soltanto la tipologia grafica, si tende a considerare più antico un codice scritto in bastarda su base cancelleresca di un testimone copiato in *littera textualis*”).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 27–8.

<sup>36</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> See Pirovano, “Mussafia e il testo della ‘Divina Commedia’,” 43: “The high quality *littera textualis* [of the Stuttgart codex] was assigned to the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but, as Sandro Bertelli, whom I thank, suggests to me, it could be dated back

In my opinion, some morphological remarks should be highlighted, as it is worth noting how Stocc writing appears to all intents and purposes as regular, ordered and uniform. For instance, a first peculiarity is found in the archaic execution of the letter *a*, made mostly with a double eyelet, “with the upper part of the ‘shoulder’ that closes on the body of the letter”,<sup>38</sup> in some cases, the closure is not very visible, since the thickness of the pen stroke is minimal. On the other hand, the letter *d* does not have a vertical extension of the bar in relation to the writing line, therefore leaving behind 13<sup>th</sup> century tradition. The letter *d* had a rounded body and was drawn with the horizontal bar oriented to the left, according to the setting of the uncial letter. The *g* is written with a double eyelet, although there are cases in which the lower eyelet is not closed. The same letter, in its geminated execution, presents a fusion of opposing curves, in which the first consonant appears “like hooked to the second consonant”.<sup>39</sup> Another archaic and systematic phenomenon is the closure of *t* with the following letters, while *c* often remains separate from the body of the letter that comes after. The letter *z* is substituted with *c* with an elegant cedilla oriented to the left. When a doubling of *z* occurs, the cedilla regards the second element. The regularity of this *littera textualis* is confirmed by the presence of connections between opposing curves, e.g. *de*, *do*, *ho*, *be*, *oc*, *po* etc., and by the frequent execution of round *r* after right convex curve, e.g. *er*, *or*, *pr*. The round *r* is also found after the letter *a*, resting on the vertical bar. To the contrary, the use of abbreviations is decidedly sporadic and discontinuous. It is limited to the tachigraphic *p*, to be solved with *per*, and the *titulus* for the nasals *m*, *n* and for *r*. The capital letters at the beginning of the triplet are plainly enriched with slight ornamental motifs. They mainly consist of parallel segments traced inside the body of the letters, sometimes accompanied or replaced by pairs of small circles.

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to no later than the middle of the 1300s” (“La *littera textualis* [del codice di Stoccarda] di elevata qualità è stata assegnata all’ultimo quarto del XIV secolo, ma, come mi suggerisce Sandro Bertelli che ringrazio, potrebbe essere retrodatata a non oltre la metà del ’300”).

<sup>38</sup> The quotation is from Bertelli, *La tradizione della ‘Commedia’ dai manoscritti al testo*, 1, 97 (“col tratto superiore della ‘spalla’ che si chiude sul corpo della lettera”), with regard to the *littera textualis* of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 828.

<sup>39</sup> It is here reported an expression used by Bertelli (*ibid.* 123: “come agganciata alla seconda”) to describe the morphological characteristics of geminated consonants in the *littera textualis* of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Palatino 319, very similar to that of Stocc.

<i>a</i>	
<i>b</i>	
<i>d</i>	
<i>g</i> <i>gg</i>	
<i>l</i> <i>ll</i>	
<i>p</i>	
<i>r</i> round <i>r</i>	
<i>s</i> <i>ss</i>	
<i>z</i> <i>zz</i>	
<i>A, B, C,</i> <i>E, L, M,</i> <i>P, S</i>	
<i>be, che,</i> <i>de, do, pe,</i>	
bindings <i>te, to, tu,</i> <i>ti</i>	
abbrevia- tions and tituli	

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Cod. poet. et phil. fol. 19: details

### *About the text of the Stuttgart manuscript*

At this point of the investigation, it is worth restating the aforementioned opinion of Mussafia on the quality of Stocc. The scholar noted the general correctness of the witness, then recognized the mastery of a faithful and educated copyist. A partial confirmation

of this emerged from my analysis on 546 critical *loci*, which include the canon settled by Michele Barbi – the 396 *loci* published in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca* in 1891 – with the addition of 150 problematic passages of the poem, taken from the list published by Giorgio Petrocchi in his *Introduction* to the 1966 National Edition.<sup>40</sup> By comparing the 546 collated lines of Stocc with the corresponding portions of the text of Petrocchi's *vulgata*, it resulted that the two versions substantially coincide in 350 cases, namely 64.1%, a data that confirms the good textual quality of the ms.<sup>41</sup> Without any ambition for a stemmatic relocation,<sup>42</sup> the comparison was subsequently extended to the Urbinate 366 (Urb). The two manuscripts share the same text in 357 *loci*, according to the solution given by Petrocchi in the majority of cases. In fact, on many occasions Stocc, together with Urb and other witnesses of the *antica vulgata*, rejects visibly erroneous variants and trivializations widespread since the ancient tradition (for example, think about the low textual quality of the Vatican group and especially of the ms. Vat, from which Stocc often distances itself).<sup>43</sup> However, the most interesting matter is that 46 *loci* from Stocc and Urb are the same, whereas they are different from Petrocchi's source.<sup>44</sup> In particular, in the third cantica, 27 common variants of this kind were found.<sup>45</sup> In this paper, I would like to report just the most suggestive

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<sup>40</sup> The list of *loci* is the same of Bertelli, *La tradizione della 'Commedia' dai manoscritti al testo*, 1, 132-42; the *corpus* of Barbi is in Adolfo Bartoli, Alessandro D'Ancona and Isidoro Del Lungo, "Per l'edizione critica della 'Divina Commedia'," *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* 5-6, no. 1 (1891): 25-38, see in particular 28-38; for the other 150 *loci* see Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 1, 136-63 and 165-254.

<sup>41</sup> It is very true, especially in the current state of Dante philology studies, that the Petrocchi's edition is no longer to be meant as a reliable solution (see especially Angelo Eugenio Mecca, "L'amico del Boccaccio" e l'allestimento testuale dell'officina vaticana," *Nuova Rivista di Letteratura Italiana* 15, no. 1-2 (2012): 57-76; Angelo Eugenio Mecca, "Il canone editoriale dell'antica vulgata di Giorgio Petrocchi e le edizioni dantesche del Boccaccio," in Tonello, Trovato, *Nuove prospettive sulla tradizione della 'Commedia'. Seconda serie (2008-2013)*, 119-82); it remains, however, an approximation to the truth of the original text that has lasted for decades.

<sup>42</sup> For an accurate stemmatic relocation see in fact Trovato, "Fuori dall'antica vulgata," 702 and Trovato, "Nuovi dati sulla famiglia p," 183-206.

<sup>43</sup> On the Vatican group and the high level of textual corruption of its manuscripts, see Mecca, "L'amico del Boccaccio".

<sup>44</sup> Here is the list of the 46 *loci* (Stocc + Urb vs Petrocchi's *vulgata*): *Inf.* 4.36, 4.146, 14.48, 16.30, 17.6, 18.81, 20.30, 31.4, 32.34, 34.50; *Purg.* 2.10, 2.132, 3.50, 5.74, 6.111, 7.15, 9.12, 12.5, 27.88; *Par.* 1.54, 1.122, 2.108, 2.117, 5.3, 7.15, 7.76, 7.125, 7.133, 9.4, 14.21, 14.27, 16.115, 18.75, 18.123, 20.117, 22.17, 23.111, 23.114, 24.19, 27.144, 28.96, 29.100, 30.39, 31.24, 31.54, 31.140.

<sup>45</sup> This data could be read as a confirmation of the thesis suggested by Riccardo Viel, who predicts, as Giuseppe Vandelli had already hypothesized (see Giuseppe Vandelli, "L'edizione critica della 'Divina Commedia'," in Giuseppe Vandelli, *Per il testo della*

examples of the proven affinity, i.e. linguistic and stemmatic of the two witnesses.<sup>46</sup> A significant example, taken from the first canticle, regards Petrocchi's *locus* of *Inf.* 20.30. In the *vulgata*, it is "Che al giudicio divin passion comporta". However, in Stocc the nasal syllable is moved up from the last to the penultimate word, changing the verse into "Ch'al giudicio divin compasion porta". Hence, it follows the unique version of Urb, with the exception of halving the word "compassion". In the commentary on the codex, Petrocchi himself significantly notes: "all the *antica vulgata*, with the exception of Urb, bears *passion*, and therefore the main witness of  $\beta$  in this case is struck by ambitions of explanation, since *passione* means here 'compassion'".<sup>47</sup> In the *Inferno* another significant variant occurs in the description of Lucifer's wings, i.e. v. 50 of canto 34. Its importance stems from the fact that it is arguably a specific trait of northern witnesses. Here, Petrocchi's version is "Era lor modo; e quelle svolazzava," but in Stocc it is "Era lor modo e quelle in su lanciava". The Stocc version is highly comparable to Urb and to the Ligurian Mad (e.g. "in su lanzava"), that is the MS "Madrilenian" 10186 kept in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and included in the Petrocchi's family *e* of the  $\beta$  branch. In the *Purgatorio*, there is a *locus*, at 2.132, that appears really meaningful – in Petrocchi's edition "Com'om che va, né sa dove riesca". In this

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*Divina Commedia*, ed. Rudy Abardo [Florence: Le lettere, 1989], 69–70) the existence of several archetypes of the *Commedia*, or rather, of a single archetype that "if it existed, it has itself suffered from the interference of an older tradition, and that such interference has subsequently obscured, and in an even more serious way, the tradition arising from the single archetype" ("qualora sia esistito, abbia risentito esso stesso d'interferenze di una tradizione più antica, e che tali interferenze abbiano successivamente offuscato, ed in modo ancor più grave, la tradizione scaturente dall'archetipo unico"), thus distinguishing a tradition that began when the author was alive – and related to only the first two canticles – from a posthumous tradition, spread starting from 1321 (Riccardo Viel, "Ecdotica e 'Commedia'. Le costellazioni della tradizione nell'Inferno e nel Paradiso dantesco," in *Culture, livelli di cultura e ambienti nel Medioevo occidentale*, Atti del convegno triennale della SIFR, Bologna, 5–8 ottobre 2009, eds. Francesco Benozzo, Giuseppina Brunetti, Patrizia Caraffi, Andrea Fassò, Luciano Formisano, Gabriele Giannini and Mario Mancini [Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2012], 991–1022, 992 and following). The thesis is demonstrated through the elaboration of two different stemma, the first relating to *Inferno* and the second to *Paradiso*. The study, based on the most significant Barbican and Petrocchian *loci*, shows that exist "differences, and substantial, between the tree arising from the *collatio* of *Paradiso* and the one arising from the *collatio* of *Inferno*" (*ibid.*, 998: "differenze, e sostanziali, tra l'albero scaturente dalla *collatio* del *Paradiso* e quello scaturente dalla *collatio* dell'Inferno").

<sup>46</sup> The *varia lectio* of the witnesses mentioned below refers to the apparatus of the Petrocchi's edition.

<sup>47</sup> Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 2, 332 ("tutta l'antica vulgata, ad eccezione di Urb, reca *passion*, e pertanto il teste principale di  $\beta$  in tal caso è colpito da velleità esplicativa, intendendosi *passione* per 'compassione'").

case, the non-diphthongization of the verb *riesca*, with consequent hypometry of the hendecasyllable, led to alternative solutions, such as *s'arresca* or *s'arresta*; the latter is confirmed in the authoritative Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 1080. The versions in Stocc and Urb are alike as the syllabic fall is compensated by adding the particle *si* (*se* in Urbinate): “Com’uom che va né sa dove si resca”. Even for *Purg.* 5.74 the textual situation looks quite interesting: the text of Stocc – “Che mi fuor fatti in sul qual io sedea” – it is a clear exception to the solution adopted by Petrocchi (“Ond’uscì ’l sangue in sul quale io sedea”) and testified by the majority of the mss. in the *antica vulgata*, but not in Urb (“Chin me fuor fatti in sul qual io sedea”) and Laur (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 40.22: “che mi fuor fatti su qual io sedea”). Petrocchi supposed that the origin could be found in ms. “Landiano” (La = Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, 190), the witness that connect the two branches  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  of the *stemma codicum*, and where, however, the first version of the line is now illegible.<sup>48</sup> Moving on to the *loci* of the last cantica, it is interesting once again to note the agreement of three northern witnesses, Stocc, Urb and the Bolognese Riccardiano–Braidense (Rb = Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1005 + Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, MS AG XII 2), together with the Florentine Parm, that is Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Parmense 3285. All of them report at 1.54: “E volsi ’l viso al sole oltre nostro uso”. On the contrary, Petrocchi’s version is “E fissi li occhi al sole oltre nostr’uso,” that is noted, among others, in the Trivulziano codex. Then, it is particularly noteworthy the case of *Par.* 14.27 – “Lo refrigerio de l’eterna ploia”. This *locus* has the same close in Stocc – “santa ploia” – as well as in the Urbinate, according to the Trivulziano manuscript. In this context it is paramount to quote the philologist of the *Commedia secondo l’antica vulgata*, where he gives reason for the uneasy variant choice in the limits of *restitutio textus*:

[the] example characterizing Triv’s meeting with Urb [...] undoubtedly presents an adiaphoric aspect: the rain of Grace is as *eterna* as it is *santa*; but the editorial criterion certainly does not bind the observance of this variant; remember, rather, the *piova eterna* of *Inf.* 6.7-8, and note the closeness of *santi*, at the v. 23, such as to recommend the poet an appropriate variation and stylistic intensification.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 78.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 226 (“[I]’esempio caratterizzante l’incontro di Triv con Urb [...] presenta, senza alcun dubbio, aspetto adiaforo: la pioggia della Grazia è tanto *eterna* quanto *santa*; ma all’osservanza di questa variante non vincola certo il criterio editoriale; si



Finally, the *locus Par.* 18.75 (Petrocchi's version: "Fanno di sé or tonda or altra schiera") – in the context of the simile of the cranes, to which the blessed spirits are compared – can also be used as a marked example of confirmation. In this case the variant presented by both Stocc and Urb ("Fanno di sé or lunga or tonda schiera") is exclusive among the mss. of the *antica vulgata*, even if it is very similar to "Fanno di sé or tonda or lunga schiera," a version that can be found in another bunch of ancient mss., including Triv and La. According to Petrocchi, these variants could be explained as a simplification introduced by the copists, who meant to reduce the movements of the cranes in the air to two well-defined situations: a linear and a circular flight.<sup>50</sup>

To support the accord between Stocc and Urb, then, there are also many, less interesting outcomes, which are widely shared by the Tuscan  $\alpha$  branch and discarded by Petrocchi anyway. Three indicative examples are finally given below. In *Inf.* 16.30: "Cominciò l'uno, 'il tristo aspetto e brolo" (Stocc), the *lectio faciliior* "tristo" (instead of "tinto") appears in the northern family *e* (Rb, Urb), but also in the family *b* (among others, in the famous mss. Ash and Ham) and *c* (Cha, Parm, Vat etc.).<sup>51</sup> In *Purg.* 3.50 – concerning one of the most sensitive rifts of the tradition –<sup>52</sup> "La più romita via è una scala" (Stocc) is the text readable in Urb, but also in some mss. of *b* and *c* (e.g. in Parm, Vat and in some witnesses belonging to the well-known Florentine group "Danti del Cento"), while the version accepted by Petrocchi ("La più rotta ruina è una scala") is testified by Mart (Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Aldina AP XVI 25) and Triv (family *a*), and by Mad (family *e*). For the third cantica, at last, let's consider the case of *Par.* 18.123 (Petrocchi's version: "Che si murò di segni e di martiri," metaphorically referring to the building of the Holy Church on the foundations of the miracles and sacrifices performed and suffered by Christ and his Apostles). The text of Stocc and Urb ("Che si murò di sangue e di martiri") is shared by Co (Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, 88), Pa (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, it. 538), Parm, Pr (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, it. 539) and Vat, signing a connection especially between *e*

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ricordi, piuttosto, la *piova eterna* di *Inf.* VI 7-8, e si constati la vicinanza di *santi*, al v. 23, tale da consigliare al poeta un'opportuna *variatio* e intensificazione stilistica").

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 237-38.

<sup>51</sup> Ash = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 828; Ham = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 203; Cha = Chantilly, Musée Condé, 597

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 192.

and *c*, even if “there is some possibility of polygenesis”.<sup>53</sup> Anyway, the variant (probably a trivialization suggested by the paleographic proximity of the two words, “*segni*” and “*sangue*”), was refused by Petrocchi, who didn’t see “the need to depart from the lesson *segni*, which seems genuine precisely because of the proximity of *martiri*, capable itself of attracting the image of *sangue*”.<sup>54</sup>

### *The rubrics*

As mentioned above on the codicological features of the manuscript, the vernacular rubrics of Stocc are quantitatively extended and copied presumably by a second hand in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, in simplified *littera textualis*. Although I transcribed in full all his work, in this section, I would like to refer to just an example to illustrate the graphic and linguistic habits of this anonymous hand. Here below is the solid introduction to *Purg.* 7, proposed with diplomatic criteria:<sup>55</sup>

Capitolo .vij. Nel quale pone .vij. cose p<sup>i</sup>ma dicy che gia fu el tempo che laē p lo peccato de primj parenty nō posseuano Jre ala purgatorio ne alparadiso nante alauenimto de xpō. secondo demostra comē lagloria de vita eterna nō saquista p abstinencia ma e debisongno che faccia lo pere meritorie. Tertio dechiara alcuna cosa del stato de Virgilio i questo mondo circha el stato del parlare 7 repiloga secondo subiūgendo delluocho desso Virgilio in lolimbo. Quarto demostra che lagiustitia dedio p la quale kaia e i questo stato. Quito poetando fametione de quelluocho el quale significa la dolceza nelaquale lapenitentia (...)

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 306 (“esiste qualche possibilità d’una poligenesi”).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 238 (“non ravviso la necessità di discostarsi dalla lezione *segni*, la quale, proprio per la vicinanza di *martiri* capace di attirare l’immagine di *sangue*, sembra genuina”).

<sup>55</sup> The norms observed for the diplomatic transcription – reported here in full (although only a minimal part is actually verifiable in the textual portion above) to inform of the writer’s practices – are the following: the angle bracket is introduced in the case of possible conjectural additions, in correspondence of mechanical lacuna; where it is not possible to conjecture an integration, three suspension points are inserted within the parenthesis; the following abbreviation signs are reproduced, used by the rubricator himself:  $\bar{\text{~}}$  for the *titulus* to be solved with nasal consonant or syllable; with the *titulus*, moreover, the contracted form of some words is also realized, for example: *decto* > *dco*, *tempo* > *tpo*, *hominy* > *hoy*, *scdo* > *secondo*, *aia* > *anima*; there is also a single case, in the rubric of *Par.* 21, in which the *titulus* is used to indicate -v- (*9templatio* > *contemplativo*);  $\sim$  is the abbreviation sign for *r* or syllabic abbreviation to solve with *re*, *ra* (e.g. in *Inf.* 8 *vence* > *vencere*; *Purg.* 19 *soplaquele* > *sopralaquale*). The Tironian notes attested are:  $\text{p}$  (*per*); 9 (*con*, *com*); 7 (*e/et*);  $\text{p}$  (*ser*, mostly used for *ser* or *mese*); the sign  $\text{ł}$ , preceded by *g*, is used for the palatal nexus -*gli*- (as *figla* > *figlia* in *Inf.* 20). There are also words abbreviated by contraction with letters superscribed in a minor body, for example: *capo* > *capitolo*, *ca* > *canto*, *p<sup>i</sup>ma* > *prima*, *q<sup>o</sup>* > *quarto*. Finally, complex abbreviations are used, such as the one indicating the word *papa* in the rubric of *Inf.* 3.

īducy. Sexto denota eltpō 7 introducy lanime acantare Telucis ante terminū. Septimo alcuny signorj no«mina» i qualj fuoro negligentj affare opere meritorie.

Besides the pure graphic aspect of this excerpt, it might be particularly interesting to highlight some hypotheses on the formulation of the rubrics, which turn out to be very complete and exhaustive. First of all it can be noted that the rubrics of *Inferno*, despite being rather short, fully describe the content of each canto, following a set order, which is often repeated. Every rubric states the topographical reference of Dante's journey; then, the sin that is expiated there or the kind of sinners Dante met in that marked infernal circle; and, finally, the individual souls met by the *viator*. If necessary, further references to the narrated events are added. A good example of this structure is the rubric of *Inf.* 8:<sup>56</sup>

Canto ottavo nel quale tratta del quinto cerchio de l'inferno dove se punisce quelli che se lasciaro vincere a l'ira in persona d'uno fiorentino chiamato Filippo Argenti e pone del dimonio Flegias e de la città de Dite e comme chiusere le porte nel petto a Virgilio e comme esso Virgilio conforta l'autore che non abbia paura.

(Eighth canto, in which he treats the fifth circle of Hell, where those who let themselves be overcome by anger – in the person of a Florentine called Filippo Argenti – are punished; and he introduces the devil Flegias and the city of Dite and how they closed the doors on Virgil's chest, and how Virgil himself reassures the author not to be afraid).

But see also the example of *Inf.* 10:

Canto decimo ove tratta del sesto cerchio de l'inferno e de la pena de li eretici in persona de meser Farinata de li Uberti da Firenze e qui solve un dubio e pronostica certi infortunii a l'autore poi Virgilio el conforta che Biatrice risolverà più chiaro quel che dal sopra detto ha udito.

(Tenth canto, where he treats the sixth circle of Hell and the punishment of the heretics in the person of meser Farinata de li Uberti from

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<sup>56</sup> The rubric is reported, for greater clarity and convenience, with an interpretative transcription – like the following ones. The words in *scriptio continua* are therefore separated (and any doubling dependent on it eliminated, e.g. *illoro* > *i loro*), the use of capital letters is introduced, a distinction is made between *u* and *v*, the writing of *i* is standardized (eliminating *j* and *y* in the end of a word), all abbreviations are removed, graphic signs such as the apostrophe, the stress and minimal punctuation marks are introduced. In addition, Latin writings such as etymological *h*, *ct* for the double *t*, *x* for *s*, *t* for *z* are eliminated. The nexus *ch* and *gh* to indicate velar occlusive are rendered, when not in front of *e/i*, with *c* and *g*; the palatal nexus *ngn* is rendered with *gn* (e.g. *dengni* > *degni*).

Florence who here solves a doubt and predicts certain injuries to the author; then Virgil reassures him that Beatrice will solve more clearly what he heard from Farinata).

As well as *Inf.* 32:

Canto XXXII nel quale punisce i traditori della padria e del suo sangue e nomina 'l detto luogo la Caina in persona de molti che tradiero i loro fratelli e congiunti e mostra che quelli che ciò fanno sonno degni essere messsi in gelatina ed entra nell'altro capitolo per un bestiale signo che vidde.

(Canto XXXII, in which he punishes the traitors of the fatherland and of their blood and names the said place Caina, because of the many people who betrayed their brothers and relatives and shows that those ones deserve to be put in the ice and introduces the other chapter by means of a bestial signal that he saw).

In the second cantica, the rubrics become consistently longer than the previous ones, so that the anonymous copyist rarely limits itself to filling in the appropriate spaces, writing beyond the lateral and the lower margins of the page. The content of the rubrics varies as well: there is a summary of what happens in each part of the canto, which is divided into several sections according to a numerical order. As way of example, in the rubric of *Purg.*, 8: “Canto ottavo nel quale l'autore principalmente toca VII cose: prima describe el tempo che allora era, secondo denota [...] Terzio denota [...] Quarto toca che [...]” (“Eighth canto, in which the author mainly raises VII issues: firstly he describes what time of the day it was then, secondly denotes [...] Thirdly denotes [...] Fourthly explains that [...]”); likewise, the introduction to *Purg.* 7, previously highlighted, is another example of this. Finally, the rubrics of *Paradiso* are reduced in length, if compared to those of the previous canticle, and the presentation formulas slightly change as well. In fact, the model of *Par.* 9 is recurring:

In questo VIII capitolo se divide in tre parte: in la prima induci una anima moderna che describe sé e la padria sua. In la seconda introduci un altro spirito moderno el qua' similmente describe sé e la terra sua famosa ibi L'altra letizia. In la terza introduci una anima antica e le cagione de la sua salvazione ibi Ma perché.

(This VIII chapter is divided in three parts: in the first one he introduces a modern soul who describes herself and her land. In the second one he introduces another modern spirit who similarly describes himself and his famous land *ibi* L'altra letizia. In the third one he introduces an ancient soul and the reasons for her salvation *ibi* Ma perché).

From this example, we could deduce a further peculiarity: minimal portions of the text preceded by the formula *ibi* are copied and underlined – as we can see in the manuscript – providing a tangible reference to the lines of the poem. In addition, from *Par.* 12 to 24, small red signs are introduced, placed in the left margin of the two writing columns. It consists of the Arabic numbers 2, 3 and 4, mostly with a superscript *a* (2<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>). They had the function of signalling, next to a specific verse, the beginning of one of the narrative sequences previewed in the rubric.

Moreover, some marked characteristics allow to describe the rubrics of Stocc also on the basis of the canonical classification in type *a*, *b*, and *c* disclosed by the Società Dantesca Italiana (SDI).<sup>57</sup> In particular, the similarities with the type *a* are undeniable especially for the *Inferno*: in fact, in the first cantica it is exclusive the incipit with the word “canto,” followed by its respective number and a verb which introduces the summary of the content (e.g. “Canto ottavo nel quale tratta” etc.). In this case, it is very relevant the rubric of *Inf.* 2:

Canto secondo nel qual tratta come trovò Virgilio, el quale el fece sicuro del camino per le tre donne del cielo che de lui hanno cura nella detta corte del cielo.

(Second canto, in which he treats how Virgil was found, who reassured him about the journey thanks to the three women of Heaven, who care for him in the said court of Heaven).

Which is a slightly shortened version of the example given in the *Bullettino*: “Canto II de la prima parte [...] E in questo canto tratta l'autore come trovò Virgilio, il quale il fece sicuro del cammino per le tre donne che di lui aveano cura nella corte del cielo”.<sup>58</sup>

However, the comparison is less defined for the rubrics that introduce the three canticles together with the first cantos. These lines have a more important role in the SDI classification because of their different references to the whole Dante's poem. In Stocc we can read this kind of rubrics only in *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, because the ms. has no presentation to the first part. As far as the introduction to the *Purgatorio* is concerned, the incipit is: “Qui incomincia la seconda parte de la Comedia di Dante chiamata Purgatorio, nel quale tratta [...]” (“Here begins the second part of

<sup>57</sup> “Per la descrizione e lo spoglio dei mss. della Divina Commedia,” *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* 13-14 (1893): 16-18.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

Dante's *Commedia* called *Purgatorio*, in which he treats [...]"). Here, the use of the words "parte" (meaning 'cantica') and "Comedia" (meaning the whole poem) brings back to the type *a*, as we can see from the examples given by the SDI, especially for *Purg.* 1: "Comincia la seconda parte della *Commedia* di Dante Alleghieri di Firenze [...]"<sup>59</sup> This paradigm, in fact, clearly distances itself from the type *c*, where "cantica" and "Comedia" are used as synonyms (e.g. "Comincia la prima parte della cantica o vero *Comedia* chiamata *Inferno* [...]"<sup>60</sup> The linear and accurate model of the type *a*, though, seems to be abandoned in the rubric of *Par.* 1: "Questo è [el] primo capitolo [...] [chiamato] paradiso [...] [El quale se devi]de in quatro [parte][...]" ("This is the first chapter [...] called *Paradiso* [...] Which is divided in four parts [...]). In this case, unfortunately, the lines are not totally and easily readable, because the ink is vanished here and there. However, the beginning with the word "capitolo" (the same for 'canto', but with a stress on the prosodic feature of the poem, written in tercets of hendecasyllables) may suggest a closeness to some examples of the type *b*, such as: "Incipit primus cantus *Inferni*," "Incipit primus cantus *Comedie Dantis Alegherii* [...]," "Incipit primus cantus prime cantice *Comedie preclari poete Dantis Alagherii florentini* [...]"<sup>61</sup>

### *Linguistic appendix*

Although the doubt about the language had already been resolved in favour of the Emilia-Romagna provenance, according to the recent acquisitions of Fabio Romanini and Paolo Trovato – who declares both the codices studied by Mussafia "certainly northerners" –<sup>62</sup> I want to conclude with a short and partial report on the language of *Stocc*, from which the opinion of the two scholars can receive a further confirmation.

The textual sample, on which the survey was conducted, is based on *Inf.* 4 (ff. 3v-4v), *Purg.* 4 (ff. 33v-34r) and *Par.* 4 (ff. 63v-64v), in addition to the feedback provided by the collation of the aforementioned 546 *loci critici* and some punctual drawings from the entire poem.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Trovato, "Fuori dall'antica vulgata," 704 ("sicuramente settentrionali").

<sup>63</sup> As already mentioned in note 39, the list of monogenetic *loci* is taken from Bertelli, *La tradizione della 'Commedia' dai manoscritti al testo*, 1, 132-42; the *corpus* selected includes the 396 *loci* of Barbi (published in Bartoli, D'Ancona, Del Lungo, *Per l'edizione critica della 'Divina Commedia'*, 28-38) and 150 *loci* drawn from Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 1, 136-63 and 165-254). The main reference

## 1) GRAPHICS

## 1. Velar occlusive.

a) Before *a, o, u*.

For the unvoiced consonant there is a prevalence of *c*, e.g. in *Inf.* 4.2 *riscossi*, 6 *conescer*, *loco*, 9 *acoglie*, 10 *oscura*, 11 *ficcar*, 12 *alcuna cosa*, 13 *cieco*, 14 *cominciò*, etc.; in *Purg.* 4.2 *comprenda*, 3 *raccoglie*, etc.; *Par.* 4.3 *recasse*, 6 *cane*, etc. It also occurs less frequently *ch*: in *Inf.* 4.58 *patriarcha*, 11.56 *vinchol*, 19.117 *riccho*, 27.70 *chui*, 30.51 *troncha*, 34.113 *seccha*; *Purg.* 4.2 *alchuna*, 24, 97 *chome*, 134 *chuor*, 137 *toccho*, 139 *Moroccho*, 6.111 *chom'è*, 7.43, 9.42 *chome*, 13.43 *ficcha*, 23.2 *fichava*; *Par.* 4.50 *Michael*. For the voiced consonant, *g* is the only attested writing.

b) Before *e, i*.

Only *ch* and *gh* are attested. The writing oscillates in the case of *che* in elision in front of words starting in *a, o*: e.g. *Inf.* 4.29 *c'avean*, 73 *c'onori*, 74 *c'anno* (3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, verb 'avere'), *Purg.* 4.2 *c'alchuna*, 10 *c'altra*, 118 *c'a lui*, *Par.* 4.39 *c'a* (3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, verb 'avere'), 132 *c'al*, 138 *c'a la*; but *Purg.* 4.4 *ch'a*, 70 *ch'ambedue*.

## c) Before liquid consonant.

Only *c* and *g* are found, as for example in *Inf.* 4.2 *grave*, 29 *grandi*, 36 *crede*, 37 *cristianesimo*, 78 *gratia*, 123 *grifagni*, 128 *Lucretia*, 138 *Empedocles*, *Eraclito*, etc.; *Purg.* 4.5 *crede*, 15 *gradi*, 18 *grido*, 105 *neglientia*, 110 *negliente* etc.; *Par.* 4.43 *scrittura*, 83 *grada*, 101 *grato*, etc.

## 2. Pre-palatal sibilant.

The unvoiced prepalatal sibilant is rendered with *sc* (*sci* before non-front vowel). See *Inf.* 4: 6 *conescer*, 12 *discerneva*, 13 *discendiam*, 19 *angoscia*, 49 *uscice*, 64 *lasciavam*, 71 *discernesse*, etc.; *Purg.* 4: 12 *sciolta*, 25 *discendesi*, 56 *poscia*, etc.; *Par.* 4: 43 *condescende*, 86 *sciolte*, etc. One notable exception, however, is represented by the cases of *angossia* in *Purg.* 4.115 (but *angoscia* in *Inf.* 4.19, 6.43, 9.85, in rhyming position in 24.116, 34.78, *Purg.* 30.98) and *possia* in *Purg.* 4.117 (rhyming with *coscia*), *Par.* 6.69, to which are added in *Purg.* 11.103 *sindi* for 'scindi', in *Par.* 4.21 *sema* for 'scema', 45 *actribuisse* for 'attribuisse', 74 *conferisse* for 'conferisce', 116 *usi* for 'uscì'. The graphics *sci* suggests an intense sibilant Po valley

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model for the survey is Mirko Volpi, "*Per manifestare polida parladura*". *La lingua del commento lanèo alla 'Commedia' nel ms. Riccardiano-Braidense* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2010), in particular the section "La lingua di Rb. La 'Commedia'," 76-113.

pronunciation, especially for the interesting cases of *angossia* and *possia* rhyming with *coscia* (to be read therefore 'cossia').

3. Palatal affricate.

a) Before *a, o, u*.

There are no differences from modern writing.

b) before *e*.

Common forms are *c* and *g*, but there are some exceptions: in *Inf.* 4.107 *cierchiato*, 11.108 *giente*, 26.21 *'ngiegno*; *Purg.* 4.92 *ligiero*, 107 *gienocchia*; *Par.* 3.16 *faccie*.<sup>64</sup>

4. Pre-consonant nasal.

For the nasal before dental consonant, *n* is the normal form (e.g. in *Inf.* 4.4 *intorno*, 10 *profonda*, *Purg.* 4.4 *intenda*, 11 *intera*, *Par.* 4.1 *moventi*, 5 *temendo*); *m* stands before the labial consonant (e.g. in *Inf.* 4.45 *limbo*, 55 *ombra*, *Purg.* 4.2 *comprenda*, 106 *sembrava*, *Par.* 4.130 *rampollo*).

5. Palatal nasal.

The only attested form is the digraph *gn*, with no differences from modern writing.

6. Lateral palatal.

In most cases the nexus *gli* prevails, e.g. in *Inf.* 4.9 *acoglie*, 19 *egli*, 56 *figlio*, 132 *famiglia*, 139 *acoglitor*, *Purg.* 4.1 *doglie*, 3 *raccoglie*, 46 *figliuol*; *Par.* 4.106 *voglio*, 109 *voglia*; but the following exceptions are also attested: the digraph *gl* in *Par.* 1.26 (*fogle*) and 4.87 (*vogla*), 101 (*periglo*);<sup>65</sup> the forms *lli* (in *Par.* 4.113 *vollia*) and *ll* (in *Purg.* 13.154 *amiralli*, that rhymes with *perderalli*, v. 152).

7. Alveodental affricate.

It occurs frequently *ç*,<sup>66</sup> both for the unvoiced consonant (*Inf.* 4.3 *força*, 74 *orrança*, 76 *nominança*, 78 *avança*, etc.) and voiced

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<sup>64</sup> With regard to the support vowel Volpi, "*Per manifestare polida parlatura*," 179, notes its function in recalling the use of the Tuscan, "emphasizing at the same time the palatal value of *c* and *g*, and not the one in dental affricate – that is typically northern" ("sottolineando al contempo il valore palatale di *c* e *g*, e non quello in affricata dentale tipico al Nord").

<sup>65</sup> The digram *gl* instead of the lateral palatal is exclusive in the poetic fragments of the Bolognese *Memoriali*, see Angelo Stella, "Emilia-Romagna," in *Storia della lingua italiana*, eds. Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone, 3 vols., 3 (Turin: Einaudi, 1993-1994), 260-94, 263.

<sup>66</sup> Also the use of the graphics *ç* for the unvoiced and voiced affricate, together with the digram *gl* instead of the lateral palatal, is exclusive in the poetic fragments of Bolognese *Memoriali* (see *ibid.*); but see also Alfredo Stussi, ed., *Testi veneziani del*



affricate (*Inf.* 4.138 *çenone*, *Purg.* 4.42 *meço*, 64 *çodiaco*, 70 *oriçon* etc.) but widely attested are also the culte forms *c* (e.g. *in-nanci* and *dinanci* in *Inf.* 4.33, 37, 62, but *dinançi* in *Inf.* 4.87, *nançi* in 4.135, *inançi* in *Purg.* 4.136; see also in *Purg.* 12.94, 14.67 *anuncio*, 21.61 *mondicia*, 22.97 *Therencio*, *Par.* 4.55 *intencion*, 65 *malicia*, 67 *iusticia*, 69 *nequicia*, 122 *gracia*, 124 *sacia*, 126 *spacia*, 5.111 *caricia*, 6.88 *giusticia*), *ci*: in *Inf.* 3.36, 4.28, 42, *Purg.* 22.6 *sencia*, *Inf.* 4.84 *sembiancia*, 130 *alciai* (but *alçai* in *Purg.* 4.56), 5.83 *alciate*; in *Purg.* 4.10 *potencia*, 17.117 *grandeccia*, 19.140 *stancia*; in *Par.* 4.24 *sentencia*; and *t/ti* (e.g. *scientia*, *Lucretia*, *Martia* in *Inf.* 4.73 and 128; *neglientia* in *Purg.* 4.105; *violentia* in *Par.* 4.73, but *violença* in 4.78); more rare *ct* (only in *affection*, in *Par.* 4.98, 121). In case of geminate we find *cç* as in *Purg.* 4.55 (*dricçai*).

#### 8. Classical scriptions.

a) For the unvoiced alveodental affricate, as above, you can have the Latin scription *t/ti*: eg. in *Inf.* 4.73 *scientia*, 78 *gratia*, 89 *Oratio*, 128 *Lucretia* and *Martia*, 24.119 *potentia*, 31.60 *proportion*; in *Purg.* 4.105 *neglientia*, 111 *pigritia*, 133 *oratione*, 134 *gratia*, 12.82 *riverentia*; *Par.* 4.20 *violentia*, 73, *riverentia* 134, 15.36 *gratia*, 24.64 *substantia*, 28.48 *satio*, 74 *aparentia*; or *cti*: as *affection* in *Par.* 4.98, 121.

b) To highlight the intense degree of the unvoiced dental occlusive, *ct* is very common: e.g. in *Inf.* 4.5 *driccto*, 14 *tucto*, 54 *victoria*, 65 *tuctavia*, 83 *quactro*, 117 *tucti*, 118 *driccto*, 122 *Hector*, etc.; in *Purg.* 4.1 *dilectançe*, 31 *rocto*, 48, 59 *tucta/ o*, 75 *intellecto*, 139 *nocte*; in *Par.* 4.15 *fácto*, 27 *tracterò*, etc.

With *pt*: in *Inf.* 4.35 *baptismo*, 28.83 *Neptuno*, *Purg.* 4.83 *septemtrione*, *Par.* 24.60 *concepti*, 28.31 *septimo*.

c) It is also noted:

etymological *h* in *Inf.* 4.63 *humani*, 80 *honorate*, 88 *Homero*, 93 *honore*, 122 *Hector*, 133 *honor*, 11.37 *homicide*; in *Purg.* 1.119 *huom*, 4.83 *Hebrey*, 105 *huom*, 120 *humero*, 21.126 *homini*, 28.68 *trahendo*, 29.135 *honesto*; in *Par.* 4.3 *huomo*, 46 *humano*.

*x* or *bs* = /ss/: *Anaxagoras* in *Inf.* 4.137, *sexanta* in xxi.113, but *absoluta* in *Par.* 4109, 113. *x* or *bs* = /s/: *sexto* in *Inf.* 4.102, 33.72, *exalto* in 4.120, *sexta* in 4.148; *experiença* in *Purg.* 4.13, 26.75, *extinta* in 15.86; *expressi* in *Par.* 24.60, while in 31.24 *obstante*.

*ph*: *phylosophyca* in *Inf.* 4.132, *Pheton* in *Purg.* 4.72, *saraphin* in *Par.* 4.28.

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*Duecento e dei primi del Trecento* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1965), XXV, where the graphics is marked as “ordinarily symbol of the unvoiced dental affricate” (“ordinariamente [...] simbolo della affricata dentale e sorda”).

*th*: in *Inf.* 17.51 *thafani*, 19.94 *Mathia*; *Purg.* 22.97 *Therencio*, 33.123 *Lethe*; *Par.* 23.133 *thesoro*.

*y*: at the beginning of a word (*Inf.* 4.143 *Ypocras*, *Purg.* 4.68 *ymagina*, 7.125 *ynno*, 17.43 *ymagine*); inside (*Inf.* 4.8, 24 *abyss*, 57 *Moyse*, 132 *phylosophyca*, 137 *Dyogenes*, *Purg.* 4.68 *Syon*, 6.125 *tyranni*) and in the end (*Purg.* 4.83 *Hebrey*) mostly in presence of a vowel sequence (*oy*, *yo*, *ey*).

-*ij*: *emisperij* in *Purg.* 4.71, *dubij* *Par.* 4.8.

*Et* for *e* (*et*) is widespread.

d) Other cases: in *Par.* 24.64 *substantia*, 30.76 *subgiunse*,

9. Other peculiarities.

The anti-Florentine rendering of 'è' with *ee* is frequent, as found in *Inf.* 4.7, 36, 88, 89, 90, 104, *Purg.* 11.98, 12.5, 17.55, 18.57, *Par.* 4.68.

## 2) PHONETICS

### *Stressed vocalism*

10. Diphthongizations.

a) The diphthongization for the verb *essere* is widely noted, including the anti-Florentine forms *fu*, *fuoi*, *fuisse*. In detail, in *Inf.* 4.37, *Par.* 29.47 *fuoron*; in *Inf.* 4.79, 12.134, 27.8 *fu*; in *Purg.* 5.88 *fuoi*; in *Inf.* 4.119, 33.74 *fuor*; in *Purg.* 4.111, *Par.* 7.21 *fuisse*. Other verbal diphthongizations: *rispuose* in *Inf.* 4.52, *puose* in *Purg.* 4.112, *Par.* 4.117 (but *pose* in *Inf.* 32.128).<sup>67</sup> Is also found in *Purg.* 1.27 *puoi* for 'poi'; in *Inf.* 4.116 *luoco*, but *loco* is the prevailing form, in *Inf.* 4.6, 72, *Par.* 4.81 (with the last two cases in rhyme). Diphthongized are *huom*/*l'uom* in *Purg.* 1.119, *Par.* 4.136 (*uom*), but in *Purg.* 21.126 *homini*; to which are added *cuore* in *Par.* 22.130 and *chuor* in *Purg.* 4.134. The diphthongization of *o* is definitely varying with *novo* in *Inf.* 3.120, 4.52, 18.23, *Purg.* 17.41, 24.57 and *nuovo* in *Purg.* 2.106, 7.69; equally for *bon* in *Purg.* 12.5, 14, 17.43, 19.34, *Par.* 4.19 and *buon*/*buono* in *Inf.* 4.31, 85, 139, 18.82, *Purg.* 4.3, 132. Finally, there are also some particular anomalous forms that must be explained as

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<sup>67</sup> The diphthongized forms of the past of *porre* (and compounds) and *rispondere*, as Francesca Geymonat notes in relation to the ms. Trivulziano 1080 (Triv), follow "the norm of Florence and ancient western Tuscany" (Francesca Geymonat, "Sulla lingua di Francesco di Ser Nardo," in Trovato, *Nuove prospettive sulla tradizione della 'Commedia'*, 331-86, 337: "la norma di Firenze e della Toscana occidentale antica").

hypercorrections: *Inf.* 13.63 *suonni* for 'sonni'; *Purg.* 4.70 and 27.135 *suol* for 'sol' (adjective); *Purg.* 4.79 *muoto* for 'moto'; *Par.* 30.62 *fuolgore* for 'fulgòre' (therefore unstressed, but perhaps it is an involuntary outcome induced by the phonic and graphic proximity to the noun 'fòlgore', with a tonic accent on the first syllable). Regarding the lack of tonic diphthongization in *uo*, the following cases are noted: *Inf.* 16.15 *vole*; *Purg.* 17.41 *percota*, 20.9 *for* for 'fuori', 21.105 *pò* for 'può', 23.2 *sòle* for 'suole', 23.97 *voi* for 'vuoi'; *Par.* 22.151 *aiola*, 28.96 *foro* for 'fuoro'.

The interesting lack of tonic diphthongization in *ie* is very frequent,<sup>68</sup> these are the forms detected: *inseme* in *Inf.* 3.106, 4.97, 13.43, *Purg.* 22.51, *Par.* 33.89 (the diphthongized form *insieme* is not found, but in *Purg.* 21.112 *insiemo*); in *Inf.* 4.57 *ubidente*; in *Inf.* 33.98 *visere*; *Purg.* 1.112, 4.87 *mei* (but *miei* in *Purg.* 4.122, *Par.* 4.8, 16.30, 18.72, 24.60, 31.142); in *Purg.* 2.132 *resca*; in *Purg.* 13.144 *pedi* (but *piedi* in *Inf.* 12.125, 14.75, *Purg.* 4.33, *Par.* 4.44); in *Purg.* 14.136 *tregua*; in *Purg.* 19.35, 23.5 *veni* (but *viene* in *Purg.* 4.137, 27.32); in *Par.* 4.40 *convensi*; *Par.* 4.52, 54 *rede/dede* (in rhyme); *Par.* 33.30 *prego*. In *Par.* 4.74 is found the form *neente* for 'niente'.

#### 11. Metafonesi.

From *ē*. Findable only in the exceptional *vidi* (for the present indicative 'tu vedi') in *Purg.* 4.137, although the verb form in the past tense is not markedly erroneous in the context of the tercet (see vv. 136-39: "E già il poeta innanzi mi saliva, / e dicea: 'Vienne omai; vedi ch'è tocco / meridian dal sole, e a la riva / cuopre la notte già col piè Morrocco'").

From *ō*. A significant trace of the typically northern phenomenon is in *Par.* 19.71 (the subjunctive *ragiuni*, in rhyme with *buoni* and *sermoni*).

#### 12. Anafonesi.

There are two exceptions to the Tuscan phenomenon of *anafonesi*, both for *u*: *gionse* in *Purg.* 21.101 (which is an analogical form based on the present 'giongo'), *fongo* in *Purg.* 25.56.

#### 13. Diphthong au.

<sup>68</sup> The phenomenon is also widely attested in Rb (see Volpi, "Per manifestare polida *parladura*," 90 and following); a fact, moreover, not accidental, since in Emilia, "in the literary texts of the first half of the century, diphthongs are very rare" (Mirko Volpi, "Il Flore de vertù et de costume secondo il codice S. II. Studio linguistico," *Bollettino dell'Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* 24 [2019]: 195-284, 214: "[n]ei testi letterari della prima metà del secolo le dittongazioni sono rarissime").

The diphthong is preserved in Latinisms, such as e.g. *Paulo* (*Inf.* 2.32, *Par.* 18.131), *Augusto* (*Inf.* 1.71, 13.68, *Purg.* 29.116), *thauro* (*Purg.* 25.3, *Par.* 22.111).

14.  $e > i$ .

Outcome not found.

15.  $i > e$ .

The outcome, widespread in Northern Italy, is in *Par.* 4.107 with *meschia*.<sup>69</sup>

16.  $o > e$ .

In *Inf.* 4.6 *conescer*.

17. Alternation *sanza/senza*.

The Florentine form *sancia* is in the close of *Inf.* 3.36; the pan-italian *sencia/sençà* stands in *Inf.* 3.36, 4.28, 42, 18.82, *Purg.* 2.126, 6.135, 22.6.

18.  $u$ .

It is maintained in Latinisms *humero* in *Purg.* 4.120, *bursa* in *Purg.* 8.129.

#### *Unstressed vocalism*

19.  $-er- > -ar-$ .

The typically Po Valley outcome is attested in *Purg.* 4.128 *lasciarebbe*, while in *Purg.* 6.60 *'nsegnerà* and in *Par.* 4.27 *tracterò*. On the contrary, the northern development of the future of *essere* is exclusive, with *Inf.* 4.15 *serò* and *serai*, in 24.141 *serà*, *Purg.* 4.94 *serai*, 12.14 *serà*; to which is added the conditional *seria* in *Purg.* 7.51.

20.  $e > i$ .

In *Inf.* 4.46, *Par.* 24.35 *signor/e*; in *Purg.* 4.92 *ligiero*, 30.15 *revistita*, 31.123 *rigimenti*, 33.62 *cinquimilia*; *Par.* 4.53 *dicisa*, 72 *disiri*, 126 *nisun*, 18.72 *signar*, 29.123 *promission*. It could be explained, even for Stocc, as it was noted for Rb, as a “reaction to the unstressed *e* felt as a typical trait of northern vocalism”.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> The forms *meschia*, *meschiano* are significantly found in the commentary by Iacomo della Lana in ms. Rb, with the only exception of *Par.* 4.105b, in which there is *mischia* (see Volpi, “*Per manifestare polida parlatura*,” 201).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 97 (“reazione alla *e* atona sentita come un tratto tipico del vocalismo settentrionale”).

In the case of the prefixed forms in re-, de-, sometimes it is stated the non-Tuscan outcome in *e*: in *Inf.* 4.71 *descernesse*, *Par.* 2.47 *rengrazio*, 4.43 *condescende*, 28.71 *conresponde*. On the other side in *Inf.* 4.145 *ritrar* and *Par.* 4.111 *ritrae*; *Purg.* 4.126 *ripriso*; *Par.* 4.11 *dimandar* and 134 *dimandarmi*, 4.85 *ripinte*, 14.27 *rifligerio*.

21. *i > e*.

The outcome is “usual in the northern vernaculars,”<sup>71</sup> as it is observed referring to the language of the Bolognese Riccardiano-Braidense. Regarding the verbs, we find it in *Inf.* 4.51 *entese*, *Purg.* 4.32 *strengia*, *Par.* 4.43 *condescende*, 16.115 *endraca*; furthermore it is reported in *Purg.* 21.105 *vertù* (but *Par.* 26.87, 27.111 *virtù*), *Par.* 4.21 *mesura*, 40 *engegno*, 114 *enseme* (but *insieme* in *Purg.* 21.112, *inseme* in *Inf.* 3.106, 4.97, 13.43, *Purg.* 22.51, *Par.* 33.89); from *-iblis*: *possibel* in *Purg.* 11.51.

22. *o > u*.

The outcome can be found in *Par.* 4.48 (*Tubia*); there is exceptional evidence of the form *cusì* (instead of the normal *così*) throughout the poem: in *Purg.* 6.79, *Par.* 5.72, 15.130.

23. *u*.

There are northern openings in *o* in *Purg.* 2.126 *osato* and *Purg.* 4.34 *sopremo*.<sup>72</sup>

*Final vowels*

24. *-a*: for adverbs, *contra* is the only form (versus *contro*): in *Inf.* 21.71, *Purg.* 4.5, *Par.* 4.101; *oltra* is registered only in *Purg.* 27.32 instead of *entra* (Petrocchi ed.: “volgiti in qua e vieni: entra sicuro”).

25. *-e > -a*: outcome not found.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 98 (“usuale nei volgari settentrionali”).

<sup>72</sup> The outcome is attested in the northern witnesses of the *Fiore di Virtù* studied by Maria Corti, including the Bolognese ms. Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, I.II.7 (S) which records matches such as XXX 14 *soperbia*, VI 1 *torbamento* (Maria Corti, “Emiliano e veneto nella tradizione manoscritta del ‘Fiore di Virtù’,” in Maria Corti, *Storia della lingua e storia dei testi*, with a *Bibliografia* edited by Rossana Saccani (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1989), 177-221, 186; on the S codex is based the recent edition by Mirko Volpi, “Il Flore de vertù et de costume secondo il codice S. I. Edizione,” *Bollettino dell’Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* 23 (2018): 137-223; for the linguistic analysis of the ms. see now Volpi, “Il Flore de vertù et de costume secondo il codice S. II. Studio linguistico”).

-e > -i: in *Purg.* 4.52 *ambedui* but in 70 *ambedue*; in *Par.* 4.88 *si* instead of *se* conjunction.

From OMNIS: *ogne*, the only registered form, is in *Inf.* 4.48, 5.28, *Purg.* 4.32, *Par.* 4.116, 18.6, 29.123.

-e > -o: outcome not found.

26. -i > -e.

Nouns: feminine plural, third declension: in *Inf.* 11.108 (Petrocchi ed.: “prender sua vita e avanzar la gente”) Stocc reads *le giente*, with plural noun whose ending in -e is found instead of -i, result that is “typical of all Northern Italy,”<sup>73</sup> and which is attested in the language of the Bolognese ms. Riccardiano-Braidense (Rb), both in the *Commedia* and in Iacomo della Lana commentary.<sup>74</sup>

Verbs: for the present indicative, 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular in *Inf.* 4.32 is recorded *vede*, 36 *crede*, while in *Purg.* 27.41 there is *volve* for past tense, 1<sup>st</sup> person singular (probably due to a misunderstanding in the recognition of the subject induced by the previous v. 40, in Petrocchi ed.: “così, la mia durezza fatta solla / mi volsi al savio duca”); for the imperative in *Purg.* 19.35, *surge* (for *surgi*) retains the Latin ending for 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. from second and third conjugation;<sup>75</sup> for the subjunctive: in *Inf.* 4.71 *descernesse* for 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing.; other forms: in *Inf.* 4.49 *uscice*, in *Purg.* 8.29 *verde* for ‘verdi’, 25.56 *inde*.

Use of simple prepositions *de* and *di*: the normal form *di* is clearly prevalent and is also used in the case of articulated preposition in *Par.* 17.9 (*dila*); *de* instead in *Inf.* 4.57, *Purg.* 33.123, *Par.* 18.123, 24.64.

27. -o > -e: outcome not found.

-o > -i: in *Purg.* 12.94 *molti radi* (for ‘molto radi’).

-o > -u: outcome not found.

28. Vowel groups in pretonic position.

*io*, *iu*, *ui*: there are no particularities.

*ia*: in *Purg.* 4.26 *Biasmantoa*.

### *Consonantism*

<sup>73</sup> Volpi, “*Per manifestare polida parladura*,” 217 (“proprio di tutto il Nord”); see Stussi, *Testi veneziani del Duecento e dei primi del Trecento*, LXII.

<sup>74</sup> See Volpi, “*Per manifestare polida parladura*,” 102, 217.

<sup>75</sup> Gerhard Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, 3 vols., 2 (Turin: Einaudi, 1966-1969), 350, notes that the three etymological endings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. of the imperative (-a, -e, -i) are preserved in the ancient texts of Po Valley Italy.

29. sc, x, stj > s, ss (instead of Tuscan palatal sibilant).

Below are the matches previously reported limitedly to the graphic aspect: *angossia* in *Purg.* 4.115 (but *angoscia* in *Inf.* 4.19, 6.43, 9.85, in 24.116 in rhyming position, as in 34.78, and in *Purg.* 30.98) and *possia* in *Purg.* 4.117 (in rhyme with *coscia*), *Par.* 6.69. But see also additionally in *Purg.* 11.103 *sindi* for 'scindi', in *Par.* 4.21 *sema*, 45 *actribuisse* for 'attribuisse', 74 *conferisse* for 'conferisce', 116 *usi* for 'usci'.

30. c > g.

Outcome not found.

31. c, g + palatal vowel.

The palatal consonant is maintained, as for the Tuscan outcome; however, is exceptional the northern sibilant outcome of *Purg.* 24.64 *ausel*. Consonant falling occurs for *neglientia* and *negliente* in *Purg.* 4.105, 110.

32. j and nexus with j.

In most cases, the Tuscan outcome is followed, with rare exceptions.

Initial JOD: it is preserved by the influence of the Latin in *Inf.* 4.128 *Iulia*, 137 *Iatale*, *Par.* 4.62 *Iove*, 67 *iusticia*.

Intervocalic jod: it is preserved in *Par.* 4.15 *iniustamente*, 67 *iniusta*.

GJ: the northern sibilant outcome is found in *Purg.* 18.111 with *pertuso*, in rhyme with *induso* (and according with *indusiai* in *Purg.* 4.132) and *buso*.

SJ: the forms in *Inf.* 5.134 *basciato*, 136 *basciò*, 23.42 *camiscia* are normal.

(N)TJ: it is found in *Purg.* 12.81 *servisio* (but in *Purg.* 26.104 and *Par.* 5.12 *servigio*, in *Par.* 21.114 *servitio*).<sup>76</sup> For *cominciare*, only the Tuscan form is given, as for *ragione*, *ragionare*.

DJ: in *Purg.* 18.76 *megia*; about the result in voiced palatal affricate Volpi – who finds it in Rb and Urb – notes that “it does not seem exactly typical of the Emilia-Romagna area, but more suited to the Veneto area, perhaps also because it can be easily superimposed on the native *megio* from *melius*”.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> In the context of the Po sibilants, “typically Bolognese” (“tipicamente bolognesi”) are the outcomes *si* < TJ (Stella, “Emilia-Romagna,” 269).

<sup>77</sup> See Volpi, “*Per manifestare polida parladura*,” 108 (“non pare esattamente propria della zona emiliano-romagnola, ma più consona all’area veneta, forse anche perché facilmente sovrapponibile all’autoctono *megio* da MELIUS”).

LJ: the normal palatalized outcome is attested with *-gl-*, *-gli-*, as in *Inf.* 1.74 *figliuolo*, 98 *voglia*; *Par.*, 1.26 *fogle*, 4.101 *periglo*.

33.  $n > m$ .

The labialization of the final nasal consonant is frequent due to the influence of the consonant that follows, a common phenomenon in northern ancient texts, in particular in Emilia and Veneto:<sup>78</sup> in *Inf.* 4.53 *um possente*; in *Inf.* 4.70, 130, *Purg.* 4.47, 116, 9.28 *um poco*; furthermore, in *Inf.* 4.151 *im parte*.

34.  $-t- > d$ .

Outcome not found.

35.  $v$  is missing in *Purg.* 4.26 *Biasmantoa*.

36.  $r > l$

Only in *Par.* 14.27: *rifligerio*, due to dissimilation.

37.  $s > sc$ .

Outcome not found.

38. Consonant nexus with *l*.

No particularities are found.

39. Double consonants within a word.

a) *Scempiamento* after prefixes.

After the prefix *a-* (*ra-*) the single consonant prevails: in *Inf.* 4: 9 *acoglie*, 16 *acorto*, 28 *avenia*, 139 *acoglitore*; in *Purg.* 4: 3 *raccoglie*, but 6 *acenda*, 9 *avede*, 14 *amirando*, 16 *acorto*, 23 *apresso*, 39 *apaia*, 47 *aditandomi*, 56 *amirava*, 58 *avide*, 102 *acorse*, (107 *abbracciava*), 124 *asiso*, 130 *agiri*; in *Par.* 4: 32 *appariro*, but 41 *aprende*, 76 *amorça*, 91 *atreversa*, (96, 119 *apresso*), 100 *adivenne*, 120 *aviva*. *Loc.* in *Inf.* 25.144 *aborra*, 26.21 *afreno*, 32.34 *apar*, 33.43 *apressava*; *Purg.* 2.26 *aparver*, 6.15 *anegò*, 7.15 *apiglia*, 12.94 *anuncio*, 13.154 *amiralli*, 14.67 *anuncio*, 18.10 *aviva*, 57 *apetibile*, 20.9

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 236. See also Corti, *Emiliano e veneto nella tradizione manoscritta del 'Fiore di Virtù'*, 190, who notes about the Bertoliano witness: “since the codex is Emilian, the passage  $-n > -m$  is normal in the consonantism, which otherwise could be Veronese [...] Paduan [...] Trentino” (“[d]ato che il codice è emiliano, risulta ivi normale nel consonantismo il passaggio  $-n > -m$ , che altrimenti potrebbe essere veronese [...] padovano [...] trentino”); for the Venetians outcomes see Stussi, *Testi veneziani del Duecento e dei primi del Trecento*, LIX; Lorenzo Tomasin, *Testi padovani del Trecento. Edizione e commento linguistico* (Padua: Esedra, 2004), 155; Nello Bertoletti, *Testi veronesi dell'età scaligera. Edizione, commento linguistico e glossario* (Padua: Esedra, 2005), 182-83.



*aproccia*, 67 *amenda*, 21.101 *asentirei*, 112 *asommi*, 30.36 *afranto*; *Par.* 7.19 *aviso*, 76 *avantaggia*, 16.69 *apone*, 23.42 *aterra*.

b) Other cases of *scempiamento*.

In *Inf.* 4: 144 *comento*; *Purg.* 4: 91 *parà*; *Par.*, 4: 9 *comendo*, 126 *nisun*. *Locri*: in *Inf.* 2.56 *cominciomi*, 11.84 *acatta*, 20.30 *compassion*, 69 *camino*, 29.73 *pogiati*, 30.87 *meço*; *Purg.* 1.86 *alora*, 2.118 *atenti*, 6.49 *magior*, 135 *sobarcho*, 12.13 *ochi*, 13.105 *famete*, 18.76 *megia*, 19.34, 85, 20.8 *ochi*, 20.8 *ocupa*, 90 *uciso*, 22.97 *dime*, 23.2 *fichava*, 27.85 *alotta*, 32.27 *crolonne*; *Par.* 1.92 *fugendo*, 8.127 *sugello*, 14.21 *ralegran*, 16.144 *cità*, 30.39 *magior*, 31.80 *sorfristi*, 140 *atenti*, 33.98 *atenta*.

c) Irregular doublings.

In *Inf.* 4.92 *sonnò*, *Inf.* 3.59, 4.125, 129, 131, 139, 140 *viddi*, 14.70 *preggi*. Other cases: *Inf.* 30.18 *Pollidoro*, *Par.* 4.9 *neccessario*.

40. Doubling within a sentence.

In *Par.* 4.50 *a cciò*, 90 *che tt'avria*, *Par.* 16.10 *a rRoma*.

### *General phenomena*

41. Syncope.

In *Inf.* 4.5 *dricto*, 39 *medesmo*, 49 *merto*, 76 *onrata*; in *Purg.* 4.14 *spirto*. *Locri*: in *Inf.* 12.28 *scarco*.

42. Epenthesis.

In *Purg.* 25.31 *disflego*. In *Par.* 4.140 *consì* instead of *così*, possible analogical formation on the type of *consa/conse* (for *cosa/cose*), characteristic mostly of the Verona area;<sup>79</sup> however, this is the only match in the whole Stocc *Commedia*, which could therefore be interpreted as *con sì* in *scriptio continua* (but in this case the lesson would be erroneous, not matching with the syntactic closure of the next verse, vv. 139-141, Petrocchi ed.: “Beatrice mi guardò con li occhi pieni / di faville d’amor così divini, / che, vinta, mia virtute diè le reni”).

43. Metathesis.

Outcome not found.

<sup>79</sup> See Alfredo Stussi, “Testi in volgare veronese del Duecento,” *Italianistica* 21, no. 2-3 (May-December 1992): 247-67, 248; Bertoletti, *Testi veronesi dell’età scaligera*, 61; other northern evidences are in the ancient Modenese language, see Giulio Bertoni, *Il dialetto di Modena. Introduzione - Grammatica - Testi antichi* (Turin: Loescher, 1905), 28.

### 3) MORPHOLOGY

#### 44. Article.

For the masculine singular, the form *il* is found alternating with *lo*; *el*, which is a minority, is registered in *Inf.* 4.105, *Par.* 4.34. In the plural we do not find *gli* if not before a vowel or *s* + consonant; before the noun *occhi* it oscillates between the two forms: *gli* in *Inf.* 4.123, 22.119, *Purg.* 4.55, 87, 12.13, 19.34, 85, 20.8, 28.34, *Par.* 4.68, 5.125 (*degli o.*); *li* in *Par.* 4.92 (*a li o.*) 139, 142, 5.3 (*delli o.*), 18.72, 22.22. Among the articulated prepositions, is noted the exceptional *di la* in *Purg.* 11.98, 13.1, 21.6, *Par.* 17.9.

#### 45. Personal pronouns.

*Subject.* There are no cases of *eo* in the first person (not even in the apocopated form *e*). The third person alternates the two forms *elli/egli*: the former respectively in *Purg.* 1.86, 2.103, 4.61, *Par.* 4.58, 79, 8.94; the latter in *Inf.* 4.19, 34 (plural: *egli hanno*), 10.77 (plural: *egli hanno*), 19.114, *Purg.* 4.37, 88, 97, 127. The use of *el* (*Inf.* 4.64, 25.16, *Purg.* 1.112, 17.117) and *ei* (*Inf.* 4.34 in the plural form, *Purg.* 4.102, 12.13) is also recorded.

*Object and oblique.* Albeit in the minority, the northern forms in *-e* for all the unstressed pronouns are well attested. For the 1<sup>st</sup> person, *me*: *Inf.* 4.23, 46 (in enclisis), 93 (in enclisis), 149, 8.78, *Purg.* 4.49, 22.97 (in enclisis), 23.44; for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, *te*: *Inf.* 8.101, *Purg.* 13.105 (in enclisis), *Par.* 4.16; for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, *se*: *Inf.* 7.125 (*se gorgoglian*), 16.15 (*se vole*), *Purg.* 17.40 (*se frange*), 23.84 (*se ristora*), *Par.* 4.4, 6 (*se starebbe*), 7.131 (*se posson*); for the plural forms, *ce*: *Par.* 22.151; *ve*: *Purg.* 13.154. No tonic pronouns in *-i* are found instead.

#### 46. Possessive pronouns and adjectives.

The Po Valley form in the reference corpus is exclusively the plural *mei* in *Purg.* 1.112 and 4.87, but *miei* in *Purg.* 4.122 (with gender discrepancy between adjective and noun: *le labbra m.*), in *Par.* 4.8, 16.30, 18.72, 24.60, 31.142; other non-diphthongized forms, found outside the selected corpus, are *toi* and *soi* in *Purg.* 11.10, 12; in the context of cantos iv and 546 *loci*, *tuoi* is in *Par.* 5.3, *suoi* is in *Inf.* 4.59 and *Purg.* 4.121.

#### 47. Numerals.

The only peculiarity of *cinquimilia* is noted, attested in *Purg.* 33.62.

## 48. Verbs.

*Essere*: pres.: 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *son* in *Inf.* 4.39; 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. *sè* in *Purg.* 1.27, 3.104, 4.114, *Par.* 15.48, *sie* in *Purg.* 23.82;<sup>80</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> pers. *semo* in *Inf.* 4.41; fut.: are found the northern forms *serò* in *Inf.* 4.15, *serai* in *Inf.* 4.15, *Purg.* 4.94, *serà* in *Inf.* 24.141, *Purg.* 12.14;<sup>81</sup> past tense: 1<sup>st</sup> pers. *fù* in *Inf.* 4.16, *fui* in *Inf.* 3.61, *fuo* in *Purg.* 5.88; 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. *fuo* in *Inf.* 4.79, 12.134, 27.8, *Par.* 20.117, *fù* in *Inf.* 4.82, *Purg.* 17.30, 23.44, *Par.* 7.111, *fò* in *Purg.* 1.86, 11.132, *fue* in *Purg.* 32.147; 4<sup>th</sup> pers. *fummo* in *Purg.* 4.34; 6<sup>th</sup> pers. the following Tuscan forms are attested: *fuoron* in *Inf.* 4.37, *Par.* 4.86, 29.47 and *fuor* in *Inf.* 3.7, 4.119, 33.74, *Par.* 10.77, *fòro* in *Par.* 28.96 is in rhyming position (*loro/coro/foro*); imperf. subjun.: 2<sup>nd</sup> *fossi* in *Purg.* 26.23, 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. *fosse* in *Inf.* 2.80, 4.50, 8.78, 27.70, *fuosse* in *Purg.* 4.111, *Par.* 7.21; 6<sup>th</sup> pers. *fossero* in *Purg.* 4.62; cond.: *seria* in *Purg.* 7.51, *saresti* in *Par.* 4.94, *sarebbe* in *Par.* 4.129.

*Other verbal forms*: *volere*: the absence of diphthong is noted in *vòi* ('tu vuoi') in *Purg.* 4.67, 23.97, *vole* in *Inf.* 16.15, *Purg.* 21.105, *Par.* 29.72; *potere*: *pò* in *Purg.* 21.105, *Par.* 22.130 but *può* in *Par.* 4.136, *pote* in *Par.* 4.56 (rhyming with *rote* and *percuote*) but *puote* in *Par.* 4.70, 123, 31.24; in *Purg.* 11.36 *possiano* (for 'pos-sano'); *sòle* ('suole') in *Purg.* 23.2 but *suole* in *Purg.* 4.54; *fiè* ('fia') in *Purg.* 12.126 but *fia* in *Purg.* 19.125. The northern gerund in *-ando* is in *Purg.* 23.36, *sapiando*.

Finally, the non-Tuscan ending for the imperfect indicative (1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl.) of the second conjugation verbs is noted, with *-evamo* instead of *-avamo* in *Purg.* 9.12 (*sedevamo*).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> I accept the accented writing *sè* proposed by Castellani instead of *se'* (Arrigo Castellani, "Da «sè» a «sei»," in Arrigo Castellani, *Nuovi saggi di linguistica e filologia italiana e romanza (1976-2004)*, eds. Valeria Della Valle, Giovanna Frosini, Paola Manni, Luca Serianni, 2 vols., 1 [Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2009], 581-93; before in *Studi linguistici italiani* 25 [1999]: 3-15), not having found the form *sei* during my partial examination.

<sup>81</sup> The form *serà* is well attested in Stussi, *Testi veneziani del Duecento e dei primi del Trecento*, LXVII.

<sup>82</sup> See Arrigo Castellani, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana*, I. *Introduzione* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000), 325 (but see also Geymonat, "Sulla lingua di Francesco di Ser Nardo," 365).