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Latin to Vernacular Italian
(Laurenziano Martelli 12
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The Transmission of the *Somniale Danielis*, from Latin to Vernacular Italian (Laurenziano Martelli 12 and Riccardiano 859)

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ABSTRACT: The *Somniale Danielis* is a dream manual widely circulated in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is structured through dream symbols and their concise explanation. Medieval manuscripts of the *Somniale*—from the ninth century to the end of the fifteenth century—generally bear the same dreams, but show changes in the structure of their entries. The coherence of its symbology throughout several centuries allows for a linguistic analysis across these dream manuals that situates them in specific cultural contexts. This article focuses on two manuscripts, each containing a Latin and an Italian version of the *Somniale*, and aims to show how the Italian versions develop, and vary from, the Latin texts, as the vernacular versions simplify the language of their source text in order to create shorter entries.

KEYWORDS: *Somniale Danielis*; Dream Interpretation; Medieval Symbolism; Dreams; Daniel the Prophet; Dante Alighieri.

The *Somniale Danielis*, or *The Dream Book of Daniel the Prophet*, is a manual of dreams and their interpretation, the most popular of its kind in the Middle Ages. It consists of a list of dream symbols, arranged in alphabetical order and interpreted as portending something good or evil for the dreamer. The manual was usually structured so that key terms in the text corresponded to the subject of a dream, to which a

concise explanation was provided. The system established both quick and easy access to terms, symbols, and their meanings, and functioned as a convenient guide to dream interpretation. It serves us, too, as an important tool to understand medieval dream imaginary as well as literary visions, and to identify and describe traditional dream images. The structure of the *Somniale Danielis*, as it appears in its manuscript sources, originated in early fourth-century AD Greek manuscripts, and thrived in the Middle Ages, mainly in Latin, Arabic, and in the European vernaculars. Since the earliest Egyptian dream manuals, these books have not changed much; indeed, their structure, surprisingly, has remained the same, drawing a red thread of dream symbology through 3,200 years of history.¹

The first translation from Greek into Latin of this kind of dream book occurred, most likely, in the seventh century, but the first known witness is dated to the ninth century: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 664 (Grub 1984). Since that moment, and up to the mid-fifteenth century, these codices proliferated and were consistently copied. In my recent monograph, *Dizionario dei sogni nel Medioevo: Il Somniale Danielis in manoscritti letterari (The Medieval Dream Dictionary: The Somniale Danielis in Literary Manuscripts)*, I have reconstructed the *Somniale Danielis*'s manuscript transmission with a specific focus on the Italian vernacular tradition, which had thus far been overlooked. My monograph also presents a dictionary of medieval dream symbols based on the edition of a number of codices in Latin and in vernacular Italian. It compiles around 650 symbols and thousands of interpretations. It includes a critical apparatus with

¹ For an overview of dream interpretation from Egyptian dream manuals to the 2020 webpages, including a critical edition of Latin and Italian manuscripts and printed editions from the ninth century to 1550, see: Capozzo 2018. On the transmission of dream manuals in the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, see: Chardonnens 2018: 23–52; DiTommaso 2005: 378–89; Bach 2007. On the manuscript tradition of the *Somniale Danielis* from its Byzantine origins, see: De Stoop 1909: 93–111; Thorndike 1923: 290–302; Guidorizzi 1977: 135–55; Guidorizzi 1980; Mavroudi 2002; Oberhelman 2008; Naether 2010. For the editions and collations of one or more *Somnialia*, see: Martin 1981; Fischer 1982; Grub 1984; Berriot 1989; Wittmer-Butsch 1990: 172–81; Epe 1995; Gejrot 1995: 173–202; Semeraro 2002; Chardonnens 2007; Birrer 2008–2009: 31–55; Liuzza 2011; Harrington 2015: 315–67.

manuscripts ranging from the ninth to the fifteenth century and the first printed editions of the *Somniale* from 1475 to 1550.

Indeed, dreams were common to every individual—rich or poor, learned or illiterate—and were seen as important keys to interpreting the future of people of all classes. The *Somniale Danielis* thus gathers some traditional beliefs, first transmitted orally, that transcend social classes and specific moments in time. We may notice a consistent use of the dream symbol across time and geographical areas, as well as similar interpretations. These manuals explain dreams with very realistic descriptions, in short and simple sentences. This is why dream books are so interesting: they allow us to look at the Middle Ages through the most common aspects of its everyday life. In order to enter medieval times through its dreams and analyze its imaginary, we do not have to visualize a fantastic world. Indeed, the dream book helps recreate a world made of ordinary objects, common actions, people and professions, drinks and food, shared across time and places (Appendix 1).

The selection of the manuscripts for *The Medieval Dream Dictionary* was based on how much those manuscripts were circulated and studied, eventually creating micro-traditions that stemmed from the one that was mainstream. Another important feature of the study has been the codicological description of the manuscripts, which allowed me to highlight the specific position of the *Somniale* in relation to other texts and helped me explain the copyist's choices. I have aimed to include all the textual variants in my edition in order to offer a systematic and comprehensive approach to the medieval dream manual. The geographical provenance of the manuscripts is another important aspect of the manuscripts. A study of their linguistic variations provides an understanding of the *Somniale Danielis*'s transmission from Northern to Southern Europe (Appendix 2).

The first known Italian version of the *Somniale Danielis* is preserved at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. MS Laurenziano Martelli 12 was written at the end of thirteenth and beginning of fourteenth century, on parchment, in Latin and Italian, and by six different hands (*littera textualis*, A, fol. 1r–9v; B, fol. 12r–25v; C, fol. 26r–31v, 35r–51v; D, fol. 31v; E, fol. 32r^a; F, fol. 32v^a–34r^b). It was probably copied in Um-

bria, Città di Castello, and Tuscany. It measures 273mm x 192mm and contains III+51+II' leaves. It was copied in double columns, with a few blue and red colored capitals. The binding is in red leather and cherry wood with golden ornaments, and dates to the nineteenth century. On the spine we can read: "Miscellanea di prose e versi del MCCC e *Vita Nuova* di Dante. M.S." Around the second half of the sixteenth century, the codex belonged to first Piero di Simone Del Nero and then to Paolo Cini. In the early seventeenth century it belonged to Francesco Nori, bishop of San Miniato al Tedesco in Tuscany. Vincenzo Martelli finally bought the codex from Nori's sister around 1630. It was preserved in Martelli's house in Florence until 1958, when it was donated to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. The contents of the codex are as follows:²

fol. 1r–9v: *Conti di antichi Cavalieri* (acephalous).

fol. 12r^b–14r^a: *Proverbia Salomonis*.

fol. 14r^b–21r^a: *Liber filosoforum*.

fol. 21r^a–22r^b: *Nomina lapidum and virtutum*.

fol. 22r^b–25r^b: *Somniale Danielis* in Latin titled *La exposition de' sogni*.

fol. 25r^b–32r^a: lyrics by Dante Alighieri, Guido Cavalcanti, and Caccia da Castello.³

² On MS Laurenziano Martelli 12, see: Castellani 1998: 85–97; Rao 2001: 791–96; Alighieri 2002: 167–69; Storey 2003, 16–34; Bertelli 2004: 369–75; Bertelli 2011: 120–22; Cappozzo 2014a, 77–90; Cappozzo 2018, 66–100.

³ The lyrics are: Dante's second to seventh lyrics of the *Vita nova*: fol. 25r, *O voi che per la via d'Amor passate; Piangete, amanti, poi che piange Amore*; ff. 25r^a–25v, *Morte villana, di pietà nemica*; fol. 25v, *Cavalcando l'altr'ier per un cammino*; fol. 25v–25v^b, *Ballata, i' vo' che tu ritrovi Amore*; fol. 25v^b, *Tutti li miei penser parlan d'Amore*. The *distese* by Dante, four *petrose* and the first and the third *canzoni* of *Convivio*: fol. 26r^a, *Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro*; fol. 26r–26v^b, *Io son venuto al punto de la rota*; fol. 26v–27r, *Al poco giorno e al gran cerchio d'ombra*; fol. 27r–27r^b, *Voi che 'ntendendo il terzo ciel movete*; fol. 27r–27v, *Amor, tu vedi ben che questa donna*; fol. 27v–28r, *Le dolci rime d'amor ch'i' solia*. Two *canzoni* and four *ballate* by Guido Cavalcanti: fol. 28r–28v, *Donna me prega*; fol. 28v–29r, *Io non pensava che lo cor giammai*; fol. 29r^a, *Perch'i' no spero di tornar giammai*; fol. 29r–29v, *Era in pensier d'amor quand'i' trovai*; fol. 29v, *La forte e nova mia disaventura*; fol. 29v–29v^b, *Vedete ch'i' son un che vo piangendo*. One *ballata* by Caccia da Castello, *Poi a natura humana*, fol. 29v–30r; three *canzoni* by Dante plus one of the *Vita Nova*: fol. 30r–30v, *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute*;

fol. 32v^a–34r^b: *Somniale Danielis* in vernacular Italian, untitled (Figure 1).
fol. 35r–51v: *Vita Nova* by Dante Alighieri.

As one might expect, copies of the *Somniale Danielis* are mostly bound together with religious, astrological, and juridical works in miscellaneous manuscripts. They also appear in literary manuscripts. In the process of tracing the presence of the *Somniale* in miscellaneous literary manuscripts, I have identified and transcribed eight traditions of the work which were bound together with icons of early Italian literature in six distinct and unrecognized Latin and vernacular Italian versions. MS Laurenziano Martelli 12 has a particular importance within the research on the *Somniale Danielis* in Italy, because it combines the dream manual with Dante Alighieri's lyric poetry and *Vita Nova*. Interestingly, on the same folio of the last letter of the *Somniale*, the same copyist transcribed Dante's poetry with the same ink and pen (Figure 2).

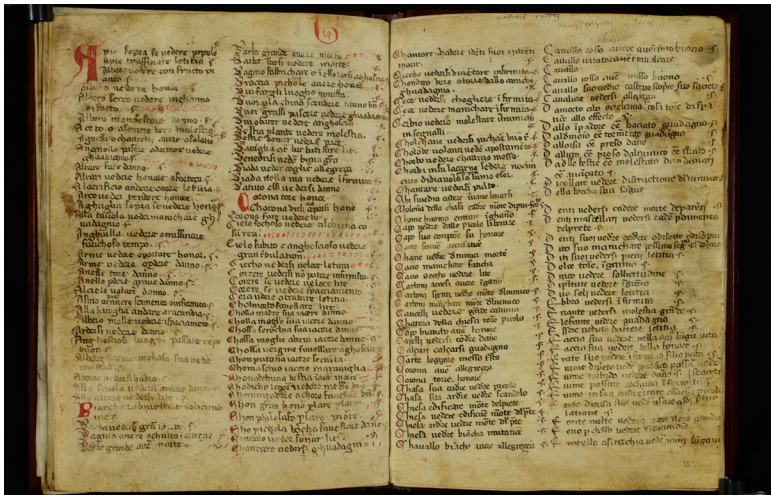


Fig. 1: Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Martelli 12, fol. 32v–33r. Reproduced with permission of MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

fol. 30v–31v, *Doglia mi reca ne lo core ardere*; fol. 31v^a, *Io sento sì d'Amor la gran possanza*; fol. 32r, *La dispietata mente che pur mira*.

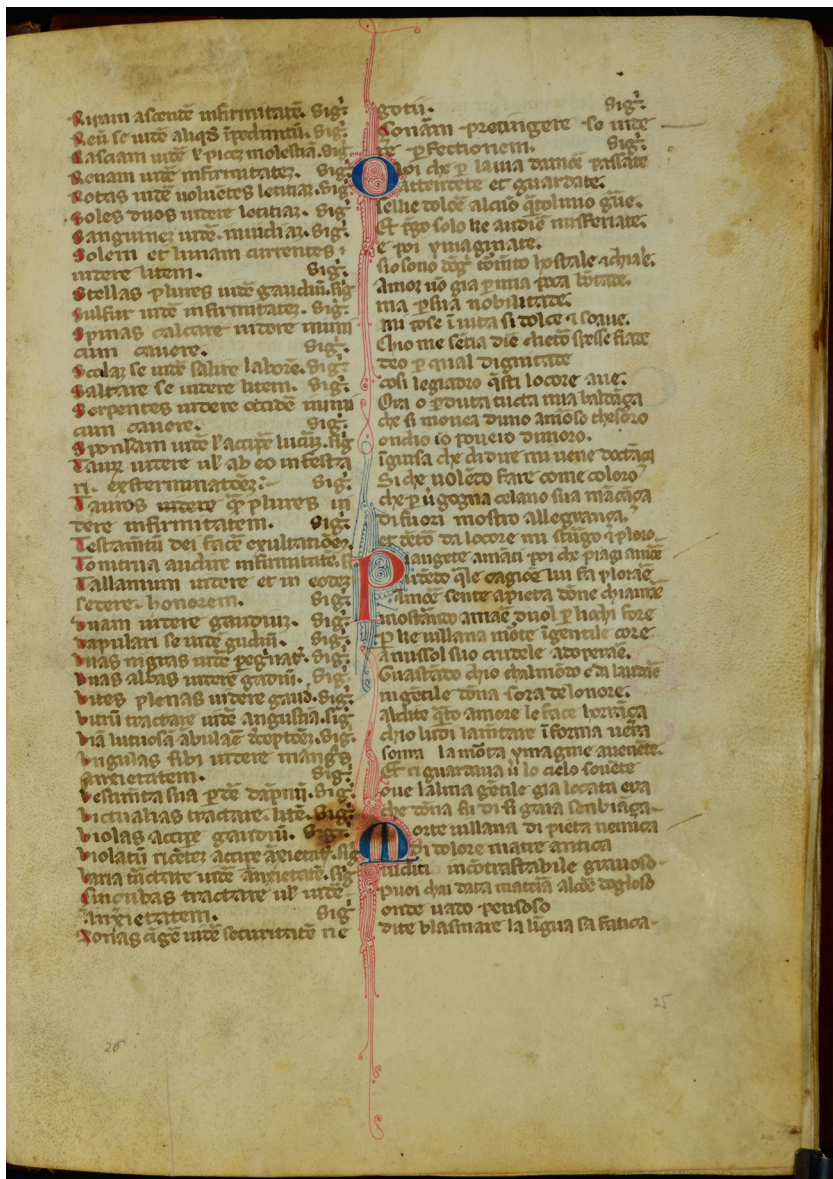


Fig. 2: Florence, The Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Martelli 12, fol. 25r. Reproduced with permission of MiBACT. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

et alibi f 12

Incipiunt somnia danielis p[ro]p[ter]

<p> Aquila sig. se volare honore sig Arare qui se vident Ingenium sig Astra celi videre magna lencia sig Atriu sig sedere labore ut iustitiam sig Atriu q se vident exprobr sig Atriu portare ut iusticie desideriu sig Atriu tendere honore ut fortunam sig Atriu tractare p[ro]p[ri]a ut iusticia sig Atriu portare securitate sig Atriu ut signa miris lucra ee sig Atrius cernit comedere dapnu sig Atriu strentu videre lucra sig Atriu capere lucra sig Atriu se ip[so] cu rostro mordere dapnu sig Atriu videre et cu eis pugnare lre sig Atriu h[er]e iudiciu sig Anulu accepit gaudiu sig Anulu p[ro]bere dapnu sig Adorare dea gaudiu sig Atriu p[ro]p[ri]e egrotatio sig Atriu p[ro]p[ri]e laboru sig Atrius audire sig dapnu Admirans videre sig bonu curu sig amplius de x. f 13 </p>	<p> Capud lauari et cu metu g[ra]tulo liberari sig Capud albu videre lucra sig Capillos tonsos videre cecumtu sig Capillos accipere tolli dapnu sig Capud tonsari sibi lucra sig Candela parvas videre aliquid sig Campana pulsare et ea audire lre sig Cantus i s[er]m[on]ib[us] racondia sig Cantus latrantes audire cu m[er]ito sig Cantus h[er]e sig Carnes recentes manducare videre p[ro]p[ri]as sig Carnes s[er]as comedere latronu sig Carceru videre securitate sig Carta p[ro]bere accusatio sig Cartas legere inimicu h[er]e sig Calculamentu noua h[er]e lucra sig Calculamentu vetera h[er]e iram sig Camide vestri securitate sig Cervice sua vclimare inimicu h[er]e sig Carnes asstas comedere ira sig Castu cecumtu videre ut comedere lucra sig Castu streu videre nullu bonu sig Castu aculeu videre magna honore sig Celi radiu videre lre g[ra]tulo sig Celi videre p[ro]p[ter] terraz expectatio sig Celi flammis videre impati sig Cecam tentare mortuos sig Cercos ardentes videre leticia sig Colubu videre gaudiu sig Codices videre ut leges bonu sig Corona videre honore sig Coronatu se videre magna honore sig Coros angelozu videre caritates lre sig Corp[us] h[er]e validu bonu sig Cu g[ra]tulo p[ro]bere lre sig Cu marito g[ra]tulo honore sig Celi ascendere honore sig Castu cecumtu comedere magna bonu sig Corona accepit ut h[er]e gaudiu sig Cera ut cercos videre gaudiu sig Cu monu leg bonu p[ro]p[ri]a sig Cantare no possit iustitiam sig Cercos plures videre dapnu sig </p>
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Fig. 3: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 859, fol. 52r, courtesy of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

Somnialis dormilis apphe que fent Tabulonia T diebus Nabubodanas
 Combato li vechi se alcuno signa sea
 1 Prendere li aucti .s. Guadagno
 1 1 Veder li aucti .s. dano
 1 1 Vendereli aucti .s. neuc
 1 1 Veder auro sig Tuidia
 1 1 Veder regento .s. Guadagno
 1 1 Prendere ando .s. Securita
 1 1 Vuere amelo .s. consplano
 1 1 Vedar armo .s. dapno
 1 1 Veder arboreu frui .s. Guadagno
 1 1 Contrare arbore .s. Bon mollaro
 1 1 Vedar lo aere chiaro .s. expedire
 1 1 Vedar lo aere turbido .s. pperio
 1 1 Estre ossegato dale bestie .s. seza ligato dal nemio
 1 1 Scuzer aereo .s. accorso .s. infirmita
 1 1 Sacticare .s. suffica lenca
 1 1 Vstire pianeda o delmantha .s. lenca
 1 1 Veder arare .s. fanga
 1 1 Vgnare la carne arrosta .s. dano
 2 1 Vdar barba .s. sea pubblico
 2 1 Vuere la barba longa .s. forza
 2 1 Vadar la barba .s. dano
 2 1 Vdar la soa barba megner .s. dardero
 2 1 Lavare nel bagno .s. ifera
 2 1 Vdar .s. ifera
 1 1 Congere la spada .s. honore
 1 1 Vuere la braga pazole .s. desolano
 2 1 Vuere le brache .s. ifermona
 2 1 Vuere grande braca .s. honora
 2 1 Dormare la belua .s. colofra geaur
 2 1 Vuere .s. dimitto
 2 1 Vdar li boui passare .s. allegria
 2 1 Vdar li boui arare .s. allegria
 3 1 Prendere corona .s. honore
 3 1 Vdar lo coruo .s. supadimero
 1 1 Pacla a li maior .s. Expeditione
 1 1 Vuere il capelo .s. pirolo
 1 1 Vuere lo capo biancho .s. Guadagno
 3 1 Vdar se lo capo a li capeli .s. forza
 3 1 Lo capo tendere .s. ingano

Fig. 4: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 859, fol. 59r, courtesy of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. Further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

This textual fact underlines not only the contemporaneity of the two literary genres and their spontaneous association, but also the potential of the popular *Somniale* as a key to the interpretation of literary works.⁴ It is, in fact, very noteworthy that in its most complete manuscript versions, the *Somniale Danielis* is bound primarily with Dante's lyric poetry, his *Vita nova*, the lyrics of Guido Cavalcanti, Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Petrarch's sonnets, Cecco D'Ascoli's *L'Acerba* etc.⁵ The reason for the integration

⁴ At the end of the *Somniale*, "Zonam percingere se videre perfectionem significat," the copyist transcribed the second, the third, and the fourth sonnets of the *Vita Nova*: 25r^b, *O voi che per la via d'Amor passate; Piangete, amanti, poi che piange Amore*; fol. 25r^b–25v^a, *Morte villana, di pietà nemica*. Among the *Vita Nova*'s poems, the first one, which speaks about Dante's dream, *A ciascun'alma presa e gentil core*, is missing in this selection. This sonnet inaugurated the theme of dream in Italian literature, and its absence is clearly important in this context. As it is widely known, this poem belongs to the literary genre of the *tenzone* and it is not a regular sonnet. Most likely, the copyist or the patron of Laurenziano Martelli 12 would have known this fact and consciously omitted the sonnet for the sake of coherence within the genre.

⁵ The other Italian MSS on which I based my edition are: (1) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Tempì 2: written in Latin and in Italian on paper, written mainly by Antonio Pucci in Florence and dated 1362 (II+169+II' leaves). It is an encyclopedic anthology of different literary, religious, and historical texts, such as: Marco Polo's *Il Milione*, Andrea Cappellano's *De Amore*, Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*, *Libro di Sidrach*, *Fioretto della Bibbia*, Guido da Pisa's *Fiore d'Italia*, Giovanni Villani's *Cronica*, etc. On this MS and its copyist, see: Pucci 1957; Varvaro 1957a: 49–87; Varvaro 1957b: 148–75, 362–88; Robins 2000: 29–70; Bendinelli Predelli 2006; Cappozzo 2018: 101–11. (2) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossiano 947: written in Italian on paper by Domenico Caronelli in Conegliano Veneto, north Italy, dated 1395 (XII+137+V' leaves). It contains one of the earliest witnesses of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, (fol. 13r–146v), Caronelli's *Epistola de una egregia, nobile e famosa dona, mandada ad un so dolce amante D. di Karonelli* (fol. 147r–148r), and the *Somniale* in Italian (fol. 148r). On this MS and its copyist, see: Branca 1991: 129–32; Branca 1998: 35–43; Cursi 2006: 77–125; Cursi 2007: 53–56; Cappozzo 2014b: 163–78; Ferracin 2016: 3–170; Cappozzo 2018: 121–22. (3) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 1724: written in Latin and Italian on paper, in Naples, dated 1455 (I+119+II'). It contains Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*, one sonnet by Antonio da Ferrara to Francesco Petrarca and Petrarca's reply, the *Lamento di Bernabò Visconti*, the *Somniale Danielis* in Latin and seven couplets in Latin. On this MS, see: Martin 1981: 21–23; Limongelli 2008: 103–17; Cappozzo 2018, 126–27. (4) Florence,

of the popular-scientific genre of the *Somniale Danielis* in these authors' work can perhaps be explained by the fact that they valued, more than other writers, the oneirocritic tradition from Artemidorus Daldianus (second century CE) to the mystical theories of the thirteenth century.

The MS Riccardiano 859 offers a summary of this oneirocritic tradition and is the second manuscript to contain both a Latin and an Italian version of the *Somniale*. It will be used below in the analysis of the transmission of the work in both languages (Figures 3 and 4).

Noticeably, this mid-fifteenth century manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence is entirely dedicated to dream interpretation. It contains three *Somnialia*: two in Latin (the second is a fragment of only four entries) and one in vernacular Italian. In both manuscripts, Laurenziano Martelli 12 and Riccardiano 859, the Italian version is a partial translation of the Latin text, and can be considered an evolution in which new entries were added while others were deleted.

Riccardiano 859 was written in Latin and Italian on paper, c. 1460, in northern Italy, in Lombardy and Veneto (II+62). The modern binding is made of cardboard with a dust cover. It contains the following works:⁶

fol. 1v: Alberto Magno, *De fato*, art. I, arg. 8.

fol. 2r–51v: the *Oniricriticon of Achmet* translated into Latin by Leo Tuscius in 1176.

fol. 52r–54r: *Somniale Danielis* in Latin.

fol. 54v–55v: Ali ibn Abīr-Rijāl, *De iudiciis astrorum*, III, 12-13; Catherine of Siena, *Legenda Minor*, ch. IX.

Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1258: written in Italian on paper at the end of fifteenth century, c. 1495, in Florence, Tuscany (III+136+II' leaves). It contains many literary, religious, prognostic texts and prophecies, such as: Domenico Cavalca's *Trattato della pazienza, Dcretionone de' dieci Comandamenti, Li sette Salmi penitentiali, Prophezie di Daniel propheta e di Sancto Giovanni Evangelista nello Apochalipse, et di Sancta Brigida e d'altri antichi propheti*, an Italian *Somniale Danielis*, and a *Lunario*. The florentine printed edition is based on the Italian version of the *Somniale Danielis* (Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri, c. 1496) owned by Leonardo da Vinci and used to interpret his dreams (Cappozzo 2018:1–6). On this MS, see: Morpurgo 1881: 320–24; Cappozzo 2018: 168–73.

⁶ On MS Riccardiano 859, see: Martin 1981: 29–30; Cappozzo 2018: 144–67.

fol. 56r: Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, IV, ch. L.

fol. 56r–v: biblical passages on dreams: *Genesis* 28:12; 37:6–7, 9; 40:9–10, 16–17; 41:1–7; *Judges* 7:13–14; *Daniel* 2:28–29, 31; 4:1–2, 7–9; *Amos* 3:7; *Numbers* 12:6; *Jacob* 33:15, 16–17.

fol. 57r: Michael Scot, *Liber physiognomie*, II, ch. XLV.

fol. 57v–58r: dream interpretation using *Psalms*; mantic alphabets; Roger Bacon, *Opus Maius*, *Causae erroris*, I, IV; tricks for dream interpretation using astronomy and alchemy.

fol. 58v: Thomas Aquinas, *Compendium theologiae ad fratrem Regynaldum*, I, CLXII; dream interpretation according to the influence of planets.

fol. 59r–60v: *Somniale Danielis* in vernacular Italian.

fol. 61v: *Somniale Danielis* in Latin, *Somnia extrata per alfabeti* (fragment of four dreams).

fol. 61v–62: blank.

In both manuscripts, the most relevant differences between the Latin and the Italian versions of the *Somniale Danielis* are of three kinds: a) grammatical: vernacular Italian tends to reduce the length and complexity of the entries; b) changes in the interpretations; c) insertion of new entries not present in the Latin *Somnialia*.

The analysis of two similar versions of the *Somniale* in a same codex, in which the Italian version changes and expands the Latin work, illustrates the simplification of the language in the vernacular version and the creation of shorter entries (Appendix 3): “*Altare edificare sacerdotis exitum significat*” (“To build an altar means the death of a priest”), becomes in Italian something more generic and concise: “*Altare fare danno significa*” (“To build an altar means damage”). We can also notice the simplification of some symbols, from “*Barbam sibi tondere vel radere videre dampnum significat*” (“To shave or trim your beard means damage”) to “*Barba farsi vedere morte significa*” (“To see yourself shaving means death”). In this last Latin example, the term ‘damnum’ means ‘damage’ as well as ‘loss,’ while the Italian translates it with a more generic ‘death.’ A similar process can be seen in this other example, now involving variation both in the symbol and the interpretation: “*Cum mortuo loqui vel aliquid ab eo accipere bonum significat*” (“To talk with a dead person or to get something from him/her means something good”); “*Chol morto*

favellare lite significa” (“To talk with a dead person means an argument”).

Vernacular Italian translations of the *Somnialia* aimed to provide a simpler and more practical access to the manual, and are thus telling of its changing audience. The complexity of the Latin versions may imply a more straightforward and literal interpretation of dreams, linked to an ecclesiastical use of the book, whereas the vernacular texts would have been aiming at a larger, secularized, audience. This transformation, both linguistic and practical, may be illuminating of a growing need for individuals to come to terms with their own dreams through personal interpretation. This, in turn, may help understand why early Italian poets wrote about dreams in their poetry, as, indeed, both dreams and verses require interpretation.

Appendices

Appendix I

Most common dream symbols and interpretations

ANIMALS

Ant	Bear	Bee	Birds
Bull	Camel	Crane	Crow
Deer	Dog	Dolphin	Donkey
Dove	Dragons	Eagle	Eel
Elephant	Ermine	Firefly	Fish
Flea	Fly	Fox	Goat
Goose	Hare	Hen	Horse
Kite	Lamb	Lion	Lizard
Mouse	Mule	Octopus	Owl
Ox	Oyster	Pheasant	Pig
Ram	Rooster	Sheep	Snake
Sparrow	Toad	Wolf	

OBJECTS

Ball	Bell	Belt	Bowl
Bridge	Cable	Candelabra	Candle
Chair	Chalice	Charcoal	Clock
Codex	Coins	Column	Crown
Gate	Glass	Gravestone	Helmet
Iron	Keys	Knife	Lamp
Nail	Needle	Organ	Oven
Paper	Pitcher	Pitchfork	Plow
Pot	Ring	Shoes	Sickle
Sink	Stick	Table	Wax
Wheels			

FOOD AND DRINKS

Apple	Beans	Brad	Cheese
Chickpeas	Citrus	Eggs	Fava bean
Figs	Flour	Fodder	Grapes
Honey	Lard	Leek	Meat
Milk	Olive oil	Onion	Pasta
Pear	Pepper	Pickle	Polenta
Pomegranate	Pumpkin	Roots	Salami
Salt	Sugar	Sweets	Vinegar
Walnut	Water	Wheat	Wine

PEOPLE AND PROFESSIONS

Abbot	Ancestor	Barber	Brother
Castrato	Child	Companion	Cook
Criminal	Custodian	Dead	Doctor
Egyptian	Emperor	Enemy	Eunuch
Exile	Father	Fencer	Fighter
Fortune-teller	Friend	Gambler	Gladiator
Guard	Guest	Hermit	Husband
Innkeeper	Judge	Killer	King
Knights	Man	Master	Monk
Mother	People	Philosopher	Prisoner
Prostitute	Queen	Rude person	Sailor
Seducer	Sick person	Singer	Sister
Soldier	Thief	Virgin	Weaver
Wife			

ACTIONS

To argue	To arm	To avoid	To bandage
To be born	To be thirsty	To behead	To betray
To bless	To blush	To breastfeed	To build
To burn	To bury	To climb	To command
To commit suicide	To crown	To crucify	To cry

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To dance	To deflower	To descend	To deteriorate
To die	To dress	To drink	To earn
To eat	To escape	To exalt	To fall
To fight	To fish	To fly	To fornicate
To fowl	To free	To get drunk	To get sick
To go	To go out	To graze	To grow
To guard	To harvest	To hear	To hit
To hoe	To hunt	To infest	To invoke
To judge	To jump	To kill	To kiss
To laugh	To lie	To lose	To make
To marry	To migrate	To mow	To note
To obey	To observe	To offer	To paint
To play	To plow	To praise	To pray
To provoke	To read	To reap	To rejoice
To ring	To rise	To row	To run
To rush	To sacrifice	To sail	To see
To seed	To shave	To shout	To sing
To sit	To sleep	To stone	To study
To swim	To talk	To tame	To tie
To undress	To venerate	To violate	To vomit
To walk	To wander	To wash	To weave
To wet	To win	To work	To wound

Most common interpretations of dream symbols

POSITIVE

Advantage	Cheerfulness	Consolation	Excitement
Friendship	Good	Good business	Good event
Good times	Happiness	Honor	Joy
Life	Peace	Profit	Prosperity
Release	Safety	Security	Strength
Thoughtfulness	To be aware of the enemy	To be freed	To be in grace

NEGATIVE

Accusation	Anger	Anguish	Anxiety
Argument	Damage	Danger	Death
Deception	Decline	Detriment	Discord
Distress	Envy	Fight	Harshness
Ignorance	Illness	Infirmity	Injustice
Obstacle	Struggle	Trouble	Vanity

Appendix 2

Selected manuscripts and printed editions of the Somniale Danielis

LATIN VERSIONS OF THE *SOMNIALE DANIELIS* (ed. = edition)

- 9th century Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS C 664, fragment D–Z, fol. 101r–111r, 312 dreams (Grub ed. 1984; Epe 1995).
- 10th–11th century Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 271, fol. 76v–77v, 158 dreams (Förster 1911; Martin ed. 1981; Fischer 1982; Grub 1984).
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 235, fragment A–F, fol. 39v–40r, 54 dreams (Martin 1981; Grub 1984).
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 567, fol. 34r–37r, 114 dreams (Grub 1984; Epe 1995).
- Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXII, fragment A–O, fol. 220r–221v, 110 dreams.
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. III, fol. 27v–32v, 302 dreams (Förster 1911; Martin ed. 1981; Fischer 1982; Grub 1984; Epe ed. 1995; Chardonnens ed. 2007; Liuzza ed. 2011).
- London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D. XXVI, fol. 11v–16r, 159 dreams (Martin 1981; Fischer 1982; Grub 1984; Epe 1995; Chardonnens ed. 2007).

- 12th century Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 103, fol. 75r–77v, 144 dreams (Förster 1911; Grub 1984).
- 13th–14th century Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86, fol. 34v–40r, 514 dreams (Förster 1911; Martin 1981; Fischer 1982; Grub 1984; Epe 1995).
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS T. 81 Sup., fol. 147r–151v, 141 dreams (Martin 1981).
- Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Vittorio Emanuele 1511, fol. 241v–244v, 359 dreams (Semeraro ed. 2002).
- London, British Library, MS Royal 12.C.xii, fol. 81v–86r, 275 dreams (Martin 1981; Harrington 2015).
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Martelli 12, fol. 22r–25r, 355 dreams.
- Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Holmiensis D4, fol. 207v–211r, 364 dreams (Gejrot ed. 1995).
- 15th century Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 1724, fol. 110r–118v, 1455, 495 dreams.
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 859, fol. 52r–54r, 311 dreams.
- Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, MS alfa.w.8.20, fol. 25r–27r, 181 dreams.

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Oxford, All Souls College, MS 81, fol. 232r–238v, 716 dreams (Martin ed. 1981; Grub 1984; Epe 1995).

PRINTED EDITIONS IN LATIN

- 1475 *Somnia Danielis*, Padua, Albrecht von Stendal.
- c. 1475 *Interpretationes seu somnia Danielis prophete revelata ab angelo missus a deo*, Rome, Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck.
- 1478-79 *Interpretationes seu somnia Danielis prophete*, Rome, Johann Bulle.

ITALIAN VERSIONS OF THE *SOMNIALE DANIELIS*

- 13th century Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Martelli 12, fol. 32v–34r, 272 dreams.
- 14th century Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Tempi 2, fol. 144v–149r, 1362, 226 dreams.
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossiano 947, fol. 148v, 1395, fragment A–C, 87 dreams.
- 15th century Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 89 sup. 35, fol. 10r–19r, Giovanni di Ghirigoro, 1468, 432 dreams.
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 859, fol. 59r–60v, 191 dreams.
- Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1258, fol. 82v–88r, 446 dreams.

PRINTED EDITIONS IN ITALIAN

- 1487 *De alcuni insonii de Daniel et li insonii de Joseph*, Bologna, Bazalerius de Bazaleriis e Angelus de Rugeriis.
- c. 1496 *E' sogni di Daniel profeta*, Florence, Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri.
- 1504 *Questi son gli insonii che quando l'homo se insonia de vedere la sua revolutione*, Milan, Ioannes Angelus Scinzenler.
- 1515-25 *Insonio de Daniel. Questo sie el modo de veder le significatione de Daniel propheta secondo li di dela Luna*, Rimini (reprinted c. 1550 in Venice by Giovanni Andrea Valvassori il Guadagnino).

Appendix 3

Below is a comparative table exemplifying the changes between the Latin and Italian versions of dream symbols in MSS Laurenziano Martelli 12 and Riccardiano 859. The table helps us visualize the development of the dream manual across centuries, and the tendency to simplification in the Italian version of each entry.

Laurenziano Martelli 12 Latin (13 th century) fol. 22r ^b –25r ^b	Laurenziano Martelli 12 Italian (14 th century) fol. 32v ^a –34r ^b	Riccardiano 859 Latin (14 th century) fol. 52r–54r	Riccardiano 859 Italian (14 th century) fol. 59r–60v
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A

Anulum accipere lucrum significat. <i>To receive a ring means profit.</i>	Anelli torre significa danno. <i>To receive rings means damage.</i>	Anulum accipere gaudium significat. <i>To receive a ring means joy.</i>	Prendere anello securità significa. <i>To take a ring means security.</i>
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Arma videre vel portare honorem significat. <i>To see or to carry weapons means honor.</i>	Arme vedere o portare honor significa. <i>To see or to carry weapons means honor.</i>	Arma portare securitatem significat. <i>To carry weapons means security.</i>	Vedere arme dapno significa. <i>To see weapons means damage.</i>
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B

Balneum fabricare vel in eo se lavare anxietatem significat. <i>To build a bath or to wash yourself in it means anxiety.</i>	Bagnio fabbricare o in esso lavarsi significa angohscia. <i>To build a bath or to wash yourself in it means anguish.</i>	Balneo facere tedium significat. <i>To have a bath means boredom.</i>	Lavare nel bagno significa tristitia. <i>To wash in the bath means sadness.</i>
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Barbam sibi videre
magnam detrimentum
significat.

*To see a big beard on
yourself means damage.*

Barba grande avere
significa morte.

*To have a big beard means
death.*

Barbam magnam
et prolixam habere
lucrum significat.

*To have a big long
beard means profit.*

Avere la barba longa
significa forteza.

*To have a long beard
means strength.*

C

Cartas scribere
accusationem significat.

*To write documents means
accusation.*

Carte scrivere significa
accusatione.

*To write documents means
accusation.*

Cartam scribere
accusationem
significat.

*To write a document
means accusation.*

Leggere la carta
negotio.

*To read a document
means business.*

Cecum se videre fieri
egritudinem significat.

*To see yourself becoming
blind means illness.*

Ciecho vedersi
diventare significa
infirmità.

*To see yourself becoming
blind means illness.*

Qui se viderit
cecum seditionem
significat.

*Who will see oneself
blind means sedition.*

Vedere sé ceco
significa cadere in
peccado.

*To see yourself blind
means to fall into sin.*

D

Dentes sibi cadere
alicuius parentis
detestationem.

*Your teeth falling out
means the hate of some
relative.*

Denti vedersi cadere
significa morte de'
parenti.

*To see your teeth fall out
means the death of your
relatives.*

Dentes cadere
morte aliquis
significat.

*Falling out teeth means
the death of someone.*

Cadere li denti de
sopra significa morte
d'altri.

*Falling out molar teeth
means someone's death.*

[...]

[...]

Adorare Deum
gaudium significat.

*To worship God means
joy.*

Orare Deo significa
alegreza.

*To pray to God means
joy.*

E

Equum album se videre
vel sedere negorium
bonum significat.
*To see or to seat on a white
horse means good business.*

Cavallo bianco avere
significa allegrezza.
*To own a white horse means
joy.*

Equum album videre
et super sedere lu-
crum significat.
*To see a white horse
and to seat on it means
profit.*

Montare a cavallo
biancho significa
alegreza.
*To straddle a white
horse means joy.*

Equum rubeum se videre
[e]ventum bonum
significat.
*To see a red horse means a
good event.*

Cavallo rosso avere
significa avvenimento
buono.
*To own a red horse means a
good event.*

Equum russum vel
flavum super sedere
bonum significat.
*To seat on a red or
yellow horse means
something good.*

Vedere cavalli rosati
o flavi significa
tristitia.
*To see a red or yellow
horse means sadness.*

F

Fatiam suam formosam
videre actum novum et
honorem significat.
*To see that your face is
beautiful means new deed
and honor.*

Facia sua vedere bella
significa honore.
*To see that your face is
beautiful means honor.*

Faciem suam videre
formosam honorem
significat.
*To see that your face is
beautiful means honor.*

Vederse la soa
faza bella significa
honore.
*To see that your face is
beautiful means honor.*

Flores accipere vel
colligere inimicos cavere
significat.
*To receive or to pick flowers
means being aware of the
enemies.*

Fiori torre o cogliere
significa il nimico
guardarsi.
*To receive or to pick flowers
means being aware of the
enemy.*

Flores in arboribus
videre gaudium
significat.
*To see flowers in a tree
means joy.*

Perdere fiori
significa calopnia.
*To lose flowers means
calumny.*

G

Grandinem videre
dampnum significat.
To see hail means damage.

Gragnuola vedere
significa danno.
To see hail means damage.

Grandinem videre
dampnum vel litem
gravem.
*To see hail means dam-
age or a big argument.*

Vedere grandine o
tempestate significa
dapno.
*To see hail or storms
means damage.*

Gradus ascendere videre vel descendere letitiam significat. <i>To see someone climbing steps up or down means happiness.</i>	[...]	Gradum vel montem ascendere laborem significat. <i>To climb a step or a mountain means strain.</i>	Montare li gradi significa fatica. <i>To climb steps means strain.</i>
H			
Hortum habere letitiam significat. <i>To own a garden means happiness.</i>	Horto avere letitia sig- nifica. <i>To own a garden means happiness.</i>	Ortum videre gaudi- um significat. <i>To see a garden means joy.</i>	Fare orto significa alegreza. <i>To make a garden means joy.</i>
Hospitem in domo sua introire videre invidiam significat. <i>To see a guest entering your house means envy.</i>	Alberghatore in chasa sua vedere significa invidia. <i>To see an innkeeper in your house means envy.</i>	Hospites habere invidiam significat. <i>To have guests means envy.</i>	[...]
I			
Cum imperatore vel rege loqui dignitatem magnam significat. <i>To talk to the emperor or the king means great dignity.</i>	Chon imperadore o chon re favellare significa bene. <i>To talk to the emperor or the king means good.</i>	Cum imperatore habitare gadium significat. <i>To live with the emperor means joy.</i>	Parlare cum lo imperadore significa dignità. <i>To talk to the emperor means dignity.</i>
Incendia in quocumque loco videre tristitiam significat. <i>To see a fire in any place means sadness.</i>	Incendio in qualunque casa significa avrai vedu- to pericolo d'essa casa. <i>To see a fire in any house means you will see danger for that house.</i>	Incendium videre scandala vel pericula significat. <i>To see a fire means scandals or dangers.</i>	[...]

L

Lardum tractare
aliquem parentum suum
mortuum.
*To handle lard means a
dead relative.*

Lardo rimenare significa
parente morto.
*To handle lard means a
dead relative.*

Lardum sepelire
mortuum per an-
num significat.
*To bury lard means
death in the course of
the year.*

Tractare lo lardo
significa superar la
morte de altrui.
*To handle lard means
to overcome someone's
death.*

Lunam sanguineam vid-
ere dapnum significat.
*To see a blood-red moon
means damage.*

Luna sanguinosa vedere
significa danno.
*To see a blood-red moon
means damage.*

Lunam sanguineam
videre detrimentum
significat.
*To see a blood-red
moon means damage.*

Vedere la luna
sanguinea significa
pericolo.
*To see a blood-red
moon means danger.*

M

Manus lavare molestiam
significat.
*To wash hands means
trouble.*

Mani lavarsi significa
molestia.
*To wash your hands means
trouble.*

Manus suas lavare
molestiam significat.
*To wash your hands
means trouble.*

Lavare le mano
significa purgasse dal
pretado.
*To wash your hands
means to confess your-
self to the priest.*

Mare turbulentum et
sanguineum videre
dampnum significat.
*To see a rough and
bloodred sea means dam-
age.*

Mare torbido vedere
significa danno.
*To see a rough sea means
damage.*

Mare commotum
videre tumultum
significat.
*To see a rough sea
means disorder.*

Vedere lo mare
turbolado significa
tristitia.
*To see a rough sea
means damage.*

N

Navem ascendere
honorem autem
nuntium bonum.
*To board a ship means
honor or good news.*

Nave salire significa
honore.
*To board a ship means
honor.*

Naves videre
nuncium bonum
significat.
*To see a ship means
good news.*

Vedere navilio signi-
fica buon messaggio.
*To board a ship means
good news.*

Nudum se currere
videre expeditionem
videre.
*To see yourself running
naked means release.*

Innudo vedersi correre
significa spacciamento.
*To see yourself running
naked means release.*

Nudum se
perfectum videre
letitiam significat.
*To see yourself com-
pletely naked means
happiness.* [...]

O

Oleum in domo sua ha-
bere letitiam significat.
*To have oil in your house
means happiness.* [...]

Oleum super se fun-
di lucrum significat.
*Oil being poured above
you means profit.* Prendere olio
significa allegrezza.
To take oil means joy.

Organum cantare
videre amicum cavere
significat.
*To hear an organ playing
means being aware of a
friend.* [...]

Organa audire litem
significat.
*To hear organs means
an argument.* Tractare o audire
organi significa ira.
*To handle or to hear
organs means anger.*

P

Panem candidum habere
vel videre letitiam
significat.
*To have or to see white
bread means joy.* [...]

Panem album
manducare lucrum
significat.
*To eat white bread
means profit.* Magnare pane
biancho significa
guadagno.
*To eat white bread
means profit.*

Pilosum se videre
detrimentum significat.
*To see that you are hairy
means damage.* [...]

Pilosum se factum
videre incrementum
significat.
*To see that you are-
hairy means increase.* Vedere piloso
significa forteza.
*To see that you are
hairy means strength.*

Q

Quadrigas videre
anxietatem significat.

*To see a horse chariot
means anxiety.*

[...]

[...]

Cadere o scendere
de la quadriga carro
significa honore.
*To step or to climb
down from a horse
chariot means honor.*

[...]

[...]

[...]

Odire parlare i
quadrupedi significa
fuga de' nemici.
*To hear quadrupeds
speak means enemies
running away.*

R

Ridere aut gaudere
se videre tristitiam
significat.

*To see yourself laughing or
rejoicing means sadness.*

[...]

Ridere in sompnis
tristitiam significat.

*To laugh in a dream
means sadness.*

[...]

Ripa ascendere
infirmiorem significat.

*To go up a river bank
means illness.*

Ripa salire significa
infirmiorem.

*To go up a river bank
means illness.*

Ripam descendere
bonum tempus
significat.

*To go down a river
bank means good times.*

Scendere la ripa
significa bon seguito.
*To go down a river
bank means good con-
tinuation.*

S

Sanguinem videre invi-
diam significat.

To see blood means envy.

Sanguine vedere significa
invidia.

To see blood means envy.

Sanguinem si videris
de celo descendere
dapnum significat.

*If you see blood fall-
ing from the sky that
means damage.*

Cadere sanguine de
corpo significa
dapno.

*Blood dripping from
the body means dam-
age.*

Serpentes videre
occidere inimicum
cavere significat.
*To see someone killing
snakes means being aware
of the enemy.*

Serpenti vedere significa
il nemico nuocere.
*To see snakes means dam-
aging the enemy.*

Serpentes occidere
inimicos superare
significat.
*To kill snakes means to
overcome your enemies.*

Incalsare lo serpente
significa spartire o
sperzare lo nemico.
*To chase a snake means
to split or to hit the
enemy.*

T

In tabulam te pingere
longam vitam significat.
*To paint yourself on a
board means a long life.*

In tavola dipingere
significa lunga vita.
*To paint on a board means
a long life.*

Tabulam se pingere
longam vitam
significat.
*To paint yourself on
a board means a long
life.*

[...]

A tempestatibus se
cedere vel videre
honorem significat.
*To remove yourself from
a storm or to see it means
honor.*

[...]

Tempestatem videre
lucrum significat.
*To see a storm means
profit.*

Vedere grandine o
tempestate significa
danno.
*To see hail or storms
means damage.*

U

Ungulas sibi videre
magnas anxietatem
significat.
*To see your nails means
great anxiety.*

[...]

Ungulas incidere
molestiam et locum
mutare significat.
*To cut your nails means
trouble and a change
of place.*

[...]

Uvam videre gaudium
significat.
To see a grape means joy.

Uva vedere significa
allegrezza.
To see a grape means joy.

Uvam claritatem
videre incrementum
significat.
*To see a clear grape
means increase.*

[...]

V

Vestimenta sua perdere dampnum significat.

To lose your clothes means damage.

Vestimenti suoi perdere significa danno.

To lose your clothes means damage.

Vestimenta sua videre comburi dapnum significat.

To see your clothes burning means damage.

Vedere i suoi vestimenti bruciati significa inganno.

To see your clothes burned means deception.

Vites plenas videre gaudium significat.

To see a grapevine laden with grapes means joy.

Vite vedere allegrezza significa.

To see a grapevine means joy.

Vites maturas videre letitiam seignificat.

To see ripe grapevines means happiness.

La vite cum la uva significa alegrezza.

A grapevine with grapes means joy.

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