THE ORATORIANA*TESEIDA*:
WITNESS OF A LOST *BETA* AUTOGRAPH

> Per il Boccaccio dovremo dunque abituarci a pensare non ad un «originale» da cui sia discesa meccanicamente tutta la tradizione manoscritta, e neppure soltanto a più «originali» a ciascuno dei quali risalga meccanicamente la tradizione manoscritta delle varie redazioni, bensì ad un ventaglio di autografi alcuni dei quali si collocano all'interno dello stemma di una medesima redazione: autografi copie di precedenti trascrizioni (magari anche non di mano dell'autore: cioè copie, autografe, di codici esemplati da copisti di professione conservati presso di sé dall'autore per proprio uso).
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> Giorgio Padoan, *Trasmissione manoscritta e varianti d'autore: apparenti anomalie in opere del Boccaccio*, in «Studi sul Boccaccio», XI,1979, pp. 3-4.

BOCCACCIO'S SELF-REVISIONS. Because Boccaccio spent his literary career creating his new works and at the same time recreating and redacting his earlier works, we are blessed with two versions of the *Amorosa visione*, the *Genealogia deorum gentilium* and the *De casibus virorum illustrium*, three redactions of the *Trattatello in Laude di Dante*, and (as a kind of monument to Boccaccio's passion for self-editing) *De mulieribus claris* in seven or perhaps even nine versions. Boccaccio seems never to have ceased adjusting and revising his text: as Vittore Branca's edition of *Il Decameron* (1976) amply demonstrates, Boccaccio was making changes in his prose masterpiece even in the last few years of his life[1].

Since multiple redactions were the norm for Boccaccio, it is not unreasonable to expect that he might have produced more than one version of his *Teseida*. That argument, which is the basis of this arti-

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[1] Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Cod. Hamilton 90. See GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO, *Decameron.* Edizione critica secondo l'Autografo Hamiltoniano, a cura di V. Branca, Firenze, Accademia della Crusca, 1976.

cle, has been delayed in large part by the unfortunate publication history of the *Teseida*, with its consequential adverse impact for research on the text of Boccaccio's epic.

PUBLICATION HISTORY.The identification of the *Teseida* autograph in the 1920s and its subsequent publication in three critical editions[2] revealed a work that had been unknown to four and a half centuries of readers. Prior to the 20th century, the editions of the *Teseida* were based on defective copies and inconsistent editorial criteria. The *editio princeps* (Ferrara, Agostino Carnerio, 1475), which was set up from a MS in the Este library in Ferrara[3], is an arbitrary composite of the α and β versions of the poem[4]. The edition, opening with a

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[2] *Teseida.* Edizione critica per cura di S. Battaglia («Autori classici e documenti di lingua pubblicati dalla R. Accademia della Crusca»), Firenze, Sansoni, 1938; *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia*, a cura di A. Roncaglia («Scrittori d'Italia» 185), Bari, Laterza, 1941; *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia*, a cura di A. Limentani, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. II, Milano, Mondadori, 1964 (repr. 1992); GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO, *Opere minori in volgare*, II. ed Mario Marti, Milano, Rizzoli, 1970. Although Battaglia errs in his description of certain manuscripts, his edition establishes important parameters for studying the text and MSS of the *Teseida*. Roncaglia's edition lacks a critical apparatus, but it added many rubrics and glosses lacking in Battaglia's text, plus a significant number of variant readings. Although Limentani's edition did not interest itself in textual criticism and an examination of *Teseida* MSS identified since Battaglia's edition, it updated the criticism on the text and substituted several readings at odds both with Battaglia and Roncaglia. The Marti edition, which appears in a series without a textual and philological introduction, contains reader's notes, but lacks a critical apparatus.The four editions do not indicate the decorated initials, marginal parafs, drawing and drawing-spaces, or sub-linear punctuation in *Aut*.

[3] The MS, now at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milano (Cod. D, 524 inf), was copied c. 1441, most likely to celebrate the birth of Ercole d'Este, the first surviving legitimate son of the lord of Ferrara, Niccolò III d'Este. Containing works by Pietro Andrea de' Bassi, a humanist and courtier at Ferrara, the MS includes de' Bassi's edition of the *Teseida* (with a long dedication to Marquis Niccolò III, de' Bassi's introduction praising the Este dynasty, and his commentary on Boccaccio's epic), an edition of de' Bassi's *Fatiche d'Ercole*, and de' Bassi's commentary on a canzone of Niccolò Malpiglio. In 1475, the Ferrarese printer Agostino Carnerio published both the *Teseida* and the *Fatiche d'Ercole*, using the de' Bassi MS as his source. For Bassi's commentaries on the *Teseida* and the canzoni of Malpigli, see C. MONTAGNANI, *Andando con lor dame in Aventura. Percorsi Estensi*, Galatina, Lecce, Congedo, 2004, chs. 1-3 <http://siba-ese.unile.it/index.php/pubfilling/article/view/10359/9531>; <… 10360/9532>; <…10361/9533> [accessed 30 September 2011].

[4] See Battaglia's ch. 3 for his classification of the *Teseida* MSS in α and β families. In his commentary, de' Bassi cites two variant readings, one α and the second β, from the two MSS on which he based his edition. Concerning the edition, Salvatore Battaglia describes it as «… non solo contaminando due e più testi, ma anche introducendo non

long preface celebrating the Este family to the time of Marquis Niccolò III d'Este, father of Ercole I, and closing with a colophon referring to the reign of the «good» duke Ercole[5], was published in a luxury folio format and most likely subvented by the Este court[6]. A second incunabulum (Naples, Francesco del Tuppo, c. 1490), based on a single MS, did not circulate widely and had no influence on future editions[7]. Rather, the Ferrara incunabulum of 1475, with its luxury format and its Este connections, unfortunately became the standard of comparison for the nine subsequent editions: three of the 16th-century and six of the 19th-century[8]. The best of the 19th century print-

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poche varianti personali, ed esercitando nel complesso un'assai sospetta sorveglianza critica … P.A. de' Bassi ne abbia fatto la infelice compilazione, affidandosi troppo al suo discutibile gusto poetico e alla sua presunta dottrina umanistica» (p. xxxiv).

[5] The colophon states that the book was published in 1475 "…cum dux bonus urbem Herculeus princeps ferrariam regeret."

[6] Besides the fact that the *Teseda* and the *Fatiche d'Ercole* were set up from a luxury manuscript in the ducal library, the ducal patronage for the printing is also suggested by their publication in a costly folio format. Agostino Carnerio printed 13 books in Ferrara from 1474 to 1479, six in folio format. The *Teseida* and the *Fatiche*, printed in the same Roman type, are the only vernacular literary works that Carnerio published in folio. See R. DANIELS, *Boccaccio and the Book: Production and Reading in Italy 1340-1520*, London, Legenda / Maney, 2009, p. 60. The best argument for Este sponsorship of the publications is the two books' lavish praise for the ruling family of Ferrara. The *Teseida*, with its preface celebrating the Este family to the time of Niccolò III, recalled the long and eventful rule of the father of the Ercole I, the current duke of Ferrara, while the *Fatiche d'Ercole,* with its praise of the figure and virtues of Hercules, the namesake of the new Duke, pointed toward an equally eminent reign for the son. The importance that the rulers of Ferrara accorded the two works is also evident in a gift of illuminated manuscripts of Bassi's *Fatiche d'Ercole* and of the glossed *Teseida* (Cambridge MA, Harvard Univ. Library, MSS Typ 226, Typ 227) that Borso d'Este had sent to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, four years before, as a means of announcing that he had assumed the ducal hat of Ferrara in April 1471.

[7] The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* IV: 4500 incorrectly states that the Naples edition contains the preface by Pietro Andrea de' Bassi; however, the Ferrara incunabulum did not influence the Naples edition. The Naples edition is, instead, based on a now disappeared exemplar from the largest group of *Teseida*MSS (α, z less zz) and contains Boccaccio's «Come che a memoria» preface, which appears in many α copies. Battaglia notes that its text is «...assai corrotto, e difetta qua e là di qualche ottava...» (p. xxxvi).

[8] Battaglia noted, with a certain irony, that the 1475 Teseida was «…l'edizione più fortunata del poema baccaccesco, quella che ha pesato sulle successive, perpetuando un testo corrotto e contaminato» (p. xxxvi). The presence of the 1475 Ferrara edition can be documented in the text of the nine 16th-19th century editions: Venice, Tizzone Gaetano, 1528; Lucca, Vincenzo Busdraghi, 1579 (a prose adaptation of the *Teseida*; Battaglia misdates the Lucca edition as 1575); Milano, Giovanni Silvestri, 1819; Venice, Francesco Andreola, 1821; «Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio» vol. IX. Firenze, Ignazio Moutier,

ings, Ignazio Moutier's edition of 1831, was the standard version of
the poem that was read for more than a century. But, unfortunately
for the history of the *Teseida* text, the Moutier versionwas based in
part on problematic manuscripts[9]. At the beginning of the 20th cen-
tury, as a result, the negative judgment about the *Teseida* which had
been made by the 18th century philologist Anton Maria Salvini was
still valid: «...chi cita la stampata, che pure è Opera grande, non cita
il Boccaccio, ma un fantasma»[10].

AUTOGRAPH MS. The bad fortune of the *Teseida* text was re-
versed when an autograph copy of the work was identified in the late
1920s[11]. The manuscript, hereafter referred to as *Aut*, is now con-
served in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana (Firenze)[12]. It has been
dated c. 1348-50, about a decade after Boccaccio's original composi-
tion of the work[13]. The *Teseida* autograph is a complex text includ-
ing the poem plus eight paratexts that provide access to the poem: by
means of a prose preface, decorated initials[14], some 1300 glosses[15],

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1831; Milano, Giovanni Silvestri, 1837; and Venezia, Giuseppe Antonelli, 1838. See
Battaglia, pp. xxxviii-lii, lxxiii-lxxiv.
   [9] Moutier used two excellent MSS of the *α, z* (less *zz*) group: Firenze, Bibl. Riccar-
diana 1056 and 1057. However, Moutier supplemented these with two defective MSS –
Riccardiana 1058 and 2733 – which are the source of many incorrect readings in his edi-
tion. (See Battaglia, pp. xl-xli, lxxiv.)
   [10] Quoted in GIOVANNI MARIA MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* II.iii., Brescia,
1762, p.1362, n. 272.
   [11] The manuscript, which had been in the collection of the English bibliophile and
italophile, George John Vernon Warren, 5th Baron Vernon (+1866), was purchased by the
Italian government in April 1927 and deposited at the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana,
Firenze, on 13 December 1928. Giuseppe Vandelli then published an extensive descrip-
tion of the manuscript: *Un autografo della Teseide*, «Studi di Filologia Italiana», 2 (1929):
5-76.
   [12] Cod. Acquisti e Doni 325.
   [13] See A. C. DE LA MARE, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists*, Oxford, Oxord UP,
1973, p. 27; *VI Centenario della morte di Giovanni Boccaccio. Mostra di manoscritti, doc-
umenti e edizioni*, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 22 maggio-31 agosto 1975,
Certaldo, Comitato Promotore, 1975, vol. I, pp. 32-33; Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,
Mostra di autografi laurenziani, Firenze, 1979, n° 2, p. 5, and E. AGOSTINELLI, *A Catalogue
of manuscripts of* Il Teseida, in «Studi sul Boccaccio», XV, 1985-1986, pp. 1-83:17-19. Boc-
caccio continued adding glosses to the MS and revising the poem, usually cancelling α
readings and substituting *β* readings, for at least a decade after he originally copied *Aut*.
   [14] See F. MALAGNINI, *Il libro d'autore dal progetto alla realizzazione: il* Teseida delle
nozze d'Emilia *(con un'appendice sugli autografi di Boccaccio)*, in «Studi sul Boccaccio»,
XXXIV, 2006, pp. 3-102: 31-37 ("I segnali testuali").
   [15] Because of the loss of fol. 137a, it is not possible to specify the exact number of

104 marginal parafs[16], at least 59 drawings[17], 204 rubrics, introductory and concluding sonnets, and a program of sub-linear punctuation[18]. These aids explain the poem, point out its divisions, summarize its contents, and even indicate how it is to be pronounced. The autographhas provided readers with a version of the story that reveals Boccaccio's intentions for the *Teseida* to a much greater degree than the pre-20th century editions.

The identification of the Laurentian Library autograph did not, however, resolve all questions about the text of the *Teseida*. Although the *Teseida* autograph presents a much improved text, the manuscript itself has lost a notable amount of content due to a missing folio, trimming during a later binding, and faded text in 10% of the MS, which was subsequently over-traced by another, often imperfect hand[19]. Occasionally, where the faded ink made glosses difficult to

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glosses in the autograph. In its present state, the autograph has 1307 glosses, but several of those – six published (4.49.8; 5.24.7; 7.79.4; 8.87.5; 8.102.8; 11.77.1) and one unpublished (8.81.6 [*li cria*] li crescea) – are questionable. In addition, one faded gloss (12.22.8 [*che io amassi etc.*]: quanto d' avere Emilia permoglie) has been restored with the help of ultra-violet light. See Table 1.

[16] In addition to 101 parafs in books I-V, *Aut* contains three others that Boccaccio later added to bk. VII. See Table 2.

[17] *Aut* contains one drawing at the preface and space for an additional 57 drawings in the poem; Table 3 suggests that as many as 11 additional drawings were projected for the lateral and lower margins of the MS.

[18] The punctuation consists of under-dots that appear at initial or final vowels in *Aut*. These are to be distinguished from under-dots inserted for the sake of expunging an error in the text. Rather, the under-dots in question are inserted as aids to supply the elision necessary to preserve the meter of the poem. While they appear in every book of the poem, they are not consistently inserted at every instance of necessary elision. See Battaglia, pp. cxlix-cl.

[19] A missing folio (137a) has created a textual gap (XII.47.1-56.6, plus glosses) that editors have filled, using an α MS (Firenze, Bibl. Laur., Cod. Pluteo XC sup., 92) for the poem and a β MS (Firenze, Bibl. Laur., Cod. Pluteo XC sup., 140) for the glosses. Trimming of eight folios (fols. 3, 7, 12, 14, 41, 46, 77, and 113) has caused the loss of some text in marginal glosses; the editors have silently emended most glosses, but some text cannot be supplied. (See gl. IV.14.8.) Because the parchment for the autograph was imperfectly prepared, text has faded on 73 (26%) of the 282 pages in *Aut*. On 28 pages (10%) of the MS, another hand (C3) has retraced some of the faded text, particularly that in the glosses. My examination of the autograph under ultra-violet and infra-red light has revealed that a significant amount of this retracing is incorrect. It is interesting to note that the autograph of the *Decameron* has also suffered similar problems. See *Decameron*, a cura di V. Branca, cit., Introduzione, cap. II.

read, the modern editors have mis-transcribed or have omitted text[20].

These shortcomings suggest that a new edition of the *Teseida* would be appropriate. The scholarship completed on the *Teseida* MSS in recent years would certainly recommend such a project. Salvatore Battaglia's ideas about the versions of the *Teseida* that preceded the Laurentian autograph were based on his study of the 28 manuscripts that he consulted for his 1938 edition[21]. Any additional work on the validity of Battaglia's theories or on the existence of other authoritative editions of the text has had to wait the identification and description of the further manuscript copies of the *Teseida*. This project, initiated by Vittore Branca in 1958[22], has identified a total of 66 extant *Teseida* MSS[23]. Once the census of extant copies was completed, they were subsequently described in Edvige Agostinelli's catalogue of the *Teseida* MSS[24] and in my study of the paper and watermarks in the *Teseida* MSS[25].

CLASSIFICATION OF MSS. While Battaglia completed fundamental and important research on the text of the *Teseida*, some of his con-

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[20] For example, gl. V.58.7, which describes Oedipus *… e come prendesse **poscia** sua madre per moglie …* should read *… e come prendesse **Yocasta** sua madre per moglie*; gl. V.103.1 (5-7) *… **quando** che il sole … il cielo **e Cenìt è** alto… **si è il** granchio; **e è nota** la favola …* should read *… **dice** che il sole … il cielo **cioè tanto** alto … **fu uno** granchio; **e raccontasi** la favola.*

[21] Battaglia consulted the autograph and 23 other MSS in Florentine public libraries plus four MSS in the Vatican Library (pp. xi-xxxiii). He refers to five additonal *Teseida* MSS in Milan, Aix, and Paris, which he did not examine for his edition (pp. xxxiii-xxxv).

[22] V. BRANCA, *Tradizione delle opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*. I. *Un primo elenco di codici e tre studi*, Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura,1958 , pp. 66-69; and its supplements: *Un nuovo elenco di codici*, in «Studi sul Boccaccio», I, 1958, pp. 15-26: 20; *Un terzo elenco di codici*, IV,1967, pp. 1-8: 5; *Un quarto elenco di codici* IX, 1975-76, pp. 1-19: 12.

[23] The second *Teseida* incunabulum (Napoli, Francesco del Tuppo, c. 1490) is a witness to another, no longer extant MS.

[24] E. AGOSTINELLI, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of* Il Teseida, cit. (see n. 13 above). Since the publication of Agostinelli's catalogue, three other *Teseida* MSS have been identified in private collections: SanF: San Francisco, *Library of Vincenzo Traversa* (V. TRAVERSA, *Theseid of the Nuptials of Emilia*, New York, Peter Lang, 2002); Pa[2]:Studio «Albertino Mussato» (V. BRANCA, *Tradizione delle opere di Giovanni Boccaccio* II *Un secondo elenco di manoscritti e studi sul testo del "Decameron" con due appendici*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1991, p. 42); P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. V, London, The Warburg Institute-Leiden, Brill, 1990, Appendix: Utopia, p. 460.

[25] W. COLEMAN, *Watermarks in the Manuscripts of Boccaccio's* Il Teseida. *A catalogue, codicological study and album* (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana CXLIX), Firenze, Olschki, 1997.

clusions have raised questions. One of the critical bases of Battaglia's edition was his classification of the *Teseida* MSS into two families: α, which, he contended, lacks Boccaccio's glosses on the poem, and β, some of whose MSS contain glosses[26]. Battaglia then proposed a neat sub-division of each family: the α MSS into sub-groups κ and ζ and the β MSS into sub-groups P[2] (represented by a single MS[27]) and χ[28]. Battaglia used this distinction to propose a three-stage process of composition for *Aut* and the other copies of the *Teseida*: (1) that the α MSS, lacking glosses, are based on an earlier version of the poem, which he calls Aut_1; (2) that Boccaccio based *Aut* on this version, to which he added the glosses and some variant text in the poem; and (3) that, while the β MSS (P[2] and the χ group) are glossed, the β family has suffered an «arbitraria deformazione», which he documented with two sets of readings (P[2] *vs.* χ, α, and Aut; χ *vs.* P[2], α, and Aut)[29].

Reviewing Battaglia's edition shortly after its publication, Gianfranco Contini advanced a persuasive argument that P[2] is not a subsection of the β family. Contini pointed out that Battaglia's two sets of readings make a better case that P[2] is the single representative a third family[30] (which I call γ). Another point that supports the classification of P[2] as a separate MS family is its inclusiveness. Each MS in the α and β families has an identifying lacuna: in the α MSS a missing stanza (III.69)and in the β MSS a fused stanza (II.29.1-6 + II.30.7-8). Besides

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[26] Battaglia assumed that the glosses in the β MSS were subsequent, imperfect, and incomplete versions of the commentary in *Aut*: he refers to «… il fatto che i manoscritti di α manchino assolutamente di qualsiasi commento, il quale, invece, ricompare in qualche esemplare di β … ed è tenuto presente da qualche dotto e tardo amanuense … senza sospettarne l'autenticità boccaccesca» (p. lxxxviii). See also Battaglia, ch. 5, pp. c-cx.

[27] Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cod. Palatino 352.

[28] Battaglia, cap. 3, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

[29] In both lists (pp. li-liii), substitute β for Battaglia's *x*.

[30] G. CONTINI, Review of Battaglia, *Teseida*, in «Giornale storico della letteratura italiana», 112, 1938, p. 87 (now in G. CONTINI, *Frammenti di filologia romanza. Scritti di ecdotica e linguistica, 1932-1989*, a cura di G. Breschi, Firenze, Ed. del Galluzzo, Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2007, pp. 535-546). P[2] was produced by three scribes (A, B, C), using different exemplars. The γ text, copied by scribe A during the 1390s, occupies the first six quires of the MS (prologue – VII.93.4); the rest of the MS, copied by scribes B (quires 7-8) and C (quires 9-11) during the first decade of the 14th century, is based on one or two exemplars from the large $\alpha\zeta$ sub-group. Its unfinished state and the fact that the γ readings are unique among the *Teseida* MSS could suggest that Boccaccio left the γ version incomplete. For catalogue descriptions of P[2], see Battaglia, pp. xix-xx; E. AGOSTINELLI, *A Catalogue…*, cit., pp. 32-33; W. COLEMAN, *Watermarks…*, cit., pp. 78-86.

the autograph, P[2] has the complete text for II.29, II.30 and III.69[31].

BOCCACCIO'S SHORT-COMMENTARY. Further study of the newly identified MSS has indicated that Battaglia's neat distinction between the un-glossed α MSS and the occasionally glossed β MSS is not accurate. The fact is that a shorter and earlier version of Boccaccio's commentary is to be found in all three branches of the *Teseida* tree: α, β and γ. Five α MSS have a short version of Boccaccio's glosses[32], as do three β MSS[33], and the single γ MS[34]. Each of the three families has a specific version of the commentary, often with variant, but authentic, readings. The α MSS have six additional glosses, which, because of their cynical observations about marriage and their sexual

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[31] While P[2] lacks no text in its first (γ) section, its second and third ($\alpha\zeta$) sections have the textual lacunae typical of that sub-family. The complete text of the *Teseida* also appears in Milano. Bibl. Ambrosiana. Cod. D, 524 inf, but this is an artificial composite by P. A. de' Bassi that was based on an α MS and a β MS. The Ambrosiana MS was the copy-text for the first incunabulum (Ferrara, 1475), which preserves the same composite text. For the de' Bassi *Teseida* MSS, see Table 5, 3b.

[32] Battaglia (pp. lv-lxx) proposes a division of the α family into two sub-groups: κ and ζ. The ζ group has a sub-family that he designates as $\zeta\zeta$. The glossed α MSS appear only in ζ (less $\zeta\zeta$), which is the largest branch of the family. (Battaglia's edition listed 11 MSS in this group, but an additional 17 MSS have been identified to date. For an updated classification of the *Teseida* MSS, see Table 5.) The five α MSS, with the sigla from the Agostinelli catalogue, and the number of the *Aut* glosses in brackets, are: **Ai**. Aix, Bibl. Méjanes, Cod. 180 [54 glosses]; **L**[7]. Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur. Cod. Rediano 150 [213 glosses]; **M**[4]. Firenze, Bibl. Naz. Cent. Cod. II, II, 27 [195 glosses]; **R**[2]. Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana. Cod. 1056 [74 glosses]; and **RL**. Roma, Bibl. Accad. dei Lincei, Cod. 44.B.12 [198 glosses]. The five glossed α MSS contain 267 glosses that also appear in *Aut*. Battaglia examined two of these five MSS. While he was aware of the 74 glosses in **R**[2] («… si leggono frequenti chiose marginali, che spiegano e illustrano nomi classici e mitologici» p. xvi), he did not recognize them as Boccaccio's. In addition, while Battaglia described the three watercolor designs in **M**[4] (pp. xxiii-xxiv), he did not refer to the 195 glosses by Boccaccio in the MS.

[33] See Table 4: *Teseida* Short-Commentary: Beta Version. The three glossed β MSS are: **L**[4]. Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur., Cod. Pluteo XC sup., 140 [188 glosses]; **A**. Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur., Cod. Ashburnhamiano 963 [68 glosses]; and **MT**. Milano, Bibl. Trivulziana, Cod. 1017 [193 glosses]. The three β MSS contain 218 glosses that also appear in *Aut*. Battaglia describes **L**[4] as the only MS containing Boccaccio's commentary: «Anzi è l'unico codice che conservi assai fedelmente le chiose boccaccesche, che nella tradizione manoscritta andarono perdute, oppure furono sostituite da altre» (p. xxix). Concerning A, he notes that the text is glossed for the first six books (p. xxx), but does not identify the glosses as Boccaccio's.

[34] P[2], the glossed γ MS (Firenze, Bibl. Naz. Cent. Cod. Palatino 352), has 134 glosses in the γ section (to VII.93.4) and 6 glosses in the α section (VII.93.5-end)]. While Battaglia refers to the glosses, he does not identify them as Boccaccio's (p. xx).

humor, might be tempting to attribute to Boccaccio. But since the α glosses burlesque the celebration of love, marriage, and the beauty of Emilia that motivates many of the epic's text and glosses, it is difficult to believe that the master would want them in a final version of his *Teseida*[35].

The nine short-commentary MSS contain 323 separate glosses – or about one-fourth of those in *Aut*. Some 60% (196) of these glosses, including the extended studies of the houses of Mars and Venus in book VII, appear in all three families[36], while 40% (127) appear in just one family. This short-commentary in α, β and γ redactions thus challenges Battaglia's theory about the composition of *Aut*, providing evidence that Boccaccio intended the *Teseida* to be a commented work long before he produced *Aut*[37]. The evidence is not surprising, however. Because medieval copies of the Latin epics often included

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[35] The glosses, with their manuscript sigla in brackets, are:

X.40.5, continuing a gloss discussing Arcita's dying wish that he could have married Emilia and that they could have spent three days as man and wife: «acciò che avessi sentito di quella dolcitudine che piace così ai frati» [L[7] M[4] RL];

X.40.7, where Arcita on his deathbed laments having not married Emilia even for a short time, in order to permit him to enter the dying Arcita laments that he had not been able to have been married to Emilia even briefly, so that she would have allowed him entry into her *places*: «*Luoghi*. Cioè donde si cava il mele.» [L[7] M[4] RL];

XII.43.7, where Teseo suggests that Emilia should not become a follower of Diana: «Non pareva a Teseo che la grandissima belleza di Emilia si dovesse perdere per andare seguitando Diana per boschi conservando castità. Ma più tosto maritarla acciò ch' ella non si perdesse il tempo et che ella postesse fare lavorare il suo giardino.» [L[7] M[4] RL];

XII.48, commenting on the statement that, in preparing for the wedding of Palemone and Emilia, everyone had forgotten the dead Arcita: «Nota che guai a chi si lascia morire; e non sta nessuno che dica, 'Moglie ama; mi vuol bene!' che, morto ch'egli, essa in due dì se ne da pace e intende a volerne un altro più giovane.» [L[7] M[4] RL]

XII.77.4, which states that Palemone and Emilia made love seven times during their wedding night: «Dice che sette volte toccò il giglio dove più giova alla femina e credesi che quella notte ne cavassi gran quantità di zucchero e di mele.»[L[7] M[4] RL];

XII.79.5-8, which refers to the Greek kings joking with Palemone the morning after his wedding: «La mattina li re greci e gli altri signori ogniuno domandav' a Palamone motteggiando con lui di diverse cose: "Sì com' era rompesi quel pannicello?" "Pianse ella come camminasti a la tua scorticata?" "Scharicasti tu dentro?" "Trovera' ve ne tu per un' altra volta?" "A chui ne giovò più?" "Farai ch' io abbi un pezuolo di quel migliaccio?" "Serbera' mi il chuoio?"» [L[7] M[4] RL].

[36] This statistic is approximate since P[2], the single γ MS, contains the γ commentary only until VII.93.4.

[37] Several other scholars have accepted Battaglia's theory that the glosses were a later creation, composed at some remove from the composition of the poem. See G. BIL-

a late classical or medieval commentary[38], it would not seem unusual for Boccaccio to conceive of the *Teseida*, his modern epic, as a glossed work. The edition of the nine *α, β* and *γ* versions of the "short" *Teseida* commentary that Edvige Agostinelli has been preparing will be a useful contribution to Boccaccio studies. It will also serve in reconstructing over-traced and faded text in a new edition of *Aut*.

GUIDO DE' RICCI AND THE CREATION OF THE ORATORIANA *TESEIDA*. An even more important tool for a new edition of the *Teseida* is a manuscript that has been in the Biblioteca Oratoriana, Naples, since the late 16th century[39]. The MS, *NO*, was copied in Tuscany (and almost certainly in Florence) in the late 1440s[40]. Although it was copied a century after *Aut* and three-quarters of a century after Boc-

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LANOVICH, *Restauri boccacceschi*, Roma, Ediz. di Storia e Letteratura, 1947[2], pp. 126-27; A. LIMENTANI, *Tendenze della prosa del Boccaccio ai margini del* Teseida*,* in «Giornale storico della letteratura italiana», 125, 1958, pp. 524-551: 529; B. PORCELLI, *Il* Teseida *del Boccaccio fra la* Tebaide *e* The Knight's Tale*,* in «Studi e problemi di critica testuale», 32, 1986, pp. 57-80: 67-68. Their conclusions are based on information in Battaglia's edition, however, and not on a study of the MSS with the short commentary. See D. ANDERSON, *Before the Knight's Tale: Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida*, Philadelphia, U Penn Press, 1988, pp. 144 and 179-80 n. 14.

[38] Boccaccio's own copy of Statius' *Thebaid* (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. 38.6) contains the traditional Statian commentary by Lactantius Placidus.

[39] Napoli, Biblioteca Oratoriana del Monumento Nazionale dei Girolimini, Cod. CF.2.6 (Pil. X.36). Cfr. B. DEGENHART and A. SCHMITT, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1968, I:4 *Süd-und Mittelitalien*, tab. 287d-290d; I:2, pp. 414-15; *VI Centenario della morte di Giovanni Boccaccio. Mostra di manoscritti, documenti e edizioni*, cit., pp. 45-46; *I Codici miniati della Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini di Napoli*, a cura di A. Putaturo Murano e A. Perriccioli Saggese, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1995, pp. 62-67 (Elena Scognamiglio); *Boccaccio visualizzato. Narrare per parole e per immagini fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, a cura di V. Branca, Torino, Einaudi, 1999, vol. II. pp. 99-103 (Maria Cristina Castelli).

[40] The watermark in the paper used for *NO* is of a type manufactured in Florence in 1446-47. (See W. COLEMAN, *Watermarks…*, cit., pp. 107-08.) Art historians have disagreed about the date for the illustrations in *NO*. Citing the work of Domenico Veneziano as an important influence, Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt date the MS after 1448, but before 1451, the year when the unfinished cupola of Florence, which they see as the model for a drawing in the MS (fol. 19r), was completed. See *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen. 1300-1450*, cit., *Süd-und Mittelitalien*, tab. 287d-290d; I:2, pp. 414-15. Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré has connected *NO* with Marco del Buono Giamberti and has dated the MS to the period 1430-1435 (*Boccaccio Visualizzato…*, cit., vol. II, pp. 34-36). But since Guido de' Ricci, the scribe of *NO*, was born in 1429 (see fn. 45), a date of 1430-1435 would be impossible. The earliest that NO could have been copied was the late 1440s, which is when the MS paper was manufactured.

caccio's death, the Oratoriana manuscript is more closely related in text and in design to Boccaccio's autograph than any other extant *Teseida* manuscript. But while *NO* has a great deal in common with *Aut*, it does not descend from *Aut*. Instead, it descends from a variant autograph of the *Teseida*, a *β* version (hereafter called NO_1) that Boccaccio would have completed after 1350. Like *Aut*, which is an authoritative *α*-text of the *Teseida* (but with a significant number of β and γ readings)[41], the Oratoriana *Teseida* is the surviving copy of the authoritative *β*-text of the poem (but with a significant number of α and γ readings).

The scribe of *NO* was Guido de' Ricci (1429-1502)[42], who announces his name in the colophon to his MS:

> Questo libro è di Ghuido di Piero di Giovanni de' Ricci da Firenze et lui l'à scritto di sua propia mano. Priegho a chiunque è fatto chortesia d'averlo in prestanza, non facci villania di non renderlo né di ghuastarlo, sicché abbiatene buona ghuardia. Che Iddio sia ghuardia di voi e di me e di tutti in perpetua. Amen[43].

Guido de' Ricci was a member of an old Florentine family that produced a saint, many churchmen, and many men of wealth and power. In addition, the family was allied by marriage with many other prominent Florentine families, among them the Machiavelli[44].

Guido's father, Piero di Giovanni de' Ricci (1397- c.1472), was inscribed in the Arte della Lana guild and listed as a *lanaiolo* in the 15th century Florentine tax records[45]. One of the minor merchant-class members of the family, Piero was not as wealthy as some of his

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[41] That is, the ultimate *α* text would be the version of *Aut* that Boccaccio copied in a gothic hand c. 1348-1350, without the additional glosses he later added to the MS and without the *α*-to-*β* revisions that he subsequently made in the text of the poem.

[42] His birth date is either 6 June (Firenze, Archivio di Stato [ASF] *Tratte*, fol. 198) or 11 June 1429 (ASF Ricci. *Memorie*. Acquisti e Doni 100. 471, citing the now lost *Libro di Nascite dei Mercanti*). For his date of death, 12 April 1502, see ASF Magistrato della Grascia. *Libro dei morti: 1457-1506.* vol. 190, fol. 299r.

[43] *NO*, fol. 138v. 673-74.

[44] An unpublished two-volume MS, ASF *Memorie*, Acq. vols. 99-100, is the best general history of the family.

[45] ASF *Catasto* (1427). Reg. 81, fols. 133v-35r; *Catasto* (1430), Reg. 390, fols. 330-34; Reg. 392, fols. 350-54; *Catasto* (1447). Ricci. *Memorie*. Acquisti e Doni 100, p. 409; *Catasto* (1469). Reg. 929, fols. 673-74 [written by Guido de' Ricci].

relatives, but was moderately prosperous. (His «imponibile», or taxable assets, in the 1427 *catasto* indicates that his wealth was in the upper 10% of the inhabitants of Florence.) Piero's family were members of the Ricci clan that occupied the Vaio gonfalone in the San Giovanni quarter adjacent to the Duomo, where the Canto de' Ricci and the church of Sta. Maria de' Ricci attest to their presence and influence[46]. Piero de' Ricci was also a minor poet who moved in the circle of Domenico Burchiello[47], but, other than the information that tax records provide, little else is known about him[48]. (The father's connections to various mid 15th century Florentine poets and humanists might explain the source of the important MS of the *Teseida* that the son copied in creating *NO.*)

Guido de' Ricci seems not to have worked as scribe or bookbinder, since no books other than *NO* have been conclusively attributed to him. The few other surviving documents in Guido's hand are a series of letters written between 1472 and 1478, when he was an agent / news-gatherer for Lorenzo de' Medici[49]. In 1479, he composed a different sort of letter to Lorenzo from the Florentine prison, the *Stinche*. Writing in the name of all the imprisoned debtors, Guido asked that he and they be released from prison so they could find employment and repay their debts[50]. His final letter, written in 1494 to Piero de' Medici, Lorenzo's son and successor, is a proposition for

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[46] In 1427, twenty-two Ricci familes lived in San Giovanni, Vaio.

[47] Sonnnets by Pietro de' Ricci appear in B. GAMBA, *Serie dei testi di lingua*, Venezia, Tipografia del Gondoliere, 1839[4].

[48] For the little information on the life of Piero di Giovanni de' Ricci, see ASF Ricci II.409, 441. The *Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato* (MAP) (1966) contains 19 letters which were written by a Piero de' Ricci between 9 July 1430 and 5 August 1459: *filza* V.283, 302, 324, 328, 331; V.583; VI.34, 39, 51, 71, 79; VII.348; IX.485, 563; XVI.29; XVII.64; LXVIII.17; C.20. Although the MAP *Inventario* attributes four of these to Piero di Giovanni, these four letters – and, apparently, the other 15 – were written by Piero di Giovacchino de' Ricci.

[49] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MAP *Inventario* II. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato XVIII, Roma, 1955. 6 luglio 1472. *Filza XXVIII.* no. 272 (roll 44); 8 luglio 1472. *Filza XXVIII* no. 180 (roll 43); settembre 1472. *Filza XXII.* no. 483 (roll 35); 21 marzo 1474. *Filza XXXI.* no. 4 (roll 51); 30 marzo 1475. *Filza XXXI.* no. 116 (roll 52); 3 magio 1475. Carte Strozziane. 1a serie. III. no. 89; 24 maggio 1475. *Filza XXXII.* no. 205 (roll 52); 18 ottobre 1475. *Filza XXXVI.* no. 1158. (roll 62); 14 novembre 1478. *Filza XXXVI.* no. 1260. (roll 62).

[50] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MAP *Inventario* III. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato XXVIII, Roma, 1957. 30 giugno 1479. *Filza XXXVII.* no. 469 (roll 64).

the creation of a *monte di pietà*, a bank that would combat usury by offering credit at reasonable rates[51]. Guido de' Ricci seems not to have spent a professional life dedicated to the arts and humanities. However, despite its 15th century spelling and its more than occasional scribal copying errors, the version of the *Teseida* that he produced as a young man promises to make a significant and lasting contribution to Boccaccio studies.

NO AS A *BETA* MS. The α family, with its 40 MSS and three subdivisions, represents Boccaccio's first version of the *Teseida*. That only five of the 29 MSS in the $\alpha\zeta$ sub-family have the short-commentary suggests that Boccaccio might have first composed an unglossed α text, then followed this with a glossed α version. The six β MSS, on the other hand, suggest a different process – a slow detachment from the α text. The most dissimilar member of the group is M^1, which has 36 unique readings that do not appear in Aut, NO, α, γ and the other five β MSS[52]. In addition, M^1 lacks text that appears in the other five β MSS[53]. Because of its significant differences from the other β MSS, Battaglia classified M^1 as a separate branch of β.

The five additional β MSS (G, MT, L^4, A, and Pr) share several variant readings[54] and have a common lacuna: a fused stanza XI.55.1+.56.2-8. But G is a mixed text that shares some readings with M^1,[55] while MT, L^4, A, and Pr share many common readings[56]. In the diagram of β, below, G combines features of M^1 and of the

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[51] 30 dicembre 1474. *Filza LXXXII*. no. 12, c. 81. (roll 105).

[52] Battaglia (pp. lxvii-lxviii) lists 48 unique M^1 readings, but 11 of these also occur in G (I.2.2; .22.4; .22.6; .26.2; .55.6; .94.6; IV.38.4; .80.3; VII.52.8; .107.8; X.55.8).

[53] VI.5.6-8 and the two concluding sonnets to the poem.

[54] Ten examples of (*Aut*, NO, α, ^{1}) vs. (G, L^4, A, Pr): X.104.2 sola] tanto; XI.7.4 diporto] conforto; XI.8.7 lagrimose] allora lagrimose; XI.15.7 frondi] fronda; XI.20.7 in etterno] il terreno; XI.23.3 nocimento] nutrimento; XII.6.4 che ora] ancor; XII.12.8 gloriosa] virtuosa; XII.80.1 alti] nobil; XII.83.5 donna] Emilia.

[55] See n. 52, above.

[56] In addition to a common lacuna (IX.78) and two omitted rubrics (I.109; IX.15), L^4, A, MT, and Pr share several common variants: I.90.3b-4, 6 … che negli emergenti/ casi dovesser lor pietosi atare; / … / con le sue donne aspettò poi Teseo] … con voci ferventi / allor difesa dovesser giovare / … / che si debbono operare in guerregiare; II.50.3 cavalier] carri; II.85.4 dubbioso] doglioso; II.85.8 dolor] pena; III.8.7 faceva] andava; IV.43.6 ched e' ci] che per te; IV.62,1 esso] Penteo; V.77.8 alcun compagni e alcun can] e altri che i cani van; V.85.7-8 e combattete ancor per tal cagione, / ch'offendervi saria contra ragione] dite chi sete e per che cagione / voi combattete e per che conditione; V.96.6 serva] donna; V.97.6 simil converra di fare] Arcita similemente fare; VI.70.2 d'amor] d'arme;

MT/ L⁴/ A / Pr group. The β short-commentary is to be found in three of the four MSS of this final group. The fourth MS, Pr, was copied in the mid-15th century by Domenico di Cassio da Narni and illuminated by Giovanni d'Antonio Varnucci[57]. If its exemplar had contained some version of the β short-commentary, Domenico di Cassio might well have omitted it since a commentary would not harmonize with the format of this luxury MS.

Note: The asterisks indicate the nine MSS with the short-commentary and
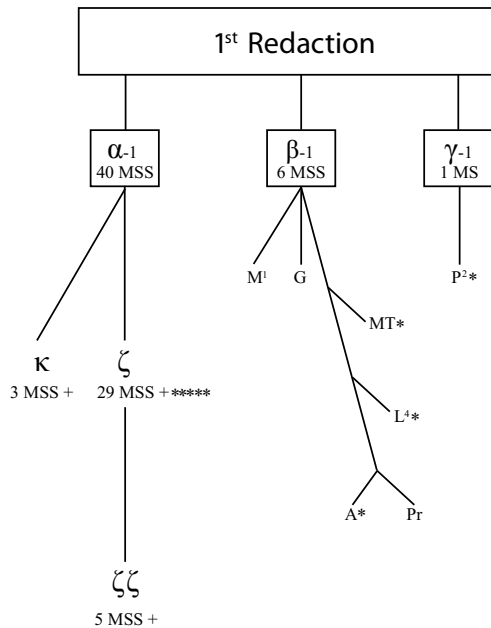
their families: $\alpha\zeta$ (Ai, L⁷, M⁴, R², RL), β (MT, L⁴, A), and γ (P²). The + at $\alpha\kappa$, $\alpha\zeta$ and $\alpha\zeta$-$\zeta\zeta$ indicates the existence of three composite MSS, consisting of sections copied from different families. For fuller information about each MS, see Table 5: *Three Redactions of the TESEIDA.*

VII.31.1 steril] terribil; VII.41.4 in preghiere] in far preghiere; IX.48.2 di gridare] festeggiare; XI.1.1 colei] Emilia; XI.1.5 lasciando] stando; XI.30.2 mugghiava] rugghiava.
[57] Identifications are courtesy of the late A. C. de la Mare.

<u>COMMON BETA IDENTIFIER: FUSED STANZA</u>. Since all β family MSS[58], *NO* included, have a fused stanza (II.29.1-6+30.7-8) that results in the loss of eight lines of text (II.29.7-8 + 30.1-6), one can conclude that this lacuna originated with Boccaccio or with an early copyst. Battaglia described the fused β family stanza as a scribal copying error resulting in an octave that makes little sense[59]. Such a judgment would be correct if the α and β texts for II.30 were the same.

In the α MSS and *Aut*, lines II.29.7-30.6 describe the death of the Argive nobles in the Theban war and the sorrow of their women who must bury them at Thebes instead of welcoming them home as heroes[60]. In II.30.7-8, the women decry Creon's tyranny and his refusal to let them bury their dead: *ma l'aspra tirannnia di que' c'ha preso /il regno dietro a lor ciò ci ha difeso*. Since the β MSS and *NO* omit the description of the death of the nobles and the Argive women's journey to bury them, Creon's *difeso* would make little sense; instead, however, the last lines of II.29 in β and *NO* describe Creon's tyranny and his having offended the women: *ma l'aspra tirannnia di que' c'ha preso /il regno dietro a lor ciò ci ha <u>offeso</u>*. These lines then introduce II.31, which specifies that Creon offended the women by forbidding the burial of their dead. What was presented as a copying error by a later scribe and a defect in the β family MSS can instead support the contention that the fused stanza and altered reading are not textual errors, but intended revisions.

But one might still wonder why, in composing the β version of the *Teseida*, Boccaccio would opt to shorten the 1238 octave (9904 line) *Aut* by eight lines, creating the 1237 octave (9896 line) β / *NO* texts. One reason might be his desire to create a work equal in length to the *Aeneid*. That Boccaccio intended the *Teseida* to be a sort of new *Aeneid* is, of course, something of a critical commonplace. As David Anderson has noted, however, the 9904 line *Aut* only approximates the number of lines in Vergil's epic. He points out that a more reliable count of the medieval *Aeneid* would be a work of either 9896 lines (if

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[58] For descriptions of NO and the β MSS (L[4], A, M[1], G, MT and Pr.), see E. AGOSTINELLI, *Catalogue…*, cit., pp. 17, 21, 24, 40-41, 44-47, and 48-49.

[59] Battaglia maintains that the fused stanza impairs the poetic narrative: «Il senso ne è storpiato e il difetto è avvertito subito» (p. liii).

[60] Note that this variant at II.30.8 occurs only in the β MSS; since P[2] does not lack text at II.29-30, γ has the same *difeso* as in the α MSS and *Aut*.

we omit the four lines that, according to Servius, prefaced the
Aeneid), or a work of 9900 lines (if we include these lines)[61]. Had Boc-
caccio understood the *Aeneid* to be a 9896 line poem, then his *Tesei-
da* would be presented as a modern equivalent of Vergil; if, on the
other hand, Boccaccio's copy of the *Aeneid* had been a 9900 line po-
em, then his *Teseida*, at four lines less, would be the poet's self-effac-
ing admission that he had not quite matched Vergil's great achieve-
ment. Since Boccaccio did not provide us with his understanding
about the number of lines in the *Aeneid*, of course, we still do not
know whether he considered his poem to be equal to Vergil. But the
more important issue is that, in constructing the β text and NO_1 (the
progenitor of *NO*), Boccaccio took the time to more precisely pose
the question of the *Teseida* and its relationship to the *Aeneid*. In ad-
dition, he provided us with another indication of his sense of the *Te-
seida* in the decade or so after his composition of *Aut*.

A̲U̲T̲ AND *NO*: Although *Aut* is largely an α MS and *NO* largely a
β MS, one is struck by their similar design and content. The two
MSS were constructed as 144 folios arranged in 18 quires of quater-
nions[62]. The poem in *Aut* and in *NO* is placed in a 40-line text-block
and is accompanied by paratexts that explain and illustrate the MS.
The contents of the two MSS are largely the same. *NO* has a prose
preface, decorated initials, 1090 interlinear and marginal glosses (vs.
1301 in *Aut*), 100 marginal parafs (vs. 104 in *Aut*), at least 60 draw-
ings[63] (vs. 59 or more drawings in *Aut*), 204 rubrics, plus introducto-
ry and concluding sonnets[64].

Boccaccio's signature / monogram.In addition to these general

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[61] Anderson points out that Boccaccio never provided a statement about the length
of the *Aeneid* and that the medieval versions of the poem were variable. His assumes a
copy of Vergil's epic including the 22 lines said to have been omitted from *Aeneid* II and
excluding the four that Maurus Servius Honoratus accepted as authentic (and which were
included in many medieval copies of the *Aeneid*). See D. ANDERSON, *Before the Knight's
Tale…*, cit., p. 142.

[62] *Aut* has subsequently lost three folios: 137a (with text: XII.47.1-.56.6), 141a
(perhaps with a final rubric and colophon), and 142b (which most likely was blank).

[63] *NO* contains 35 drawings and has space for an additional 25 drawings; Table 3
suggests that as many as six additional drawings were projected for the lateral and lower
margins of the MS.

[64] *NO* lacks one *Aut* paratext: Boccaccio's sub-linear under-dotting to indicate eli-
sion; however, this system is incomplete and a later addition to *Aut*.

characteristics, the two MSS uniquely share certain details. One common design element shared in *Aut*and *NO* is a pair of «inappropriate» initial capital letters: a painted **A** at fol. 4v and a painted **G** at fol. 7r. (See fig. I) The painted initials are inappropriate because, unlike the other 201 painted initials in both MSS, they do not appear after a rubric. The only other *Teseida* MS with something similar is P[2], the single MS in the γ family, which has an «inappropriate» capital **G** at I.36 (but no capital **A** at I.13)[65]. These painted capital letters in *Aut* and *NO* share another of design variant: unlike the other painted initials in *Aut* and *NO*, which are three lines high[66], **A** (at I.13 in *Aut*) and **G** (at I.36 in *Aut* and *NO*) are only two lines high. Another difference about **A / G** is their coloring. In *Aut*, Boccaccio alternates the colors of the painted initials on each pair of facing pages, with the first initial usually painted blue, the second red, and so forth. As a result, in *Aut*, the **A** (on fol. 4v) and the **G** (on fol. 7r) are both painted blue. In *NO*, the scribe used red ink for all but one of the painted initials, the single exception being the **A** at I.13[67], which is painted blue. But while the size and the coloring of **A** and **G** suggest that they share a common or related origin, the question remains, what the two letters might mean.

The author's remark to Fiammetta in the preface, that she will be able to recognize his conduct toward her and hers toward him[68], indicates his interest in letting his work serve both as a public offering and a means of private communication. One explanation could be

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[65] P[2], which was copied in the early 1390s (W. COLEMAN, *Watermarks…*, cit., pp. 78-80), is descended from a putative autograph (P[2][1]) that may well have had the first half of Boccaccio's «signature» at I.13 (see Table 5). On the other hand, when P[2][1] was copied, some time before *Aut* and *NO*, Boccaccio may have used only the **G** to identify himself.

[66] In *Aut*, the initials at the first octave of each book are eight lines high; those at the first octaves in NO are five (bk. I) and six (bks. II-XII) lines high.

[67] In *NO*, fol. 3r, the initial for the introd. son. bk. I and I.1, which were originally painted red, have been over-painted by a hand other than the scrbe, using a dark blue ink that differs from the azure blue at I.13. As a sort of pentimento, the original red ink is clearly visible in both painted letters. Note that red ink is used throughout *NO*: for the rubrics, parafs, and the highlighting of the initial letters in the first and the seventh line of each octave.

[68] Preface *A Fiammetta* (Limentani ed., ll. 67-71:«… ciò che sotto il nome dell'uno de' due amanti e della giovane amata si conta essere stato, ricordandovi bene, e io a voi di me e voi a me di voi, se non mentiste, potreste conoscere essere stato detto e fatto in parte …».

that **AG** in *Aut* and *NO* is an example of Boccaccio's self-identifying «signature». Scholars have pointed out the various means that Boccaccio used to identify himself, from the gigantic acrostic in the *Amorosa Visione* to various smaller modes of self-reference in his other works[69]. Beginning with the writer's personal narrative addressed to Fiammetta in the preface, the *Teseida* consistently refers to the author as the creator of the narrative. From the invocation to the Muses that begins the epic[70] until the prayer to the Muses in the first concluding sonnet[71], nine rubrics refer to the *autore* of the poem[72]. A second source of references to the author is the glosses. The first of the 1301 glosses in *Aut* introduces the *autore* and his invocation of the Muses[73], while the poem's final gloss, at the end of bk. XII, discusses the author's beloved lady as the author's inspiration during the creation of the poem[74]. The *autore* is, in fact, referred to some 60 times in the glosses to the *Teseida*. But although the author is a constant reference in the poem, his name is never given. The painted initials **A** and **G** in the first few folios of *Aut* and of *NO* may have been placed in these two important copies in order to identify the **A**utore as **G**iovanni (Boccaccio). The unique appearance of the pair of painted capitals in *Aut* and *NO* provides further evidence of the close relationship of the two MSS.

  Gloss VI.19.1-4. Another design detail shared by *Aut* and *NO* is identical – and unique – layout of the gloss that describes the entourage who followed Pelleo, king of Egina. The first half of VI.19 names the men and gloss VI.19.1-4 further identifies them. In the two MSS, the gloss is copied in the same unusual format, which is not re-

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[69] See V. KIRKHAM, *Iohannes de Certaldo: La firma dell'Autore*, in *Gli zibaldoni di Boccaccio. Memoria, scrittura, riscrittura*, a cura di M. Picone e C. Cazalé Bérard, Firenze, Cesati, 1998, pp. 455-468; EAD., *Fabulous Vernacular. Boccaccio's* Filocolo *and the Art of Medieval Fiction*, Ann Arbor, U Michigan Press, 2001, ch. 2 «Signed Pieces», pp. 76-134.

[70] rub. I.1: «… E prima la invocazione dell'autore».

[71] rub. concluding sonnet I: *Sonetto nel quale l'autore priega le Muse chi il presente libro presentino a la donna a cui istanzia è fatto …*».

[72] The author is named in rubrics I.1, VI.1, VII.108, VIII.124, XII.52, .84, 1st conc. sonnet,

[73] gl. I.1. «Nel principio del suo libro fa l'autore, secondo antico costume de' componitori, una sua invocazione…»

[74] gl. XII.86..7: «… così l'autore in questo suo navicare, cioè nel comporre di questo libro, ebbe per Orsa, cioè per fermo segno, una sua donna…».

peated elsewhere in either MS. This common design is another indication that *Aut* and *NO* had a common source. (See fig. II)

Variant readings: XI.77. *Aut* and *NO* uniquely share a provision for alternate readings of a line of the poem. The morning after their wedding, Palemone and Emilia send seven offerings to the temple of Venus, in order to thank the goddess who «sette volte raccesa e tante spenta / fosse nel fonte amoroso ...» (77.4-5). Boccaccio concludes the stanza, wryly describing the "amorous fount" as a place «... ove raro / buon pescator con util si diventa» (77.6-7). In the margin, he places a note, «*aliter* gran» to provide an alternate description of the fisherman. (See fig. III) This formal identification of a variant reading, which occurs nowhere else in the *Teseida*, is most likely Boccaccio's reminder that his modern epic was to be furnished just as the medieval copies of the classical epics, with alternate readings in the margins. It is also interesting to note that Boccaccio copies the β reading *buon* in the poem, while relegating the α reading *gran* to the margin. Even more interesting is the use that Guido de' Ricci (or the scribe of his exemplar made of the line in *NO*. Having an exemplar in the same format – with *gran* in the margin and *buon* in the poem – he first copied the β reading from the poem, then, unsure what to do with the α reading in the margin, moved that to the poem. This produced a hypermetric line describing a *buon, gran pescator*. Although the error provides an amusing example of the scribe's inexperience, it also supplies another proof of the close relationship of *Aut* and *NO*.

Common Error. *Aut* and *NO* uniquely share a copying error at the beginning of gl. VII.30.1 [ll.6-7], the long gloss describing the house of Mars: «La prima si è la qualità del luogo *della dove* è la casa di Marte». This error, which does not appear in the short-commentary MSS[75] and which has been silently corrected in the modern editions of *Aut*, is probably a conflation of two variant readings in Boccaccio's working copy of the *Teseida*[76]. Since Boccaccio did not sub-

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[75] The α reading is *la qualità del luogo*, to which the β, γ reading adds ... *dove è la casa di Marte.*

[76] Boccaccio's master copy probably contained two variant readings: an expanded α form, *la qualità del luogo della casa di Marte,* and the β, γ form, *la qualità del luogo dove è la casa di Marte.* C3, the retracer who otherwise introduced so many errors into the glosses of *Aut*, subsequently underlined *della*.

sequently correct his copying error in *Aut*, it was passed on to NO_1, the forebear of *NO* (see fig. IV).

PARATEXTS IN *AUT* AND *NO*. One very useful way of understanding the relationship between *Aut* and *NO* is to systematically examine their five paratexts in order to document how the two MSS resemble and differ from each other:

- the preface, with its argument that the tale is an allegory of his love for Fiammetta;
- the 204 rubrics that introduce, summarize and sub-divide the narrative;
- the 1301 glosses in *Aut* (and 1090 in *NO*) that explain the mythology, the classical references, and the author's intentions in the poem;
- 104 parafs in *Aut* and 100 parafs in *NO* that indicate the octaves which best express the themes and events of the narrative;
- the 60 (or more) drawings planned for *NO* and the 59 (or more) drawings planned for *Aut* that document Boccaccio's varying intentions for illustrating the *Teseida*.

Preface

Design. *Aut* and *NO* uniquely share one element of design. Beginning with the large painted initial *C*, the preface in *Aut* is divided into 37 extended sentences with prominent initial capital letters, most of which are highlighted. Almost the same system occurs in *NO*: 36 extended sentences, with a large painted initial at the first sentence, followed by capital letters, most of them highlighted. (The only variant in *NO* is the uncapitalized [111] *pervenendo*, which may well be a scribal copying error.) Many of the other *Teseida* MSS have initial capitals suggested by the sentence structure of preface; however, *Aut* and *NO* uniquely share this program of systematic capitalization and highlighted initialing.

[1] **C**ome[77]	[42] **E**	[85] **E**	[115] **Q**uindi
[6] **L**a	[46] **L**a	[86] **D**isiderando	[119] **M**ostrando
[8] **E**	[48] **E**	[91] **D**ico	[122] **D**ichiarando
[19] **O**	[58] **T**rovata	[97] **L**aonde	[126] **E**
[22] **E**	[67] **L**'	[98] **E**	[128] **G**iungendosi
[27] **T**irato	[72] **S**e	[104] **Q**uinci	[131] **E**
[30] **I**l	[75] **E**	[107] **E**	[133] **L**e
[32] **N**é	[77] **P**otrete	[109] **D**ove	[138] **M**a
[36] **S**ono	[79] **L**'	[111][**P**ervenendo]	[143] **Q**uesto
			[147] **I**o

Textual Variants. The preface in *NO* contains 22 substantive variants, which are listed below. These variant readings in the preface provide examples of three textual issues raised by *NO*, which an editor of the MS must address. The first group consists of *Aut* + α readings set against *NO* +β variants, which present no textual or linguistic difficulties and that would not require emendation in an edition of *NO*.

Group 1: β/NO Variants in the *Teseida* Preface

<u>*Aut*</u>	<u>*NO*</u>
[11] però che + $\alpha\gamma$	perchè + β
[21] io non immerito ora + $\alpha\beta\gamma$	ora io non immerito
[28] stato lungo + $\alpha\gamma$	lungo stato + β
[31] ancora che voi + $\alpha\gamma$	che voi ancora + β
[62] per rima +α	prima+ $\beta\gamma$[78]
[64] le mie exaltaste + $\alpha\gamma$	exaltaste + β
[67] che ciò + $\alpha\gamma$	che io +β
[74] due + $\alpha\beta\gamma$	i due
[79] il non avere +$\alpha\gamma$	non avere +β
[81] sì come + $\alpha\gamma$	come +β
[84] concessi +	conessi
[87] di disporre con afezione +$\alpha\gamma$	con afezione di disporre +β

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[77] The line numbering hee and elsewhere is based on the page layout in the Limentani edition.

[78] The α+*Aut* reading, «[in latino volgare e] *per rima*» is preferable to the β+NO variant *prima*; however, the reading also appears in the version and in some α MSS.

[89]   sommariamente qui appresso +$\alpha\gamma$ qui appresso sommamente +β
[111] pervenendo + $\alpha\beta\gamma$ prevenendo
[120] e riconosciuti, manifestandosi +$\alpha\beta\gamma$ manifestandosi[79]
[124] battaglia futura e i sacrificii fatti   futura battaglia e chi [vincesse]
       e da loro e da Emilia, e poi la   +β[80]
       loro battaglia e chi vincesse + α
[129] dagli altri + $\alpha\gamma$ da altri +β
[130] al seppellire + $\alpha\beta\gamma$ e il seppellire
[134] per se + $\alpha\beta\gamma$ in se
[134/5] da voi con sana mente +$\alpha\gamma$ con sana mente da voi +β
[141] suppremo +$\alpha\gamma$ superno +β
[149] dubito + $\alpha\beta\gamma$ debito

In four examples above (21, 120, 130, and 134) *Aut* plus α, β, and γ agree against *NO*. Since the *NO* reading creates no textual or linguistic difficulties, this is presumed to be an authorial variant; no emendation would therefore be required. Another group consists of four readings (74, 84, 111, and 149) where α, β, γ and *Aut* agree against *NO* and where the *NO* reading creates textual or linguistic difficulties that require emendation. In each instance the errors are due to the scribe of *NO* and will be emended in the editions.

The most striking of the above variants is [124], from the mid-section of the preface, where the narrator inserts an extended, detailed book-by-book summary of the events of the story[81]. With occasional minor variants, *Aut* and *NO* have the same text in the summaries of bks. I-VI and IX-XII. The summaries of bks. VII and VIII differ markedly, however. The prefaces for *Aut* and α refer to the sacrifices of Arcita, Palemone, and Emilia at the temples of their patron gods (VII.22-95) and to the battle that followed (VIII.1-128): «e i sacrificii fatti e da loro e da Emilia, e poi la loro battaglia» [124-25]. *NO* and β omit this important information. Beginning immediately after with a reference to Arcita's victory (VIII.129-131), *Aut* + α and *NO*

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[79] As in the case of *NO* [62] *prima* in the Group 1 readings above, while the Aut + $\alpha\beta\gamma$ reading might be preferable, the *NO* reading is acceptable.

[80] *NO vince*; $\alpha\beta\gamma$ *vincesse*. The alternate verb form, which is inconsistent with β and with Boccaccio's usage, will be emended in the forthcoming editions. Of interest is that γ combines the β reading «futura battaglia» with the α reading «e i sacrificii fatti ... e chi vincesse».

[81] [91-133].

+ *β* then relate the same summary of the rest of the story. Since the sacrifices and prayers of Arcita, Palemone, and Emilia occupy a significant part of bk. VII[82] and the battle itself occupies all but the last three octaves of bk. VIII, the omission of these important details in *NO* and *β* cannot be described as an alternate authorial version of the text. Rather, it is very likely due to a scribal copying error.

The error appears to result from an eyeskip *du même au même* in $β_1$, the source of the *β* MSS and of *NO*, which would have had two sequential lines beginning «e i sacrificii» and «e chi vincesse»:

[122] $β_1$:   «… dichiarando poi qual fosse la vita loro,
e l'avenimento di molti prencipi ad una futura battaglia
e i sacrificii fatti e da loro e da Emilia, e poi la loro battaglia
e chi vincesse …»

An eyeskip from the end of the second line to the beginning of the fourth produces

β + *NO*: «…una futura battaglia e chi vincesse …»

The only difficulty is the reversal of an initial phrase: «battaglia futura» in *Aut* is «futura battaglia» in *NO*. However, the single witness to the *γ* version, P², contains a reading that could explain the variant: «…futura battaglia e i sacrificii fatti ... e chi vincesse». The combination of the *β* (*futura battaglia*) and the *α* readings (*e i sacrifici …vincesse*) in the authoritative *γ* MS argues that the sentence was a variant in Boccaccio's notebook. Since the omission occurs in the *β* MSS, which are not directly related to *NO*, the eyeskip might have been due to a more important copyist than the scribe of *NO*. Boccaccio, who made several errors in copying *Aut*[83], or a scribe close to him

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[82] VII.22-95.

[83] Boccaccio-scribe made three types of errors while copying *Aut*: (1) Errors corrected during the original copying, (2) Errors emended in subsequent years, and (3) Uncorrected errors. The following examples are from *Aut* bk. I, with the corrections in parentheses: <u>Corrected during copying</u>: I.6.5 *sentenzia + i* (*sentenzia*); 14.8 *eru* (*era*); 17.7-6 order reversed; correct order indicated with marginal *b* and *a*; 20.5 *et pero* added in right margin; 29.6 *nascessimo* (*nascessim*); 30.7 *miglior + c* (*miglior*); 40.3 *Macroni* (*Macron*); 42.8 *volontero* (*volonteroso*); 43.7 *duca* (*duca il*); 44.7 *consiglio + a* (*consiglio*); 82.7 *furo* (*fur*); 89.3 *ordina* (*ordine*); 92.5 *niuno* (*niun*). <u>Emended in later years</u>: 8.5 *vogli* (*voglia*); 10.4 *huomi* (*huomini*); 10.5 *llei* (*lei*); 71.6 *dalducaloro* (*delduca lor*); 101.6 *adempiere* (*adempier*). <u>Uncorrected</u>: 63.5 *no v'era* (Battaglia silently emended, conforming to Boc-

may have distractedly omitted the phrase in a master copy (β_1) that at one time and in one state served as the ultimate source of the β version of the *Teseida* and at another time and in a more evolved state (β_2) served as the ultimate source of *NO*. (See Table 5)

Emending *Aut*. A particular advantage of having a similar text in both MSS is that *NO* can serve for the emendation that is necessary in *Aut*. The autograph has suffered significant water stains, spotting, and fading in the first two folios, which contain the preface. Two hands intervened in order to retrace fading or stained text in *Aut*: Boccaccio himself and, some time later, a re-tracer (C3) whose hand can be seen in more than a third of the preface.Using black ink, Boccaccio retraced text in the first 12 lines of fol. 1r[84]. C3 rescued some readings in the preface and the glosses, but at the same time introduced several errors. With a dark brown ink, C3 did considerable retracing on fols. 1v (ll.1-20)[85] and all of 2r[86].

NO, copied with dark brown ink on paper, has not suffered the fading that is common in *Aut* and has therefore not undergone any retracing. Although its β text occasionally differs from *Aut*, it can serve to validate or restore over-traced or faded text in *Aut*. Another important tool for this process was the Mondo Nuovo photographic apparatus owned by the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Firenze), which produced ultra-violet and infra-red photographs of *Aut* that were of great value in restoring the following readings in the preface[87]:

[37]*sogetti*: C3 traced *sogetti*, but Battaglia's suggestion, that the original reading might have been *subgetti*[88], is confirmed by ultra-violet photographs. (See fig. V, a)

[39] *tanto*: C3 traced *fato*, which Battaglia silently emended to the common reading *tanto* (α, β, *NO*, γ). Infra-red photography reveals the *Aut* reading to be *tāto*, the abbreviated form of *tanto* and the rea-

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caccio's usage: *non v'era*); 123.7 *donna* (Grammar requires *donne*, the form in *NO* and the αβγ MSS; Battaglia emended the reading.)

[84] [ll. 1-11]. All line references are to Preface *A Fiammetta* from the Limentani edition.

[85] [ll. 32-53].

[86] [ll. 87-119].

[87] I would like to thank dott.ssa Franca Arduini,director of the Biblioteca Laurenziana in 2005, and dott.ssa Vera Valitutto, director of the Library in 2011, who generously provided access to this equipment and staff services for its use.

[88] Battaglia, p. 4, n. 2. *NO* has *suggetti*.

son for C3's error. (See fig. V, b) The forthcoming editions will identify *tanto* as Boccaccio's original reading, rather than an emendation.

[42] *forse*: C3 traced *sia sta*. Since this lacks sense, Battaglia emended it to the *α* (and *γ*) reading *forse*. The *β* MSS have *pare* and *forse,* which the *NO* scribe misspells as *fore*. Ultra-violet photography indicates that the original reading was quite likely *forse*, the form that the new editions will identify as an original reading. (See fig. V, c)

[45] *uom*: C3 traced *buono*, but Battaglia, being unable to read the original, substituded an *α* reading, *uom*, which subsequent editors have accepted. While *(h)uom* is the most common reading in the 23 *α* MSS that have the preface, other *α* readings are *buon / buono* (8 MSS) and *ogni* (2 MSS). *NO* has *buon* and the *β* MSS have *buon(o)*. The *Aut* reading, *buono*, which is visible under ultra-violet light, will appear in the forthcoming editions.

Rubrics

The text of the preface is not especially diverse, since *Aut* for the most part has the *α* readings while *NO* has the *β* readings. The rubrics, however, present a different situation. *Aut* and *NO* have the same program of rubrics[89], quite likely 204 in number[90], which con-

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[89] The rubric for IV.42 is lacking in *NO*, but this probably is a copying error. Elsewhere in the MS, the *NO* scribe omitted two rubrics (III.49, III.50), which he subsequently recopied in the left margin, confusing their order. At IX.14, he omitted a third rubric, then, discovering his error, copied this at IX.15, with the note «è detto di sopra», followed by the rubric for IX.15, with the note «apresso». Since the theme of the story changes at IV.42, a rubric would be necessary; its lack most likely signals a fourth error, which missed the scribe's attention.

[90] F. MALAGNINI, *Il Libro d'autore…*, cit., pp. 52-55, describes 203 rubrics and envisions another two for the beginning and end of the work. Because *Aut* abruptly begins without a title (fol. 1r) and has lost two folios after the second («Risposta delle Muse») concluding sonnet (fol. 141v), one might conclude that *Aut* once contained initial and concluding rubrics. *NO*, which has the same format as *Aut* and has lost no content, does have a rubric, «Deo Gratias. Finito libro, referemus gratiam Christo.» However, *NO*, like *Aut*, does not have a rubric at the beginning of the poem. The two MSS open with an illustration: in *Aut* the author presenting his book to a lady and in *NO* the author seated and writing at his desk, while two woman stand to his right and left. In *Aut* and *NO* the preface to the *Teseida* begins and concludes without a rubric. The first rubric in both MSS appears next, introducing the sonnet that serves as the «argomento generale a tutto il libro». Based on a comparison with *NO*, I would suggest that *Aut* originally had a total of

tain more than 70 variant readings, most of them accidental variants, that will appear in the apparatus of the editions. Since the rubrics in *Aut*, α and γ agree, the three appear in the heading of the following list[91]. The six β MSS are more problematic, however, because only two of them have the complete rubric program[92]. Since M[1] contains only rubric-spaces[93], it provides no information other than the location of the rubrics intended for the text[94]. M[1] is a problematic MS because it varies significantly from the other MSS and from the standard readings. G is a sort of intermediary between M[1] and the other four MSS. These four (MT, L[4], A, Pr) seem to represent another composition on Boccaccio's part, since three of them contain the β short-commentaries. Because M[1] and the group-of-four belong to a sub-family of β[95], it is not certain whether their variants reflect common β readings or are limited to the sub-family.

The following list contains 17 substantive variants in the rubrics of *Aut* and *NO*. In ten instances, the variant is common both in *NO* and the β MSS[96], indicating that the readings are not limited to the sub-family. In three instances, where *Aut*, α, β and γ agree against *NO*, the *NO* reading is a unique variant[97]. In two instances, *NO* and β have different variant readings[98]. Finally, in two instances, certain β MSS agree with *Aut*, α and γ, while others agree with *NO*[99].

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204 rubrics, the first introducing the first line of the poem and the last after the last line of the poem.

[91] The γ text ceases after VII.93.4; P[2] was later completed by two scribes, using α MSS.

[92] L[4]; Pr. A third MS (G) has an incomplete rubric program, with rubrics in bks. I-III, VII.114-VIII.89, and occasionally in IX-XII; two MSS (M[1]; MT) have spaces for rubrics; and one MS (A) lacks any provision for rubrics.

[93] See Battaglia, p. xxi. His note, that M[1] lacks VI.5-8, needs correction; the missing text is VI.5.6-8.

[94] M[1] was copied without spaces for rubrics at IV.12, V.24, VII.29, IX.48, and XI.13 or for rubrics at the two concluding sonnets, which the MS text lacks.

[95] L[4], A, G, MT, and Pr uniquely share two common variants: an alternate reading at I.46.3-8 (G omits I.46) and a fused stanza XI.55.1 + .56.2-8. L[4], A, MT, and Pr uniquely share variants at I.90.3b-4, 6. "… con voci ferventi / Allor difesa dovesser giovare/ …che si debbono operare in guerregiare"

[96] Aut, $\alpha\gamma$ vs. *NO*, β: I.21, I.40, I.57b, II.10b, IV.79, V.37, VII.103, XI.57, XII.47, XII.67.

[97] Aut, $\alpha\beta\gamma$ vs. *NO*: I.6, I.57, I.85.

[98] Aut, $\alpha\gamma$ vs. *NO* vs. β: VI.61, XI.91.

[99] Aut, $\alpha\beta\gamma$ vs. *NO*, β-2: II.10, XI.69.

Variant Rubrics: *Aut* and *NO*

		Aut + *α γ*	*NO*
I	.6	Teseo duca d'Attene andò + *β*	Teseo andò
	.21	andarle adosso	andarle addosso con gran gente +*β*
	.40	Amazone	Amanzoni donne +*β*
	.57	a' suoi fare + *β*	fare a' suoi
		prima verso	dice verso + *β*
	.85	aspettò sicura + *β*	l'aspettò essere
II	.10	propria materia + *β*	prima materia + *β*
		Creonte	Creonte, re di Tebe + *β*
IV	.79	da Panfilo	da Panfilo, famiglio di Palemone + *β*
V	.37	con Palemone	col suo compagno Palemone + *β*
VI	.61	Assegna …suti	Disegna ... suti
			Seguita ora e ansegna …venuti + *β*
VII	.103	per combattere	per combattere per amore d'Emilia + *β*
XI	.57	furono ricolte da Egeo	furono dal vecchio Egeo raccolte + *β*
	.69	le ceneri sue	le ceneri sue a grande onore + *β*
	.91	L'epitafio d'Arcita	Come diceva l'epitafio d'Arcita
			L'epitafio del piacevole Arcita *β*
XII	.47	di fare	di fare il dì + *β*
	.67	al tempio invocato	al tempio di Venere invocò + *β*

Glosses

With its consistent mythological references, the *Teseida* is the work of Boccaccio that is most appropriate for a commentary. In addition, since Boccaccio identifies the *Teseida* as the first vernacular replica of a classical epic[100], he could be expected to produce a poem in the same format in which the classical epics circulated during the Middle Ages, that is, with an accompanying commentary. This is particularly the case for the *Teseida*, since the medieval copies of Statius's *Thebaid*, the primary source of Boccaccio's epic, commonly con-

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[100] Boccaccio's address to his book in the antepenultimate octave of the *Teseida* («ma tu, o libro, primo a lor cantare / di Marte fai gli affanni sostenuti, / nel volgar lazio più mai non veduti» 12.84.6-8) is understood as a reply to Dante's note that he had not yet found any vernacular poetry written on the subject of arms («arma vero nullum latium adhuc invenio poetasse» [*De vulg. eloq.* II 2]).

tained the glosses of the late-fourth century commentator Lactantius Placidus. Boccaccio himself owned a copy of Statius with the glosses of Lactantius, four missing pages of which he replaced, supplying his own glosses[101].

As was discussed above, a «short» form of Boccaccio's commentary in α, β and γ versions was created during the 1340s, when Boccaccio was circulating the first redaction of the *Teseida.* When Boccaccio produced *Aut* as a second redaction of the poem (c.1448-50) he provided a significantly longer commentary, copied in a version of the same gothic hand that he used in copying the poem. In the subsequent decade or more, he continued to add glosses to the MS, first using a semi-gothic hand, then a cursive hand. Ultimately and several years later, he produced NO_1, the ancestor of *NO,* as a third, β redaction of the *Teseida*.

In its present state, *Aut* contains 1301 glosses, but it originally had a few additional glosses on a folio (137a, containing XII.47.1-.56.6) that was subsequently detached from the MS. *NO* has 18 glosses in the equivalent text that was lost from *Aut*. At best, one can only speculate about the glosses that the missing *Aut* folio might have contained. *Aut* fol. 137a would have lacked glosses, XII.53 and 55, the first two in the series of nine «così» glosses in *NO* that compare Emilia's beauty with that of the author's beloved[102]. Since the remaining seven «così» glosses from *NO* do not appear on fol. 138, where the *Aut* text resumes, we can presume that Aut fo. 137a would also have lacked the first two «così» glosses. As for glosses that the missing folio might have contained, the short-commentary text can provide some help. Although the γ commentary ceases after bk. VII, the α and β MSS have one extended gloss (XII.52.1-2, which we can assume was in *Aut*); β also has two shorter glosses, which may well also have been in *Aut*[103]. In sum, while *Aut* has 308 glosses that *NO*

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[101] Boccaccio's 12th century copy of Statius's *Thebaid*, with the commentary of Lactantius Placidus (Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 38.6), lacked folios 43, 100, 111, and 169, which Boccaccio copied, supplying the commentary. The glosses, which do not appear in the commentary of Lactantius, were apparently composed by Boccaccio.

[102] XII.53, 55, 56, 58.7, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63.

[103] In emending his edition, Battaglia used a β MS (L^4) as his source for two glosses (XII.52.1a and .1-2), but chose to omit a third L^4 gloss (XII.52.1b [*Anfione*]: re di Tebe), which would be authentic since it also appears in *NO*.

lacks, *NO* contains between 81 and 97 glosses that do not appear in *Aut*[104]. The most important consideration, however, is that *Aut* and *NO* have 993 glosses in common: 76% of the 1301 glosses in *Aut* and 93% of the 1090 glosses in *NO*.

Glosses in *Aut* and *NO*[105]

Aut
(+308)

Aut + NO
(993)

NO
(+97)
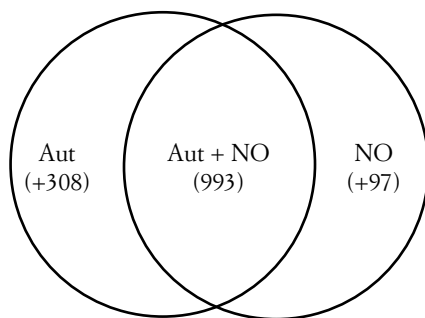
The 1398 *Aut* and *NO* glosses indicated in the above diagram are listed in Table 1. In addition, two lists of glosses appear below: (1) the ten newly identified *Aut* glosses, and (2) the 97 *NO* glosses that have no counterpart in *Aut*. The following pages provide lists of substantive variants in bk. 1 of the *NO* glosses and poem. When all the *NO* variants are published, the full text of Boccaccio's α and β versions of the glosses and the poem will finally be accessible.

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[104] The short-commentary text provides little help in resolving the question of the number of glosses in the missing *Aut* fol. 137a. The α MSS contain only gl. XII.52.1-2, the β MSS have three glosses (see n. 103), and the γ commentary ceases after bk. VII.
[105] For a list of the glosses in *Aut* and *NO*, see Table 1.

Additional Glosses in *Aut*

The following 10 glosses do not appear in the editions of *Aut*[106]. Because of their small size or because they had faded, the glosses were not identified by previous editors.

II   .31.1   [*Creon*]: re.
          .75.4   [*qua'*]: [qua]li.
III   .22.1   [*m'avene*]: cio[è] m'aviene.
IV   .14.2   [*Cadmo*]: re.
          .20.2   [*Menelao*]: re.
VIII.13.5   [*Antedon*]: re.
IX   .2.1b   [*arce*]: rocca.
XI   .23.4a   [*frassini*]: albero.
          .24.5b   [*l'alno*]: albero.
XII   .22.8   [*che io amassi etc.*]: quanto d'avere Emili[a per moglie][107].

Unpublished Glosses in *NO*[108]

I   .24.6   [*Cupido*]: idio d'amore.
          .131.2   [*Cupido*]: cioè Amore.

II   .9.5   [*Borea e Coro*]: Sono due venti.
          .26.2   *crini*: capelli.
          .45.1   [*commilitoni*]: cioè cavalieri.
          .46.4   [*e al vengiar*]:   cioè vendicare.
            .8   [*Creon*]: re.
          .94.4   [*tutta*]: la città.
          .95.8   [*vittime*]: sagrifici.

III   .son.13 [*congiò*]: cioè comiato[109].

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[106] The spelling has been normalized.

[107] Although the gloss has been erased by an unknown hand, it can be read in part under infra-red light; the emendation is based on the *NO* reading. The gloss does not appear in the three MSS with β short-commentary (L[4], A, MT). *Aut* and *NO* have a similar gloss at XII.30.1.

[108] To facilitate comparison, the spelling has been normalized.

[109] *Aut* does not gloss text at any of the introductory or concluding sonnets.

.30.5   *e quasi nude etc.*: Non credo sia vero; però ch'io scrittore ne conosco una a cui non manca se non è una virtù, e quella è la pietate.

IV   .51.8   [*Citerea*]: cioè Venere.
      .59.5   [*egli*]: Teseo.
      .74.3   [*mira*]: cioè mirabil cosa.

VI   .56.1b.   [*Foloèn*]: cavallo.
        .7   [*Irim*]: cavallo.
      .62.2   [*Ero*]: nome proprio.

VIII.89.1   [*mirando*]: maravigliando.
      .92.1   [*chiamati*]: cioè coloro ch'erano stati tratti dello stermo per forza e per sventura.
        .5   [*piati*]: cioè della battaglia.
        .6   [*difendea*]: cioè Arcita e Palemone.
      .96.4   [né costor]: cioè Arcita e Palemone.

X   .13.5   [*l'arte*]: della medicina.
      .25.3   [*che io*]: cioè per Ameto.
      .39.1   [*Giunone*]: dea.
       .2   [*Cadmo*]: re di Tebe.
        .6   [*le piace*]: a Giunone.
        .8   [*ella*]: cioè Giunone.
      .50.4b.   [*trasmutati*]: morrai.
      .56.2b.   [*figura*]: d'Emilia.
      .71.5   [*dira*]: crudele.
        .8   [*a te*]: Arcita.
      .82.2   [*mi cerchi*]: cioè mi chiedi.
      .84.4   [*risupina*]: bocconi.
      .94.8   [*eletto*]: scelto.
      .95.8   [*ploro*]: cioè pianto.
      .97.6   [*ritornante*]: cioè voler tornare nel luogo donde esso medesimo era uscito.
      .98.1a   [*Creonte*]: re di Tebe.
      .106.8   [*sovrano*]: valore.
      .111.6   [*in giro*]: cioè gli occhi.

XI   .4.8   [*la qual*]: Emilia.
      .6.3   [*conosciuto*]: cioè l'ospizio.
      .17.5   [*in quella*]: casa.
      .18.5   [*parecchia*]: uguale.

.19.4 [*facea*]: cioè ombra.
.30.4b [*Ecco*]: nome proprio.
.35.4 [*ciascuno*]: cavallo.
  .8b [*elette*]: scelte.
.37.4 [*quello*]: corpo morto.
.58.6 [*quella*]: urna.
.79.6b [*v'era*]: dipinto.
.80.5 [*v'era*]: dipinto.
  .8   [*di lui*]: Panfilo.
.85.6 [*s'inizia*]: si comincia.
.90.1 [*d'esso*]: tempio.

XII

.31.4 [*essi*]: regi.
.32.6 [*il quale*]: pianto.
.36.7 [*il piacer*]: di Teseo.
.37.3b [*mandamenti*]: e' comandamenti.
.46.3 [a *cui*]: Emilia.

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[*Aut* lacks fol. 137a: XII.47.1-.56.6, which contains the following glosses in *NO.*]

.49.3 [*d'Imeneo*]: iddio delle nozze.
  .4   [*e el*]: Teseo.
  .5   [*Egeo*]: re.
.50.1 [*soluto*]: sciolto.
.51.1 [*da molte*]: donne.
  .5   [*effigiata*]: Emilia.
  .6   [*cultura*]: ornamento.
  .8   [*e lente ver lo*]: cioè con andare donnesco.
.52.1a [*sante donne*]: Muse.
  .1b [*Anfione*]: re di Tebe
  .1-2 Mostrato è di sopra come Anfione colla dolcezza della sua cetera
       mosse i monti ad chiuder Tebe di mura. Ove è da intendere che la dol-
       cezza della sua cetera fu la forza della sua eloquenza, la quale medianti
       le Muse sì ordinò, che egli, [5] parlando ornatissimamente, indusse gli
       uomini della contrada a fare le mura di Tebe. E queste Muse invoca
       qui l'autore, dove disegnerà la bellezza d'Emilia.
  .4   [*che i'possa*]: sermone.
.53   E così è la dama mia.
  .1   [*la giovinetta*]: Emilia.
  .5   [*crin*]: capelli.
  .8   [*moto*]: andare.

.54.2   [*soluti*]: sciolti.
.55   E così là, la dama mia[110].

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.56.   E così sono quegli che impresono d'amore.
.58.7   E così è là, la dama mia che guancia ha colorita di natura.
.59.   E così propria è fatta la dama mia.
.60.   E così là, la dama mia.
.61.   E così là, la dama mia.
.62.   E così là, la dama mia.
.63.   Così è la dama mia e in ogni parte ben proporzionata, che Dio mi la
         guardi.
.66.2   [*essa*]: Emilia.
.70.5   [*passo raro*]: cioè andavano adagio.
.71.1   [*a quelle*]: mense.
.72.6c   [*tebeo*]: tebano.
.75.8   [*se n'entrò*]: nella camera.
.76.8   [*lieta*]: la notte.
.77.4b. [*tante*]: volte.
   .7   [*el si levò*]: Palemone.
.80.5   [*ministrieri*]: cioè sonatori .
.81.8   [*paesi*]: in Atene.
.82.3   [*pigliato*]: commiato.
   .8   [*che esso*]: Palemone.

Substantive Variants in Glosses: *NO*, bk. I

The final point of interest concerning the unpublished *NO* gloss-
es is the variant readings of the same glosses in *Aut.* In order to pro-
vide an idea of how often the readings differ, the following table
identifies the 20 readings in the glosses of *NO* (book I) that vary sub-
stantially from the corresponding *Aut* reading. In the list, the *Aut*
reading is followed by the *NO* reading (in boldface). The *Aut* and *NO*
readings are also collated against the short-commentary glosses of *α,*
of *γ* (P^2), and of *β*(L^4, A, and MT). Six of the *NO* glosses are unique[111].

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[110] The adverb *là* at XII.55, 58, 60, 61, and 62 serves to equate the description of
each part of Emilia's body with the corresponding part of the writer's beloved *dama*.
   [111] Unique *NO* glosses are bk. I: *della battaglia* 3.1.3; *segare le destre poppe ciascuna*
5.7.2; *l'impediva il tirare* 5.7.3; *l'animo sdegnoso* 14.1.6; *va*[*nno*]40.3.3; *atto* 132.7.1.

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Along with the seven unique *NO* readings from bk. I of the poem, which follows, these six glosses serve to establish the textual independence of *NO* and to support the claim that *NO*, like *Aut*, represents a separate authorial edition of the *Teseida*.

Book I

	Aut	]	*NO*
1.1	.4 che γ	]	**che le** L^4, MT
.3	.12 nato era $\alpha\gamma$	]	**era nato** L^4, MT
3.1	.2 l'aiuto di γ	]	**l'autore** L^4, MT
	.3 delle battaglie $\alpha\gamma$ β(L^4, MT)	]	**della battaglia**
5.7	.2 seccare tutte le destre poppe γ	]	**segare le destre poppe ciascuna**; e ciascuna si fece la destra poppa seccare L^4; ciaschuna le destre poppe seccare MT
	.3 le impedivano a tirare $\alpha\gamma$ β (L^4, MT)	]	**l'impediva il tirare**
	.4 poppa γ β(L^4)	]	**poppe** α MT
7.1	.3 figliuole γ	]	**figliuole femine** A, L^4, MT
	.6 la quale	]	**ch'**γ
14.1	.6 l'animoso sdegno γ, MT	]	**l'animo sdegnoso**; la ragione sdegnosa L^4
	.23 quegli tempi γ	]	**quel tempo** L^4, MT
40.3	.3 qui sono γ β(L^4, MT)	]	**va**[**nno**]
59.3	.5 Marte $\alpha\gamma$	]	**Marte, dio delle battaglie** A, L^4, MT
	.7 maravigliose $\alpha\gamma$ β(A, MT)	]	**miracolose** L^4
	.8 fu uno Anteo $\alpha\gamma$	]	**fu Anteo gigante** MT; tra quali fu Antheo gigante e furono sconfitti i giganti L^4, A
84.2	.8 così l'uccise $\alpha\gamma$	]	**in questo modo uccise la Idra per lo suo ingegno** L^4; in questo modo uccíselo MT
131.1-2	.2 l'una è d'oro e ha punto aguta $\alpha\gamma$	]	**l'una d'oro e ha punta appuntata** MT; l'una d'oro e appuntata L^4
	.4 nel core la più cara $\alpha\gamma$	]	**la punta cara nel cuore** MT; la purezza cara nel cuore L^4
	.5 dimostra $\alpha\gamma$	]	**mostra** L^4, MT
132.7	.1 fatto $\alpha\gamma$	]	**atto**
134.7	.1 tenuto	]	**chiamato** $\alpha\gamma$ L^4, MT

One variant reading is not included in the above table: *Aut* I.3.10 *giunto* Aut] **giunse** *α, γ, NO, β*(MT, L⁴)*. The *Aut* reading is based on one of the many faded glosses in the autograph that were subsequently retraced by a later scribe (C3) who, in trying to rescue faded text – especially in the preface and the glosses – often erred, substituting incorrect transcriptions. With the help of modern technology, it has been possible to rescue many readings in Aut that would otherwise have gone lost. The correct *Aut* reading, visible under ultra-violet and infra-red light, is *giunse*, the reading in *α, β, γ* and *NO.* The misreading, along with several other errors that scribe C3 introduced to the text, will be emended in the forthcoming editions of *Aut*.

Substantive Variants in Poem: *NO,* bk. I

The following list identifies 25 *NO* readings (in boldface) from book I of the poem that vary substantively from the *Aut* reading.The *Aut* and *NO* readings are collated against *γ* (P²) and the two MS groups of the *β* family: (1) M¹ / G, which have ties with *Aut* and the *α* family, and (2) L⁴/ A/ Pr/ MT, which, with *NO*, are the most characteristic representatives of the *β* family. Three MSS of this group – L⁴, A, and MT – contain the *β* short-commentary glosses. The *γ* readings are included in order to clarify the relationship of the *α, β,* and *γ* families; in all cases but one[112], *Aut* and *γ* (P²) agree. The six *β* MSS, which are related to *NO*, but not in a direct line, have also been collated in order to clarify their relationship with *NO* and to identify unique *NO* readings. (The list indicates that nine of the variant *NO* readings below are unique[113], while the remaining 16 appear in one or more of the *β* MSS.)

Book I

Aut	] *NO*
r 6. Teseo duca d'Attene *γ*; L⁴	] **Teseo**
6.8 follia *γ*	] **disia** M¹, G; L⁴, A, Pr, MT

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[112] I.3.13 *lor.*
[113] The unique readings in Bk.I of the poem are: r. 6 *Teseo*; 19.4 *tutta oscurata*; 21.1 *trapasse*; 22.6 *incontanente*; 47.5 *montagna*; 82.3 *per*; r.85 *l'aspettò e*; 86.1 *Non*; 117.3 *in.*

13.3	allor M[1], G	] **il lor** L[4] ; lor γ; A, Pr, MT	
19.4	tuttuta occuppata γ; M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	] **tutta oscurata**	
r21.	adosso γ	] **adosso con gran gente** G; L[4], MT	
21.1	transporta γ; M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	] **trapasse**	
22.4	di presente γ	] **prestamente** M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	
.6	tostamente γ; A[114]	] **incontanente**; prestamente G, M[1]; Pr; di presente L[4], MT	
r40.	Amazone γ	] **Amazone donne** L[4]; donne Amazone G;	
47.5	montagnetta γ; M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	] **montagna**	
51.6	tutti i canti γ; M[1], G; L[4]	] **tutti quanti** A, Pr, MT	
58.1	dispettoso γ	] **dispiato** L[4], A; dispiatato M[1], G; Pr, MT	
69.3	i luoghi γ; M[1]; L[4], A, Pr, MT	] **il luogo** G	
75.3	scavallando γ; G; L[4], Pr,	] **scavalcando** M[1]; A, MT	
82.3	in γ; A, Pr, MT	] **per**; fra M[1], G; nel L[4]	
82.6	quelli ancor γ; M[1]; L[4], A, Pr, MT	] **quelli** G	
r85.	aspettò sicura γ; G; L[4], Pr, MT	] **l'aspettò e**	
86.1	Né γ; M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	] **Non**	
107.5	per γ; M[1], L[4]	] **con** G; A, Pr, MT	
115.3	gravissimo γ; M[1];L[4], A, Pr	] **grandissimo** G; MT	
117.3	ad γ; M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	] **in**	
130.2	cari γ	] **ricchi** M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	
130.7	trapassa γ	] **avanza** M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	
137.1	donzelletta γ	] **pulzelletta** M[1], G; L[4], A, Pr, MT	
r138.	il libro primo γ	] **il primo libro del Teseida** G; L[4], Pr	

Marginal Parafs in *Aut* and *NO*

The paraf sign – ¶ – serves two functions in *Aut* and *NO*: (1) to indicate the formal divisions of the introductory and concluding sonnets and (2) to indicate the octaves of the work that the author con-

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[114] In A the MS scribe omitted a line (I.22.6), which he later supplied. The supplied line includes the $\alpha\gamma$, *Aut* reading *tostamente*, which is a variant in *NO* and the other β MSS. Since A otherwise shares all other variant readings with one or more of the L[4]/ A/ Pr/ MT group, this may indicate that when the scribe supplied the omitted line, he used an alternate MS with the ($\alpha\gamma$, *Aut*) *tostamente.*

siders important to his poem's narrative and themes[115]. The parafs in
Aut appear either in red or in blue ink, while those in *NO* are in red
ink. In both MSS, the plan is for parafs at lines 9 and 12 of the thir-
teen initial sonnets, that is, the introductory sonnet (*argomento gen-
erale*) to the whole poem plus the specific sonnet (*argomento partic-
ulare*)that introduces each of the 12 books.Parafs are also intended for
lines 9, 12, and 15 of the two concluding sonnets to the poem. *Aut*,
with 29 parafs at the sonnets, follows the plan less strictly[116], while
NO, with 32 parafs at the sonnets, adheres exactly to the plan.

Books I-XII contain 101 parafs in *Aut* and 100 parafs in *NO*.
Table 2, «Marginal Parafs in *Aut.* and in *NO*», indicates that 87 parafs
occur at the same octaves in the two MSS. In addition, *Aut* contains
evidence of Boccaccio rethinking his paraf-program during the
decade after he copied the autograph, when he was also revising the
poem and adding to the glosses. Three semi-circular designs appear
in *Aut* at the initials to VII.3, 14, and 15 (fols. 70r, 71r), copied in
brown ink. Vandelli had described the designs as "qualcosa … quale
troviamo in altri autografi del Boccacco, compreso lo *Zibaldone
magliabechiano*"[117] but Malagnini suggests that they are parafs[118].
Since three formal, red-ink parafs also appear in *NO* at VII.3, 14, and
15, one can conclude that the symbols in *Aut* do, in fact, represent
parafs; that they were subsequently added to *Aut* is indicated by their
brown ink and lack of red or blue painting. These parafs would have
been added during the decade after the original composition of the
MS, when Boccaccio was making a variety of revisions to *Aut*.

A more precise description of *Aut* would therefore be that *Aut*
contains two types of parafs: (1) 130 (i.e. 29 at the sonnets plus 101
at the octaves) that were painted in red and blue ink at the same time
and with the same ink used for the initials and rubrics, and (2) three

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[115] For a discussion of the parafs in *Aut* and their functions, see F. MALAGNINI, *Li-
bro d'autore…*, cit., pp. 38-52, table IV, and plates 1-2.

[116] The paraf is omitted at Son. I. III, l. 12. (Malagnini's note for Tab. IV, fol. 30v
needs correction. The page has two parafs, both blue: at Son. I. III. l. 9 and at III, 3.) Be-
cause marginal tracery from the painted initial occupies the space at Son. I. XII, the paraf
is omitted at l. 9. A hole in the parchment, which has subsequently been repaired, prevent-
ed a paraf at 2 concl. son. 12.

[117] G. VANDELLI, *Un autografo della «Teseide»*, cit., p. 26.

[118] F. MALAGNINI, *Il libro d'autore…*, cit., pp. 50-51.

in bk. VII that were copied in brown ink when *Aut* was subsequently revised[119]. *NO*, on the other hand, has 132 parafs, all of which were part of the original copying of the MS: 32 at the sonnets and 100 at the octaves. If the added parafs in *Aut* book VII are included, the two MSS have 90 parafs at the same octaves.

While the parafs at the sonnets have essentially the same plan, those at the octaves have different plans of organization. The most striking difference is that, while the 101 original red and blue parafs plus the three brown parafs added to *Aut* occur only in books I-V and VII, the 100 parafs in *NO* appear in ten books: I-V, VII-X, and XII. While the paraf system in *NO* was in place when the MS was copied, the system in *Aut* is incomplete and appears to represent an earlier stage of Boccaccio's thinking about the parafs.

The three additional parafs in *Aut* book VII raise a question about book VI in *Aut* and *NO*, both of which lack any parafs. Since *NO* has a complete system of parafs, this indicates that Boccaccio opted not to include any parafs in *NO* book VI. (His decision to let just its 21 rubrics comment on the events of the book might also have been inspired by the not particularly interesting catalogue of the various Greek heroes in book VI.) That being the case in *NO*, one could well assume that Boccaccio would also have chosen to leave *Aut* book VI without any parafs. As a result, *Aut* might better be described as having Boccaccio's original paraf-program of 101 parafs in books I-V, plus his revised program for books VI (no parafs) and VII (3 parafs). In this case, the paraf-program in Aut would be incomplete only for books VIII-XII. But even in this instance, *NO* might provide some idea about Boccaccio's intentions for the remaining parafs. In addition to book VI, Boccaccio also placed no parafs in *NO* bk. XI, with its sad tale of Arcita's death, funeral, cremation and burial; excluding the parafs, he left the narration of the story to the book's 15

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[119] Discussing a symbol // that Boccaccio used in *Aut* to indicate where marginal parafs were to be painted and which is occasionally visible under the painted parafs in *Aut*, Malagnini (*Il libro d'autore…*, cit., pp. 38, 50) indicates seven instances (at I 32, 34, 48, 74, 89, 124 and II 19) where these symbols have no corresponding parafs. While the three semi-circular additions in Aut have equivalent parafs in NO, these seven symbols in *Aut* have no parallel in *NO*. It might therefore make more sense to read these symbols as indicating notes for parafs that Boccaccio eventually opted not to include in a revised version of *Aut*.

rubrics. Since Boccaccio opted to omit parafs from the prototype of *NO*, book XI, one could argue that this would also have been his intent in *Aut* book XI. In effect, then, *Aut* would be lacking parafs only in bks. VIII-X and XII.

The transition from the octave-parafs in *Aut* to those in NO_1, the prototype of *NO*, did not require any significant re-arrangement, however. In comparing the different octave-parafs in Table 1, one can see that the process was one of orderly removal and substitution. In creating NO_1, Boccaccio omitted fourteen parafs in *Aut* books I-III, left book IV unchanged, added one paraf to book V[120], placed the three parafs he had already added to *Aut* book VII at the same octaves in NO_1 book VII, and added 9 parafs to NO_1 books VIII-X and XII. As a result, the incomplete*Aut*, with its 101 plus 3 parafs in six books, became the complete NO_1, with its 100 parafs in ten books.

Parafs in *Aut* and *NO*
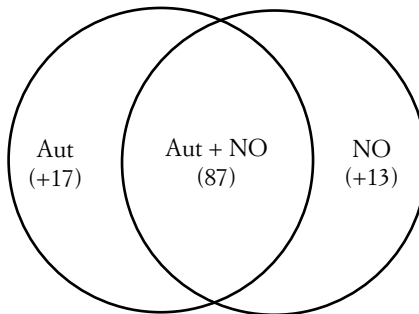
Note: For a list of the parafs in *Aut* and *NO*, see Table 2.

The question remains, however, why Boccaccio, who continued adding glosses to and revising text in *Aut* during the decade after it was originally copied, stopped adding parafs after book VII of *Aut*. If we had only *Aut*, we might wonder whether Boccaccio considered

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[120] See *NO* V.64 and note.

the parafs to be appropriate paratexts only for the first half of the *Te-seida* or whether he abandoned the program of parafs adding the pseudo-parafs, to book VII[121]. His reason was certainly not a loss of interest in the parafs[122] because the complete system of octave-parafs in *NO* argues otherwise. An answer to this question might instead be provided by the 100 parafs in *NO*, a number that represents completeness and perfection both in Dante's *Divina Commedia* and in Boccaccio's human comedy of the *Decameron*. The number 100 could also have served Boccaccio as a point of reference in the *Teseida* – or at least in the version of the *Teseida* represented by *NO*. In addition to the prose preface, the hundred octave-parafs in *NO* indicate the major themes in the work, serving as an additional reader's guide through the intricacies of the epic.

Aut therefore stands as a first version of a system of parafs. The added parafs in book VII, indicate that Boccaccio must have continued thinking about the placement and the function of the parafs during the decade after he copied *Aut*, when he was adding to the glosses and occasionally revising α readings in the poem to β readings. *NO*, with its 100 parafs distributed through the epic, represents Boccaccio's final thoughts about the parafs when he set about creating its prototype.

Drawings and Drawing-Spaces: *Aut* and *NO*[123]

Drawings and drawing-spaces: *NO* contains 35 drawings: 26 in the text-block, seven in the lower and lateral margins, and two both in the text-block and margin. Each of these drawings is indicated by an asterisk in the "theme" column of the Table 3. After the last drawing (VI.50), *NO* has spaces for 25 additional drawings in the text-block.

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[121] F. MALAGNINI, *Il libro d'autore…*, cit., p. 51.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] This volume of *Studi sul Boccaccio* also contains a study of the drawings and drawing-spaces in *NO* by dott.ssa Francesca Malagnini, whose publications on *Aut* have been a useful resource for Boccaccio studies. Having suggested that she pursue this research and having supplied some of her research tools, I am pleased that the editor has provided an opportunity for readers to appreciate two different perspectives on the same material.

Since seven (20%) of the 35 drawings in the first half of *NO* appear in the margins outside the text-block, one can assume that the second half of *NO* was also intended to include some drawings in the lower and side margins. But because the marginal drawings do not displace any text, one cannot confirm how many additional drawings might have been intended for the margins of *NO*. Our only certain conclusion is that, with its 35 drawings and 25 drawing-spaces, *NO* was meant to have at least 60 drawings. The same uncertainty applies to *Aut*. Although *Aut* might have been designed to contain marginal drawings, we can only say that, with one painted drawing plus 58 drawing-spaces in the text-block, *Aut* was meant to have at least 59 drawings.

The drawing programs for both MSS are certainly related, since 42 (70%) of the drawings or drawing-spaces in each MS illustrate the same incident in the *Teseida*[124]. (These are referred to as «common drawings» in the following discussion.) This leaves 17 unpaired drawings in *Aut* and 18 in *NO*. The common drawings confirm that the illustration program in *NO* was not the invention of the scribe, Guido de' Ricci, but rather that his exemplar for *NO* already included Boccaccio's drawings, drawing-spaces, or notes concerning drawings.

The 17 unpaired drawings in *Aut* and the 18 in *NO* might represent Boccaccio's ideas for the variant illustrations in the α and β versions of the *Teseida*. The one problem, however, is that, as far as Boccaccio's ultimate plan for the *Teseida* illustrations is concerned, we can authoritatively discuss only the first half of *NO* to VI.50. The rest of *NO* and all but the first illustration of *Aut* consist of drawing-spaces in the text-block and tantalizing blank margins that are occasionally occupied by glosses and tracery from painted capitals. In fact, only ten drawings / drawing-spaces in *Aut*[125] and seven in *NO*[126] are demonstrably unique because tracery or extended rubrics prevent the margins in the same rubric-section of the other MS from including a drawing.

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[124] Of the 42 drawings, 18 occur at the same line or octave of the poem, while the remaining 24 occur in the same rubric-block. Because of the different layout of the glosses and text-block in each MS, it is not always possible to place the drawings at the same line of text.

[125] *Aut*: I.112+, II.expl., III.48+, III.58.1+, IV.41+, V.7+, V.28+, V.83+, V.104+, XI.68+.

[126] *NO*: before the preface, *Aut* has a varient drawing; VI.18+, VI.22+, VI.42+, XI.55+, XII.51+, XII.80+.

Phantom drawings. One approach to the question whether the margins in *Aut* and those in the second half of *NO* were intended to contain additional drawings is to consider the 17 unpaired drawings in *Aut* and the 18 in *NO*. If one excludes the ten unique drawings projected for *Aut* and the seven unique drawings in *NO*, none of which can appear in the other MS, this leaves eleven drawings in *NO*[127] that might have been planned for the margins of *Aut* and seven prospective drawings in *Aut*[128] that might have been intended for the margins of *NO* after VI.50. (For the sake of discussion, these possible-but-unrealized designs can be called «phantom» drawings.)

The existence of these «phantoms» seems likely because it is unusual that several important drawings and one drawing-space in *NO* have no counterpart in *Aut*. A drawing in *NO* of the Amazons killing their husbands, for example, a deed that Boccaccio describes as the single provocation for Teseo's campaign against the Amazons[129], appropriately serves as the first illustration in the poem (I.6+). However, *Aut* appears to lack any provision for a similar illustration since its text-block lacks a space appropriate for the drawing. But while the text column of *Aut* has no space for a drawing of the Amazons killing their men, the lower margin of *Aut*[130] could easily occupy a «phantom» drawing of the scene. The text column in *Aut* also lacks appropriate drawing-spaces for four important drawings that appear in *NO*: Ipolita addressing the Amazons and receiving Teseo's envoys, Teseo's troops besieging the Amazon city, Ipolita corresponding with Teseo, and Ipolita sending ambassadors to negotiate the peace terms with Teseo[131]. Yet *Aut* could easily accommodate drawings of these events in its lower and lateral margins[132].

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[127] *NO*: I.6+, I.24.5+, I.rub.44+, I.95+, I.100+, I.115.5+, I.125.4+, IV.57+, VI.50+, XI.11.4+, XI.46+.

[128] *Aut*: VII.15+, VII.104.6+, VII.132.4+, IX.27.6+, X.rub.48+, X.68+, XI.17+.

[129] rub. I.6 «… la cagione nel quale e per che Teseo, duca d'Attene andò adosso alla reina delle donne amazone».

[130] Because of marginal tracery at a painted initial and a gloss extending into the lower margin at fol. 3v, *Aut* cannot accommodate such a drawing exactly where it occurs in *NO*. However, the facing page (fol. 4r), which is still within the same rubric-section, has ample space in the right and lower margins for a drawing of the Amazons slaughtering their men.

[131] See Table 3, *Aut*.I.112.

[132] See Table 3, notes for *Aut* I.25.6, I.45.3, I.95, I.100.6, I.118.4, I.123.3.

While *NO* raises some questions about «phantom» drawings in *Aut*, the autograph itself provides some evidence that certain of its «phantoms» were intended for the margins of *NO* (after VI.50), where the *NO* drawings cease. Several important scenes which were to be illustrated in the text-block of *Aut* seem lacking in *NO*: in bk. VII, the arrival of the troops of Arcita and of Palemone at the theater; Arcita and Palemone being knighted by Teseo; and Teseo announcing the rules of combat; in bk. IX, Emilia consoling the wounded Arcita; and in bk. X, Palemone's farewell to the dying Arcita and Emilia's final words to Arcita. While *Aut* has drawing-spaces for these important scenes, *NO* lacks them. However, the drawings could easily appear in the margins of *NO* at almost the same point of the text[133].

These «phantom» drawings are, of course, offered as a possibility. But it is more probable, especially in light of several «missing» scenes in one MS that appear in the other, that Boccaccio intended some of these drawings for the lateral and lower margins of the MS. (It is also possible, of course, that he might have intended other marginal drawings for either or for both MSS.)

The following statistics summarize the preceding discussion about the «phantom» drawings, offering the range of possibilities concerning the drawing programs in the two MSS :

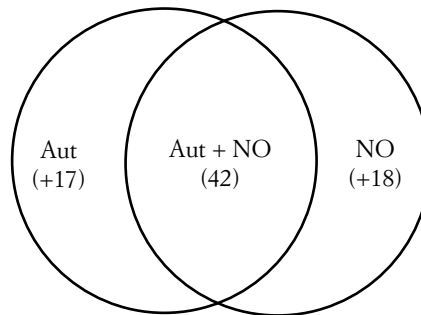| drawings	*Aut*	*NO*	
unique	10	7	[cannot appear in the other MS]
«phantom»	7	11	[might appear in the other MS]
common	<u>42</u>	<u>42</u>	[appear in both MSS]
total	59	60	

If a «phantom» drawing did appear in the other MS, this would increase its total number of drawings. Thus, while *Aut* has one drawing and 58 drawing-spaces, it might have been intended to have as many as 70 and, while *NO* has 60 drawings, it might have been intended to have as many as 67.

It is not possible absolutely to distinguish between the drawing

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[133] See Table 3, notes for *NO* VII.17.6, VII.106.4, VII.132.4, IX.27.6, X.49, X.69.

programs in *Aut* and *NO*; however it is clear that, while the two MSS
are markedly related, they also have significant differences that iden-
tify them as representatives of two different MS families.

Drawings and Drawing-Spaces in *Aut* and *NO*[134]

Aut
(+17)

Aut + NO
(42)

NO
(+18)

    Cross-gutter drawings. A layout format used in *NO* is the cross-
gutter drawing, that is, a drawing that extends over the gutter that
separates the two facing pages. Drawings such as these are particu-
larly effective for illustrating actions that, beause of their violence or
energy, literally break out of the confines of the text. *NO* has two such
cross-gutter drawings that, as it happens, may also have been planned
for *Aut*. The first, beginnning in the text-block of *NO*, depicts Teseo's
soldiers disembarking in Scizia and battling with the Amazons. The
soldiers pursue the women across the left margin of fol. 11r and in-
to the right margin of fol. 10v[135]. The drawing-space, on fol. 11r in
Aut, appears after I.74, the same point as the drawing in *NO*, and has
the same ample space in the left margin of fol. 11r and the right mar-
gin of fol. 10v for a cross-gutter drawing. The second cross-gutter
drawing in *NO* portrays Teseo and his army preparing to besiege
Thebes. The drawing begins with a few soldiers in the lower margin

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[134] For more detailed information, see Table 3.
[135] *NO*: I.70-71 (fol. 10v) and I.74+ (fol. 11r).

of fol. 23v, then, moving over the gutter, expands up into the text-block of fol. 24r, depicting Teseo and his army, and their encampment and tools of battle spread out before the walled city. *Aut* offers an opportunity for the same type of cross-gutter drawing, from the upper margin of fol. 24v to a drawing space at the top of the text-block of fol. 25r.

Paired drawings in *NO*. Another quality that distinguishes *NO* is its use of paired drawings, that is, drawings positioned on facing pages in order to complement each other. *NO* has four examples of paired drawings. The first pair of drawings, in the lower margins of *NO* fols. 18v-19r depicts two journeys, each of which represents a political transition. In the drawing, on fol. 18v, Teseo, the Amazon women, and the Athenian soldiers abandon Scizia, signaling the end of the Amazon kingdom. In the second drawing, on fol. 19r, Teseo and his soldiers enter Athens, marking his return to rule as head of state. A second pair of drawings, intended for the lower margin of *NO* fols. 60v-61r, depicts the arrival of king Pelleo in order to participate in the duel between the champions of Palemone and Arcita; on the facing page, illustrating a phrase in the poem, a group of women admire the king[136]. A third pair combines a space for a drawing of Arcita's body being brought to the funeral pyre (fol. 121v) with a space for a drawing of Emilia lighting the pyre and lamenting Arcita's death (fol. 122r). Finally, a space for a drawing of the wedding of Palemone and Arcita in the temple (fol. 135v) is paired with a space for a drawing of the wedding celebration in Teseo's palace (fol. 136r). (See fig. VIII)

These four sets of paired drawings in the lower margin of facing pages in *NO* could not have counterparts in *Aut*. In each instance, the text for these illustrations in Aut appears not on facing (verso-recto) pages, but on sequential (recto-verso) pages. The one possible instance of paired drawings in *Aut* would be two phantom drawings in *NO* – the Amazon ambassadors presenting Teseo's letter to Ipolita and Ipolita sending the women back to Teseo in order to negotiate a peace – which might have been planned for *Aut*[137]. If Boccaccio in-

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[136] See *Tes.* VI.18, 5-8: «Oh, quante donne allor fé sospirare! – E è credibil che ne innamorasse». Fol. 61r has a space for the drawing, but the artist erred, placing the drawing in the narrower lower margin of fol. 62r, where it has no connection with the text.

[137] The drawings would be in the lower margin of fols. 15v and 16r.

tended this single instance of paired drawings in *Aut*, they could have served as a model for a type of layout that he made better use of in *NO*.

Full-page portrait of Emilia:

Perhaps the most interesting variation in the *NO* illustrations is a provision for a full-page portrait of Emilia. A blank page in *NO* (fol. 133v) appropriately faces a text-page (fol. 134r) headed by the rubric, «Disegna l'autore la forma e la bellezza di Emilia …».[138] After an invocation of the Muses[139], eleven octaves[140] catalogue the lady's beauty from her hair to her feet. *NO* has a series of nine glosses on this and the next two facing pages (fols. 134v-135r) that compare Emilia's beauty with that of the poet's beloved:

fol. 134r

XII.53	[Emilia's hair]	E così è la dama mia.
.54	[Emilia's golden, loose hair]	
.55	[Emilia's forehead and eyebrows]	E così la dama mia.
.56	[Emilia's eyes that inspired Love]	E così sono quelli che impresono d'amore.

fol. 134v

.57	[Emilia's eyes (which can only be imagined) and her nose]	
.58	[Emilia's cheeks]	E così è là, la dama mia, che guancia ha colorita di natura.
.59	[Emilia's mouth, speech, and teeth]	E così propria è fatta la dama mia.
.60	[Emilia's chin and throat]	E così là, la dama mia.
.61	[Emilia's neck, shoulders and bosom]	E così là, la dama mia.

fol. 135r

.62	[Emilia's arms, hands and waist]	E così là, la dama mia.
.63	[Emilia's hips, feet and hidden part]	Così è la dama mia e in ogni parte ben proporzionata, che Dio mi la guardi.

These nine glosses, which are a unique addition in *NO*,[141] add an

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[138] rub.XII.52.
[139] XII.52.
[140] XII.53-63.
[141] *Aut* has lost fol. 137a (XII.47.1-.56.6) where the first two of the nine "così" gloss-

important dimension to the figure of Fiammetta. In *Aut* the author's beloved appears twice in the poem: Fiammetta is named at the beginning of the prose preface[142] and alluded to in the last two lines of bk. XII, with an accompanying gloss explaining that she was the guiding star whom in whose honor and for whose pleasure he composed the story[143]. In addition to these initial and final appearances, the figure of the beloved lady in *NO* makes an extended, physical appearance in these eleven octaves and nine glosses. The body of the fictional Emilia, which is praised from hair to hips, feet and hidden part, is equated with the body of the flesh and blood Fiammetta. And, to further establish the connection between the two women, the full-page portrait of Emilia that introduces these glosses is presented as a portrait of the living «dama».

<u>*NO* and the emendation of *Aut*</u>. At certain points the Oratoriana manuscript can serve in rescuing faded, incorrectly overtraced, or trimmed or missing text in *Aut*. Trimming at *Aut* fol. 41, for example, has produced a gap in the *gloss* IV.14.8 (*che doppia notte*), which describes how Giove tricked Almena by taking the form of her husband Anfitrione and impregnating her. In *Aut,* the last sentence of the *gloss* – with the textual gaps indicated by ††† – reads: "Amfitrione tornò poi quando fu fatto dì, essendosi ††† Giove partito e senza avvedersi alcuno dello inganno di Giove ††† Amfitri†††". The line in the Oratoriana manuscript reads: «Amfitrione tornò poi quando fu fatto dì, *ed* essendosi già Giove partito e senza avvederse*ne* alcuno dello inganno*, credette sempre* Amfi*trione che la donna fosse gravida di lui*».

The Oratoriana manuscript can also serve to correct *Aut* where Boccaccio seems to have been distracted or where he made a scribal error. The gloss to XI.66.6, for example, seems incomplete and truncated. «*Su vi sedea etc.* La forma di Pan, dio d'Arcadia, era questo: [...]». The brackets and ellipsis in Alberto Limentani's edition indi-

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es appear in *NO* (XII.53 and .55). But since the remaining seven glosses (XII.56-.63) are missing in *Aut* fol. 138 (XII.56.7-66.6), one can assume that *Aut* also lacked the first two.

[142] «Questa è quella Fiammetta, la luce de' cui belli occhi prima i nostri accese, e già fece contenti con gli atti suoi gran parte de' nostri ferventi disii». Preface *A Fiammetta*, ll. 16-19.

[143] XII.86.7-8 and gloss: «… l'autore in questo suo navicare, cioè nel comporre di questo libro, ebbe per Orsa, cioè per fermo segno, una sua donna, ad onore e piacere della quale egli il compose…».

cate his judgment that Boccaccio had neglected to complete the copying of the gloss. The gloss in *NO* confirms Limentani's supposition : «La forma di Pan, dio d'Arcadia, era questa: *un pastore che sonava*».

The Oratoriana manuscript can also be useful for emending *Aut* where it has been overwritten : at IV.6.7, for instance, where *Aut* reads «sanza di te, che io più che me amo», *NO* reads «sanza di te chu'io più che me amo» (a reading that Battaglia suggested was probably the original in *Aut.*, 103 n.1)

Elsewhere, *NO* calls attention to a copying error by Boccaccio-scribe. Gloss IV.21.1 describes the island of Egina, in the Aegean Sea: «perciò che Egina è forse LX miglia presso ad Attene». The distance specified in the *NO* gloss is "XL miglia". Since this is the same distance reported in all the other manuscripts which contain the gloss – and also the distance reported on the maps – it is clear that Boccaccio made a simple scribal inversion when copying LX instead of XL[144].

<u>Conclusion</u>. In certain ways, *NO* presents a more refined, more considered version of the *Teseida* than that in *Aut*. Examining the MS, one is particularly impressed by Boccaccio's refinements from the version he presented in *Aut*. The parafs, now reduced to 100 examples have been revised and more evenly spread through the poem. The illustration-program, with its four matched pairs of drawings and its provision for a full-page wedding portrait of Emilia plus a set of attached glosses comparing her body with that of the author's «dama», has been completely rethought. Fiammetta, who in *Aut* was the subject of the preface and then all but neglected until the poem's final gloss, has been placed more at the center of the narrative.

The fact is that *NO*, with its interesting variant readings and its re-imagined paratexts, must now be consulted and considered by future editors and students of the *Teseida.* With all this new evidence and with the new possibility of examining the corpus of MSS, Edvige Agostinelli and I have been preparing two complementary forthcoming editions. The digital version will offer photographs of every page in *Aut* and *NO*, plus diplomatic and edited versions of each MS. To be published by Digital Scholarly Editions (Birmingham, UK), the

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[144] That the number is reported in all its possible variants – "XL" (*NO*), "40" (A), and "quaranta" (L[4], MT) – confirms the fact that Boccaccio made a simple error in copying "LX".

digital edition will also include some 200 infra-red and ultra-violet photograhs of faded, damaged, or over-traced text. The condition of *Aut*, with its faded text, its authorial revisions at one – or sometimes two – strata below the current text of a MS page, and with the readings that Boccaccio added to the MS for several years that *Aut* was in his possession, would be quite difficult, if not impossible, to represent in a printed edition. However, a digital edition would have the capacity to represent text, under-text, and supplementary text with relative ease. In addition, the edition would facilitate textual comparison one stanza or one gloss at a time. The second is a print edition, to be published by the Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino (SISMEL, Firenze). Based on *Aut*, the edition will be collated (poem and glosses) against *NO*, so as to make the two authoritative versions of the poem available to general readers. This edition will reproduce the marginal parafs and indicate the drawings and drawing-spaces in each MS plus the under-dotting in Aut. The combination of complimentary digital and print versions will provide 21st century readers and scholars with texts of Boccaccio's *Teseida* that are finally to be published some six and a half centuries after their composition.[145]

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