

Dante Alighieri

# Monarchia

A DIGITAL EDITION

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This electronic edition of the *Monarchia* is dedicated to the memory of  
Gianfranco Contini.

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## Preface to the second edition 2019

The first edition of the electronic *Monarchia*, which came out in 2006, appeared in two forms: a DVD-ROM, and a web site hosted and managed by Scholarly Digital Editions (SDE), one of the original co-publishers. Since 2006 the DVD-ROM has been superseded as a technology; the platform on which the web site was built is still fully functional, but plans are underway to replace it with a more up-to-date version.

In the intervening years, in parallel with the evolving technology, there has been a significant development in our knowledge of the transmission history of Dante's treatise: a very early manuscript, not taken into account by editors of the text up to that point, came to light and was first closely analysed in 2011. Understandably, this new manuscript aroused a great deal of interest among *dantisti*. Both these considerations – the technological and the scholarly – make a new, updated version of the electronic edition timely.

This second edition, unlike the first, is available only as a web site. This web site is hosted and managed by the Società Dantesca Italiana (SDI), the second of the original co-publishers. The new site will be freely available to scholars, researchers and students at no charge. A parallel site, technologically updated and also free to users, is planned by SDE; the two sites will have links to one another. The content of the two new sites is broadly similar but not identical, as I explain below.

In this SDI version of the electronic edition, the new manuscript (London, British Library, Add. 6891: henceforth Y) has been incorporated into the scholarly presentation. Images and a diplomatic transcription stand alongside the images and transcriptions of the other manuscripts; the readings of the new manuscript have been integrated into the critical Apparatus or Variants file. This new Apparatus takes on a different form from the apparatus as it appeared

in the first edition (where it was called Word Collation), while still offering a complete record of the textual variation in the treatise, from beginning to end, word by word, paragraph by paragraph.

The first edition gave the textual material in two forms: a regularised version (from which spelling and formal variants had been removed), and an unregularised version (which showed the extraordinary variety of spelling and formal variants in the mss.). Spelling and formal variants, interesting in themselves, have no bearing on textual substance or on the stemmatic relationships between the witnesses. This new edition offers the regularised textual material in three forms: a default complete Apparatus (the file lists every word of the Latin text of the *edizione nazionale* [henceforth *EN*] and every manuscript at each word); Positive (those words of the Latin text where there are no variants in any manuscript have been eliminated); and Negative (where only the mss. with variants and their readings are listed, while the mss. which have the *EN* reading have been eliminated from the display). This third Negative version of the Variants file offers readers a more economical and focused presentation of the textual material than the old Word Collation. While it is a pity to have lost the Show Original Spelling Forms option, which gave the full display for all the mss. at the click of a button, those spelling and formal variants are readily viewable for any given manuscript by going to the image and transcription for that witness.

The way the images, transcriptions and variant files interrelate on screen has also changed in this new edition, offering the user a far wider range of options for viewing the material. By choosing from the drop-down menu on the far left in the menu bar, it is possible to see any of the following combinations side by side: ms. image + ms. transcription + apparatus; ms. image + ms. transcription; ms. image + apparatus; ms. transcription + apparatus; *EN* Latin text + ms. transcription + apparatus; *EN* text + ms. transcription; *EN* text + apparatus; *EN* text + English translation; *EN* text + Italian translation; *EN* text + apparatus + stemma; ms. image + apparatus + stemma; ms. transcription + apparatus + stemma; apparatus + stemma. The

Italian translation is that of Alessandro Ronconi – a version I have always admired for its readability and style. (Because Ronconi's translation was based on a Latin text where Book III had only fifteen chapters rather than the sixteen of the *EN*, a small adjustment to the numbering of the chapters in the Italian translation has been made from III xi on. The original numbering is recorded alongside in square brackets.) The user can also choose to see any one of the available options on its own: ms. image, ms. transcription, variants, Latin text of the *EN*, English translation, Italian translation, stemma. This allows for greater flexibility for readers using screens of different sizes or interested only in one aspect of the display. Navigating around the site is as simple and intuitive as it has always been; indeed, arguably more so. The software used for enlarging the images, which replaces the Zoomify software used for this purpose in the first edition, is far simpler and speedier to use.

Users of this electronic edition are urged to read the detailed account of the methodology of the transcriptions (III. The Transcriptions), and to consult the separate sections devoted to the particular characteristics of each manuscript (VIII. Transcription Notes). Scribal notes, glosses and comments are now included in the transcription, where previously they had been in the margin; they are accessed by clicking on the Scribal Notes icon § within the transcription itself. These scribal notes include the whole of the Cola di Rienzo commentary in ms. Z. Editorial notes on particular difficulties or points of interest in any given manuscript are accessed by positioning the cursor over the Editorial Notes icon [\*] within the transcription itself.

The Introduction of 2006 remains just as it was, with minimal adjustment here and there to include ms. Y as necessary. In general, where the original version spoke of the DVD-ROM, this has been amended everywhere to the electronic edition or web site. The History of the Project also remains unchanged and continues to offer a thought-provoking overview of the astonishing speed with which digital technology has evolved in recent decades.

Two substantial sub-sections on ms. Y have been added in the Witness Descriptions and Transcription Notes sections. The central sections on The Methodology of the Edition and Emendations to Ricci's Text have not been updated; they are reproduced just as they were in the first edition. Readers wishing to see how ms. Y fits into the stemmatological argument, and to follow the rich debate which has developed around this topic, should consult my book: Società Dantecca Italiana. Edizione Nazionale. Strumenti 1. *Il ms. London, British Library Add. 6891 della 'Monarchia'*, edizione diplomatica a cura di Prue Shaw, Firenze, Le Lettere, 2018 [henceforth Shaw 2018], as well as the updated final sections of the Bibliography on this web site.

The bibliography has been comprehensively updated. Editions, books and articles which have been published since 2006 are listed in a supplement at the end of each section of the original bibliography. A new section containing Conference Acts and Miscellanies, arranged chronologically, has been added at the end.

What is missing from this second edition in comparison with the first are some of the features linked to Peter Robinson's *Collate* and *Anastasia* software, both soon to be relaunched in a new version: thus there are no VMaps alongside the textual variants, as there are in the SDE version; nor the valuable VBase facility which permits complicated searches in groups of manuscripts. Both, it is planned, will re-appear on the new SDE version of the website, where they will be updated, and where Robinson's expertise will guarantee their survival. That web site, as mentioned earlier, will be reachable by link from this one.

To the names of Jennifer Marshall, Andrew West and Peter Robinson, all involved with the creation of the original website, in their roles respectively of Research Assistant (JM), Technical Assistance and Anastasia Programming (AW and PR), must now be added those of Paolo Furieri and Antonio Glessi, creators of the new web site for the Società Dantecca Italiana. To all five of them my heartfelt thanks for their patience, good humour and invaluable advice as the project has taken shape over the years. My warmest thanks also to

two friends of long standing: Paola Laurella, staunch ally at the Società Dantesca Italiana, who for twenty-five years has shared my belief that philology and information technology could work fruitfully together to enhance our understanding of the manuscript transmission of Dante's works; and David Robey, Emeritus Professor of Italian Studies at the University of Reading and Digital Humanities Consultant at the Oxford e-Research Centre, for his advice and support in setting up the new web site.

# I. Introduction 2006

## *General*

A critical text of any medieval work which survives in multiple manuscript copies is, as Gianfranco Contini was in the habit of saying, *un'ipotesi di lavoro*, a working hypothesis. Assuming that we have no autograph copy and that, as is almost invariably the case, surviving copies are already several (and often many) generations removed from the original, the text reflects or embodies the best hypothesis the editor is able to construct to explain the inter-relationships among the individual extant copies, and the relationship of all of them to the author's original. This hypothesis, formulated after scrupulous analysis of all the available evidence, should ideally account for the facts as economically as possible (respecting the principle of parsimony), and leave as little as possible unaccounted for. On the basis of this hypothesis the editor then proceeds to a reconstruction of the words of the original which is as close to the form in which the author wrote them as the evidence allows. The discovery of additional evidence in the form of new manuscripts may well provoke a need to re-examine and refine the hypothesis, or, in extreme cases, abandon it and attempt to formulate a new one. The crucial point reflected in the notion of a working hypothesis is that no critical edition of such a text will ever be definitive, any more than a scientific theory can be: the possibility that new evidence may come to light will always exist and will always have the potential to alter our perceptions of the existing material. Only an unwise or presumptuous editor would claim that an edition was definitive. At best, it will be definitive for its time.

The history of critical editions of the *Monarchia* – a text which survives in multiple manuscript copies, of which the very earliest date from some three decades after Dante's death – can usefully be

thought of in these terms. Each new editor has built on the work of predecessors in a continuous evolving process, as fresh manuscripts have come to light, or known manuscripts have been subjected to more rigorous scrutiny and analysis. In the light of new evidence or increased methodological refinement one ‘working hypothesis’ is supplanted by another – the new text, it is always hoped, being closer to what Dante actually wrote. It is in these terms that the relationship of the present edition to the previous Edizione Nazionale edited for the Società Dantesca Italiana by Pier Giorgio Ricci<sup>1</sup> is best understood: that edition provided the *punto di partenza*, the launch pad without which this one would not have come into existence. If in the pages which follow some aspects of Ricci’s work are occasionally criticised, it is within a broader context of clear and acknowledged indebtedness. The relationship of Ricci’s edition to those of his predecessors in the field, Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte can be viewed in a similar way, although the hypotheses embodied in their work were implicit and a matter of inference rather than explicit formulation.

### *The evidence available to scholars*

Before attempting an account of the history of critical editions of Dante’s treatise in these terms, it will be useful to remind ourselves of the evidence currently at the disposal of scholars, in order to gain a clearer perspective on the chronology by which this evidence has come to light and been absorbed into the process of scholarly engagement with the text over the last 150 years. The basic materials on which an editor of the *Monarchia* is working today are the twenty-one manuscripts of the text currently known to exist (one of which is incomplete), and the first printed edition of the treatise.<sup>2</sup> These manuscripts are listed below, identified by the sigils which have traditionally been assigned to them and grouped chronologically, not by date of transcription but according to the order in which they became known to scholars. Those in the first group (\*\*\*) have been known since the nineteenth century, when they were used by Karl Witte in his ground-breaking edition of 1874;<sup>3</sup> the

second group (\*\*) was available to Ludwig Bertalot, who published an important edition of the treatise in 1918;<sup>4</sup> the third group (\*) was available to Pier Giorgio Ricci, whose Edizione Nazionale appeared as part of the Dante centenary celebrations in 1965. Finally, three manuscripts have come to light since 1965; they appear at the end of the list with no asterisk.

Enrico Rostagno, who edited the *Monarchia* for the Società Dantesca Italiana volume *Le Opere di Dante* which marked the centenary in 1921<sup>5</sup> (still a version sometimes cited by scholars) had at his disposal the same material as Bertalot.<sup>6</sup> To examine these two editions of the treatise, which appeared within the space of three years, and to compare and contrast their use of and evaluation of the textual material, is a fascinating exercise, although it is inevitably hampered by Rostagno's decision neither to explain his editorial procedures and choices, nor to present the evidence on which they were based. Rostagno's edition has no introduction and no apparatus, and to the best of my knowledge he left no account of how or why he made the editorial choices he did.

### *The surviving manuscripts*

The tabulation which follows adapts and updates a not dissimilar presentation of the material on pp. 30-31 of Gianfranco Folena's article 'La tradizione delle opere di Dante Alighieri' in the *Atti* of the centenary conference held in Florence in 1965:<sup>7</sup>

- A \*\*\* Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 119 inf.
- F \*\*\* Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, Feliniano 224
- H \*\*\* Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 212<sup>8</sup>
- L \*\*\* Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, LXXVIII 1
- M \*\*\* Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, XXX 239



- P \*\*\* Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1729
- V \*\*\* Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, 4534
- B\*\* Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. folio 437<sup>9</sup>
- D\*\* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4683
- E \*\* Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnham 619
- G \*\* Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1590
- T \*\* Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 642
- C \* New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 401
- N \* London, British Library, Add. 28804
- R \* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4775
- S \* Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 9363
- Z \* Znojmo, Archiv, AMZ-II 306
- U Uppsala, Biblioteca Carolina Rediviva, P 133<sup>10</sup>
- Ph Milan, private collection<sup>11</sup>
- Y London, British Library, Add. 6891

To these must be added two further witnesses (both known since the nineteenth century):

- Q \*\*\* Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, XXX 187
- K \*\*\* The editio princeps, published in Basle in 1559

Q is an incomplete manuscript which contains only the first thirteen chapters of Book I and the opening lines of the fourteenth. It was known to both Witte and Bertalot, but both scholars judged it to be of no value in the reconstruction of Dante's text, Witte declaring it to be a 'fragmentum ... negligendum', and Bertalot considering it to be worthless because merely a copy of L. Ricci<sup>12</sup>, by contrast, asserted the value of the testimony of Q in emphatic terms; but mistakenly, as a dispassionate examination of the evidence makes clear.<sup>13</sup> We shall return to the question in a later section of this Introduction.<sup>14</sup>

K, the *editio princeps*, has conventionally been treated by editors as if it were a manuscript: it is not based on any identifiable extant manuscript copy, and is therefore taken to represent the lost manuscript used by its editor to prepare his printed text, of whose readings it is the only (albeit problematical) evidence we have. The exact status and value of the testimony of K is a matter of debate in one crucial respect, and we shall return to it shortly. What is not open to debate is that no other printed edition merits this treatment; indeed the *princeps* itself is the direct source not only of all early (pre-nineteenth-century) editions of the text, but of all nineteenth-century editions prior to Witte.

To summarise, then, we have twenty-one significant witnesses: twenty manuscripts (excluding Q), and the earliest printed edition. Of these, three were unavailable to Ricci, five were unavailable to Rostagno and eight to Bertalot.

### ***The editio princeps: Basle, 1559***

The *editio princeps* of the *Monarchia*, published in Basle in 1559, is a small octavo volume which contains a miscellany of texts dealing with the question of imperial jurisdiction.<sup>15</sup> It is, as noted, a problematical witness: it seems clear that its editor acted as an editor in the full sense of the word, although the evidence on this issue is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand there are direct traces of

its manuscript origin in a small series of marginal variants which seem to be printed just as the editor found them in the codex. These variants are printed in the margin with an asterisk alongside the word in the text to which they stand as alternative readings, also marked with an asterisk, a characteristic scribal procedure not normally found in printed books.<sup>16</sup> There are even two odd cases, where a word in the text is marked with an asterisk, and there is an asterisk in the margin but no variant. Why did the editor bother to include this, if not out of scrupulous respect for his source? In any case, the marginal variants recorded are for the most part not helpful, and in some cases are singularly unhelpful: again respect for the codex would seem to be the only possible explanation for their inclusion.

In other respects, however, it seems clear that the editor did not reproduce his exemplar passively. He seems to have intervened in the text he was publishing not infrequently, even though in the Dedicatory Epistle he claims to have done this only rarely.<sup>17</sup> We find a significant number of readings in K which are not supported by the manuscript tradition: some of these may well be the readings of the manuscript on which the editor based his text, but it seems likely that many of them reflect editorial intervention – intervention evidently designed to ‘improve’ the text in terms of smoothness or clarity or elegance. Thus, for example, it seems extremely unlikely that the reading *manum suam qua aberrasset* in the place of *manum errantem* at II, v, 14, was ever present in a manuscript; it is much more plausibly regarded as originating with the editor of the *princeps*.<sup>18</sup> The scale on which this activity seems to have occurred makes it different from the more circumscribed attempts of a copyist to deal with problems presented by his exemplar – even a copyist of the calibre of the scribe of ms. U or its *antigrafo*, whose *lectiones singulares* on occasion clarify an obscurity or attempt to rectify an error.

In particular, and notoriously, the *princeps* omits what for many scholars is the most problematical phrase in the entire treatise, where Dante, talking about the importance of free will in human

life, makes an explicit cross-reference to what he has already said on the subject elsewhere: *hec libertas sive principium hoc totius nostre libertatis est maximum donum humane nature a Deo collatum, sicut in Paradiso Comedie iam dixi* [‘this freedom (or principle of all our freedom) is the greatest gift given by God to human nature, as I have already said in the Paradiso of the *Comedy*’]. This parenthetical cross-reference – a crucial piece of evidence for the dating of the treatise, which must have been written after Dante had completed *Paradiso V* where he talks of free will, and so not before 1314 at the earliest – is present in all the manuscripts of the text, although two of them leave a blank space of the appropriate size for some of the words.<sup>19</sup> It seems clear, as Ricci argued, that the omission of these words in the *princeps* was a deliberate suppression by the first editor, in line with his comment in the *Epistola Dedicatoria* which insists (for reasons we can only guess at, but which perhaps have something to do with the relative dignity or status of poets and philosophers in the context of political debate) that the author of this text is not Dante ‘the famous older Florentine poet’, but a philosopher contemporary of Angelo Poliziano.<sup>20</sup> Guido Favati convincingly links the suppression of this cross-reference – in effect the suppression of the only internal evidence of Dante’s authorship – with the Reformation climate of Basle in the mid-sixteenth century where the *princeps* was printed.<sup>21</sup>

It is worth rehearsing this familiar material because the status of this phrase – its authenticity or lack of it – has long been a focus of scholarly debate, and the debate continued to generate misinformation even after the publication of Ricci’s edition in 1965. Equally, it is important to understand the exact status of the testimony of K and the difficulties associated with it, because its role in the context of scholarly work on the *Monarchia* is surprisingly important in two quite different ways, as we shall see.

## *Scholarly editions before Ricci*

We may now rapidly review later editions of the treatise, in order to reach the point where serious scholarly work on the text begins. All early editions through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are based on the 1559 edition. No editor in this period had recourse to manuscripts in even the most perfunctory way. Any changes or variants (and they are very few and entirely inconsequential) are *ritocchi* made to the text of the *princeps*, which has become the ‘established’ text. To find editors who return to the manuscripts we have to wait until the middle years of the nineteenth century, with the editions of Fraticelli (1839)<sup>22</sup> and Torri (1844),<sup>23</sup> both of them subsequently reprinted a number of times.<sup>24</sup> Fraticelli and Torri made sporadic recourse to isolated manuscripts in Florentine libraries to which they had access (Fraticelli to M in the Nazionale, Torri to L in the Laurenziana), but the use they made of them was entirely arbitrary, with no attempt to evaluate their testimony comprehensively or use it systematically.

A new piece of evidence was however brought into play in the form of Ficino’s translation of the treatise, which Fraticelli, followed by Torri, printed facing the Latin text. Fraticelli doctored the text of Ficino’s version in order to make it correspond more closely to the Latin: ‘essa sarebbe rimasa in più luoghi o guasta o mutila o inintelligibile ... se io con un po’ di critica e col soccorso del testo latino non l’avessi raddrizzata e corretta.’ He made adjustments to the text over the whole length of the treatise, but he did it for the most part silently, in spite of his claim in his *Premessa* to have identified most of his textual interventions by printing them in italics.<sup>25</sup> The Latin text itself, as we have said, had already been tinkered with by the editor of the *princeps*. The result, perhaps not surprisingly, is confusion about exactly what Ficino wrote. Readers had assumed (understandably but mistakenly) that Fraticelli and Torri reproduced Ficino’s version faithfully; as recently as 1965 a modern editor, Fredi Chiappelli, reprinted this version of the text without suspecting its dubious status.<sup>26</sup> The confusion was compounded when a scholar as eminent as Bruno Nardi could still, in his commentary

on the *Monarchia* published in 1979, refer to Ficino's translation (which he knew in the Fraticelli-Torri version, as reprinted by Chiappelli), in support of the mistaken view that at least one manuscript – the one used by Ficino – did not have the cross-reference to the *Paradiso*.<sup>27</sup> But the cross-reference is there in Ficino: it was edited out by the nineteenth-century editors to make the vernacular translation correspond to the Latin text, from which – all the evidence suggests – it had been edited out by its first sixteenth-century editor. It is in fact present in all the manuscripts: all the manuscripts of the Latin text, with the partial exceptions noted;<sup>28</sup> all the manuscripts of Ficino's translation;<sup>29</sup> and all the manuscripts of the earlier vernacular version.<sup>30</sup> Its suppression is purely editorial, its absence unsupported by any evidence whatsoever apart from the *princeps*. Using the principle of parsimony and bearing in mind the historical circumstances in which the edition was printed and the editor's own statement in his dedicatory epistle, the simplest explanation for its absence is that the editor of the *princeps* chose to delete it. Whether he did so in good faith, genuinely believing the author to be a contemporary of Poliziano or did so as a pre-emptive gesture to dissociate the argument of the treatise from an author known to be a medieval poet and a catholic, is not a question we can answer with any confidence.

The first serious attempt to undertake a critical edition of the *Monarchia* (i.e. an edition based on examining and taking into account all the available evidence) was made by Karl Witte in the second half of the nineteenth century, culminating in his edition of 1874, a pioneering work which drew on no fewer than seven complete manuscripts, and an eighth to which he had no direct access but some of whose readings were communicated to him by a correspondent.<sup>31</sup> (As already noted, he also knew the incomplete ms. Q, but dismissed its testimony as worthless.) Witte also regularly cited the Ficino readings in his Apparatus, utilising the Fraticelli 1855 edition, but inevitably the readings he reported are often Fraticelli's doctored version rather than the genuine Ficino text.<sup>32</sup> His edition offered a full, but not exhaustive, critical apparatus: it listed many variant readings, but not all of them. Witte made no systematic

attempt to establish the relationships between the manuscripts, though he perceived a relationship between H and V and between F and P;<sup>33</sup> he thus did not rationalise or justify his choices with reference to a theoretical model which accounted for the evidence. His editorial choices simply reflected his own judgment or *iudicium*, his intuitive sense of what Dante's meaning must be or was likely to be at any given point in the argument. The function of a *stemma* is, of course, precisely that of minimizing the exercise of the editor's *iudicium*, which can always seem arbitrary, and of introducing objective reasons related to the weighting of evidence for finding one reading preferable to another. This was not to happen until well into the twentieth century.

More than forty years later, in 1918, Bertalot produced a new and important critical edition. Five new manuscripts had come to light in the interim; notable among them was the recently discovered codex Bini (B), dating from the mid-fourteenth century, one of the two oldest extant manuscripts of the treatise (a manuscript close to the hearts of Dante scholars because, as well as the *Monarchia*, it contains the *De vulgari eloquentia* in a copy which is far older than any other surviving copy). Bertalot not only introduced this valuable new testimony, he also advanced the debate methodologically by making a first, if still fairly rudimentary, attempt to sort and group the manuscripts. He saw affinities between pairs of manuscripts (A and T, the 'Milanese' family; B and L, the 'Florentine' family; F and P, the 'Tuscan' family; and D and G, a fourth pair to which the remaining unclassified manuscripts were loosely affiliated) – pairings which later scholars have amply confirmed. But he did not attempt to establish how these small groups related one to another: he did not, in other words, hypothesize a *stemma* or genealogical tree. Like Witte before him, he offered a full, but by no means exhaustive, apparatus to accompany his text, showing readings which had the support of two or more manuscripts but not for the most part *lectiones singulares*, unless he judged them to be of particular interest.

Just three years later, in 1921, Rostagno's edition for the Società Dantesca Italiana centenary volume appeared – another important

milestone in the history of scholarly engagement with the text, but one which, as already noted, had no apparatus and no explanatory matter. It is difficult to reach any firm conclusions about how Rostagno evaluated the tradition. We can only draw inferences from the text he offers, a task not made easier by the fact that there are no typographical conventions even for signalling editorial interventions which are purely conjectural and have no manuscript basis. A guiding principle seems to have been not to attach too much weight to the Berlin manuscript which he appears to have felt was overvalued by Bertalot.<sup>34</sup>

### *Ricci's Edizione Nazionale, 1965*

We have to wait until the Dante centenary in 1965 for the next full critical edition of the text, although some acute observations on individual readings had been made by Dino Bigongiari in two articles published in *Speculum* and *The Romanic Review*.<sup>35</sup> A series of preparatory articles by Ricci in *Studi danteschi* laid the groundwork for the Edizione Nazionale itself.<sup>36</sup>

The 1965 edition by Pier Giorgio Ricci is the one which is probably most familiar to the current generation of scholars. Ricci had five more manuscripts at his disposal than Bertalot – eighteen altogether, if we include the incomplete Q, on whose importance he insisted (wrongly, as we have said; and he did not in fact use Q in any significant way). He was the first scholar to attempt to explain in detail how the manuscripts relate one to another: the first, in other words, to produce a *stemma codicum* for the tradition – a ‘working hypothesis’ which was explicitly formulated, explained in detail and defended with evidence. With previous editors and editions, one could argue with individual editorial choices, but only in a limited way; Ricci now opened up a whole new area for scholarly debate and investigation. Confident that he had established the *stemma* for the tradition, he felt able to offer a very reduced apparatus, highly selective, making no attempt to show the full range of the manuscript evidence. He argued cogently and persuasively on



many individual points of interpretation, in particular showing that a large number of the conjectural emendations made by Rostagno were unnecessary. His edition both significantly improved the text and carried the scholarly debate forward in important ways. Without Ricci's edition as a starting-point, and a constant point of reference as I proceeded, it is inconceivable that I could have undertaken to produce a new edition of the treatise. It is with some sadness therefore that I now move on to talk about its shortcomings: regrettably, the edition was not everything scholars might have hoped for.

Rather than give a detailed account of scholarly contributions to the debate as they have appeared over the last four decades, it will be more helpful to summarise the main grounds of concern, the reservations which have emerged as scholars have used and evaluated Ricci's text. Firstly, it seems not unfair to say that many, perhaps most, users of the edition are surprised and disconcerted at not having a complete apparatus which shows the full range of variants.<sup>37</sup> To satisfy one's curiosity in this area, one must have recourse to Bertalot, who, while usually accurate, is of necessity incomplete.

Secondly, and more damagingly, a series of specific criticisms have been made by scholars, turning on two methodological issues. The first of these is the question of contamination, an issue Ricci did not address directly in his edition; but he responded quickly and positively to the suggestion that contamination might be a significant factor in the manuscript tradition.<sup>38</sup> But if contamination in the tradition is significant, even if it is difficult to get the measure of its significance, it is important at least to be aware of it in a general way; it of necessity affects the way we see the *stemma* and how we use it. Ricci's willingness to concede that we are dealing with a tradition in which contamination is significant (and operates at the higher levels) sits oddly with his silence on the subject in the *EN*.

The second criticism, which Ricci himself clearly thought to be far more damaging, concerns the *stemma*. Guido Favati, in a lengthy article published in 1970, had questioned whether a two-branched tree was the hypothesis which best fitted the evidence, and

suggested that a three-branched tree might be a better model.<sup>39</sup> Those who were present at the Dante conference held in Ravenna in 1971 will remember the incredulity and anger with which Ricci responded to this criticism. He spoke at length, defending his conclusions with great vigour and no small measure of impatience;<sup>40</sup> but his defence, on examination,<sup>41</sup> served merely to confirm what had emerged as some characteristic weaknesses: a shaky grasp of methodology; a worryingly high level of inaccuracy; a tendency to jump to conclusions too hastily and to formulate them peremptorily; and an unhelpful assumption that the very poor state of the text in many manuscripts is to be attributed to the stupidity and incompetence of their copyists, rather than reflecting the very real difficulties inherent in the transmission process itself. Let me briefly illustrate each of these points in turn.

When answering Favati's criticism that he had not established the existence of an alpha family because he had not proved that the witnesses shared significant errors, Ricci replied, *en passant*, that he did not see why a family could not consist of two correct manuscripts, 'due gemelli di un padre egualmente corretto'.<sup>42</sup> This almost casual aside calls into question the whole basis on which manuscript affiliations are established (the existence of significant errors in common)<sup>43</sup> – the basis, needless to say, of his own meticulously conducted proof of the existence of a beta family and its sub-divisions.

The inaccuracies (very noticeable by contrast with Bertalot, whose few lapses are almost certainly typographical errors) are sufficiently frequent and sufficiently important to leave one feeling that nothing he says can be taken on trust. (For example, of four variants listed on pp. 62-63 to prove that ms. Q is not a copy of ms. L, two are not as Ricci states them to be; of six variants listed on p. 76 to establish that ms. R is not a copy of ms. E, three are not as Ricci states them to be: an error rate in both instances of 50%.)<sup>44</sup>

The tendency to jump to conclusions hastily and then formulate them peremptorily is illustrated by his 're-evaluation' of the incomplete manuscript Q, against the consensus of Witte and Bertalot. (It

is equally disconcerting to find that a manuscript described as ‘scorrettissimo’ in a preparatory article has in the *EN* become ‘uno dei buoni dell’intera tradizione’, with no acknowledgement that there has been a change of mind – in itself a perfectly legitimate thing, of course – let alone any explanation as to why.<sup>45)</sup>

Finally, by being over-hastily dismissive of apparently trivial error as evidence merely of incompetence or stupidity he occasionally fails to pick up real clues to manuscript affiliations and even to textual substance. (Thus on p. 98 he fails to recognise the technical term from logic *li* and dismisses it as ‘strabiliante’ and ‘bizzarro’.) But – and the point in all fairness must be emphasised – if one cannot make criticisms of Rostagno it is because Rostagno gives us no evidence at all of manuscript readings or manuscript affiliations. All we have to argue with is his text. Ricci, by showing us the evidence on which he constituted his text and the reasoning he used to arrive at his overview of that evidence, lays himself open to a kind of criticism from which Rostagno, by virtue of the procedures he adopted, is exempt.

### *About this edition*

What became very clear as the debate evolved in the fifteen or twenty years after Ricci’s edition was published was that there was no way of resolving any of the disputed issues – and especially the crucial question of whether the two-branched *stemma* was the hypothesis which most satisfactorily and economically accounted for the data – on the basis of the material currently available in print. It seemed, on reflection, worth trying to remedy this situation, even if the results in terms of improvement to the text might be modest, and even if, on the methodological point, the end result should prove merely to confirm Ricci’s hypothesis and refute Favati’s.

What had also become very clear was that one of the problems in undertaking a project of this kind was an organisational one: the practical problem of keeping track of a vast amount of data, much

of it not obviously useful – indeed, much of it obviously trivial. Ricci’s inaccuracies, I am sure, disconcerting though they sometimes are, come not from a misreading of the manuscripts but from whatever system he used for recording, storing and accessing this information, and from his conviction that some readings could confidently be ignored as insignificant.

Let us just remind ourselves of the dimensions of the problem: the text of the *Monarchia* runs to some 50 pages when printed without apparatus or commentary, as in the Rostagno 1960 edition; this translates into some 3000-odd lines in computerised form, or approximately 200 Kilobytes of information. The sheer quantity of data we are dealing with will perhaps be clearer if we talk in more familiar old-fashioned terms: 23,500 words in each copy; 21 complete witnesses and an incomplete one: well over half a million words, half a million separate items of information, each one of them potentially a variant, potentially significant in establishing manuscript relationships and textual substance.

I can say categorically that I would never have undertaken to produce an edition of the treatise if I had had to rely on pen and ink, paper and filing-cards. It was only the advent of the new technology, whose possibilities for the textual critic I appreciated as soon as I signed on for my first beginners’ course in computing at the Cambridge Computer Centre in October 1985, which persuaded me – warmly encouraged by Contini on both the editorial and the information technology sides of the enterprise – to have a go.

The DVD-ROM and web site in its 2006 first edition represented the fruit of twenty years’ work. *Nel mezzo del cammin* – in 1995 – I published an edition of the *Monarchia* with Cambridge University Press, since by that stage I had already fixed the text on the basis of my manuscript transcriptions.<sup>46</sup> But the computerised files were not at that point in a state which would have allowed publication. Because of the constraints imposed by the format of the series in which the CUP edition appeared, it had no Apparatus or ecdotic material. The minimal textual notes were restricted simply to registering where

my text diverged from Ricci's *EN*. Two articles which appeared in *Italian Studies* in 1995 and 1996 discussed some of my emendations and gave the reasoning about the *stemma* which lay behind the text.<sup>47</sup> Now at last in 2006 it was possible to offer the text and the full range of accompanying ecdotic material in a single product and in an easily accessible format. The long road to achieving that goal is described in the next section of this Introduction.

### ***Update 2018***

This second edition of the web site represents a significant step forward. This new site, to be hosted and managed by the Società Dantecca Italiana, is on a new platform which should guarantee its sustainability in the future. For the first time it is to be freely available to scholars, researchers and students, with no charge for access. It includes the new manuscript Y: the images and diplomatic transcription of Y stand alongside those of the other mss.; the readings of Y have been incorporated into the Apparatus in its new form (see below).

The coming to light of the new manuscript has generated a huge amount of interest among scholars and reinvigorated the scholarly debate. I do not attempt to deal here with the complex issues raised but refer to my recent book on the subject [Shaw 2018]. All recent contributions to the ongoing debate are listed in the updated final sections of the Bibliography.

## Notes

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1. Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, a cura di P. G. Ricci (Edizione Nazionale delle opere di Dante Alighieri a cura della Società Dantesca Italiana, vol. V), Milano 1965 [henceforth in the text and notes *EN*].
2. Three manuscripts located in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1<sup>er</sup>, ms. II, 43), Naples (Biblioteca di storia patria, ms. XX, A, 18) and Strasbourg (Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, ms. 206) are copied from early printed editions and are of no value in constituting the text of Dante's treatise. The fragment of text in codex VI.F.13 (f. 204) of the National Library in Prague described by Francis Cheneval in *Rezeption* (pp. 51-51) is too brief to be of use to an editor.
3. *Dantis Aligherii de Monarchia libri III, codicum manuscriptorum ope emendati per Carolum Witte*. Vindobonae 1874. Witte also had limited knowledge of another manuscript some of whose readings were communicated to him by a correspondent; see note [11](#).
4. *Dantis Alagherii De Monarchia libri III, recensuit Ludovicus Bertalot*. Friedrichsdorf in monte Tauno apud Francofortum 1918; Gebennae 1920.
5. Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, a cura di E. Rostagno (in *Le Opere di Dante. Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana*, Firenze 1921; second edn 1960).
6. Ricci, *EN*, p. 37, informs us that Rostagno, in addition to the manuscripts available to Bertalot, had access to mss. C, S and R, but adds that it is impossible to know if he utilised them.
7. *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Danteschi*, Firenze 1965, pp. 1-78. Follena (1965) confusingly lists ms. C (Pierpont Morgan Library, M 401) as known to Witte, whereas in fact the manuscript Witte refers to with the sigil C is the recently rediscovered Phillipps manuscript; see note [11](#) below. The significance of the asterisks and the grouping of the manuscripts as set out here is explained in the previous section of this Introduction.
8. The Budapest manuscript is not in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (*EN*, pp. 11-12), but in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, the library in the ancient Royal Castle complex on the other side of the river (i.e. it is not in Pest but in Buda).

9. The codex Bini, as this manuscript is known, has returned to Berlin from the Tübingen University Library (*EN*, pp. 7-8), where it remained for several decades after the war.
10. The Uppsala manuscript is described in P. Shaw, 'Il codice Uppsalense della *Monarchia*', in *Studi danteschi* [henceforth *SD*] XLVI (1969), 293-331. A fuller account, based on first-hand examination of the codex, is given in P. Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista nei manoscritti della *Monarchia*', in *SD* LXIII (1991), pp. 281-312.
11. The Phillipps manuscript is described in Franca Brambilla Ageno, 'Il codice già Phillipps della *Monarchia*', in *SD* LIII (1981), 291-334. Ageno was able to examine the manuscript in person in Milan; it is believed that it has now been sold to an American collector. Witte had known of this manuscript indirectly (see note 3) and referred to it with the sigil C (=Cheltenham), not to be confused with C above now used for manuscript 401 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.
12. Witte, *ed. cit.*, p. xx; Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, p. 6.
13. *EN*, p. 62. The question is re-examined in P. Shaw, 'Il manoscritto Q della *Monarchia*', in *Miscellanea di studi danteschi in memoria di Silvio Pasquazi*, Napoli 1993, pp. 815-821, where it is shown that Q is indeed, as Bertalot maintained, a copy of L.
14. See V. Methodology. iv. The sub-groups within the  $\beta$  family. Q descriptus from L.
15. *Andreae Alciati iure consulti clariss. De formula Romani Imperii Libellus. Acceserunt non dissimilis argumenti, Dantis Florentini De Monarchia libri tres. Radulphi Carnotensis De translatione Imperii libellus. Chronica M. Iordanis, Qualiter Romanum Imperium translatum sit ad Germanos. Omnia nunc primùm in lucem edita.* Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum [1559]. (The *Monarchia* occupies pp. 53-179.)
16. They are listed and analysed in P. Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista', pp. 291-92.
17. 'In quo tamen ipso opere typis quoque nostris describendo, non minus rarò coniectura utendum fuit: sæpe verò (ubi non potuimus assequi) ipsum archetypum sequi potius, quàm temerè aliquid sive addere, sive inducere aut

mutare visum est: tutius id ita fore, ac nostro convenientius muneri existimantibus.’ (p. 51)

18. For further examples see *EN*, pp. 53-54.
19. Thus P reads: sicut [ ] comedie iam dixi; and F reads: sicud in [ ]; in both cases the blank space corresponds in size to the missing words. Those curious to verify this can now turn to the images of the folios in question at I, xii, 6 on this web site. It is worth emphasising that N, the manuscript which is closely related to P and F and shares a common ancestor with them ( $\beta_2$ ), carries the phrase in full; it must therefore have been present in this common ancestor.
20. The *Epistola Dedicatoria* reads (p. 51): ‘Sunt autem quos adiunximus, primùm DANTIS Aligherii, non vetustioris illius Florentini poetæ celeberrimi, sed philosophi acutissimi atque doctiss. viri, & Angeli Politiani familiaris quondam, de Monarchia libri tres ...’ It is perhaps significant that four extant manuscripts specifically identify Dante as a ‘famous Florentine poet’, while a fifth refers to him simply as a ‘famous poet’. The L/Q incipit reads: ‘Clarissimi poete Florentini Dantis Aligherii summa monarchia incipit Feliciter’; the S incipit reads: ‘Monarchia Illustrixiimi poete dantis Aldigherii liber Incipit’; the H/Z incipit begins: ‘Hic dans Theologus magnus fuit phylosophus clarus Poeta ... eximius civis ... Florentinus ...’ By contrast the incipit of N emphasises, certainly with polemical force, that he was a Christian: ‘Liber monarchia dantis aldigerii christiani de florentia’
21. G. Favati, ‘Sul testo della *Monarchia* di Dante: proposta di nuove lezioni’, in *IDE* (trimestrale letterario-politico redatto nei seminari dell’Istituto Dantesco-Europeo) [henceforth *IDE*] 3, Milan, 1970, pp. 19-47, pp. 45-46. The argument sometimes put forward by scholars unwilling to accept a late dating for the treatise – that such a self-citation is ‘unDantesque’ or ‘inappropriate’ in a work of philosophy – hardly merits refutation: it is in fact typical of Dante to make cross-references from one of his works to another. Indeed it could be argued that his doing so here in the context of philosophical debate and in relation to his oft-cited philosophical predecessors is the equivalent of ‘io fui sesto fra cotanto senno’ in relation to his poetic predecessors in the narrative and dramatic context of *Inferno* IV: an authorial strategy which makes a claim to parity of status and seriousness with illustrious forerunners.
22. Dantis Aligherii *De Monarchia, Libri III, cum italica interpretatione Marsilii Ficini nunc primum in lucem edita*, Florentiae, Typis Allegrini et Mazzoni, 1839 (*Opere minori di Dante Alighieri*, a cura di P. I. Fraticelli, vol. III).



23. Dante Alighieri, *La Monarchia [...] col volgarizzamento di Marsilio Ficino, tratto da codice inedito della Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze con illustrazioni e note di diversi*, per cura del dottore Alessandro Torri veronese, Livorno 1844 (*Delle prose e poesie liriche di Dante Alighieri. Prima edizione illustrata con note di diversi*, vol. III *La Monarchia*).

24. Dante Alighieri, *Le Egloghe Latine, I Trattati del Volgar Eloquio e della Monarchia, e le Epistole, con dissertazioni e note a tutte le opere minori*, Firenze 1841 (*Le opere minori di Dante*, vol. VI, a cura di P. I. Fraticelli).

Dante Alighieri, *La Monarchia, tradotta in volgare da Marsilio Ficino, Volume unico*, Torino 1853 (Società Editrice della Biblioteca dei Comuni Italiani). [This is Torri's text, not Fraticelli's, *pace Ricci, EN*, p. 26.].

Dante Alighieri, *Opere minori, precedute da discorso filologico-critico di P. I. Fraticelli e con note e dichiarazioni dello stesso, del Trivulzio, del Pederzini, del Quadrio EC*, Napoli 1855.

Dante Alighieri, *La Vita nuova, i trattati De Vulgare Eloquio, De Monarchia e la questione De Aqua et Terra, con traduzione delle opere scritte latinamente, e con note e illustrazioni di Pietro Fraticelli*, Firenze 1857 (*Opere minori di Dante Alighieri*, vol. II).

Numerous subsequent stereotype reprints of the 1857 edition are listed in *Primo Catalogo Collettivo delle Biblioteche Italiane*, vol. 3, ALDA-ALMED, Roma 1965, pp. 165-69.

25. See Shaw, P., 'Per l'edizione del volgarizzamento ficiniano della *Monarchia*', in *Testi e Interpretazioni, Studi del seminario di filologia romanza dell'università di Firenze*, Milano 1978, pp. 927-939. This article gives a comprehensive account of the editorial interventions by Fraticelli in Ficino's original; it traces the way in which Fraticelli's version of Ficino was tinkered with by Torri, some of whose changes were then incorporated by Fraticelli into later reprints of his own edition; it also traces the way in which even the perfunctory and incomplete typographical indicators of editorial activity in the 1839 edition were gradually eliminated in later editions, until from 1855 on the Fraticelli-Torri 'composite' text was printed with no indication that it did not correspond exactly to Ficino's original.

26. Dante Alighieri, *Opere*, a cura di F. Chiappelli, Milano 1965 (*I Classici Italiani*, vol. I): the *Monarchia* in Ficino's version is to be found on pp. 847-898. The provenance and character of the text printed by Chiappelli is analysed in the article cited in the previous note.

27. Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, a cura di Bruno Nardi, in *Opere Minori*, Tomo II, Milano-Napoli 1979, p. 348.
28. Described in note 19.
29. Shaw, P., 'La versione ficiniana della *Monarchia*', in *SD LI* (1978), pp. 289-407 (the cross-reference to the *Paradiso* is on p. 342; the manuscripts are listed and described on pp. 290-297).
30. Shaw, P., 'Il volgarizzamento inedito della *Monarchia*', in *SD XLVII* (1970), pp. 59-224 (the cross-reference to the *Paradiso* is on p. 143; the manuscripts are listed and described on pp. 59-66). Richard Kay's assertion, in the introduction to his edition of the *Monarchia*, that there are three early vernacular translations of Dante's treatise in addition to the one by Ficino, is baffling (*Dante's Monarchia*[.] Translated, with a commentary, by Richard Kay. Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto 1998, p. xxxiii). There is in fact only one such translation known to scholars; it survives in three manuscripts, and this appears to be the basis of Kay's misunderstanding, which seems to derive from a misreading of *EN*, p. 25. Kay's conclusion (that as none of these three supposed versions exists in more than one copy there was no great interest in Dante's text) is thus groundless. The erroneous reference to three vernacular translations in addition to Ficino's is repeated in Cassell, Anthony K. *The Monarchia Controversy. An historical study with accompanying translations of Dante Alighieri's "Monarchia", Guido Vernani's "Refutation of the "Monarchia" Composed by Dante", and Pope John XXII's "Bull Si fratrum"*. Washington D.C. 2004 (pp. 42-43).
31. See note 11. Witte's earlier partial editions of the *Monarchia* are described in *EN*, pp. 30-31.
32. For a list of examples see 'Per l'edizione del volgarizzamento ficiniano', p. 938, note 2.
33. Witte, *ed. cit.*, p. xv.
34. Gianfranco Folena, 'La tradizione', p. 32, judges Rostagno's edition to be 'un regresso evidente su quella del Bertalot, per incertezza di criteri e per eccesso di sfiducia nell'archetipo, considerato un *monstrum* di corrottele'. The preface to the 1921 edition states (p. xviii): 'Giova che non si ignori che i codici molto minor sussidio arrecano alla costituzione del testo che altri forse s'immagina.' The preface is signed by Michele Barbi but the pages on the *Monarchia* were penned by Rostagno.

35. Dino Bigongiari, 'The Text of Dante's *Monarchia*', in *Speculum* II (1927), pp. 457-62; 'Notes on the Text of Dante', in *The Romanic Review* XLI (1950), p. 3-13; 81-95; both essays reprinted in *Essays on Dante and Medieval Culture*, Firenze 1964, pp. 25-38.
36. P.G. Ricci, 'Primi approcci per l'edizione nazionale della *Monarchia*', in *SD* XXI (1953), f. I, pp. 31-58; 'Un codice della *Monarchia* mai utilizzato', in *SD* XXI (1953), f. I, 163-71; 'Il manoscritto Trivulziano della *Monarchia*', in *SD* XXXII (1954), pp. 51-63; 'L'archetipo della *Monarchia*', in *SD* XXXIV (1957), pp. 127-62; 'Restauro di un luogo della *Monarchia*', in *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, II (1959), pp. 441-42.
37. The point has been made to me many times in conversation by scholars who use the *EN*. It is expressed *passim* in Nardi's commentary to his edition and translation of the treatise, sometimes in tones of exasperation: 'ma meglio questi [il Ricci] avrebbe fatto a ricollazionare tutti i codici' (p. 439); 'meglio avrebbe fatto, però, se invece dello stemma schematico dei codici ci avesse dato, ad ogni pagina, l'apparato critico che ancor ci manca' (p. 486); see also pp. 307, 343, 359, 430, 457. Cf. the comments of Ageno in 'Il codice già Philipps', p. 295, on the frustration caused by 'l'insufficienza dei dati disponibili' in the *EN*.
38. The question of contamination was raised in the article on the Uppsala manuscript (see note 10) which came to light only a few years after the publication of the *EN*, and which, at the invitation of Gianfranco Contini, then president of the Società Dantesca Italiana, I described and analysed for *SD*. In the *EN*, three manuscripts are recognised as having affiliations with two different areas of the tradition: two of them (A and S) are said to be copied from two different exemplars sequentially, i.e. the exemplar changes at a certain point in the transcription; one (D) is said to draw on and combine two exemplars over its entire length. But the word 'contamination' is never used by Ricci: perhaps he instinctively avoided it because of the famous dictum, coined by Maas and popularised by Pasquali: 'Contro la contaminazione non c'è rimedio'. By contrast, in the article on the *Monarchia* he published a few years later in the *Enciclopedia Dantesca* (vol. III, 1971, pp. 993-1004) [henceforth *ED*] the word is used in relation to these manuscripts and their families (p. 996); and in 'A sette anni dall'Edizione Nazionale del *Monarchia*', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Danteschi* (Ravenna, 10-12 settembre 1971) Ravenna 1979, pp. 79-114, the whole tradition is described in these terms: 'in tutta la zona alta, quella dei testi più antichi, oggi perduti, il giuoco delle contaminazioni fu senza dubbio fittissimo ... Ha dunque pienamente ragione la Shaw quando dice che la tradizione della *Monarchia* dev'essere molto più

contaminata di quanto non appaia dal mio *stemma codicum*.' Obviously 'contamination' here denotes something very different from the clearly delimited and analysable phenomena discussed in relation to A, S and D (and in any case Ricci is mistaken about S; see V. Methodology. iv. The sub-groups within the  $\beta$  family. The position of S).

39. G. Favati, *IDE*, pp. 1-29.
40. Pier Giorgio Ricci, 'A sette anni': 'Se ciò fosse detto per ischerzo, rideremmo volentieri; disgraziatamente il Favati fa sul serio'. The intemperate formulations were not reserved for Favati alone, as this response to a suggestion of Nardi's shows: 'di rado ho sentito farneticare a tal segno di cervelotiche soluzioni sintattiche ...' (p. 90).
41. The situation was reviewed in P. Shaw, 'Sul testo della *Monarchia*', in *SD* LIII (1981), pp. 187-217; and 'The *stemma codicum* of Dante's *Monarchia*', in *Italian Studies* LI (1996), pp. 5-26.
42. The 'twin' manuscripts in question would be the one on which the *editio princeps* was based and the common ancestor of T and A<sup>1</sup>.
43. See, for example, P. Maas, *Critica del testo*, Firenze 1963, pp. 4-8; D'Arco Silvio Avalle, *Introduzione alla critica del testo*, Torino 1970, pp. 44-51; A. Stussi, *La critica del testo*, Bologna 1985, pp. 10-13; G. Contini, *Breviario di ecdotica*, Milano-Napoli 1986, pp. 27-29. Ageno, 'Il codice già Phillipps', p. 293 n. 9.
44. For a full account see V. Methodology iv. The sub-groups within the  $\beta$  family.
45. *SD* XXXIV (1957), p. 131; *EN*, p. 8. Other examples of dramatic yet unacknowledged changes of mind of this kind are listed in Shaw, 'Sul testo', pp. 192-93.
46. Dante, *Monarchia*, Edited and translated by Prue Shaw, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. i-xlvi, 1-186. The edition was the fourth volume in the series Cambridge Medieval Classics under the general editorship of Peter Dronke.
47. Shaw, P., 'Some proposed emendations to the text of Dante's *Monarchia*', in *Italian Studies* L (1995), pp. 1-8; 'The *stemma codicum* of Dante's *Monarchia*', in *Italian Studies* LI (1996), pp. 5-26.

# II. The History of the Project

## *Beginnings*

The following is a brief account of the evolution of the electronic Monarchia project from its inception in 1985 until its publication in 2006. The account is designed to explain the modus operandi of the project over this lengthy period of time during which computer technology evolved with startling rapidity, and by so doing to clarify certain editorial decisions about the transcriptions and their relationship to the manuscript originals.

When I signed on for my first beginners' course in word-processing at the Cambridge Computer Centre in October 1985 I quickly became convinced of the potential of the new technology (at that stage in its infancy) for the editor of medieval texts. In retrospect, from a vantage point nearly 20 years on, the technology then available now seems primitive, even antediluvian: no screen editor was yet available, for example, just the infinitely laborious line editor (the 'Zed' editor). If one wished to alter a word or phrase on the screen using the 'Zed' editor, it was necessary to type in a command sequence which duplicated exactly the word or phrase being replaced, followed by the replacement word or phrase, each of them enclosed in appropriate tags or codes. In spite of these cumbersome and time-consuming procedures, the twin advantages of the technology to my mind were obvious, one of them immediately apparent, the other more akin to an act of faith.

The first advantage was the organisational aspect of the enterprise. It would be possible to create and save files, print them out, check and double check them, first against the microfilm and then against

the original manuscript, and be reasonably certain at the end of the day that one had a fair copy of a transcription of a manuscript where one's own handwriting or filing card system were not factors in its accuracy or reliability. The copy would be reproducible an infinite number of times.

When one had transcriptions of several and eventually of all of the manuscript copies of a text, the second advantage would come into play. It should be possible, I thought, to devise programmes which enabled one to handle the material in useful ways, to facilitate comparison and grouping of witnesses; and indeed within a couple of years the obliging staff on the help desk at the Computer Centre had produced a programme for me which enabled me to print out the transcriptions correctly aligned one under the other, so that one could see at a glance the points at which they diverged. Thus I was able to distribute computer-generated printouts of small sections of the text to accompany the paper I gave on work in progress at the centenary conference of the Società Dantesca Italiana in Florence in November 1988.<sup>48</sup>

## *Decisions*

Before the project could even begin, however, some important decisions had to be made. What version of the text was to be used as the collation copy, the copy against which the manuscripts were to be checked and their variants recorded? And how was I to register the variants, and what degree of detail would it be useful to register?

In effect the first decision was made for me. While in theory it might have made sense to use Pier Giorgio Ricci's Edizione Nazionale text of 1965 as the collation copy, in practice I was told that stringent copyright laws made this impossible. To put a text into electronic form using the Kdem scanning machine the edition had to be at least 25 years old. The only course left open to me was to use the earlier Società Dantesca text edited by Rostagno in 1921 and reprinted in a second edition in 1960. It was this second edition which became my

copy text: the only changes made to it (apart from the correction of two small misprints) were in the numbering of the chapters, where I superimposed Ricci's chapter divisions on to Rostagno's text on the small number of occasions where they diverged: in this sense, and this sense only, my copy-text was a hybrid.<sup>49</sup>

The second decision – how to register the variants and with what degree of detail – was thornier. My guiding principle at the outset was a simple one: to register anything and everything that might be significant for the purposes of establishing manuscript relationships and, by extension, the text of the treatise, and nothing that was not. Those various aspects of any given manuscript copy which were not significant in terms of these twin objectives were deemed to be 'noise' and were not recorded. In effect, I was editing out 'noise' as I went along.

### *The early technology and its limitations*

If I were starting this project now I would proceed in an entirely different way, by doing diplomatic transcriptions of each witness. The astonishingly rapid advances made in computer technology in the interim, and the invention of a sophisticated programme (*Collate*) specifically tailored to the needs of textual scholars working with large numbers of variant witnesses, provide a way of dealing with 'noise' which the technology available in the 1980s did not allow.<sup>50</sup> By giving an account of my decisions as I made them, their subsequent implementation and their eventual modification as the technology developed – an account that has the incidental interest of charting an extraordinarily fertile two decades in the evolution of scholarly techniques and possibilities – I hope to facilitate the use of this electronic edition by readers: it is important that the relationship of transcription to original be clear. As the transcription files have been modified over the years with the evolving technology, they have come closer and closer to the way they would be if I had started working on them with current technologies at my disposal,

but they retain some characteristics which reflect their origin: it is these vestigial traces of that origin that I now wish to clarify.

## **‘Noise’**

‘Noise’ covers a number of aspects of a manuscript copy of a text, including spelling variants, word division, capitalisation and variations in letter form.

Anyone familiar with medieval Latin texts in their original manuscript form is aware of the extraordinary fluidity of spelling conventions reflected in them: spelling variants in themselves are of no value in determining manuscript affiliations or textual substance. It is, for example, a matter of no significance whatsoever for the inter-relationships among the witnesses or the constitution of the text if in any given manuscript the word ‘philosophy’ is spelt *philosophia* or *phylosophya* or *filosofia*. The alternation between *ph* and *f*, or between *y* and *i*, is not information which is meaningful at this level of enquiry. Nor is the alternation between *t* and *c* in words like *notitia/noticia*; nor the alternation between single and double consonants in *sumitur/summitur*. Had I included spelling variants in my transcriptions I would both have enormously increased the effort of making the transcriptions in the first place (remember the ‘Zed’ or line editor, with its awkward and time-consuming procedures), and I would have amassed a huge quantity of information which strictly speaking was irrelevant to the task in hand, i.e. the establishing first of a stemma and then of a text. It would have been quixotic to gather this information only to discard it at a later stage.<sup>51</sup>

‘Noise’ includes not just spelling variants, but certain other kinds of non-significant variation which in consequence I chose initially not to register. Differences in word division (*quodam modo* as against *quodammodo*, for example) are immaterial; so are variations in the use of capital letters (*De politicis* as against *De Politicis* or *de Politicis* or *de politicis*); so, except in a small number of problem cases, are variant forms of the same letter (*u* and *v*, *i* and *j*). Clearly if the



Rostagno copy text distinguishes between *u* and *v* according to the modern convention then to record variants simply because they use *u* in an intervocalic position where we expect *v*, e.g. *breue*, or *v* in an initial position where we expect *u*, e.g. *vnum*, would be to accumulate information which is 'useless' in terms of editorial goals.

Likewise, no attempt was made to record punctuation; and an early decision to register the conventional line-fillers used by many scribes in the interests of symmetry to fill out the space at the end of a line – sometimes in the form of what can look like a letter, or a letter with a stroke through it – was subsequently abandoned, as this information too was inconsequential.

Most of this non-significant variation has been added to the files at a later stage in line with developments in computer technology: the transcriptions as they now appear include all spelling variants and all formal variants; word division, capitalisation and use of line-fillers appear exactly as they are in the manuscripts.<sup>52</sup> The transcriptions do not, however, register punctuation; they do not distinguish between *i* and *j* (both are transcribed as *i*); and manuscript *u* and *v* are still transcribed according to modern usage (thus in the example cited above ms. *breue* is transcribed *breve* and ms. *vnum* is transcribed *unum*). [Only in the newly added ms. Y are these distinctions between *i* and *j* and *v* and *u* observed, and punctuation (*punctus* . and *virgula suspensiva* /) recorded.]

## ***Abbreviations***

A closely related problem was that of abbreviations. It is a common transcription practice in printed texts to expand abbreviations by including the portion of the word or the letters represented by the abbreviation sign in brackets, thus for example *p(er)*, *p(ro)*, *p(ar)ticulare*, *q(ua)n(do)* and so on; but to do this in the computer files seemed inadvisable. Most abbreviations in medieval Latin are absolutely standard and therefore completely transparent: registering them would for my purposes have been as pointless as registering

spelling variants, and increased quite disproportionately both the labour of recording, and the sheer bulk of the material recorded. Like spelling variants, the expanded abbreviations would then have had to be eliminated at a later stage as having no textual significance. I decided to register abbreviations only in three circumstances, which I outline below. The transcriptions as they now appear still expand abbreviations silently.<sup>53</sup> [2018 *Only in the newly added ms. Y are expanded abbreviations registered in italics.*] As the transcriptions are now viewable on screen alongside the images of the manuscript original, anyone wishing to verify where there is an abbreviation and what the contracted form looks like in the manuscript can do so instantly. Where an abbreviation could be expanded in more than one way because the scribe spells the word in different ways when he writes it in full (e.g. *secundum*, *secum dum*, *secondum* in ms. A), it was decided to resolve it using the standard spelling; on the very rare occasions where a scribe consistently uses a single spelling when writing a word in full, the abbreviated form of the word is still expanded to the standard form.

Abbreviated forms were (and still are) registered in the transcriptions in the following circumstances:

- where the abbreviation sign is ambiguous;
- where the abbreviation sign is puzzling or anomalous;
- where the abbreviation sign is inappropriate, i.e. unnecessary or misplaced.<sup>54</sup>

The superfluous or misplaced sign might be considered in itself a trivial error of duplication or carelessness and thus potentially a source of puzzlement and further error to a later copyist. In the early stages of the project these problematic abbreviation signs were registered with a conventional sign (~ or tilde), which in the transcription followed the letter to which the compendium was attached and simply indicated the presence of a difficulty or anomaly. No attempt was made to interpret these problematic signs. More often than not there seemed little point in trying to decode them: what they signify would seem to be not textual substance but scribal

inattention; with persistent offenders one has the impression that the scribe was not even attempting to make sense of the text he was copying. In other words it seemed pointless to speculate about what the copyist had in mind, because it seemed unlikely that he had anything in mind; rather, he seemed to be operating on 'automatic pilot'.<sup>55</sup> These problematic abbreviations remain in the transcriptions but advances in technology and the recent development of the Junicode font have allowed us to represent these abbreviated forms for the most part exactly as they appear in the manuscripts. They are always accompanied by a note, now accessed by positioning the cursor over the Editorial Note icon [\*] in the transcription. The note explains the difficulty and, where appropriate, relates the anomaly to the scribe's normal *usus scribendi*.

Where an abbreviation sign is omitted through carelessness, the word is registered as it is written. Presumably the medieval reader reacted to such cases as we react to misprints, correcting mentally as he read: thus *pvidentia* is *providentia* with its compendium missing, and *bnplacitum* is *beneplacitum* with a missing macron. The same holds for simple carelessness in copying: the omission of a syllable (e.g. *notiam* for *notitiam*), or a letter, or even part of a letter (typically, one 'leg' of an *m* or *n* or *u*, especially in a word like *omnium* or *minimum* where several such letters are adjacent to one another); the anticipation of something to follow (e.g. *loborare* for *laborare*, *perperit* for *peperit*); or inadvertent transposition, such as *amalibe* for *amabile*. Here again the aberrant form is always included, no matter how trivial the error or how easily explicable in 'mechanical' terms. ('Mechanical' errors are those which any copyist is liable to make in a moment of inattention: errors of anticipation, of repetition, of omission of a repeated syllable, false agreements, *sauts du même au même*, and so on; i.e. errors whose aetiology is explicable in terms of the immediately surrounding text rather than the scribe's conscious intentions or mental processes.)

A large amount of the material registered in the transcriptions consists of errors of an absolutely trivial kind, of no intrinsic interest whatsoever except as a demonstration of the fallibility of human

endeavour, the virtual impossibility for any human agent of producing an entirely accurate version of a text of any length and complexity – and the *Monarchia*, as anyone who knows the textual tradition of the treatise well will be aware, is a peculiarly ‘volatile’ text, susceptible to errors of every kind. Earlier editors, Ricci in particular, were doubtful of the value of recording even errors of substance, let alone trivial errors.<sup>56</sup> On one level this attitude is entirely understandable. But manuscript affiliations are determined on the basis of errors – ‘significant’ errors, to be sure, but how does one decide what is significant without prejudging the issue, unless one has all the evidence to hand? It seemed, and still seems, imperative to record anything which might be considered an error, however trivial, and thus a potential source of confusion or misunderstanding to a later copyist.<sup>57</sup>

The notion of error is clearcut at this level of trivial carelessness in transcribing: no one would argue about whether a word with a syllable missing is an error, although it is unlikely to be a significant one. Some copyists are alert and correct mechanical errors as they go; others are less so. The transcriptions scrupulously register these insignificant self-corrections, as well as corrections of substance made to a copy by the same hand at a later time or by a later hand or hands. (Examples of all three can be found in the digitized images: for an example of a conscientious scribe correcting his own careless errors as he goes, see manuscript U, p. 25; for typical corrections by a later hand, see ms. V, f. 3r; for corrections by the original copyist at a later time, see ms. T *passim*.)

The notion of error is more problematical, clearly, in relation to divergences of substance: here ideally one keeps an open mind about whether something is correct or not until after one has completed the process of collecting and analysing the data. In this sense then in comparing the testimony of any given witness against the copy text one is simply recording divergences, some of which will be self-evidently erroneous (the classic case – ‘il principe degli errori’, as Contini puts it – being an omission which renders the text unintelligible), but many of which may be perfectly plausible in

themselves. Their status only becomes apparent at a later stage in the proceedings. One records everything with an open mind.

The huge advantage offered by these computerised transcription files in comparison with any previous critical edition of the text is their completeness and their transparency – nothing is omitted and nothing needs to be taken on trust, for all the evidence is to hand and can be independently checked by any interested reader.

### *Working on the early transcriptions*

The work of transcribing began in 1986. I had by then obtained microfilms of all the manuscripts: the computer terminals were in the Computer Centre on the Cavendish site in the city centre of Cambridge, the microfilm readers were in the University Library across the river. For each manuscript I printed out the collation copy; took it to the University Library, where I compared it with the microfilm and registered on it by hand all significant variants for that manuscript; returned to the Computer Centre and entered the variants into the file. Then I printed out the updated file, took it back to the microfilm reader, and doublechecked the whole text again. And again. Each manuscript file took several months to complete. The whole process took four years.

The checking and double-checking of the transcriptions, infinitely laborious but still worthwhile in the early days with the 'Zed' editor and the microfilm reader (in their two different physical locations separated by the river Cam), became vastly simpler some years later with two advances in technology: the introduction of the 'E' editor (a full screen editor) to the Phoenix system on the Cambridge mainframe in the late 1980s; and the breakthrough in copying technology which meant that 'hard' copies could be printed out from microfilms. (I learnt of this possibility too late for it to be of any use in the initial creation of the files, but it was invaluable for subsequent spot-checking.) At last it was possible to have the copy one was checking

against and the machine into which the data had been entered in the same place.

By 1990 I had created and checked a transcription file for every manuscript. I was now ready to begin the final checking of the transcriptions against the original manuscripts. Over the next few years I set off first for Znojmo (in what was then Czechoslovakia), then Venice, Berlin, Budapest, Rome, Paris, Lucca, Florence, New York, Milan, and finally Uppsala, each time taking with me an updated printout of the file for the manuscript in question, which I checked meticulously and in minute detail over its entire length against the original manuscript, making detailed notes about anything which had not been clear on the microfilm, and in particular about scribal corrections, where only the original document can reveal certain things, such as the colour of the ink, or whether by using an ultra-violet lamp anything is recoverable of words or letters deleted by abrasion.<sup>58</sup>

### *Converting to Collate*

In 1989, thanks to the good offices of Ursula Dronke, I had met her doctoral student Peter Robinson, then based in Oxford, who combined his interest in textual criticism with an enviable competence in computer programming. He was already well on the way to devising a programme to handle textual data with far more sophistication and flexibility than anything I had been able to organise on the Phoenix system. I was delighted to have the chance to use his programme; he seemed equally pleased to have my text files as raw data to check different aspects of its running. That same year he received funding from the Leverhulme Trust to set up the *Computers and Manuscripts Project* at the Oxford Centre for Computing in the Humanities. At this point it became clear that there was little point in persisting with my less sophisticated methods, and that the rational choice was to go with *Collate*.

I had devised a serviceable if makeshift system of tagging variant readings with asterisks and other signs representing omissions, additions, corrections, marginal variants and so on. The *Collate* programme made this obsolete. *Collate*'s tagging system was devised in conformity with the conventions of the Text Encoding Initiative (on whose advisory panel Robinson was serving), which were being elaborated from the late 1980s on and which are now the internationally recognised norm for encoding humanities texts in electronic form. My rather primitive tagging system, which had served its purpose well, was changed throughout into *Collate*'s much more sophisticated system in late 1991, by which time it had become possible to send files between Oxford and Cambridge electronically, and I had acquired my own personal computer, an Apple Macintosh SE/30.<sup>59</sup> For some time after this I maintained my files in both formats or systems in parallel. A few years later there began to be talk of the Cambridge mainframe computer closing down because it was obsolete. When this happened in August 1995 it truly seemed like the end of an era. Even the technical terminology which only a few years earlier had been state-of-the-art ('partitioned data-set', 'magnetic tape backup') died with it.

The *Collate* programme itself was of course being developed during this period. The *Computers and Manuscripts Project* ran its full three years and evolved into the *Computers and Variant Texts Project* as the scope and possible applications of the programme were extended, allowing scholars to handle the material stored in their transcription files in more sophisticated ways and with more fine-tuned output.

### ***The Cambridge University Press edition, 1995***

Meanwhile in 1995 my edition of the Latin text, with English translation and notes, had been published by Cambridge University Press in the series *Cambridge Medieval Classics* under the general editorship of Peter Dronke. An *editio minor* without the Latin text appeared the following year in the series *Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought* under the general editorship of Quentin Skinner

and Raymond Guess, and is still in print. The text which appeared on the DVD-ROM in 2006 is essentially the Latin text of the CUP edition, with the inevitable misprints corrected, and updated with my current thinking regarding issues of textual substance.

A proposal submitted to CUP in 1996 to produce an electronic version of the *Monarchia* was turned down on the grounds that the market was not yet ready for scholarly editions in electronic form. That decision, disappointing at the time, has turned out to be a blessing in disguise: the developments in information technology in the last nine years have been so rapid that what is now offered in this digital edition is incomparably better than what could have been offered then, both in the quality of the digitized images of the manuscripts, and in the sophistication of the tools for handling and analysing the textual material.

To recapitulate: with the exception of ms. Y, the transcriptions do not record punctuation; they expand abbreviations silently except in problematic cases where the forms are recorded exactly as they are with an editorial note; they make no distinction between *j* and *i*, transcribing both as *i*; and they transcribe *u* and *v* in accordance with modern practice, using *u* where the letter represents a vowel and *v* where it represents a consonant independently of what letter form is used in the manuscript. None of these transcription practices distorts the original in any way (indeed it could be said that they help the reader to concentrate on textual substance) and none has any bearing on the problem of manuscript affiliations. In all other respects these are diplomatic transcriptions. As already noted, the possibility of viewing the images alongside the transcriptions makes it possible for the reader to check the manuscript original at any point. For each manuscript a Transcription Note outlines the scribal practices of the copyist, commenting on idiosyncrasies or difficulties presented by the hand; for each manuscript there are also detailed notes on individual problematic readings, now (2018) accessed by positioning the cursor over the Editorial Note icon [\*] in the transcription at the point of difficulty.



Each manuscript transcription file is now autonomous and complete: incorporating as it does all spelling and formal variants and all those many other aspects of the text which had originally been omitted as 'noise', it requires no comparison with a collation copy to be fully intelligible. The Rostagno copy text, which served its purpose well in the early phases of the project, has become redundant and has been discarded: the scaffolding falls away and the vessel is ready to launch.

## Notes

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48. The printouts are reproduced in part as an Appendix to the printed version of the paper which appeared in the volume containing the *Atti* of the conference: *La Società Dantesca Italiana 1888-1988*, Ricciardi, Milano-Napoli 1995, pp. 435-444.
49. The corrected misprints (not present in the 1921 edition) are: *municipii* for *muncipii* at I, xiv, 4; and *condescendere* for *coadscendere* at I, xv, 6.
50. For an account of how *Collate* deals with 'noise' see IV. The Critical Apparatus.
51. It is perhaps worth mentioning at this point that I was working entirely on my own, with no assistance of any kind. Other projects of a similar kind (e.g. the *Canterbury Tales* project in its various stages, which has produced electronic editions of the *Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale*, the *Hengwrt Chaucer* and *The Miller's Tale*), have had the services of a team of paid transcribers, a chief transcription officer and a project co-ordinator. I was strictly a one-man band.
52. For a full account of the transcription guidelines as they are currently reflected in the transcription files see III. The Transcriptions. ii. The Methodology of the Transcriptions.
53. The labour of adding appropriate tagging to produce a differentiated display at this late stage would have added a further full year of inputting time to the project's schedule, to produce a result which would have been pleasing in terms of presentation but whose significance in terms of substance would have been zero.
54. For a full account of the treatment of abbreviations, see III. The Transcriptions. ii. The Methodology of the Transcriptions.
55. The futility of trying to decode such signs will be apparent if the reader turns to the transcription of manuscript Ph and reads the notes which accompany it. The rather slapdash approach of this copyist is particularly testing for the transcriber.
56. *EN*, pp. 109-110.
57. Several examples of how apparently trivial scribal errors can in reality throw light on manuscript affiliations are to be found in the pages which

follow. An example of an over-hasty decision that a reading is an error and can safely be dismissed can be found in *EN*, p. 98.

58. The Powerbook or portable personal computer was not yet available.
59. The SE/30, now regarded as a dinosaur, served me well. I had cannily avoided the temptation to which many modern linguists succumbed in the late 1980s to buy an Amstrad, with its impenetrable instruction manual.

# III. The Transcriptions

## *General*

Transcribing a manuscript copy of a medieval text into computerised form is a process which involves both decoding and encoding: decoding the original to establish as accurate a version as possible of what the scribe wrote; encoding the resulting transcription in order to produce a display which is as informative as possible for other scholars.<sup>60</sup> The decoding calls on the skills of the palaeographer, the codicologist, and the textual critic; the encoding calls on the very different skills of the computer programmer. The interface between these two areas of expertise is the tagging system in which the transcription is marked up: ideally, the tagging system will accurately represent the textual substance of the original with all its varied features, in a way which enables its effective display on the computer screen, and it will also facilitate comparison with other copies of the same text and analysis of the results of that comparison. The account of the methodology of the transcriptions of the *Monarchia* manuscripts given below is therefore followed by a brief description of the tagging system used in the preparation of this electronic edition, which may be of interest to others contemplating similar projects.

## *The Methodology of the Transcriptions*

The account which follows should be read in conjunction with 'The History of the Project', on this web site, which relates the transcription practices used in the project to the development of computer technology since 1985. Some of the issues touched on there are discussed here at greater length and with fuller exemplification. Later in this Introduction a Transcription Note for each manuscript

develops the general points made here in relation to individual witnesses and elaborates on particular problems they may present to the transcriber. The detailed notes to each transcription within the transcription itself clarify and comment on difficulties and anomalies case by case as they are encountered in each manuscript. These notes are accessed by positioning the cursor over the [\*] sign in the transcription at the point where the difficulty arises.

The transcriptions of the *Monarchia* manuscripts offered in this electronic edition are diplomatic transcriptions except in the following respects: they do not record manuscript punctuation, including the use of paragraph markers; they make no distinction between *j* and *i*, treating *j* as simply an alternative form of the letter *i*, and transcribing both as *i*; and they transcribe *u* and *v* in accordance with modern practice, using *u* where the letter represents a vowel and *v* where it represents a consonant independently of what letter form is used in the manuscript (thus ms. *breue* is transcribed *breve* and ms. *vnum* is transcribed *unum*).

[For ms. Y alone these comments do not apply: in the Y transcription *u* and *v* are transcribed exactly as they appear, as are *i* and *j*; and punctuation (*punctus* . and *virgula suspensiva* /) is scrupulously recorded. The exceptional interest of this hitherto unfamiliar manuscript, its very early date, and the intense use made of abbreviation signs by the scribe, made this seem a sensible and helpful choice.]

Abbreviations are expanded silently except in problematic cases: in these cases the forms are recorded exactly as they appear in the manuscript, and are accompanied by an editorial note.<sup>61</sup> There are various kinds of difficulty presented by abbreviated forms.

[For ms. Y alone all expanded abbreviations are represented in italics in the transcription. These italics have been removed in the Apparatus for conformity with the other mss.]

## *Ambiguous abbreviation signs*

Some abbreviation signs are ambiguous. Thus *ul'is* could represent either *universalis* or *utilis* (and some manuscripts have *universalis* in full, while others have *utilis* in full). The word occurs many times in Dante's treatise, and every time it occurs there is liable to be a problem. Equally ambiguous are *ex<sup>a</sup>* (*extra* or *exempla*), *ph'ica* (*philosophica* or *phisica*), *p<sup>a</sup>* (*potentia*, *persona*, *posita*), *sil'i* (*sillogismi* or *simili*), *9<sup>o</sup>* (*conclusio*, *contrario*, *converso*), *9<sup>onis</sup>* (*conclusionis*, *conversionis*, *constructionis*, *coniunctionis*), *pol'is* (*politicis*, *possibilis*), and numerous other words. With all these abbreviations there is at least one manuscript, and often many, which write in full an inappropriate expansion of the abbreviated form.

Where the abbreviated form presents no problems in the broader context of the textual tradition of the treatise as a whole – e.g. where the manuscripts without exception have *philosophica* in full or an abbreviated form *ph'ica* – the abbreviated form is silently expanded like any other. Where a scribe's *usus scribendi* is absolutely consistent in the use of a particular abbreviation for a given word, eg. *.q.* for *quasi* in mss. C, E, F, Ph and R, the abbreviation is likewise expanded in the transcription, even if other mss. have different readings. The abbreviations are retained where there is an ambiguity which has entered and become a part of the textual tradition. Such abbreviated forms may occur where there is a range of readings across the tradition, as when *cant.* in some manuscripts could be expanded *cantice*, *canticam*, *canticum*, *cantici* or *canticorum*, all readings found in full in other manuscripts at this point in the text (III, x, 8).

## *Puzzling abbreviation signs*

Some abbreviation signs are puzzling, in that it is difficult to be sure what the scribe intended the sign to represent. When the scribe of ms. C writes *9<sup>m</sup>* it is impossible to know if this represents *constitutum* or *conceptum* or indeed some other word, as the context does not

help to determine the sense. (The received text at this point is *manifestum*, often abbreviated *m<sup>m</sup>*.) These puzzling forms are retained in the transcription just as they appear in the manuscript, and the difficulty is described in a note.

### *Anomalous abbreviation signs*

Some abbreviated forms are anomalous, inasmuch as they do not conform to the scribe's normal *usus scribendi* for representing the required word: these are transcribed as they appear, with a note drawing attention to the anomaly. Thus in ms. R the scribe writes the very peculiar

at I, v, 4 alongside the normal *ōs* for *omnes*: the first is transcribed as it stands, the second is resolved normally.

### *Inappropriate abbreviation signs*

Other abbreviations are inappropriate: either superfluous (because the word is complete with no abbreviation sign), or misplaced (the sign is in the wrong position, e.g. over the wrong syllable). Superfluous signs are represented just as they appear in the manuscript, or (where they merely duplicate a letter already expressed) mentioned in a note. Where occasionally an abbreviation sign is missing, the word is transcribed as it stands; contemporary readers might well have taken some of these omissions in their stride, just as we would a misprint in a modern edition. (Exceptionally, in ms. R a few common words with missing signs are transcribed in full: thus *pot*, used repeatedly for *potest* alongside the standard form with an abbreviation sign, is transcribed *potest*; and *het* is transcribed *habet*.) Where a superfluous abbreviation sign which has been cancelled by the scribe duplicates a letter already expressed in full as a letter, as

happens more than once in U, it is not included in the transcription but is registered in a note.

### *Misplaced abbreviation signs*

Misplaced signs are much more problematic: where the displacement produces an alternative reading – e.g. at II, iii, 12 *pōtes* in ms. G can only be read *pontes* and not *potens*

*pōtes* ;  
*platis*

in ms. C at I, iii, 6 can only be read *prelatis* and not *plantis* – it is transcribed as it actually is (*pontes, prelatis*), and a note draws attention to the source of the error.

Where the displacement does not produce an alternative reading, e.g.

*mōre*

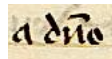
*mōre* for *morem* in ms. D at II, vi, 9, it is transcribed as it should be (*morem*, though a reader might well fail to recognise the word) and again a note draws attention to the displacement. (For a fuller discussion of anomalous and inappropriate abbreviation signs, see the Transcription Note for ms. Ph where the problem is endemic.)

### *Abbreviation signs which are wrong in context*

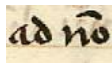
Some abbreviated forms are unequivocal but simply wrong in context. Thus for example in ms. H we find *n<sup>m</sup> – nullum* – where what the text should read is *u<sup>m</sup> – verum*). The misreading has arisen because of confusion between the letters *n* and *u*; the same confusion accounts for an abbreviated *naturaliter* where what is required is



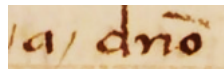
*universaliter* in ms. C, and an abbreviated *vero* instead of the required *non* in ms. N. In these and similar cases the transcription expands the abbreviated form the scribe has actually written, even though in context the reading may be confusing or nonsensical. Sometimes the confusion has arisen not because of letter forms but because of a misunderstanding of word division: thus the scribe of ms. A writes an abbreviation



which can only mean *a domino* instead of the required *ad non*, written correctly a few lines earlier



(III, ii, 4). The scribe of G does the same thing at III, ii, 6:

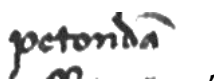


Again the transcription registers what the scribe has actually written, and an accompanying note explains the corruption.

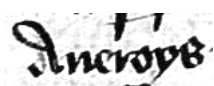
A final minor difficulty concerns the abbreviated forms for *huius* and *huiusmodi*. Cappelli (p. 160) lists certain abbreviated forms of *huius* as also signifying *huiusmodi*, alongside other fuller abbreviated forms of *huiusmodi* where the *-modi* is expressed explicitly. There are a number of points in the text of the *Monarchia* where the required reading is *huiusmodi*, but many manuscripts have *huius*. While these have normally been transcribed as *huius*, in mss. B and P the scribe is so scrupulously careful and generally correct in his use of abbreviated forms that it seems he may well have used the more contracted form to signify *huiusmodi*. On these occasions the transcription reads *huiusmodi[?]*, where the grey typeface and question mark indicate that the reading is not certain. (See the Transcription Note for ms. B for a fuller account of this problem.)

## *Doubtful readings*

In general, the grey typeface and question mark are used for uncertain or doubtful readings: where a manuscript has suffered physical damage and a reading is only partly legible; where a reading is simply not clear; where a reading is fully legible but difficult to fathom; or where a letter form is dubious, as in the many cases in ms. R where *e* before *n* looks exactly like *o*, as it does in the word *petendam* at II, v, 16



or the many cases in many manuscripts where *n* and *u* appear to have been confused: thus in ms. Z at I, iii, 9



is transcribed *Av[?]eroys*. Where a reader unfamiliar with the text would certainly take the letter to be the wrong one the transcription records the problematic letter or letters in grey, indicating that there is a difficulty. Thus *misenum* in ms. N at II, iii, 9



is transcribed *mi[?]senum* because a reader unfamiliar with the name would certainly read this as *unsenum*. In cases like these the grey typeface and question mark give the benefit of the doubt.

The decision as to how to transcribe in these problematic instances – whether to use the grey typeface, whether to retain or resolve an abbreviation – has been made depending not just on the immediate context but also on the broader context of the manuscript tradition as a whole. The transcriptions must be read bearing these considerations in mind and consulting the notes as appropriate. In the Apparatus, to create a cleaner display, the grey typeface is retained but the question mark [?] has been eliminated

## *Unrecoverable readings*

Where a reading is unrecoverable because of physical damage to the manuscript, the transcription is [...]: thus



in ms. G at I, ii, 5 is transcribed *quod quedam* [...] [...] *nostre*, and



in ms. U at I, v, 7 is transcribed [.....]*is est bene*. Spaces left blank in the text are represented by square brackets thus: [ ].

## *Spelling and formal variants*

The transcriptions register all spelling and formal variants exactly as they appear in the manuscript. The spellings in some manuscripts are very idiosyncratic: there are spellings in ms. A, for example, which are found in no other manuscript of the treatise (*occiosse* for *otiose*, *mondi* for *mundi*, *occime* for *optime*).

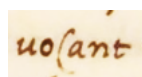
This raises a further problem for the transcriber. When a word appears in abbreviated form, should it be resolved using the idiosyncratic spelling which seems characteristic of the scribe, or the standard spelling? After some hesitation the decision was taken to resolve abbreviations using standard spellings, even though this flattens and normalises the linguistic character of the text in a manuscript like ms. A, and even when the non-standard form occurs more frequently than the standard form when the words are written in full.

In this manuscript the abbreviated form is transcribed *propositum*, even though the scribe when he writes the word in full usually writes *propositum*; the abbreviated form is transcribed *secundum*, whereas the scribe writes *secundum*, *secumdum* and *secondum* indifferently when he writes the word in full; the abbreviated form is

transcribed *scilicet*, even though on the two occasions when he writes the word in full the scribe writes *silicet*.

### *Different letter forms*

The transcription is graphemic and not graphetic. Different forms of the same letter are not recorded: thus the distinction between long and short *s* is not retained, and nor is the special form of *s* which occurs in the final position in a word in some manuscripts; the same holds for other variant letter forms, particularly of the letters *r* and *a*. In some manuscripts the distinction between capital and lower-case forms of some letters is blurred. Thus in ms. S capital letter shapes – especially *R* and *A* – are often close in size to lower-case forms and are used indiscriminately where we would expect a lower-case letter. These have been treated simply as variant letter forms and transcribed as lower-case. In the same way the long *C* used in ms. L alongside the short form is transcribed as lower-case: for example at III, iii, 9



is transcribed *vocant*. A few manuscripts – H, Z, F – use the letter *w*. Where the letter occurs as part of a word written in full, as in *ewangelio* or *sangwine*, it is transcribed as *w*; where the abbreviated form *w<sup>t</sup>* occurs the word is transcribed *vult*. The form *e* caudata, used alongside the diphthong *æ* and equivalent to it in the *princeps* and some late manuscripts, is transcribed as a simple *e*.

### *Minims*

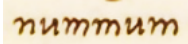
In many manuscripts letters composed of minims (*i*, *n*, *u*, *m*) can be a problem: in particular, *n* and *u* can be virtually interchangeable because each consists of two minims. Where context makes only one reading possible (e.g. the words *Cum* at I, xiii, 7



and *Qui* at I, i, 4

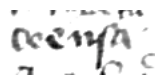


in ms. N), that is what is transcribed, even though in these cases the minims join at the top as in *n* rather than at the bottom as in *u*. Words which contain a sequence of letters composed of minims – *omnium*, *minime*, *divine*, the form *numma* for the name Numa – can be especially problematic. There is good reason to believe that many scribes failed to recognise the name of Numa Pompilio, and when they write *numme* the word is identical to *minime*, even with the dot on the minim which indicates the letter *i*. Here the grey typeface is used to indicate uncertainty. (See the Transcription Note for ms. N for further discussion of this point.) Conversely, the scribe of L writes *nummum*



when what is required is *minimum*, but here the reading is unequivocal and is transcribed exactly as it is, with no grey typeface.

In the same way the scribe of H writes the name *Creusa* in a way which does not allow us to read it as anything but *crensa*

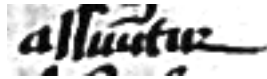


at II, iii, 14.

Occasionally, when writing words which have a sequence of minims a scribe writes one minim too few or one too many: thus we find both *assunitur*



and *assumutur*



for *assumitur*. These words are transcribed just as they are written, usually without comment, as the slip on the scribe's part is self-evident.

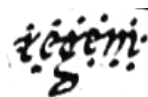
Occasionally the word division in a manuscript suggests a meaning different from the received text: thus in ms. L we find *de preceptore motos* instead of *de precepto remotos*, and *imperiose* instead of *imperio se*.

In these cases the transcription records the reading with the spacing as it appears in the manuscript.

### *Scribal corrections*

Scribal corrections of every kind have been scrupulously recorded in the transcriptions. Underlining is represented by underlining; cancellation with underdots is represented with underdots.

Words enclosed within dots to indicate cancellation are likewise transcribed as underdots: thus in ms. M at I, xii, 11



is transcribed rege[m]. Words which are struck through are displayed in the transcription with a bar through them; thus in ms. G at I, iii, 10



is transcribed arte.

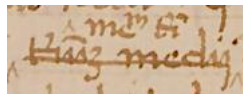
Words which are erased are shaded: thus at I, i, 4 in ms. V



is displayed Nullum **que** quippe. Where the erased word or letters are not decipherable, the transcription is [...] with the number of dots within the brackets corresponding to the number of letters erased. Cancelled incompletely executed letters similarly appear as [.], even when one can make an educated guess at what letter it was the scribe began to write.

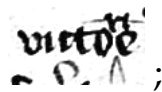
Additions to the text, whether interlinear or marginal, appear in the transcription between sloping bars at the point at which they were intended to be inserted: \ /.

Where a correction involves a substitution, i.e. where the corrector cancels something and replaces it with something else, if the replacement word appears above the cancelled word, as in ms. G at II, v, 23, the transcription takes this form:

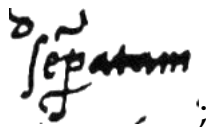


~~terminum~~ **medii** \medium termini/. If the word is partly overwritten, the transcription registers this with the cancelled word or letters within square brackets in blue followed by the replacement letters in green.

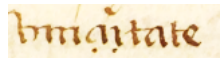
Thus in ms. Z at II, v, 15 vict[ime]orie shows that the scribe first wrote *victime* then altered the final letters to make the word into *victorie*:



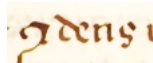
in ms. M at I, iii, 8 se[paratam]mper shows that an original *separatam* was amended to *semper*:



in ms. E at I, xv, 8 u[m]niantate shows that an original *umanitate* was changed to *unitate*:



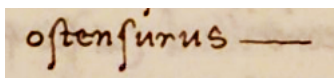
In cases like this last one, in line with the practice of resolving unproblematical abbreviations, the macron representing the *n* of *umanitate* is resolved as *n* to clarify the correction. Similarly, the transcription of the corrected word [et]condens in ms. E at II, viii, 13



resolves the abbreviation signs for *et* and *con*. In general, the colour blue indicates the original reading, the colour green a corrected reading.

### *Spaces left blank then filled*

A more taxing problem for the transcriber is presented by the cases – numerous in some manuscripts – where a space left blank by the original scribe is subsequently filled, either by the original scribe himself who comes back to revise and correct his copy, or by a later hand. Additions of this kind appear in the transcription in the form [\ /], the blue square brackets indicating the original space left blank and the \ / in green showing the word or phrase inserted by the correcting hand into that space. Thus the word *ostensurus* in ms. L at II, iv, 11



is added in a much larger space originally left blank and appears in the transcription in this form: [\ostensurus/].

### *Notes to the transcription*

The distinction between various correcting hands is made in the notes to the transcription, accessed by positioning the cursor on the



Editorial Notes icon [\*] within the body of the transcription itself. Thus in ms. Z we can distinguish the original hand (hand 1), the commentary hand (hand 2), and the correcting hand (hand 3), all of whom intervene in the text in small ways. Where there is no note, it can be assumed that the correction is made by the original scribe in the course of copying, or at any rate that it is impossible to be sure that a second scribe is involved. Editorial notes which comment on points of difficulty in the transcription are likewise accessed by positioning the cursor over the Editorial Notes icon [\*].

### *Line-fillers*

The conventional symbol ꝑ represents the line-filler with which scribes sometimes fill the space at the end of a line as they copy. This conventional symbol is used no matter what form the line-filler takes, whether it is a cancelled letter (often but by no means always an *i*), a flourish, a sign such as =, an *h* (as in ms. R), or several letters (usually the first letters of the word which is to follow at the beginning of the next line). In ms. V, where entire words and even whole phrases are copied then cancelled to fulfil this function at the end of chapters, they have been recorded in the transcription as an idiosyncratic aspect of the scribe's *usus scribendi*, but eliminated from the Word Collation since they have no textual or stemmatic significance: thus at I, xi, 20



is monarchiam esse.

### *Glosses and scribal notes*

Short glosses on single words are included in the transcription and the position of the gloss (interlinear or marginal) is reflected in the layout. Scribal notes located in the margins of manuscripts, and longer glosses, are transcribed as notes to the transcription, and are

accessed by clicking on § within the transcription. The extensive commentary in ms. Z (the commentary by Cola di Rienzo) is likewise accessed by clicking on § in the transcription at the appropriate point.

## *Varia*

Numbers have been transcribed exactly as they appear, whether they are spelled out in letters or written as Arabic or Roman numerals. Tironian note 7 in the manuscripts is transcribed *et*, as is ampersand & in the *editio princeps*. In syllogisms the single letters which form part of the argument (as in *omne b est a*) often appear with *punctus* immediately before and after the letter. These *punctus* are treated as part of the letter and are not transcribed.

The guide letters for the rubricator, visible in the margins of many manuscripts, have not been transcribed, unless the ornamented capital has not been executed, in which case they are transcribed as lower-case. Idle or decorative flourishes, occasionally found at the end of a word or a line, are not transcribed. In the transcription of the *editio princeps* running titles have not been transcribed; nor have the catchwords which occur at the bottom of every page. In the manuscripts catchwords marking the end of a gathering are recorded in the transcription, positioned on the screen to the right under the last line of text. In mss. P and Z there are many interlinear markers over words, used by the scribes to signal the presence of a marginal gloss or variant, or even just to mark a problematic reading for which no alternative is suggested. These markers are occasionally very difficult to see on the black and white images, as they have been added very discreetly with a very fine pen. In the first edition of the project they were transcribed as a superscript backwards slash at the end of the word; in this new edition they are no longer part of the transcription, but in each case their existence is noted in an editorial note [\*] in the transcription. Where a macron has clearly been added by a correcting hand, as in ms. V at II, v, 15, the transcription is *acce<sup>˘</sup>-deret*. Where the macron has been cancelled

by a correcting hand, as in ms. R at I, i, 4, the transcription is *resum-  
mere*λt.

## *The Tagging System*

The devising of the tagging system used in this project, its refinement and implementation, has been a collaborative effort by a team of scholars over a number of years.<sup>62</sup> It is used in this electronic edition of the *Monarchia* in parallel with its use in the electronic edition of the *Commedia* on which the editor of this edition is also working – a text which presents different but equally daunting problems for a transcriber. A list of the tags used in both projects is appended here, with examples where appropriate, in order to facilitate comprehension of the project's methodology. (Not all possible combinations of tags have been included in this list.)

### *Tags indicating position*

[i][/i]	interlinear
[rm][/rm]	right margin
[lm][/lm]	left margin
[tm][/tm]	top margin
[bm][/bm]	bottom margin
[pl][/pl]	a letter or word added within the line by cramming between words or at either end of the line but attached to it

### *Tags indicating scribal deletion*

[ud][/ud]	underdotted, or erased by dots within the letter or dots enclosing the word
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[ul][/ <ul]< td=""> <td>underlined</td> </ul]<>	underlined
[st][/ <st]< td=""> <td>cancelled by a stroke through the letter or the word</td> </st]<>	cancelled by a stroke through the letter or the word
[er][/ <er]< td=""> <td>erased</td> </er]<>	erased
[va][/ <va]< td=""> <td>deleted by having the word va.....cat written around it</td> </va]<>	deleted by having the word va.....cat written around it
[st]̄[/ <st]< td=""> <td>a cancelled macron</td> </st]<>	a cancelled macron

### *Tags indicating problematic readings*

[unr][/ <unr]< td=""> <td>unreadable, including words or letters missing because of physical damage to the manuscript</td> </unr]<>	unreadable, including words or letters missing because of physical damage to the manuscript
[dub][/ <dub]< td=""> <td>doubtful</td> </dub]<>	doubtful
[sp]xxx[/ <sp]< td=""> <td>a space left deliberately by the copyist, either because he is unsure of the reading or because there is a blemish in the parchment which he avoids writing on: the number of x's corresponds to the number of letters the space could accommodate</td> </sp]<>	a space left deliberately by the copyist, either because he is unsure of the reading or because there is a blemish in the parchment which he avoids writing on: the number of x's corresponds to the number of letters the space could accommodate
[er][unr]xxx[/ <unr][ <er]<="" td=""> <td>an erased reading which is unreadable: the number of x's corresponds to the number of indecipherable letters</td> </unr][>	an erased reading which is unreadable: the number of x's corresponds to the number of indecipherable letters

### *Tags indicating glosses or alternative readings*

[gl][i][/ <i>][/<gl]< td=""> <td>interlinear gloss</td> </gl]<></i>	interlinear gloss
[gl][lm][/ <lm][ <gl]<="" td=""> <td>gloss in the left margin</td> </lm][>	gloss in the left margin
[al][rm][/ <rm][ <al]<="" td=""> <td>alternative reading in the right margin</td> </rm][>	alternative reading in the right margin

## *Tags indicating the intervention of a second or third hand*

[i-c2][i-c2]	interlinear addition by a second copyist
[lm-c3][lm-c3]	addition in the left margin by a third copyist
[al-c2][rm][rm][al-c2]	alternative reading by a second hand in the right margin
[gl][i-c2][i-c2][gl]	interlinear gloss by a second hand
[exp-c2]n[/exp-c2]	a macron added by a second or revising hand

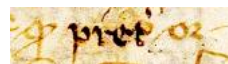
## *Tags indicating the substitution of one reading for another*

[rp][cow]abc[/cow]def[/rp]	replacement when the original reading is still visible and legible: abc is the original reading, def is the reading which takes its place, e.g. in ms. V at II, iv, 3
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is transcribed [rp-c2][cow]necessitas[/cow] neffas[/rp-c2] and displays [\[necessitas\]neffas](#).

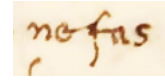
[rp][er][unr]xxx[/unr][er]abc[/rp]	replacement over an erasure where the original reading cannot be deciphered: xxx is the original unrecoverable reading (the number of x's indicating the number of illegible letters), abc is the reading which replaces it, e.g. in ms. V at II, iv, 1
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is transcribed [rp-c2][er][unr]xxxxx[/unr][er]preter[/rp-c2] and displays [\[.....\]preter](#).

[rp][sp]xxxx[/sp]abc[/rp]

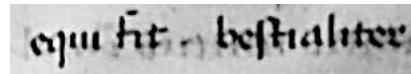
a word or phrase added in a space left by the copyist: xxxx represents the space (the number of x's indicating the number of letters the space could accommodate), abc is the added word or phrase, e.g. in ms. L at III, iii, 10



is transcribed ne[`rp`][`sp`]xxx[/`sp`]fas[/`rp`] and displays ne[\fas/].

[rp-c2][sp]xxxx[/sp]abc[/rp-c2]

word added by a later hand in a space left by the copyist, e.g. in ms. C at III, xvi, 9



is transcribed [rp-c2][sp]xxxxxx[/sp]fit[/rp-c2] and displays [\fit/].

## *Tags reflecting aspects of layout*

[sup][sup]

superscript

&lb;

line break

&lb;=

line break with concatenation marker to indicate that a word is split across the line break

&lf;

line filler

[4xcp]x[/4xcp]

unexecuted capital letter four lines deep

[3xcp]n[/3xcp]

unexecuted capital letter three lines deep with guide letter n visible

{/cw/ }

catch word

[emph][emph]

large lower case letters used for emphasis, usually at the beginning of a chapter

[sc][sc]	small capitals
[i]\[/i]	an interlinear marker over a word in the text where there is no corresponding marginal alternative reading or correction
&wlb;	wrapped line below
&wla;	wrapped line above
[exp][exp]	expansion of an abbreviated form, used in this second edition of the Monarchia project only in the transcription of ms. Y, where all expansions of abbreviated forms are registered in italics. It is used more frequently than any other tag in the Commedia project.

## Notes

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60. For the characterization of transcription as both encoding and decoding, compare Robinson and Solopova 1993 (in this article, Solopova was responsible for this formulation).
61. The limitations of the Junicode font used in the transcriptions have imposed certain restraints on our ability to represent manuscript forms exactly as they appear. The apostrophe has been used to represent various similar but not identical kinds and sizes of loop in the transcriptions, which may have quite distinct meanings; and it has not always been possible to put the macron and tilde abbreviation signs directly over the letter they relate to: they sometimes appear slightly displaced to the right.
62. Team members were Barbara Bordalejo, Orietta Da Rold, Jennifer Marshall, Peter Robinson, Prue Shaw, and Andrew West.



# IV. The Critical Apparatus

## *The Apparatus in this electronic edition*

As well as complete transcriptions of all the manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of the *Monarchia*, this electronic edition offers a critical Apparatus showing all the variants in all the witnesses. The Apparatus is organised paragraph by paragraph, and the words are set out in the order in which they appear in the text. The Apparatus is presented in three forms: a complete default apparatus (Apparatus), which shows every word of the text and the reading of every manuscript at that point; a reduced apparatus (Positive) where all the words where there are no variants in any manuscript have been removed; and a still further reduced version (Negative), which shows only the readings of those manuscripts which are different from the base text. That base text is always the Latin text of the *Edizione Nazionale*, i.e. the text of the Latin critical edition stripped of punctuation and formatting such as italics. It is the third or Negative version which shows variants which are significant in terms of textual substance and thus potentially revealing of stemmatic relationships. The three options are chosen by clicking on the drop-down menu in the menu bar alongside the manuscript sigil button. The default setting of the window (Apparatus) is the complete version.

Here is an example of the three forms of the apparatus for the final paragraph of I vii:

## Apparatus

Apparatus for Book I, chapter vii, paragraph 3	
Ex	Ed ABCDEFGHJKLMNPPhQRSTUVWXYZ
quo	Ed ABCDEFGHJKLMNPPhQRSTUVWXYZ
sequitur	Ed ABCDEFGHJKLMNPPhQRSTUVWXYZ
Monarchiam monarchia	Ed ABCDEFGHKLMPPhQRSTUVWXYZ N
necessariam mundo ut bene sit esse necessariam mundo necessariam esse mundo ut bene sit esse necessariam mundo ut bene sit	Ed B C D F G H K L M N P Ph Q S U V Y Z A E R T

## Positive

Apparatus for Book I, chapter vii, paragraph 3	
Monarchiam monarchia	Ed ABCDEFGHKLMPPhQRSTUVWXYZ N
necessariam mundo ut bene sit esse necessariam mundo necessariam esse mundo ut bene sit esse necessariam mundo ut bene sit	Ed B C D F G H K L M N P Ph Q S U V Y Z A E R T

## Negative

Apparatus for Book I, chapter vii, paragraph 3	
Monarchiam monarchia	N
necessariam mundo ut bene sit esse necessariam mundo necessariam esse mundo ut bene sit esse necessariam mundo ut bene sit	

## *Regularisation*

In order to produce an Apparatus which shows only significant variants, i.e. variants of textual and possibly stemmatic significance within the tradition, insignificant variants must be identified and removed from the display. This elimination of insignificant variants is achieved by the process of regularisation, an editorial procedure which instructs the computer programme to treat as equivalents variant forms where the variation is of no interest to an editor of the text. This is an exacting and time-consuming procedure: Dante's treatise, as we have noted elsewhere, contains roughly 23,500 words; it exists in 21 complete copies and 1 incomplete one: thus there are approximately half a million separate items to be classified as significant or not significant for the purposes of establishing the text, and then entered into the computer's memory in an appropriate form.

The following account lists the categories of insignificant variation removed from the regularised Apparatus and the categories of significant variant which appear in it, with some exemplification and commentary on the various categories under each head. Regularisation removes the following from the Word Collation display: differences in capitalisation, and differences in word division which do not affect sense; spelling variants of whatever kind; formal variants; trivial errors corrected by the copyist as he writes; and trivial errors not corrected by the copyist as he writes. It does not remove: corrections by a second (later) hand; variant readings; and genuine errors.

## *Capitalisation*

Capitalisation in the manuscript tradition is much less frequent and much less consistent than in modern printing practice. We can just note the lack of capitalisation in most (and sometimes in all) manuscripts of words like *deus*, *cristo*, *dei filius*, *spiritum sanctum*, *domino*, *virgine matre*, *prima bonitas*, *uncto*, *principe celi* and so on. Equally

likely to be uncapitalised are proper names (e.g. *marcus, luca, fabritius, camillus*) and titles of books (e.g. *de causis, prima rettorica, prime philosophie, vetus et novum testamentum, sex principiorum, bello punico, divinarum scripturarum*). Capitalisation or the lack of it has no bearing on textual substance, and this is a first substantial category of insignificant variation eliminated from the regularised Apparatus.

### ***Word division***

Many common Latin compound words can be written indifferently as one or two words: *quin ymo* or *quinymo, quodam modo* or *quodammodo*. Furthermore, medieval scribes had no hesitation in splitting words across line-breaks, so that in the computer transcription, which respects and registers line-breaks, such words appear to have two component parts. These kinds of variation in word splitting have no bearing on textual substance and constitute a second large group of insignificant variation eliminated from the regularised Apparatus.

### ***Spelling variants***

The extraordinary fluidity of spelling conventions in medieval Latin means that single words may appear in the manuscripts of the *Monarchia* spelt in half a dozen or more different ways. A few examples will give the measure of the variation: the name *Nicomacum* appears also as *nichomacum, nicomachum, nycomacum, nicomaccum, nichomachum, nicommacum, nycomatum, nicomatum*, and even *nicomacium, nicomatium* and *nichomatium*. All these different spellings may occur with an uppercase or lowercase initial *n*, and the name may be split across a line-break in various ways: we have for this one name alone at least twenty different versions which the computer must be programmed to recognise as representing the same textual substance. There are six different spellings of the word which is variously written *gymnasium, gimnasium, ginasium, gignasium, ginaxium*, and *gingnasium*. The name of Jesus is found spelled *iesu, ihesu, yhesu*; and

so on. All such differences in spelling are of no textual interest and have been eliminated from the regularised Apparatus.

### ***Formal variants***

Formal variants are those forms of a word which, while recognisably the same word, reflect not simply different spelling conventions but differences which may correlate with differences in pronunciation. Formal variants include forms where assimilation has or has not taken place such as *assumitur/adsumitur* and *irrationabile/inrationabile*; they include forms which reflect the influence of the vernacular (*capitolium/campidolium*; *mundo/mondo*; *sponsum/sposum*) and perhaps regional pronunciation. Contracted forms with the loss of a syllable, such as *nil/nichil* and *preminentia/preheminentia*, are likewise formal variants.

The distinction between a spelling variant and a formal variant is not always hard and fast: we simply cannot be certain if spellings which to modern eyes seem to indicate a phonetic difference reflected a similar distinction to a medieval scribe (as for example with the pairs *silentio/scilentio*, *sinceritas/scinceritas*, *sceptro/septro*, *transcendunt/transsendunt*, *essentiam/exentiam*, *produxit/produssit*, *discipuli/dixipuli*). But all these examples are still unequivocally variant forms of the same word: the textual substance remains unchanged and the variants are of no stemmatic significance. They are therefore eliminated from the regularised Apparatus.

### ***Trivial errors***

Trivial errors corrected by the copyist as he writes include the cancellation of a letter, word or phrase, or the substitution or overwriting of a letter or letters. They include those cases where several lines of text have been cancelled when a scribe starts to make a *saut du même au même* but realises his mistake and self-corrects. They also include cases where the scribe initially writes words in the wrong

order but corrects the order with appropriate signs over the words. All these trivial self-corrected errors are eliminated from the regularised apparatus as they reveal nothing about textual substance, but simply reflect the greater or lesser degree of concentration and care with which the copyist performed his task.

Trivial errors not corrected by the copyist as he writes have also been eliminated from the regularised apparatus. After some initial hesitation it was decided to remove this last category in the interests of creating an uncluttered apparatus which bore witness only to significant variation in the tradition. (For the new ms. Y, however, a slightly more inclusive approach has been adopted: some trivial errors, both corrected and uncorrected, are included in the Apparatus simply because of their interest as a reflection of the care with which the scribe operates; occasional spelling variants on proper names are also included).

Such trivial uncorrected errors include the following: omission, through haste or carelessness, of a letter or part of a letter (typically a minim); omission of an abbreviation sign; omission of a repeated syllable within a word (e.g. *notia* for *notitia*, *iustia* for *iustitia*); omission of the *cedilla* which turns *c* into *z*. Equally and oppositely they include the inadvertent repetition of a word (frequent across a line-break), or of a syllable within a word (e.g. *intellectualilibus* for *intellectualibus*), or the presence of a superfluous abbreviation sign or an anomalous abbreviation sign, or simply a wrong letter instead of the correct one, but where the intended reading is in no doubt (*monorcha* for *monarcha*, for example, or *manarchia* for *monarchia*). If the inadvertent repetition of a word seems significant for whatever reason it is not removed from the regularised apparatus.

Provided the omission or duplication does not introduce an ambiguity or difficulty or suggest a reading which differs from the base text, it can safely be regularised out. Much of this trivial error is concentrated in a small group of manuscripts whose scribes are particularly undisciplined and erratic (principally mss. E, Ph, R and S). The copyist of ms. D is likewise a habitual offender in leaving the

abbreviation sign off the letter *p*, whether the syllable being represented is *per-*, *pro-* or *pre-*. This category of trivial uncorrected error also includes the two misprints in the *editio princeps* K (*politizan* for *politizant*, *Ecclelesia* for *Ecclesia*), which are likewise eliminated from the regularised apparatus.

Where any of these trivial uncorrected errors creates an alternative reading – as when the omission of the bar on the tail of the *p* in ms. D gives the reading *impium* instead of *imperium*, or the absence of the *cedilla* gives *celo* instead of *zelo*, or *celatores* instead of *zelatores* – it is of course retained in the regularised Apparatus. Because the letters *c* and *t* are virtually interchangeable in some hands in some contexts, the presence of one where we expect the other is treated as not significant (as with *nicomacum/nicomatum* noted above), unless the distinction between them has semantic value and creates a different word (as with *unica, unita; artis, arcis; meditandum, medicandum; vice, vite* and so on). In short, where a trivial error creates an alternative reading (however unlikely) it is treated as a real error and retained in the regularised Apparatus.

The dividing line between trivial and real error is not always clear-cut. There is a recurring problem with proper names, which can present an extraordinary variety of forms. At what point does one decide that an aberrant form is not a trivial variation but to be considered a genuine error? As a general working rule, it was decided to use a kind of ‘fuzzy-match’ criterion borrowed from computer programming. If a name is misspelt by only one letter, then this is treated as a trivial error; if by more than one letter, the name risks becoming unrecognisable, and the variant is usually retained. But these decisions were made case by case, on balance of likelihood and using common sense, and they can of course be checked by all interested readers by accessing the images and transcriptions of the mss. Two examples will illustrate the kinds of decisions which had to be made. At II, iii, 10 the name *Assaraco* appears in the following variants: *assaraco, asaraco, assarato, assarace, asseraco, assarico, ascirato, asacrato* and *ansarato*. The last three have been retained in the regularised collation as being too far from the original to be recognisable.

At II, iii, 12 the name *Oenotri* appears in the following forms: *oenotri*, *oenotrii*, *Oenō*, *Oenetri*, *Eenotri*, *Onetri*, *Onenotri*, *cenocri* and *o enotu*. Again the last three forms are retained in the regularised Apparatus while the others are not.

The regularised Apparatus of Dante's treatise presents the textual tradition of the *Monarchia* as much cleaner and less idiosyncratic than it actually is. All the innumerable oddities and careless mistakes in the manuscripts are suppressed. This undoubtedly flattens the degree of eccentricity and minor error in the witnesses apparent from a first glance at the Apparatus, but it seemed more helpful to eliminate this distracting and ultimately trivial variation in order to facilitate the display of the material which is significant and to concentrate the reader's attention on that. For the same reason, where a manuscript has suffered damage from damp, as U in particular has, the unrecoverable readings represented by [...] in the transcription are removed from the regularised Apparatus where just a few letters are missing from what is a recognisable word, but not where a whole word is missing or where what is visible is problematic.

### *The regularised Apparatus*

The regularised Apparatus contains the following material which regularisation does not remove: corrections by a second (later) hand; variant readings; and genuine errors.

#### *Corrections by a later hand*

Corrections of any kind by a second (later) hand are retained in the regularised Apparatus, unless they are inconsequential (as when a lowercase letter has been overwritten as an uppercase letter). Genuine corrections by a later hand which affect textual substance are always retained, whether or not the original reading is decipherable, as they have the potential to throw light on manuscript affiliations. Such corrections are displayed in the following form:



- [...] *abc* where the original reading is not legible and is replaced by the reading *abc*;
- [*abc*] *def* where the original reading *abc* is recoverable and has been replaced by the reading *def*.

Several manuscripts have been systematically revised by a later hand (which may be that of the original scribe who returns to his work at a later time to check and correct), notably mss. L, T, V and Z. Such retouchings of the text are always interesting and their implications always worth pondering: this material is therefore included in the regularised Apparatus.

### *Variant readings*

Variant readings are readings which differ from the base text but which are not at first glance obviously wrong. A very common type of variant reading in the *Monarchia* consists of identical words in a slightly different order – normally such a reordering of words is unproblematical in Latin and does not affect meaning. Thus the phrase *etiam iudicia dei sunt* in some manuscripts appears in others as *etiam iudicia sunt dei*, *etiam sunt iudicia dei*, and *iudicia etiam sunt dei*. Other variant readings may be synonyms, where the lexical item is different but the sense of the phrase is unaltered: thus *vocatur* is exactly equivalent in meaning to *nuncupatur*. Yet others may be plausible alternative readings which alter the sense but are not in themselves self-evidently wrong. Thus at II, ii, 8 the reading *etiam humanarum exempla voluntatum* for *etiam humana extra volentem* significantly changes the meaning although in a way which is not unintelligent. (If this were the only surviving manuscript we would not necessarily suspect that the text was faulty.)

These plausible variant readings become ‘errors’ only in retrospect when the critical text has been fixed. A word or phrase which makes perfect sense in context can only be confidently declared an error in the light of the whole tradition. Indeed the *lectiones singulares* of

scribes who perhaps amend a corrupt passage in their exemplar, as in the example just cited, may seem beguilingly plausible.

## *Errors*

By contrast, there are readings which simply render the text unintelligible and these are perforce categorised as errors from the outset. Thus a reading such as *ex patria virtute* for *virtute experiamur* in mss. E and R at II, ix, 8 is self-evidently nonsensical in context. The high incidence of such outright errors in the textual tradition of the *Monarchia* reflects a number of factors. The abbreviation systems used by different scribes were a constant source of possible misinterpretation and consequent mistranscription, sometimes yielding ludicrously inappropriate readings when an abbreviated form was expanded wrongly, as when what should be *falsitatem consequentis* has transmogrified into *felicitatem consistendis*. It is also clear that, quite apart from difficulties with abbreviated forms, scribes had real problems with some of the more technical aspects of the logical argument: even in the *princeps*, relatively error-free as we might expect in a printed edition, we find a syllogism which makes no sense at all (at III, iv, 21). As we have observed elsewhere, scribes seem sometimes simply to have given up on making sense of the text they were copying, or else were copying on automatic pilot without even attempting to follow the argument as it unfolded.

Finally, the nature of the text itself was inherently prone to omission ('il principe degli errori', as we noted earlier), the frequent repetitions and recapitulations in the argument tending in particular to generate *sauts du même au même*.

## *Omissions*

A striking feature of Dante's text in its manuscript transmission is the very high number of lacunae caused by *sauts du même au même*. Because of its tightly structured argument, often developed through

syllogisms, the text frequently repeats phrases and clauses, often returning to them several times in a relatively short space, sometimes in identical form and sometimes with minor variations. These recurring phrases may be just a line or two apart, or even on adjacent lines. It is very common to find copyists jumping from one occurrence of such a word or phrase to another and omitting the intervening text: an error of the kind known as a *salto per omoioleuto* or a *saut du même au même* (and sometimes referred to in English as eyeskip).

Some of these omissions may be lengthy (two or three full lines of text in some instances); and there are some chapters in the *Monarchia* (e.g. III, xii) where, because of the nature of Dante's argument, they are particularly frequent, occurring in many manuscripts, for the most part independently, and creating a tapestry of overlapping and interlocking omissions when the transmission of the text is viewed as a whole. Sometimes, perversely, we have a *saut du même au même* in reverse: the scribe repeats a phrase rather than omitting one because his eye has slipped back up the page to an earlier instance of the same word or phrase. Representing these omissions (and occasional repetitions) clearly in the Apparatus proved to be a particular challenge.

Omissions in the Apparatus are normally represented simply by *om.* under the relevant word or phrase with the manuscript sigil(s) alongside, a display which is self-explanatory. Where there is a longer omission the Apparatus registers *Phrase om.* and prints the entire missing phrase alongside the ms. sigil. This – the simplest way of presenting what is often complex material – in itself was unproblematical.

The problem lay elsewhere. To a human being a *saut du même au même* in the text is immediately apparent for what it is: it is marked both by the identity of the words or phrases between which the text has gone missing, and by the identity of the text which follows the omission and the text which follows the second occurrence of the triggering word or phrase in the base text. The computer by contrast

had difficulty identifying the exact extent of these lacunae. Because there are usually other verbal echoes in the immediate context in passages like this, and the computer first attempts to make an approximate or ‘fuzzy’ match after failing to make an exact match, what tended to happen was that the computer identified an omission as beginning several words later than where it really began.

Fine-tuning the Apparatus to deal with this and other similar problems took many, many months of painstaking work, and required the combined best efforts of the editor, the research assistant, and the programmer (PS, JM and PR) working in close collaboration. In other words, although the raw Apparatus generated by the computer in the first instance is completely automatic, the version of the Apparatus which appears in this electronic edition is something very different from the unmediated raw data. It is the fruit of meticulous, repeated and expert intervention of a scholarly and professional kind. Without the generous grant from the British Academy which financed a research assistant, one of whose specific tasks it was to translate the transcription files first into xml and then into Anastasia, and to act as an interface between an editor who knew exactly what she wanted the display to look like and a harassed programmer who occasionally announced: ‘we can’t do that, we’re already at the limits of the technology’, the sophisticated display we now have on screen would not have been possible; in short, the display would not exist in the form in which it exists today. Our thanks, therefore, go to the British Academy for its foresight and vision in supporting this project in its final stages.

### *A note on presentation*

Where the Apparatus display says OUT followed by a manuscript sigil (eg. OUT Q), this means that this portion of the text is missing in the manuscript in question.

In a very small number of instances a scribe has copied chapters in the wrong order. Where the Apparatus display says, for example,

at I vi 1, 'after Line I-vii-3 S', this means that in ms. S chapter vi of book I, instead of following chapter v, in fact follows chapter vii; at I vii 1 'after Line I-viii-5 G' and 'after Line I-v-10 S' mean that in ms. G chapter vii follows chapter viii, while in ms. S chapter vii follows chapter v.

IR means Initial Rubric, FR means Final Rubric, and MR means Middle Rubric. Where the paragraph number in the header is followed by a percentage sign [%], and the transcription itself on the corresponding page begins with a percentage sign [%], this means that the new folio begins in the middle of the paragraph.

NB. Abbreviated forms and the Junicode font: The user of this digital edition should be aware that on some computers and browsers the compendium for *h* with a bar through the ascender will appear with the macron floating over the letter or alongside it, and the compendium for *q* with a bar through the tail will appear with the bar under the letter or beside it rather than through it. The compendio for *con* (9) will not always sit on the line as it should or be the appropriate size. These anomalies in the display, whether in the transcriptions, the notes or the editorial material, are beyond the editor's control.

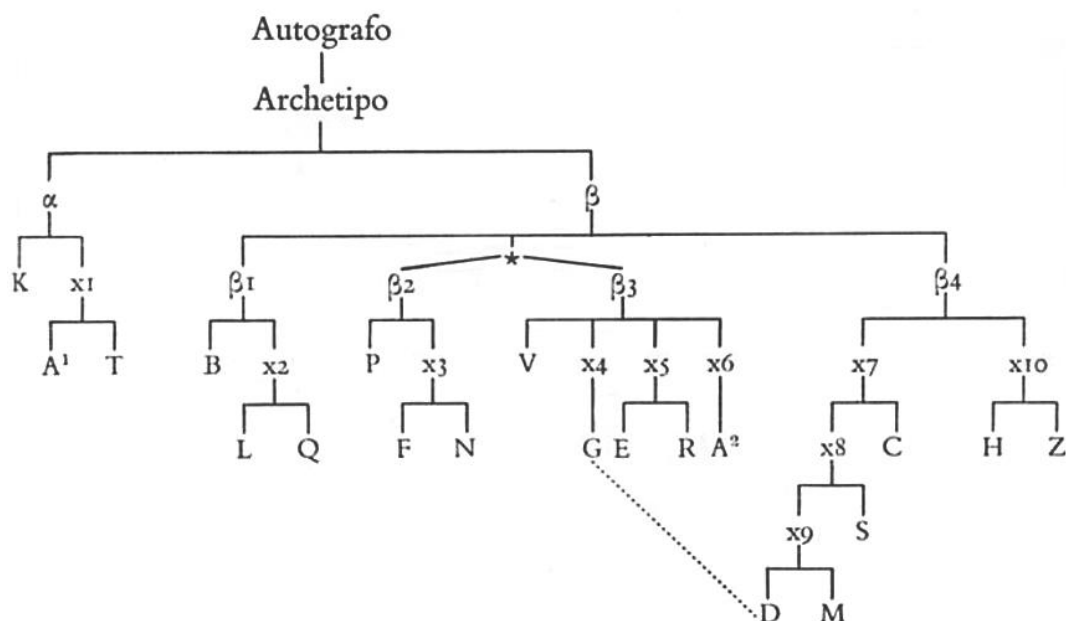
# V. The Methodology of the Edition

## *An overview of the problem*

It should be noted at the outset that in the final chapters of Book III the numbering in the present edition differs from that in Ricci's Edizione Nazionale. Ricci's chapter x becomes chapters x and xi in this edition, and later chapters follow sequentially, ending with xvi rather than xv. The numbering in this edition is used throughout in the discussion which follows, and when reference is made to readings in the final chapters of the treatise, Ricci's chapter references are adjusted as necessary. We return to the question of the chapter divisions in Book III at the end of this account.

Pier Giorgio Ricci's edition of the *Monarchia* was based on the clearly formulated (and later vigorously defended) hypothesis that the extant witnesses of the text of the treatise could be separated into two families, which he called alpha and beta. The large beta family contained most of the surviving manuscripts, which Ricci further divided into four clearly defined sub-groups ( $\beta_1$ ,  $\beta_2$ ,  $\beta_3$ , and  $\beta_4$ ). The alpha family, by contrast, was very small, consisting of just the *editio princeps* and two manuscripts (T and A) in the first half of the treatise, and the *princeps* and a single manuscript (T) in the second half. ms. A shares a common exemplar with ms. T throughout Book I and up to almost the end of chapter vii of Book II of the treatise; at that point, almost exactly midway through the text, the scribe appears to have changed exemplar and the manuscript henceforth aligns itself with the beta manuscripts: the two halves of ms. A thus reflect two different transmission histories and are referred to as A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup>.

Ricci's hypothesis is represented schematically in the diagram to be found in his *Edizione Nazionale*<sup>63</sup>, which is reproduced below:



Ricci's beta family is unproblematical except on small points of detail, as we shall see. Furthermore, the two [now three] manuscripts which have come to light since the appearance of his edition, the Uppsala manuscript (U), the Phillipps manuscript (Ph), [and the new London, British Library manuscript (Y),] can confidently be added to it. (These points will be expanded and illustrated in a later section of this chapter.) Equally unproblematical is Ricci's assertion that there is an archetype from which all the manuscripts descend, marked by a small handful of errors. (Again, we will return to this point.)

The problem is rather with the alpha family. As already noted in the Introduction, not long after the publication of Ricci's edition the existence of an alpha family was called into question by Guido Favati, who argued (though with very incomplete evidence to hand, and with much confusion on points of detail) that Ricci had failed to demonstrate that the non-beta manuscripts constitute a family. Favati denied that K and TA<sup>1</sup> have a common intermediate ancestor but maintained instead that they derive independently from the archetype. All they have in common is the fact of not being part of the beta group. My own

subsequent preliminary research supported Favati's conclusion. (When I reported my findings to Gianfranco Contini, then president of the Società Dantesca Italiana under whose aegis Ricci's edition had been prepared, and told him how disconcerted I was at finding that I was challenging the editor of the Edizione Nazionale rather than supporting his position as I had expected to do, his unperturbed and laconic reply was: *Magis amica veritas.*)<sup>64</sup>

In 2006, at a distance of more than twenty years, and with a complete transcription of all the textual evidence now available in this electronic edition, my opinion on this matter has not changed. Although the situation is not always clearcut, and there is a small handful of puzzling or ambiguous cases, the overwhelming weight of evidence nonetheless still suggests that K and TA<sup>1</sup> derive independently from the archetype, and that we therefore have a *stemma* with three branches: one branch represented by the *princeps*, another by TA<sup>1</sup>, the third by the large beta group of manuscripts.

A particularly striking fact in support of this view is that in a text which is riddled with lacunae, many of them caused by *sauts du même au même*, K and TA<sup>1</sup> have no significant lacunae in common, whereas all the other groupings and sub-groupings of manuscripts are established partly on the basis of such lacunae. Thus the beta family, as we shall see when we review the evidence, is identified on the basis of two very significant lacunae as well as a key reading; the manuscripts T and A<sup>1</sup> have many lacunae in common; so do the various groupings of manuscripts within the beta family. This absence of significant lacunae in common in K and TA<sup>1</sup> over the whole length of the treatise seems highly significant.

If K and TA<sup>1</sup> are indeed independent of one another, then the editor of the text will be working with a three-branched tree – a theoretically desirable outcome, in that it runs counter to Bédier's gloomy speculation that editors will always contrive to devise a two-branched tree, driven by a perhaps unconscious need to validate the exercise of their own *iudicium* in editorial decision-making. In theory at least a simple



mathematical majority of two to one should greatly facilitate editorial choice in the constitution of a text.

Such editorial choices are entirely unproblematic where the TA<sup>1</sup> reading agrees with beta, or where the K reading agrees with beta, since in the first case the K reading will merely be a *lectio singularis* of the *princeps*,<sup>65</sup> and in the second case the reading will either be a *lectio singularis* of T (in the second half of the treatise), or (in the first half) a reading characteristic of the common ancestor of TA<sup>1</sup>. Thus at III, iii, 10 ('Cristum sive venturum sive presentem sive iam passum') the reading *presentem* is guaranteed by K + beta against the *patientem* of ms. T, and later in the same sentence ('ei coheredes factos esse mundus non dubitat') the reading *factos* in T + beta is guaranteed against the *futuros* of K.

The problem arises when the agreement is between K and TA<sup>1</sup> against beta. The three-branched tree now places the editor in the uncomfortable position of having to weigh the combined evidence of two 16th-century witnesses (one of them not even a manuscript), and half of a very unreliable fifteenth-century manuscript,<sup>66</sup> as counting for more than that of 18 other witnesses, almost all of them earlier, and some of them very much earlier. *Recentiores non deteriores*, it goes without saying – but the situation we are confronted with here seems to push the adage to its limits.

Before proceeding further, it will be useful to articulate some general points about the textual tradition of Dante's treatise which must be borne in mind as the argument unfolds. Often the choices an editor of the *Monarchia* must make are between readings which are distributed in a way which simply annuls or circumvents the usefulness of the three-branched tree, or indeed any tree at all. Very often one reading will be found in K and some beta manuscripts, while another will be found in TA<sup>1</sup> and the remaining beta manuscripts. In these cases no mechanical or mathematical solution presents itself for consideration. The distribution in such instances cuts right across the conceptual model represented by any kind of tree, whether two-branched or three-branched.<sup>67</sup>

The abundance of cases of this kind, which might in itself suggest there are difficulties with Ricci's hypothesis, reminds us of two truths about the textual tradition of the *Monarchia* which are worth reiterating and whose significance should not be underestimated: the first is that this is an extremely volatile text: factors conducive to polygenetic error are present everywhere and they seem to operate with unstoppable force; the second is that contamination undoubtedly plays a part, though a part which it is difficult to quantify exactly, in the transmission of the text. Both these considerations militate against the notion of a *stemma* which can be invoked at every turn in any simple sense.

Another point to bear in mind is that Ricci's textual choices in his edition do in fact favour the K + TA<sup>1</sup> agreement far more often than one might suspect from reading his Introduction. In other words, his own editorial practice strongly supports the notion of good readings preserved in K + TA<sup>1</sup>, in line with his acknowledgement that the putative ancestor of his supposed alpha family represents 'la linea più fedele nella trasmissione del testo'.<sup>68</sup> Ricci conceptualises this choice as a simple two-way one (alpha versus beta), but the frequency with which he (rightly) chooses his 'alpha family' is entirely consistent with a view of the tradition such as is outlined above. His choice in these cases is clearly more strongly validated by the alternative conceptual model of a three-branched tree and thus a two-to-one weighting of K + TA<sup>1</sup> against beta.

We should note also that the textual tradition of the *Monarchia* is more fragile and more vulnerable than one might easily guess from Ricci's account in his Introduction or from the Apparatus and Notes to his edition, and that when he does (rarely) touch on this issue, the information he gives is not always accurate. Some indubitably correct readings survive in only a single witness, as at II, viii, 1 where only the *princeps* K has *diremptio* against the *directio* of all the manuscripts; and at II, x, 4 where T alone has *persuasit* against the *presumpsit* of the other manuscripts and the *princeps*. A similar situation occurs at II, iii, 6 where the reading *Subassumptam* (discussed by Ricci in his Notes *ad loc.*) is attested only in B in the form *Subsumptam*; all other witnesses have *Subassumpta*, except M which has *Sub assumpte*.<sup>69</sup>

Other readings which are indubitably correct survive in a tiny handful of manuscripts. Ricci mentions two isolated cases of this kind in his Notes to the text: at I, xii, 5 ('eorum iudicia semper ab appetitu preveniuntur') the word *ab* is missing in all witnesses except TAM; and at II, vii, 13 ('duas rationes efficaces ad propositum accipere possumus: scilicet a disceptatione athletarum unam, et a disceptatione pugilum alteram'), the correct reading *unam ... alteram* is found only in KAU (the other manuscripts have *una ... altera*). But there is no acknowledgement or systematic discussion of this important aspect of the textual transmission of the treatise in the Introduction, and there are striking cases of this kind which Ricci does not mention at all.

At I, xi, 7 ('cum iustitia sit virtus ad alterum, sine potentia tribuendi cuique quod suum est quomodo quis operabitur secundum illam?') the correct reading *sine* is found only in AER and in P as a marginal alternative reading: all the other witnesses have *sive*, an initially plausible reading whose erroneousness becomes apparent only when one reaches the end of the sentence. The readings *universalior* at I, xi, 17 and *universalissima* at I, xi, 18 (against *utilior* and *utilissima* of the remaining tradition) survive only in ms. A and as a correction and an alternative reading respectively in ms. T. At I, xv, 1 only NT and G have the correct *a maxime ente* against the reading *a maximo ente* of the other witnesses. (Ricci mentions this case, as we shall see, but reports the textual situation inaccurately.)<sup>70</sup>

We could add two more cases to this list of correct readings which survive in a tiny number of manuscripts if we accept emendations to the text made by Ricci himself. At III, iv, 1 the reading *pluribus et diversis argumentis* is championed by him, I believe rightly, against the consensus of earlier editors who preferred the reading *pluribus adversis argumentis*. The reading *et diversis* is found only in mss. T and D, though Ricci does not draw attention to this fact. (The *princeps* reading is *ex diversis*, the other manuscripts with one exception have *adversis*.) At III, iii, 5 the reading *patrocinium* ('Unde fit persepe non solum falsitas patrocinium habeat') – defended by Ricci, who follows Vinay on this point, against the consensus of Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte – is found

only in M, in T (where it is a correction), and in K (where it is a marginal variant). The other manuscripts read *patrimonium*.

We can note in passing that of the eleven cases of extreme textual fragility mentioned so far, in ten cases the correct reading is preserved in at least one non-beta manuscript (only *Subassumptam* is not), and in seven of those ten cases the correct reading is preserved in T.

Whether cases of this kind reflect archetype errors which individual scribes then had the wit to correct, as Ricci hypothesises in the three instances he discusses in his Notes, or whether the correct readings survived against the odds in an attenuated line of descent and the errors which replaced them are polygenetic in origin in other manuscripts, is simply impossible to ascertain. Ricci mentions the cases of *maxime* and *diremptio* in a footnote to his discussion of archetype errors, excluding them from the list of such errors precisely because of their attestation in one manuscript, although in a note to the text at I, xv, 1 he declares that the correct reading *maxime* – which he states is found in N alone, but which in fact, as noted above, is also present in G and T – is almost certainly not inherited from the archetype (*‘è estremamente improbabile che si tratti di una felice sopravvivenza della lezione originaria’*). The other examples cited are not mentioned by Ricci in the Introduction or (with the exceptions noted) in the Notes, and no reader would guess the fragility of the tradition on which the text is based at these points, although the text itself (with the two exceptions indicated) is not in dispute. The single case which Ricci discusses in the Introduction is *presumpsit* for *persuasit* at II, x, 4: he lists this as an archetype error on pp. 48-49, as we shall see shortly, and reiterates the point in the note *ad loc.*; but on both occasions he misreports the reading of ms. T (see below).

To summarise our conclusions up to this point: there is no single unequivocal error which links K with TA<sup>1</sup> in a way which justifies referring to them as a family with a common ancestor intermediate between the manuscripts and the archetype. On the contrary, the overwhelming weight of evidence suggests that they derive independently from the archetype. To contextualise this observation in relation to the range

and spread of error in the tradition as a whole, we may note that K shares some readings which are unequivocally errors with a manuscript within the beta group – furthermore, these are errors which are not easily classifiable as polygenetic.

The *editio princeps* and ms. E alone have three clearly erroneous readings in common: at III, xii, 8 the reading *iudicem* for *invicem* (‘reducenda sunt vel ad invicem ... vel ad aliquod tertium’); at III, xii, 9 the reading *decius* for *dicimus* (‘non enim dicimus ‘Imperator est Papa’, nec e converso’), and at III, xiv, 2 the omission of the phrase *a deo recipitur* (‘quia quod a natura recipitur [a Deo recipitur]’). It is difficult to dismiss these as polygenetic errors as there is no obvious mechanical stimulus to the creation of the false reading except in the last case (a *saut du même au même* which short-circuits the reasoning). In context there can be no argument about their status as flagrant errors. And yet there is no other evidence of a connection of any kind between the *princeps* and ms. E; there are no other shared errors of this kind elsewhere in the treatise. The overwhelming weight of evidence in this case suggests that they are not related: how to account for these shared errors remains a puzzle. It is in the context of a tradition which presents puzzles of this kind that the view that K and TA<sup>1</sup> have no significant errors in common is to be evaluated: K shares with TA<sup>1</sup> no errors as striking or as unequivocal as the three just cited which it shares with ms. E. As this example demonstrates, the material which survives in extant copies of the text is not *razionalizzabile al 100%*; we are looking for patterns of distribution of error which are displayed uniformly across the whole tradition and whose cumulative weight establishes manuscript affiliations.

In the light of these observations I propose now to follow the line of reasoning in Ricci’s introduction, examining first the arguments for an archetype, then (with a small modification to Ricci’s order) the arguments for the beta family, and returning in conclusion to the non-beta manuscripts, in order to demonstrate in detail that they do not have a common ancestor other than the archetype.

## *The archetype*

One of Ricci's most significant contributions to the study of Dante's text is undoubtedly his demonstration, conducted in two preparatory articles<sup>71</sup> and recapitulated in the *EN* on p. 40, that many supposed archetype errors which earlier editors (particularly Rostagno) believed they had identified are in fact no such thing, and that the text as it has come down to us requires no emendation at these various points.

Ricci's own demonstration of the existence of an archetype is based on his identification of just four errors which characterise the whole tradition (*EN*, pp. 47-49). His argument requires modification in only one particular, which concerns his third example. The other three cases are clearcut, and his account of the origin of the errors is persuasive. I have nothing to add to his reasoning or his conclusions on these three points, which I summarise below.

At I, ix, 2 in all manuscripts there is a missing *ab* before *unico motore* the first time the phrase occurs, and a superfluous *ab* before *unico motu* the second time that phrase occurs; the text is restored by removing the superfluous *ab* from before *unico motu* and reinstating it before *unico motore*, to establish parallel phrasing in both halves of Dante's long sentence: with the text thus restored we have *ab unico motore* and *unico motu* both times these phrases are used. Thus: 'Et cum celum totum *unico motu*, scilicet primi Mobilis, et *ab unico motore*, qui Deus est, reguletur in omnibus suis partibus, motibus et motoribus, ut philosophando evidentissime humana ratio deprehendit, si vere sillogizatum est, humanum genus tunc optime se habet, quando ab unico principe tanquam *ab unico motore*, et unica lege tanquam *unico motu*, in suis motoribus et motibus reguletur' [my italics]. Ricci's entirely plausible explanation of this error is that an inadvertently omitted *ab*, added in the margin by the copyist, was then inserted at the wrong point in the text in the archetype. This error had already been identified and emended by Rostagno in his 1921 edition of the treatise: Rostagno's and Ricci's texts are identical at this point.<sup>72</sup>

At I, xiv, 5 when reference is made to the characteristics different nations, kingdoms and cities have which can safely be left to local jurisdiction and do not require the overarching guidance or intervention of the universal monarch, the appropriate phrase is *habent ... intra se proprietates* and not *habent ... inter se proprietates* as we find in all the witnesses. Dante is here talking about the local internal characteristics of individual communities (*intra se*), not about interrelationships among communities (*inter se*). The origin of the error is easily identified in a misunderstood or carelessly copied abbreviation (the compendium for *intra* is confused with that for *inter*). Here Ricci's text, which adopts a suggestion made by Bigongiari,<sup>73</sup> is a clear improvement on that of Rostagno, who (like Bertalot and Witte before him) did not identify this as an error.<sup>74</sup>

At III, ii, 6 the manuscripts read: 'Si enim Deus non vellet impedimentum finis, prout non vellet sequeretur ad non velle nichil de impedimento curaret, sive esset sive non esset.' Ricci argues that an infinitive is required after *sequeretur* – 'sequeretur ad non velle nichil de impedimento curare' – rather than the imperfect *curaret* attested by the tradition.<sup>75</sup> The infinitive has become an imperfect, Ricci plausibly surmises, by attraction of the other imperfects in the surrounding text. This error also had been identified and emended by Rostagno, whose text at this point is identical to Ricci's. Fraticelli and Giuliani in their editions had recognised the existence of an error but amended by adding a conjunctural *quod* before *nichil*<sup>76</sup> – exactly as the scribe of ms. U has done, we may note. Dino Bigongiari too recognised the existence of an archetype error at this point in the text, but proposed a different emendation, arguing that the error was not just a matter of grammar but also of logic.<sup>77</sup> He proposed retaining *curaret* but modifying the phrase which precedes it to read: 'prout non vellet sequeretur ad non nolle' (rather than the 'sequeretur ad non velle' attested by the whole manuscript tradition). Bigongiari thus interprets both the structure and the meaning of the sentence differently from other scholars.<sup>78</sup> His proposal, acknowledged by Ricci to be 'ragionevolissima e seducente',<sup>79</sup> was nonetheless rejected by him in the *EN* as not strictly speaking necessary, and I have followed Ricci's lead.<sup>80</sup> What is not in doubt is that whichever emendation one accepts at III, ii, 6, all scholars are in agreement that we are

dealing here with an archetype error. [For an update on this question see Shaw 2018.]

The fourth archetype error identified by Ricci is more problematic, in that the textual situation is not quite as he describes it. The error in question is at II, x, 4: ‘Cristus nascendo *presumpsit iniustum*’; both the context and the repeated use of the verb *persuadere* in many analogous phrases in this tightly argued passage suggest that the reading here should be *Cristus nascendo persuasit iniustum* and not *presumpsit iniustum*.

Ricci, again following a suggestion made by Bigongiari, who in his turn was following Giuliani,<sup>81</sup> is surely right to argue that the correct reading is *persuasit* (against the consensus of Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte, who all accepted *presumpsit*); but this correct reading does occur, and quite unambiguously, in one manuscript, T. (Anyone wishing to verify the T reading can now turn to the image and transcription in this electronic edition and check the situation directly.)

This case is exactly analogous to other cases mentioned earlier where a single witness preserves a correct reading. By his own criteria therefore Ricci should probably not have listed it as an archetype error.

Two further errors which characterise the whole tradition can be added to Ricci’s three. At II, ix, 2 we have the words *sed amore* instead of the phrase *non amore, sed solo zelo*, as seems clearly required by the sentence in paragraph 4 where the phrase is repeated (‘aliud quod superius tangebatur, scilicet ut non odio, non amore, sed solo zelo iustitie’).

Ricci had initially declared himself unpersuaded by this emendation, introduced by Rostagno in his 1921 edition, but subsequently changed his mind, surely rightly.<sup>82</sup> At II, xi, 5 (‘in carne illa Cristi portantis dolores nostros’) the words *vel subistentis* present in all witnesses immediately after the word *nostros* would seem to be a gloss on the word *portantis* which has been incorporated into the text at the wrong point.<sup>83</sup>



It is possible, and even likely, that there are other archetype errors, but it is impossible to be sure. [For interesting considerations on the subject see Chiesa-Tabarroni 2013.]

As the discussion of the fragility of the text above indicated, the simplest explanation of the survival of a correct reading in just one or very few manuscripts may well be that an archetype error has been corrected by one or several copyists, as Ricci himself sometimes suggests.<sup>84</sup> Favati argued that all these cases should be considered archetype errors,<sup>85</sup> but Ricci's more cautious approach seems wiser.

### *The beta family*

Ricci's argument for the existence of a beta family identifies two significant lacunae shared by all the manuscripts which make up the family. The first occurs at I, viii, 4-5, and is a *saut du même au même* by which a portion of text which is indispensable to the unfolding argument is lost (the missing words are here placed within square brackets): 'quando uni principi [totaliter subiacet, ut de se patet. Ergo humanum genus uni principi] subiacens ...' The second, at I, xiii, 3, is perhaps even more significant, since it is not, *pace* Ricci, a *salto per omoioteleuto* but a lacuna *tout court*: 'reducitur per tale existens actu [quod si aliter aliquid agere conetur, frustra conatur]. Et hinc destrui potest error illorum ...' At I, xv, 1 a third unequivocal error is shared by the beta manuscripts when they talk of Aristotle's *primum modum dicendi* 'prius' instead of the correct *quintum modum*.<sup>86</sup>

Ricci cites two further 'varianti indubbiamente molto significative' which characterise the beta family: the reading at II, v, 3 ('bene Seneca de lege cum in libro De quatuor virtutibus legem vinculum dicat humane societatis') where the beta manuscripts omit the word *cum* (but the phrase as a whole varies across the tradition, only the omission of *cum* being a clearcut beta identifier); and the reading at II, v, 15 where Cato is referred to as *libertatis auctor* against the reading *libertatis tutor* in the non-beta witnesses. These are not outright errors but Ricci is surely right to prefer the non-beta readings here.

We can reiterate at this point that the two [*now three*] manuscripts which have come to light since Ricci's edition was published, the Uppsala manuscript (U), the Phillipps manuscript (Ph), [*and the new London ms. (Y)*] share all these readings (the two lacunae, the error and the significant variants), and are thus unequivocally members of the beta family. In the case of ms. U, however, as we shall see in due course, there is evidence of contamination with some (correct) non-beta readings – but not in the cases just listed, nor in the cases I now go on to discuss. The beta family thus consists of nineteen [*now twenty*] manuscripts including the second half of ms. A (A<sup>2</sup>) and the incomplete Q, against the seventeen known to Ricci.

Ricci's proof of the existence of beta is economical, elegant and incontrovertible. It is noteworthy, though, that all the cases he cites occur in the first half of the treatise, and the errors strictly speaking are all in Book I. It might have been more prudent to cite some errors from the second half as well, including Book III. In fact there are many such errors, as will become apparent in what follows, and as Ricci's account would not lead one to suspect.<sup>87</sup>

We can add to Ricci's list of errors which identify the beta family four further cases where the beta reading is certainly wrong (and is rejected by Ricci himself in his edition, as it had been rejected by Witte, Bertalot and Rostagno before him). All these cases occur after the point at which the scribe of ms. A changed exemplar, and when A<sup>2</sup> is now clearly part of the beta group, so that the correct reading in each case is preserved only in K and T.

At II, vii, 12 Dante cites Cicero who in his turn is citing Chrysippus: '[Tullius] ait enim sic: "Scite Crisippus, ut multa ...' The word *scite* is found only in K, and in T as a correction written into a space originally left blank by the copyist; but T omits *sic*, so only the *princeps* has the full reading *sic: Scite* – another striking instance of the fragility of the textual tradition of the treatise, we might note. (Most of the other manuscripts have just *sic te*: the omission of the syllable *sci-* is common to all the beta manuscripts.) Ricci suggests in a note *ad loc.* that *Scite* in alpha is probably conjectural with the help of Cicero's text, but its

status in T as part of a multi-layered correction – strikingly apparent, and now easily viewable by any interested reader looking at the image and transcription – makes this implausible. The correction in T would seem to be quite independent of any putative *antigrafo* of KT, and certainly cannot be regarded as evidence of an ancestor in common.

At II, viii, 7 Dante describes how Xerxes invaded the world with such military might that he was able to bridge the strait which separates Europe from Asia: ‘ut transitum maris Asyam ab Europa dirimentis inter Sexton et Abidon ponte superaverit.’ Only K and T have *transitum*; all the other manuscripts have *transitus*. No editor to my knowledge has ever defended *transitus* as a better or even a possible reading here.

At III, xi, 11, where Dante is developing a complex technical argument about the relationship of the authority of pope and emperor to one another and to God, the phrase *per differentiam superpositionis* is missing in all the beta manuscripts, being attested in KT only. Ricci himself makes a powerful, indeed unanswerable, case for the authenticity of this phrase (*EN*, pp. 264-265), and suggests very plausibly that it dropped from the beta manuscripts’ common ancestor *per omoioteleuto*: the full text at this point reads ‘in qua respectus superpositionis per differentiam superpositionis a simplici respectu descendens particuletur.’ The phrase omitted in the beta manuscripts had been included in their editions by Witte and Rostagno, and even by Bertalot, who tends to privilege the reading of ms. B where possible and thus might have been expected to omit it. In the light of Ricci’s own closely argued defence of the phrase I have no hesitation in adding this to the list of errors which identify the beta family.<sup>88</sup>

In a slightly more textually complex instance at II, vii, 8 Ricci’s text reads ‘quod sciebant qui dicebant’. This *qui* is present in K and T only: all the beta manuscripts have *quod* in its place. Ricci argues rightly that ‘il *quod* è certamente errato’, and indeed Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte before him all accept *qui* as the only possible reading here, though they prefer the verbs in the singular: *quod sciebat qui dicebat*. Ricci argues the case for the plural verbs persuasively in his Notes to the text, pointing out pertinently that *quod sciebat qui dicebat* is a reading found in no

manuscript. The point at issue here however is the simpler one that *quod* for *qui* is a clear error that characterises all the beta manuscripts. (Interestingly, A has *quod* not *qui*, and it would be possible to argue that it is at this precise point in chapter vii of Book II that the scribe of A switched exemplar.)<sup>89</sup>

So far then we have added to the list supplied by Ricci four further errors which characterise all the beta manuscripts. We can now add other cases to this list: cases where only one or at most two beta manuscripts agree with KTA<sup>1</sup> in what is without question a correct reading preserved in the non-beta manuscripts. Most commonly, but not always, the manuscript which agrees with KTA<sup>1</sup> is U, which, as we have noted, is contaminated in precisely this sense that it occasionally has some good (non-beta) readings. (Ricci, of course, did not know ms. U when he prepared the *EN*, so for him the opposition in these cases was still a simple one between his alpha and beta.)

I shall begin with four cases where only KTU have the correct reading, then move on to two cases where other beta manuscripts agree with KT in indubitably correct readings. In the case of ms. U the pattern of agreement with KT in good readings is so marked that contamination seems the likeliest cause; in the other cases the agreement may be a chance survival of a good reading in an isolated manuscript within beta or, perhaps more likely, the result of a conjectural emendation of an obviously flawed passage by an alert scribe.

We can start with a lacuna present in all the beta manuscripts except U. In a small number of manuscripts it is part of a longer omission but its absence is no less significant for that. At III, xii, 3 the argument runs: ‘illud, quo non existente aut quo non virtuante, aliud habet totam suam virtutem, non est causa illius virtutis.’ The phrase *aut quo non virtuante* is present only in K T and U. It is indispensable to the development of the argument, as all editors of the text have recognised, and it can certainly be added to the list of identifying beta errors. It is not mentioned in Ricci’s Apparatus or Notes to the text.<sup>90</sup>

Another small but significant lacuna occurs at III, ii, 3 ('impossibile enim est in necessariis consequentiis falsum esse consequens antecedente non falso existente') where the word *consequentiis* is found only in K T and U. Ricci convincingly defends the necessity of the word in a long note *ad loc.* in which he reviews the editorial choices made by other modern editors; he concludes by saying that 'Siamo dunque in presenza di uno di quei luoghi nei quali io credo che l'archetipo beta fosse errato', a conclusion with which one can only concur.

At III, ii, 7 ('et sic sequitur quod prius') the word *quod* is present in KT and U only. In a note *ad loc.* Ricci mounts a convincing defence of this reading against earlier editors who omit *quod*, pointing out that 'questo semplice *prius* potrebbe intendersi soltanto come avverbio, non mai come aggettivo sostantivato': 'non potrebbe significare altro che 'prima', e non mai 'l'affermazione che precede'.' – the meaning which the development of the argument requires at this point and which *quod prius* gives.

At III, iii, 13 ('cum habeamus ipsum dixisse discipulis ascensurum in celum') we find *ascensurum* only in K T U, against the *ascensurus* of all the other manuscripts. Ricci defends this *ad loc.* saying, surely correctly, that *ascensurum* is 'imposto dalla grammatica' and that *ascensurus* is therefore an unacceptable reading.

Since Ricci did not know ms. U, the four readings we have just examined were to his knowledge present in KT only: in other words the difference between beta and non-beta readings was absolutely clearcut. So far then we have a total of eight clear cases of correct KT readings and incorrect beta readings which Ricci, for reasons it is impossible to guess at, chose not to list in his discussion of the common ancestor of the beta family.

We can add three further cases where the indubitably correct KT reading is found in isolated beta manuscripts other than U. In all three cases Ricci's choice of reading coincides with that of all earlier modern editors of the text.

At II, ii, 8 Dante makes a point about the evidence from which we deduce intentions: ‘Nec mirum si divina voluntas per signa querenda est, cum etiam humana extra volentem non aliter quam per signa cernatur.’ The phrase *extra volentem* is found only in K T and one beta manuscript, H. The other beta manuscripts have a variety of readings: *exempla volentem* in BCDPV (and in S in abbreviated form), *extra voluntatem* in EFNRZ (and in A, which anomalously at this point does not align with KT), and even the ingenious *humanarum exemplarum voluntatum* in U and L, with isolated readings in G, M and Ph (a glance at the electronic apparatus will show the full range of readings). Nothing in Ricci’s Apparatus or Notes, which are silent on the point, suggests the range of readings or the complexity of the textual situation at this point, or indeed that the indubitably correct reading is so tenuously attested in the surviving witnesses. Here *extra volentem* in H may be a chance survival from the archetype but might equally be an inspired guess on the part of a notably careful and intelligent scribe.

At III, x, 17 the reading *apostolos* (‘quod apostolos fecisse non ignoratur’) is found in KT and PN only, against the reading *apostolus* in all the other beta manuscripts, a fact not mentioned by Ricci in his Apparatus or Notes to the text.

At II, ix, 15 (‘in conspectu regum et populorum altrinsecus expectantium’) *altrinsecus* is in KT, and in D with a missing abbreviation sign (*altriseCUS*); the other beta manuscripts have *alteri secus* S A B C F G L M Ph V Z H; *alteri secum* E R; *alterum secus* N; in U the word is omitted.

Finally, we can look at two cases where the beta reading is not necessarily wrong (indeed in the first case it has been vigorously defended), but where Ricci himself chooses the non-beta reading as preferable to the beta reading – in my view certainly correctly. Again he aligns himself with all previous editors of the text: Rostagno, Bertalot, and Witte made precisely the same editorial choices.

At II, ix, 20 Dante draws to a conclusion his long survey of the history of trial by combat which supports the notion of a Roman supremacy which operates with God’s backing. He ends with a rousing

exhortation to the presumptuous jurists who contest the point to remain silent: ‘Videant nunc iuriste presumptuosi quantum infra sint ab illa specula rationis unde humana mens hec principia speculatur, et sileant ...’ The reading *specula* (accepted, as noted, by all previous editors of the text) is found only in K T and U. Ricci defends it vigorously *ad loc.* against the reading *illo speculo* of the beta manuscripts – *speculo* had been defended by Bigongiari, whose arguments were accepted by Toynbee.<sup>91</sup> Ricci cites the persuasive counter-argument put forward by Mancini in support of the reading *specula*, to which other arguments can also be added.<sup>92</sup>

At II, vii, 4 Dante explains that some things which human reason unaided cannot understand can nevertheless be comprehended ‘cum adiutorio fidei eorum que in sacris litteris nobis dicta sunt.’ The reading *sacris* is found only in KTA<sup>1</sup>; all the beta manuscripts have *sanctis*. The reading *sacris* is clearly preferable and has been adopted by all modern editors of the text.<sup>93</sup>

We have so far an additional eleven cases of clearcut beta error against the correct non-beta reading, and two further cases where the non-beta reading is certainly to be preferred. To recapitulate: in ten out of these thirteen cases the non-beta reading has been accepted as correct by all previous editors of the text as well as by Ricci; in the eleventh Witte alone prefers beta *ascensurus*, surely wrongly; in the twelfth Bertalot alone rejects *consequentis*, probably because it is not in ms. B, whose readings he tends to privilege; in the thirteenth, only Ricci defends *quod prius*. Ricci accepts, and in many cases argues cogently for, the correctness of all the non-beta readings.<sup>94</sup>

Paradoxically, we can add five further cases of beta error if we include the instances where Ricci defends a non-beta reading other editors have uniformly rejected. Thus at II, viii, 2 the indicative *considerantur* preferred by Ricci is only in K T; most of the other manuscripts have the subjunctive *considerentur* (VPh *consideretur*). At II, ix, 3 (‘omnibus viis prius investigatis’) the reading *prius* is in KT only and is missing in beta. At II, ix, 11 (‘Stultum enim est valde vires quas deus confortat, inferiores in pugile suspicari’) only KTU have *in pugile* (‘da preferirsi

senza esitazioni’, *EN*, p. 207) where the beta manuscripts have just *pugile*. At III, vi, 1 ‘Saul rex intronizatus fuit et de trono depositus’, *de trono* is in KT only. At I, xiv, 10 (‘consequens est non solum Deo esse acceptabilius hoc, inter hoc ‘unum’ et hoc ‘plura’, sed acceptabilissimum’) only KTA<sup>1</sup> + N have *hoc (plura)*. Ricci defends this reading persuasively but does not draw attention to the fact that *hoc* is only in KTA<sup>1</sup> + N. On all five occasions Ricci is going against all earlier modern editors in accepting the non-beta reading; each time he makes a spirited and persuasive defence of his preferred reading, and I believe his conclusions to be well-founded.

Finally we can add two cases where Ricci prefers and defends a non-beta reading against beta and where some but not all earlier editors had made the same choice. At II, xi, 5 (‘cum totum humanum genus in carne illa Cristi’), *in carne illa* is found only in KTU. It is defended by Ricci in his note *ad loc.* (‘è doveroso in questo caso accettare la lezione di KT che, oltre ad essere perfetta, ha dalla sua l’appoggio di tanti passi scritturali’), but Bertalot had preferred the beta reading *carne illa* (probably out of deference to ms. B). At II, ix, 8 (‘Nec mi aurum posco’) the word *inquit* appears after *Nec* in all beta manuscripts, though some of them then omit the following word *mi*. The *inquit* is rejected by Ricci as an interpolation in beta which derives from an abbreviated *mi* (m<sup>i</sup>) easily confused with an abbreviated form of *inquit* (in<sup>t</sup>). Witte, like Ricci, had rejected *inquit*.

By listing only three errors and two significant variants as identifying characteristics of beta, and not drawing attention to and working through all these many other passages in the text which point towards a deeply flawed beta antigrapho, Ricci has given a false sense of the relationship between alpha (as he refers to the non-beta manuscripts) and the beta tradition. Although he acknowledges *en passant* that the alpha line of transmission is the more correct of the two, he does not convey how strikingly true this is or how very corrupted the beta *antigrapho* was. There is silence on this issue in the Introduction when he discusses the identifying errors of beta but passes over so many of them; there is silence sometimes in the Apparatus and Notes as well, when – as with *extra volentem*, or *apostolos*, or the omission of *aut quo*



*non virtuate* – no mention is made of the true textual situation at these delicate points.

This means that Ricci's account of beta is heavily though perhaps unwittingly slanted in favour of a model where the two families are presented as roughly equivalent in weight – the model which will then be formalised in his two-branched tree. A more dispassionate and thorough examination of the evidence lends support instead to the notion of a severe imbalance between the large beta group and the small number of non-beta witnesses. The numerical imbalance which sets eighteen [*now nineteen*] and a half witnesses against two and a half has its counterpart in a different and opposite imbalance: the non-beta witnesses are very conspicuously more correct in a whole series of crucial readings where the beta manuscripts are uniformly corrupt. This imbalance in and of itself lends support to the notion that a three-branched model might more accurately represent the textual transmission of Dante's treatise.

Before moving on to a consideration of the sub-groups within beta, it should be pointed out that Ricci's Apparatus is unsatisfactory not just because he sometimes omits to give any evidence at all in cases as crucial and as problematic as some of those just mentioned. Often, when he does discuss the textual situation, he reports it inaccurately; we are dealing not just with lack of information, but also with misinformation. A single instance will suffice by way of example; it is particularly telling because it illustrates clearly two points made more than once in the preceding pages: the fragility of the textual tradition at certain points in the text, and the explosive force with which polygenetic error operates within it.

At II, vii, 4 Ricci's text reads, like those of Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte before him: 'Quedam etiam iudicia Dei sunt ...'. If we look at Ricci's apparatus, it tells us that this reading is found in A<sup>1</sup>T + ER + S + H (that is, in a combination of alpha and beta manuscripts), and that other witnesses present a range of variant readings: *iudicia etiam sunt Dei; etiam iudicia sunt Dei; etiam sunt iudicia Dei; autem sunt Dei iudicia*. But in point of fact Ricci's preferred reading is found only in three manuscripts, E,

R and H – an extremely fragile support within beta, rather than the support across alpha and beta that Ricci claims. Mss. A T and S all have readings different from those reported by Ricci. The full range of variants, which can be checked by looking at the electronic apparatus and of course double-checked by looking at the images and transcriptions of the manuscripts, is as follows:

- *etiam iudicia Dei sunt* E H R
- *enim iudicia dei sunt* A
- *etiam iudicia sunt dei* B C L M
- *etiam sunt iudicia dei* D G Ph V Z
- *iudicia etiam sunt dei* F N P
- *autem sunt Dei iudicia* K
- *vero iudicia Dei sunt* T
- *enim iudicia sunt Dei* U S

In misreporting the readings of A, T and S, Ricci has under-represented the degree of variation in the text at this point: not five different readings, but eight, for this one phrase alone. Ricci's choice is validated by comparison with the parallel phrase earlier in paragraph 2: *Nam quedam iudicia Dei sunt*; and the fact that K, T and A have different readings means that there is no compelling reason to give any particular weight to the non-beta witnesses here. Looking at the textual transmission at this point, it is as though a scattergun has been aimed at the text, shooting the words out in different patterns, none of which is obviously wrong and yet none more obviously right than another – until one looks back to the earlier paragraph and establishes the parallel phrasing, which enables one to endorse a reading found in just three manuscripts within beta.

### *The sub-groups within the beta family*

The large beta group of manuscripts includes individuals which vary in quality from the venerable codex Bini (B) and the relatively correct V to the disconcertingly erratic, wayward and (from the point of view of an editor of the text) almost worthless S. Ricci identifies four sub-groups within this large family: his account is certainly correct in its

broad outlines and is thoroughly documented with long lists of variants. It does, however, require modification and clarification on several important points of detail.

The four sub-groups identified by Ricci are  $\beta$ 1 (consisting of mss. B, L and the incomplete Q);  $\beta$ 2 (mss. P, F, and N);  $\beta$ 3 (mss. V, G, E, R and A<sup>2</sup>); and  $\beta$ 4 (mss. C, S, M, D, H and Z). The dotted line joining ms. D to ms. G shows that although D shares a common ancestor with M it also has significant readings in common with G: there is thus a link between  $\beta$ 4 and  $\beta$ 3. The two [*now three*] manuscripts which have come to light since the publication of Ricci's edition, the Uppsala manuscript (U) and the Phillipps manuscript (Ph), [*and the new London ms. (Y)*] are also, as we have seen, beta manuscripts, and their respective places within the beta family will need to be clarified in relation to Ricci's account.

### ***$\beta$ 2: F + N + P [2018: +Y]***

We may begin with Ricci's  $\beta$ 2 group, which is entirely unproblematic, before moving on to more difficult or contentious areas. In reviewing the evidence used to establish the existence of these sub-groups within beta I shall summarise Ricci's line of argument, and give some examples of the readings he cites, without replicating the full lists of variants he adduces in proof, since these lists are extensive and are now easily verifiable using the electronic apparatus; indeed the Search VBase facility within Collate will generate lists of this kind upon request. Inevitably, it is where I disagree with Ricci that a closer look at his lists of variants and fuller exemplification will be required to argue the case effectively.

The demonstration of the link between F, N and P (*EN*, pp. 67-72) is systematic, thorough and for the most part accurate, and there is nothing to add to it. A first list (pp. 67-68) gives omissions and lacunae common to these three manuscripts and found in no other witnesses. I list here the four most significant omissions as a sample:

- I, iii, 10 [speculationi ancillantur tanquam optimo ad quod umanum  
genus Prima Bonitas in esse]
- II, vii, 5 [oblationem Domino, sanguinis reus erit. Hostium taberna-  
culi]
- III, vii, 5 [nec ignem descendere deorsum]
- III, x, 7 [Cristus est; unde Apostolus ad Corinthios: Fundamentum]

Ricci cites sixteen other omissions of single words found only in F, N and P: fourteen of these are indeed omissions found in no other manuscripts, and the two casual matchings with another manuscript – ms. E [*et*] at III, x, 12 and ms. Z [*nec*] at III, xiii, 3 – are not significant and do not invalidate his line of argument. A list of typical variants shared by F, N and P follows on pp. 68-69. Although this list is less accurate than the previous one,<sup>95</sup> and there are more perplexing convergences with other manuscripts,<sup>96</sup> most of the cases listed are very much to the point and unequivocally support the notion of a common ancestor for FNP. Again I give here a sample of some striking cases (the reading on the left is the reading shared by FNP, while that on the right is the received text):

II, vi, 5	velle	universalem
II, vi, 6	conferre potest	conferunt preter
II, xi, 5	deportantis	portantis
III, iii, 18	homines	omnes
III, x, 6	concessissent	cessissent
III, x, 7	hominum	humanum

On p. 69 Ricci argues for a close relationship between F and N, reflected in the first instance, he claims, by the title ('identica e caratteristica') in the two manuscripts: 'Monarchia Dantis Aldigerii christiani de Floren-  
cia'; but in fact the title in F does not include the word *christiani*, so that argument loses its force. (The word *christiani* is however in the explicit of both manuscripts.) This close relationship between F and N, he goes

on to explain, is borne out by a ‘fittissima rete di varianti’ which indicate their ‘profonda affinità’.

The list of variants provided by way of example (pp. 69-70) is confined to the first three chapters of each book of the treatise, and is entirely persuasive, including as it does five omissions (rather than the seven listed by Ricci) not found in other manuscripts, and many variants, among them:

I, i, 6	confisus	confidens
I, ii, 7	est	erit
III, i, 3	virtute	veritate
III, iii, 2	ea	ipsa
III, iii, 12	ait	dicit

The list could be greatly extended by looking at other chapters of the treatise, as readers who browse in the electronic apparatus will readily be persuaded, but the examples given above will suffice for our purposes. The case for a close relationship between F and N, reflecting a common ancestor, is demonstrated beyond any doubt.

N cannot be a copy of F for reasons of chronology, being a much older manuscript; that F is not a copy of N is proved by Ricci with a list of omissions in N not found in F (*EN*, p. 70): the list is accurate, and the fact that many of these omissions are found also in other manuscripts is irrelevant to the point at issue here. Again the list could be extended by going beyond Book I, to which Ricci confines himself in exemplifying the point.<sup>97</sup>

Ricci concludes his discussion of  $\beta 2$  by describing the ‘posizione alquanto appartata’ of P. He reminds us of the large missing portion of text at the end of Book II which loses the end of chapter ix and the beginning of chapter x (but no ‘intero capitolo’ as well, as he mysteriously maintains, *EN*, p. 70).<sup>98</sup>

The other omissions he lists are accurate, except that the one at II, vii, 4 is even longer than he says (he appears to have made a *saut du même au même* of his own in omitting the last four words): [*dato quod nunquam aliquid de cristo audiverit. Nam hoc ratio humana per se iustum intueri non potest; fide tamen adiuta potest*].

[For a demonstration of the position of Y within  $\beta_2$ , see Shaw 2011; Quaglioni 2011.]

### **$\beta_1$ : B + L + Q**

Ricci's demonstration of the existence of the sub-group  $\beta_1$ , containing the manuscripts B, L and Q, is more problematic: the sub-group certainly exists, as he demonstrates beyond doubt, but the relationships within it are not quite as he states. B is the codex Bini, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, and now in Berlin; L is the most splendid of the three copies in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, and dates from the fifteenth century; the third manuscript within this group is the incomplete Q, which contains only the first thirteen chapters of Book I and the opening lines of chapter xiv, and which was copied in the first half of the eighteenth century by A. M. Biscioni, at that time librarian of the Biblioteca Laurenziana. It has, Ricci tells us, been 'completamente trascurato' by modern editors of Dante's treatise, who, 'degnando d'attenzione solo i manoscritti integri, [lo] sprezzarono come monca ed inutile copia dell'emplare laurenziano' (L).<sup>99</sup>

I have demonstrated elsewhere that modern editors were right in their judgment and that Q is indeed, in Witte's words, a 'fragmentum ... negligendum'. Bertalot stated explicitly and correctly that Q is *descriptus* from L; it is therefore of no value to an editor of Dante's text.

Before summarising the evidence in support of this finding, we may first examine Ricci's broader argument for and characterisation of the  $\beta_1$  group.

Ricci's demonstration of the relationship between the three manuscripts up to the point at which Q breaks off (I, xiv, 1) begins with a list

of small omissions which characterise the group and follows with a list of interpolations (*EN*, p. 63).

All of these are accurately reported, and the additions in particular, which I cite here, are telling:

I, v, 1	+ vocabulo + principio
I, vi, 3	+ reperitur sive + reperiri debet
I, xiii, 5	+ per os tuum + quasi

There follows a list of omissions and additions which link B and L in the remainder of the text: again the list is unproblematical (though the reading of L at III, i, 3 is *decet vel suadet*, not *docet vel suadet* as Ricci states).<sup>100</sup> Here is a small sample:

III, ix, 16	+ maris + post
III, x, 5	+ etiam + pertinaciter
III, xi, 10	sic + se habet +

Next follows (*EN*, p. 64) a list of variants shared by the two manuscripts beyond the point at which Q finishes: the list is substantial, accurate and entirely persuasive. It includes the following striking readings:

II, i, 3	israel	insuper
II, ii, 6	sincerissimo	sincero
II, iii, 16	reddere	tendere
II, v, 25	pauperibus	pauperi
II, vi, 10	hoc	isto
II, ix, 5	erit	esset
II, ix, 17	ultima	vulnera
III, iv, 5	consequentia	conclusio
III, iv, 5	sillogismi	sillogisticam

III, vi, 2	humilis	universalis
III, vii, 4	esset	est
III, xiv, 3	templum meum	Ecclesiam meam

There follows a list of omissions found in B and not present in L, which prove that L is not a copy of B. (B cannot be a copy of L for obvious reasons of chronology.) The list is substantial and includes the following cases:

I, i, 3	[et intemptatas ab aliis ostendere veritates]
I, xiv, 4	[ut patet]
II, i, 1	[terre]
II, ii, 6	[aliquid, licet alia verba sint, nichil tamen aliud queritur quam utrum factum sit]
II, v, 1	[hominis]
II, v, 3	[bene]
II, xi, 7	[manifestum]
III, i, 3	[deprecatur]
III, iv, 12	[dicebatur]
III, iv, 15	[hominis]
III, viii, 3	[et ligare]
III, ix, 5	[Dixit ergo eis]
III, xii, 3	[dicentes quod omnes homines sunt unius generis; et similiter verum concludunt] <sup>101</sup>

Ricci might have added that there are some striking variants in B not found in L, such as *deus* for *david* at I, xiii, 5, *igne* for *ungue* at I, xvi, 3, *decurionum* for *deciorum* at II, v, 15, *non assumendo vel assimilando* for *non sillogizando* at III, iv, 4, and *beatizandi* for *baptizandi* at III, vii, 6.

Ricci now goes on to prove that B is not copied from the manuscript from which he believes L and Q to have been independently copied.



He does this by listing omissions in LQ not found in B, of which two are:

I, vii, 1	[pars]
I, vii, 2	[principium]

He continues with a list of variants in LQ which do not appear in B, which includes the following striking cases:

I, i, 4	recondere	reostendere
I, ii, 5	philosophica	physica
I, ii, 7	+ faciendam +	
I, iii, 6	semper	simpliciter
I, iii, 8	persona	potentia
I, iii, 9	persona	potentia
I, iii, 10	per pingibilia	propter agibilia

However it is clear that these lists become redundant if, as is certainly the case, Q is copied directly from L: there is no longer any need to posit the existence of  $x_2$ , as Ricci calls the supposed *antigrafo* of LQ in his *stemma*, and no need to prove that B is not copied from it. B and L will descend directly but independently from  $\beta_1$ . All the variants cited above, and those additional ones listed by Ricci but not reproduced here, are simply readings of L copied by Q.

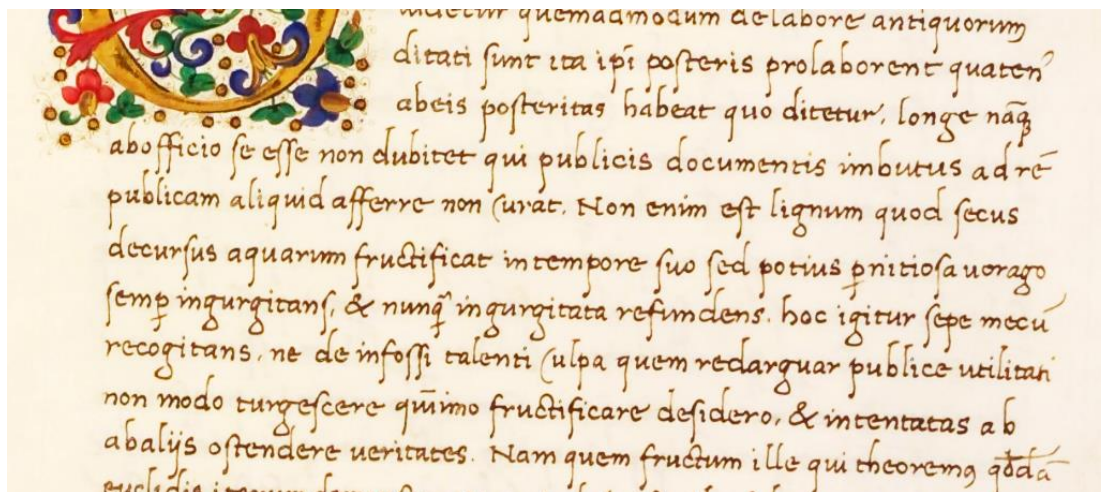
We may now return to Ricci's arguments for the independence of L and Q, and examine them more closely. I here summarise the evidence reviewed and the conclusions reached in my article 'Il manoscritto Q della *Monarchia*'.

### *Q descriptus from L*

Ricci offers two proofs that Q is not copied from L, one physical, the other textual (EN, pp. 62-63). The physical proof is the blank spaces left

in Q where the reading in L is abbreviated but perfectly legible; the textual proof is the errors in L not present in Q.

Before examining these arguments we may note a striking fact about the opening folios of the two manuscripts – a fact overlooked by Ricci, but one which is certainly relevant to the question at issue. On its first page Q has two marginal additions of long phrases omitted by the copyist in his original transcription, phrases subsequently added when he checked his copy and became aware of his mistake. These omissions are not *sauts du même au même*; rather, each of them corresponds exactly to one line of text in ms. L: *ab eis posteritas habeat quo ditetur. Longe namque* (line 2 below), and *ab aliis ostendere veritates. Nam quem fructum ille qui theorema quoddam* at I, i, 3-4 (line 9 below).



Ms. L I, i, 1-4

si posterio prolaborant quatenus officio vno epar non / ab eis post  
 dubitet qui publicis documentis imbutus ad tempu- / tas habeat q  
 blicam aliquid afferre non curat. Non enim est lignu- / ritatur: Lon  
 quod secus decursum aquarum fructificat in tempore / namque  
 suo sed potius pernicioso vorago semper ingurgitan- /  
 et nunquam ingurgitata refundens. Hoc igitur sepe  
 mecum cogitans, ne de infossi valenti culpa quem  
 redarguar publice utilitati non modo surgens / ab alijs offe  
 quinimo fructificare desidero, et intentata / Nam quom fru  
 ctum ille qu  
 didis iborum demonstraret que ab Aristotele felici- / Theorema qu  
 dam

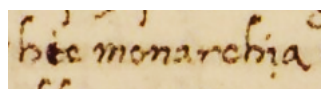
Ms. Q, I, i 1-4

The simplest explanation of these omissions is that Biscioni is copying from L and on each occasion inadvertently skips a line of text. There is a further instance of the same thing later: at I, xi, 4 one whole line of text in L (f. 235r, line 12: *magis et minus huiusmodi qualitates ex parte subiectorum quibus con*) is omitted in Q, although on this occasion Biscioni remains unaware of his slip and does not rectify his mistake. It is extremely unlikely that another copy of the treatise would have exactly these words on a single line at these three points in the text: this is in itself a powerful indication that Q is a copy of L.

Ricci offers as textual evidence of Q's independence four errors in L not present in Q. Two of these we can dismiss immediately: in both instances the reading of Q is not as Ricci states, but is identical to L. At I, iii, 7 ('nam, etsi alie sunt essentie intellectum participantes ...') *sint* for *sunt* is in L Q and B, and is therefore characteristic of  $\beta$ 1 (it is also in A, probably fortuitously); at I, xii, 11 ('... in hiis que de presenti materia ...') *quod* for *que* is in both L and Q and thus proves nothing about the relationship between them.

The other two errors cited by Ricci involve readings which have been corrected, and his conclusions are over-hasty. At I, xii, 7 ('... cum potissime hoc principio possit uti ...') it is true that where L has *hec* Q has *hoc*, but *hoc* in Q is an interlinear correction over a cancelled word which was probably *haec*. The correction may have been made by Biscioni to remedy an obvious slip (the failed agreement with *principio*) or it may have come from another source: it is clear from other evidence that when correcting his copy Biscioni consulted the Ficino translation of the treatise, of which an authoritative manuscript is preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.

The fourth error cited by Ricci involves a correction in ms. L. At I, v, 9 ('... et hoc 'Monarcha' sive 'Imperator' dici debet') the L reading is *hec monarchia* corrected *hic monarcha*: there is an underdot under the *i* of *monarchia*, and the *i* of *hic* is overwritten over *e*:



The Q reading *haec monarchia* is identical to the uncorrected L reading and is itself erroneous (Ricci's summary list implies that the Q reading is correct here). The simplest explanation for the Q reading is that Biscioni did not appreciate the force of the *puntino di espunzione*, the dot under a letter which cancels it in the most discreet and unobtrusive way. We shall return to this point in a moment, but can just remind ourselves that roughly two and a half centuries had passed between the copying of L and the copying of Q, centuries which saw the invention of printing and the spread of printed books. That Biscioni was ill at ease with the orthographic conventions of manuscripts is easily demonstrated, nowhere more so than in his handling of abbreviated forms.

Ricci's other proof of Q's independence is the blank spaces left in the text, which he accounts for in terms of the indecipherability of the exemplar ('là dove le lettere gli riuscirono indecifrabili'). But this assumption is unfounded; it is much more likely that Biscioni simply left blank spaces where he could not fathom the meaning of an abbreviated form. If we examine all the abbreviated forms in L and compare them

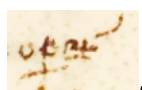
with the corresponding words in Q, we can summarise his handling of abbreviations in L under five heads:

- i. Biscioni is reluctant to copy abbreviated forms without resolving them; he does so very rarely.
- ii. He has no problems with the macron, nor with words written in full with just one or two letters abbreviated.
- iii. At times he transcribes ignoring an abbreviation sign or – perhaps more likely – not even aware that it is an abbreviation sign. His own handwriting is characterised by an abundance of flourishes which look very like abbreviation signs but which have no textual significance at all, e.g. ms. Q at I, ii, 4

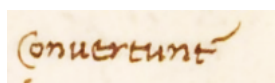


is *necesse*.

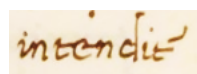
It is not difficult to see why he sometimes takes abbreviation signs in L to be flourishes with no meaning. Thus we have a series of verbs where the passive ending *-ur* is omitted: *operet* for *operetur* at I, xi, 14



*convertunt* for *convertuntur* at I, xii, 10



*intendit* for *intenditur* at I, xiii, 1



, and so on.

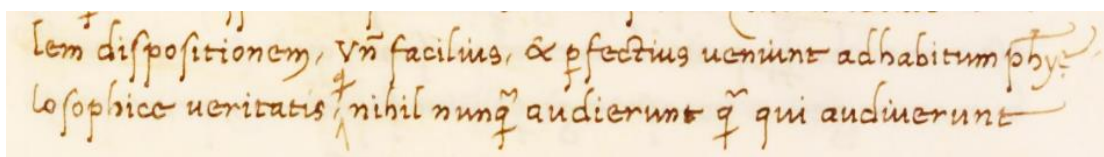
iv. For the most part Biscioni resolves abbreviated forms, but wrongly more often than not. Even the simplest and most banal *compendi* are regularly and repeatedly misunderstood: thus *vel* is transcribed *ut*, *qui* is transcribed *que*, *quam* is transcribed *quem*, *vero* is transcribed *vos*,

even *est* is transcribed *et*. Less common words are likewise misunderstood: *existente* becomes *ex ante*, *ratio* becomes *non*, and so on. Biscioni's lack of expertise and confidence is reflected in his inconsistencies and hesitations: thus *po<sup>a</sup>* is transcribed *potentia* but also *persona*, while *p<sup>e</sup>* (= *prime*) is also transcribed *potentia*, and all this in the space of a few lines (at I, iii, 7-8).

v. Where Biscioni cannot hazard a guess at the meaning of an abbreviated form, he leaves a blank space. That these spaces reflect not the indecipherability of the exemplar but the incomprehension of the copyist is inescapably clear when they are viewed in the context of his overall treatment of abbreviated forms.

Most of the *lectiones singulares* in Q correspond to characteristics of L, either abbreviated forms, or corrections not understood. We can conclude by considering two striking cases where a bizarre reading in Q corresponds to a physical characteristic in L, i.e. where Biscioni's imperfect grasp of the system of correction in his exemplar has led him to a nonsensical reading, whose origin is, however, perfectly explicable in terms of the physical state of ms. L.

At I, xiii, 6 Q reads *unde facilius et perfectius veniunt ad habitum philosophiae losoficae veritatis*, where the bizarre redundant partial repetition *losoficae* can be explained by looking at this passage in L. There the copyist first wrote *p<sup>h</sup>ye* (= *philosophie*), then realised that the word required was not *philosophie* but *philosophice*; he cancelled the *e* with an under-dot, and continued writing the remainder of the word on the next line: *losophice*.



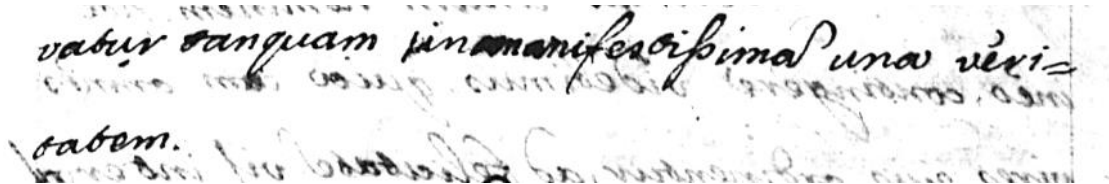
Ms. L I, xiii, 6

Biscioni failed to appreciate the cancelling force of the *puntino* and transcribes *philosophiae losoficae*.

philosophiae rosificae

Ms. Q I, xiii, 6

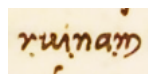
An equally telling case occurs at I, iv, 6, where Q reads *tanquam in manifestissimam una veritatem*:



tanquam in manifestissimam una veritatem.

Ms. Q I, iv, 6

The interpolated word *una* makes no sense but becomes explicable when we turn to L and find that the copyist wrote, then cancelled, the word *ruinam* between *manifestissimam* and *veritatem*. But he cancelled it, as was his habit, with scattered underdots, not a dot under each letter. The dots are located under *r*, *i* and *m*, leaving *u*, *n* and *a*, which Biscioni transcribes as *una*:



ruinam

Ms. L I, iv, 6

It is difficult to know why Biscioni sometimes appreciates the force of the underdot and sometimes does not. We can note that the scribe of L, acutely sensitive to the aesthetic qualities of the page, makes his corrections as discreetly as possible, and that normally Biscioni copies words corrected with *puntini* accurately only if the cancelled letter or word is followed immediately by the letter or word which replaces it. We can note also that Biscioni made a valiant effort to make sense of a difficult text by utilising the resources of his library, consulting the Ficino *volgarizzamento* of the *Monarchia* (ms. Plut. 44, 36), as the scattered marginal corrections and annotations (f. 11v) and some retouchings within the text itself attest.<sup>102</sup>

As Bertalot and Witte before him correctly understood, Q is indeed a ‘fragmentum negligendum’, of no use to an editor of Dante’s text. From this point on no further reference will be made to Q in listing readings. It can be assumed that where a reading is given for L in Book I up to ch. xiv the Q reading is identical, unless the contrary is explicitly stated.

### **$\beta$ 3: V + G + E + R + A**

The existence of the  $\beta$ 3 group is established by Ricci with a series of arguments which are cumulatively persuasive, even though they do not constitute a simple and unequivocal proof of the kind he has supplied for  $\beta$ 1 and  $\beta$ 2. There is no list of omissions, errors or variant readings shared by all the manuscripts which make up the group. Instead we have lists of variants common to pairs of manuscripts within the group: first V and G, then E and R, then A<sup>2</sup> and G, then A<sup>2</sup> and V. We shall examine these in order but postpone the consideration of the ER pairing to the end – here Ricci’s conclusions require closer scrutiny.

### **V + G**

Ricci draws a telling contrast between V and G which has some bearing on the kind of proof he is offering for their relationship. V (the fourteenth-century copy belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice) is, he claims, the best beta manuscript (‘può vantarsi d’una correttezza ignota ad ogni altro testo della famiglia beta’), while G (a fifteenth century copy in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence) is the worst (‘il più scorretto della famiglia medesima’). These judgments are debatable – V is no more correct than B, while E, R and S are all arguably as textually degraded as G, although it is probably true that their *guasti* come less from a deliberate desire to amend the text, such as Ricci discerns in the G copyist (a ‘sfrenato conciatore’), than from simple carelessness and apparent indifference to whether the text being copied made any kind of sense or not – but this does not invalidate the contrast Ricci is



making between V and G and its bearing on the kind of proof he is offering.

As V is generally free of perverse or wilfully idiosyncratic readings, it is only the scribe's small omissions, Ricci argues, which allow us to characterise V in relation to the other manuscripts. A list on p. 74 gives omissions found in V and G alone. The list needs some small amendments<sup>103</sup> but nonetheless in essence substantiates Ricci's point. It includes these cases:

I, vi, 2	[ordo] scilicet
I, xi, 13	[pauca]
I, xv, 1	[et] quanto
II, v, 17	[Cato]
II, vii, 2	[homo]
III, iii, 16	[enim]
III, iv, 22	[in]

We can just add that in all these cases (i.e. in seven of the nine pertinent cases listed by Ricci) the Phillipps manuscript (Ph) shares the omission of VG. We shall see in due course that it is with these two manuscripts that Ph has its closest affinities.

### *R descriptus from E?*

Ricci declared mss. E and R to be 'figli gemelli di un antografo immediato'; he explicitly ruled out the possibility of a more direct relationship ('è risolutamente da escludere ogni rapporto diretto', *EN*, p. 76). E cannot be descended from R for obvious reasons of chronology, being some hundred years older; conversely, R cannot be descended from E because the 'pessima condizione di E, gravato di tutti gli errori dell'altro manoscritto, e, in più, di molti altri suoi propri' makes such a relationship impossible. Ricci is almost certainly mistaken on this

point: the evidence he adduces is inaccurate or debatable, and he overlooks some striking indicators of a vertical line of descent.

To substantiate his claim that a relationship of direct descent was not possible Ricci provided a sample list of errors present in E but not in R, choosing them from the first chapter of each of the three books of the treatise. The error he cites from III, i, 3 (*silva* for *silvam*) – supposedly not present in R – is in fact in R as well as in E; the error he cites from II, i, 6 (*usurpatum* for *usurpant*) is in neither manuscript, as both E and R have the correct *usurpant*. Anyone can now check these readings by looking at the images which accompany the transcriptions in this electronic edition, where they will find that the words are written very clearly, in full, with no abbreviation signs which might confuse the issue. One of the errors cited from I, i, 3 is also not as Ricci states it to be: the erroneous *redarguat* for *redarguar* in E has its counterpart in R's *redarguatur*, an error derived from the error in E. The other errors he lists from the first chapter of Book I are slightly more problematic, and we shall return to them in due course. Ricci's general conclusion about the two manuscripts is dismissive, and justifiably so: 'Pessimi testi, come si vede: fogne di tutti gli errori che generar possono l'ignoranza, la sbadataggine, la trascuratezza'. He reiterates the point that R, in spite of its missing final chapters, is 'nel complesso alquanto più corretto' than E.

Closer analysis of the evidence than that offered in Ricci's somewhat cursory and demonstrably inaccurate account suggests a different conclusion: namely, that the true relationship between the manuscripts is probably one of direct descent – whether R is a direct copy of E itself, or whether, as is perhaps more likely, there are intermediary links in the chain between the two. Far from being 'alquanto più corretto' than E, R is even more degraded textually.

Ricci's argument assumes, correctly, that if there are errors in E not replicated in R, then R is not descended from E. There are such errors, in fact, but very few of them (and not those listed by Ricci); furthermore, they are of a kind that any scribe could easily have corrected independently, almost as a modern sub-editor would amend obvious

typos in a typescript. The account which follows examines all the cases where it could be argued that an error in E is not replicated in R and thus precludes a relationship of descent between them.

We can dismiss at the outset two errors of rubrication in E: *Nationibus* for *Rationibus* at I, xvi, 1 (the rubricator has executed the wrong ornamental capital letter, but the correct guide-letter *r* is clearly visible in the margin); and *Alle* for *Ille* at II, viii, 1 (again the rubricator has executed the wrong ornamental capital letter, but the guide letter is obscured under the ornamentation of the *A*). The text in R reads correctly at these points *rationibus* and *ille*, the initial letter in each case being a guide-letter in the margin, with an unexecuted ornamental capital. (The rubricator of E makes a third mistake at III, xvi, 1, where he provides an ornamental *P* instead of the *L* of *Licet*. He misreads the guide-letter *l* visible in the margin, but as the final part of Book III is missing in R we have no reading for the later manuscript here.) But these are errors in the rubrication in E, not textual errors: the correct guide-letter is clearly visible for *rationibus* and *licet*, and may well be there under the ornamentation of *Alle*. They do not constitute proof that R is not copied from E: an intermediary copy may have been made before the rubricator added the wrong ornamental capitals, or an alert copyist may have spotted the mismatch between the guide-letter and the capital letter executed by the rubricator.

We can also dismiss a small series of very trivial errors in E where R has the correct reading: *illustes*, where R has the correct *illustres*; *finen*, where R has the correct *finem*; *cuclidis*, where R has the correct *euclidis* (but in fact the initial *e-* in R may itself be a correction of an original *c*); *rectatudo*, where R has the correct *rectitudo*, *advertedum*, where R has the correct *advertendum*; *crecis*, where R has the correct *grecis*; *omne* with a superfluous abbreviation sign where R has *omne* with no superfluous sign. (The equally trivial mistake *daclaratur* for *declaratur* at II, vi, 4 is replicated exactly in R.)

This leaves a small handful of genuine errors: *dicit* for *dicitur* at I, ii, 1 (but the abbreviation sign for *-ur* may be a later addition in ms. R: see below); *multitudine* for *multitudinem* at I, iii, 8 (but the mistake is very

easy to spot and correct because it replicates the identical phrase ‘*necesse est multitudinem*’ from two lines earlier); *intellectu* for *intellectum* at I, xvi, 5 (but the failed agreement with following *superiorem* is not difficult to rectify); *fui* for *fuit* at II, iii, 15 (but *fui* is so obviously out of place in context that to correct to *fuit* requires no great acumen); and two errors at III, iv, 14: *indiguis* for *indiguisset* (it is puzzling that the final syllable of the word has gone missing in E, but again it does not require great insight to reinstate it); and *directius* for *directivis* (but the word occurs in a passage in ms. E which seems to have been damaged and then overwritten, so the situation is far from clear). There are, I believe, no other errors in E that do not appear in R (we shall return shortly to those listed by Ricci for I, i). By contrast, R has many errors that do not appear in E, as a glance at the electronic apparatus will confirm. Other pairs of manuscripts which indubitably share a common parent or ancestor (F and N, M and S, H and Z) have errors and *lectiones singulares* in both descendants in comparable measure. Indeed, for every other manuscript in the tradition one can draw up a list of *lectiones singulares*, but one cannot do so for ms. E: they are all present in ms. R, with the exceptions just noted. The extreme asymmetry of the relationship in this respect is in itself a strong indicator that E and R are not siblings but that one is descended from the other. This striking asymmetry is clearly reflected in the computer generated *stemma* which can be viewed below.

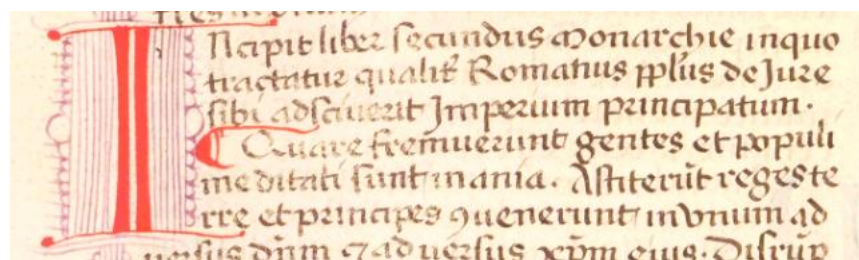
Against this tiny crop of errors in ms. E corrected in ms. R we can set the truly extraordinary number of readings and features of layout the two manuscripts have in common: the huge number of erroneous readings shared with no other manuscript; distinctive and unusual features of manuscript layout which are identical in the two witnesses and found nowhere else; a large number of idiosyncrasies in the use of abbreviated forms (not all of them intelligible and some of them extremely odd, exactly duplicated in the two manuscripts); and finally and most crucially, a small number of bizarre readings in ms. R which are explicable in terms of the physical state of ms. E.

The many bizarre erroneous readings the two manuscripts have in common can be viewed by scrolling through the electronic apparatus.

(A small and characteristic sample from a single chapter (II, v): *Cui annuatus* for *Cincinnatiatus*; *deputatus ex illo* for *dampnatus exilio*; *moachus cato* for *marchus cato*; *interdebilem* for *incredibilem*.) The total number of such shared readings found in no other manuscript runs to many hundreds – almost three hundred in Book II alone, more than 700 over the length of the whole treatise. This compares with just 100-150 shared variants found in other pairs of manuscripts like MS or FN or HZ, and even fewer (50-60) for less strongly linked pairs such as DM, DG, VPh. The sheer scale of the textual degradation shared by E and R, while not in itself probative of descent, is certainly indicative of an unusually close relationship and is in itself startling.

E and R share many distinctive features of layout which are so unusual and so strikingly similar as to suggest direct replication. They are described below, with references to the folio numbers of the relevant passages in each manuscript to facilitate comparison between them.

At the beginning of Book II the rubric is incorporated into the text as a continuous part of it, so that the ornamented capital is not the *Q* of *Quare*, the opening word of Book II, as it ought to be and as it is in all other manuscripts, but the *I* of *Incipit* ('*Incipit liber secundus Monarchie in quo tractatur ...*').



Ms. E II, i, IR

1. **N**ecipit liber secundus monarchie in quo tractatur qualiter Romanus populus & Jure sibi adstruunt Imperium principatum. In quibus fleverunt gentes & populi meditati sunt inania. astiterunt reges terrarum & principes quiverunt.

Ms. R II, i, IR

The layout of the two manuscripts corresponds exactly also in the division of the text into paragraphs signalled not just by a new line but by a capital letter hanging left (a feature found in no other manuscript except in very limited measure in ms. A). At I, v, 1 the scribes begin to introduce paragraph breaks within chapters; there are two further breaks in this chapter, and this division into paragraphs becomes a normal feature of the layout in longer chapters: thus E ff. 7r-v has seven paragraph breaks, exactly matched in R ff. 7v-8r.

non est et si aliter iustitia non in omni est infulgure sue puritatis. hęc enim subiectum huiusmodi nime aliquantulum sibi resistens propter quod bene repelluntur qui iudicem passionare conantur quantum vero ad operationem iustitia contrarietatem hęc in posse Nam cum iustitia sit iustus ad alterum sine potentia tibi bene dicitur quod est suum quomodo quis operatur sine illam ex quo pro quod quanto iustus potest hoc tanto operatione sua iustitia erit aptior. ex hac itaque declaratione sic arguatur iustitia potestissima mundo quoniam ualentissimo et potentissimo subiecto in est. huiusmodi solus monarcha est ergo soli monarche in iustitia in unum potestissima est. Iste pro se legitimus cuius per se dem figuram cum negatione in iustitia et est similis huius. Omne b. est. ab. d. e. est. A. ergo solus. e. est. b. quod. est. omne b. est. A. nullum pro. e. est. A. ergo nulli pro. e. est. b. et prima propositio declarationis pro precante apparet. Alia sic ostenditur primo quantum aduelle deinde quantum ad posse. Ad euentiam primi nondum est quod iustitie maxie contrarietur cupiditas ut iustitiam uenas in quinto ad nichomachum quoniam mota cupiditate omni nichil iustitie restat aduersus. Vn iustitia phy est ut que lege determinari possit nullo modo iudici relinquitur et hoc metue cupiditatis fieri oportet definiti manentes hominem detorquentis. ubi ergo non est quod possit operari. In possibile est ubi cupiditate est destructum enim obiectis passionibus esse non possunt sed monarcha non habet quod possit operare sua nunquam iustitiam amittat. octavo.

Ms. E f. 7r

Solum quod non attingit principibus alijs quorum principatus ad alios terminatur ut pote regis castelle ad illum qui regis Aragonum ex quo sequitur quod monarcha sincerissimum inter mortales iustitie possit esse subiectum. Preterea quem admodum cupiditas habitualis iustitiam quodammodo quantum atque pauca obnubilat. Sit caritas seu recta dilectio illa acut atque diluadat. Cui ergo maxime recta dilectio in esse potest potestissimus loci. In nullo potest hęc iustitia huiusmodi est ad monarchiam. ergo eo existente iustitia potestissima est ul' esse potest quod aut recta dilectio faciat quod dictum est hinc hęc potest. Cupiditas namque per se in iustitiam hominum spectata querit alia. Caritas uero spectata alijs omnibus querit deum et hominem. Et per consequens querit bonum hęc. Cumque in alijs bona hominis potestissimum sit in pace uiuere ut supra dicebatur et hoc operatur maxime atque potissime iustitia. Caritas in iustitia uigorabit et potior potius. Et quod ad monarchiam maxie hominum recta dilectio in esse debet patet sic omne diligibile tanto magis diligenti quanto prope in quibus est diligenti sed homines prope in quibus monarcha sunt quam alijs principibus. ergo ab eo maxie diliguntur ul' diligere debent. Prima manifesta est si natura passionum et actuum consideretur. Secunda pro hoc apparet quia principibus alijs homines non appropinquant per monarchiam nisi imple. monarcha uero secundum totum. et in suis principibus alijs appropinquant per monarchiam.

Ms. E f. 7v

humani solus monarcha & ego soli monar-  
 che insipiens iustitia in mundo potissima est.  
 Iste p̄slogissimus curit p̄ sedam figuram cu  
 negatione intrinseca & e similibus hinc orne  
 .b. e. a. b. s. c. est. a. Ego solum .c. est. b.  
 quod est amne .b. e. a. nullum p̄ter .c. e.  
 a. Ego nullum p̄ter .c. e. b. et prima pro-  
 positio declaratione / p̄. p̄cedente apparet.  
 illa sic ostenditur & p̄mo quantum aduelle / de  
 inde quantum ad posse.  
 Ad evidentiam primum nōndum e quod iusticie  
 maxime contrariatur cupiditas ut Inmuit /  
 Alioquin inquit ad nichomachum & remota  
 cupiditate oīo nichil iusticie restat aduersum  
 vñ s̄m̄a p̄hy e ut quicquid determinare possunt  
 nullo modo videri relinquuntur et hoc motu  
 cupiditas fieri oportet defuāli mentes homi-  
 num detorquentis / ubi ergo nō est / quod po-  
 ssit operari / impossibile est / ubi cupiditatem  
 esse destituitis enim obiectis / passionē eē  
 nō possunt / sed monarcha nō h̄t quod possit  
 operari sua namq̄ iudicio t̄minantur / ecce  
 ano solum quod nō attingit principib; alijs quoq̄  
 principatus ad alios t̄minat ut pote regis  
 castelle ad illum qui regis deagonum ex quo  
 sequitur qd monarcha sincerissimum inuerm-  
 tales iusticie possit esse subiectum  
 p̄terea quem ad modum cupiditas habitualis  
 iusticiam quodammodo quantumvis pauca

Ms. R f. 7v

obnubilat / si caritas seu recta dilectio illam  
 acut atq̄ dilucidat. Cui Ergo maxime recta  
 dilectio / esse potest potissimum locū in illo  
 pot̄ h̄re iusticia huiusmodi e monarchia. et  
 ego eo existente iusticia potissima e uel esse  
 pot̄ quod aut̄ recta dilectio faciat quod dicitur /  
 hinc h̄i potest.  
 Cupiditas namq̄ p̄sanctitatem homi spectata querit  
 alia. Caritas uero spectis alijs omib; querit de-  
 um et hominem.  
 Et p̄consequens bonū hoīs Camp. inter alia bonū  
 hoīs potissimum sit / impate uiuere ut supra  
 dicebam et hoc operatur maxime atq̄ potissime  
 iusticia. Caritas iusticia iugabit et potior  
 potius. Et qd monarche maxime homi recta  
 dilectio in esse d̄z pater sic l'omme diligib; tā-  
 to magis diligenti quanto p̄pinquius e diligenti  
 si homines p̄pinquius monarche sunt quam alijs  
 principib; . ergo ab eo maxime diliguntur  
 uel dilati debent.  
 Prima manifesta e / similitudo passionū et actiōū  
 consideretur. Secunda p̄ hoc apparet quia p̄n-  
 cipib; alijs homines nō appropinquat / p̄monar-  
 cham nisi in p̄te  
 qd monarcha uō secundum actum et r̄tusū p̄ncipi-  
 bi; alijs appropinquat p̄monarcham et nō cōuer-  
 so. Et sic p̄pinquus et imediate monarche in  
 est cura. & omib; alijs aut̄ p̄ncipib; p̄monar-  
 cham eo quod cura ip̄oz cura illa / suprema

Ms. R f. 8r

Compare also these pairs of folios in the two witnesses, where the exactly matching layout is particularly striking:

dicenda. Unde dicebat ille arosi quis ostendit  
 iudicem supnos. Si ergo sub ordinatio iudice  
 xpi passus non fuisset. Illa pena iudicio nō  
 fuisset. sed iudex ordinarius esse nō poterat  
 nisi supra totum genus humani iudicio  
 nem h̄ns eam totum humani genus carne  
 illa xpi portantis dolores n̄os ut ait p̄pheta  
 uel sustinentis puniretur. Et supra tantum  
 humani genus tiberius cesar omnis uicari-  
 us erat phylatus. Iudicioem non h̄uisset  
 nisi Romanorum Imperium deure fuisset  
 hinc est quod herodes ip̄us ignorans quid  
 facere sciret et Cayfas cum uer dix de celesti  
 recto ip̄m p̄lato remisit ad uideandum.  
 ut lucas in euangl̄is sic tradat enim her-  
 odes non uideri tiberi generis sub signo acqui-  
 le uel sub signo farnus. sed ege regno sing-  
 uloz ordinatus ab eo uel sub signo regni sibi  
 cessi gubernans. designat igitur Imperium  
 ceptare Romanorum qui se filios cecie fingit  
 Cum uideat r̄ponsum xpi illud sic inuicem  
 termino sic uaine compellit. Et iam suffi-  
 cient manu sc̄sum esse. tiberio. Romanorum  
 populū sibi deure orbis impem̄ adhausse.  
 O se legem ip̄m O auonatus gloriā si uel  
 nūq̄ infirmata ille Imperium natus nō  
 fuisset uel iniqua sua pia intentio ip̄m non  
 fecisset.  
**Q**uod clasi ora leoni et nō noceant michi  
 qz certum eo iustitia inuenta est in me.  
 In panapio huius epis p̄positum fuit  
 de tribus questionibus p̄not materia patebat  
 Inquirere de quaz duab; primis in superuob  
 libus ut eade sufficiēt pactū est. Nūc aut̄

Ms. E f. 26v

fuisset. sed uide ordinatus esse nō poterat.  
 nisi sup totum genus humanum iudicioem  
 h̄ns eam totum humani genus carne illa p̄p̄-  
 portantis dolores n̄os ut ait p̄pheta uel susti-  
 nentis puniretur. Et supra tantum huma-  
 ni genus tiberius cesar omnis uicarius erat  
 phylatus. Iudicioem nō h̄uisset nisi Romanū  
 imperium deure fuisset h̄c e qd herodes ip̄us  
 ignorans quid facere sciret et Cayfas cum uer  
 dix de celesti recto ip̄m p̄lato remisit ad uideandum  
 ut lucas in euangl̄io sic tradat enim herodes  
 nō uicari tiberi generis sub signo aquile uel sub  
 signo farnatus. sed uer regno singulari ordinatus  
 ab eo uel sub signo regni sibi cessi gubernans  
 designat igitur imperium ceptare Romanorum  
 qui se filios cecie fingit.  
 Cum uideant sp̄sum xpi illud sic inuicem t̄mi-  
 no sive militia cum p̄basse. Et iam sufficienter  
 manifestū e arbitrio. Romanum populū sibi  
 de ure orbis imperium adhausse.  
 O filium ip̄m O amio man re gloriosam si uel  
 nūq̄ infirmator ille imperium natus nō  
 fuisset uel iniqua sua pia intentio ip̄m nō fecisset.  
 conclusi ora leoni et nō noceant michi  
 qz certum eo iustitia inuenta e in me. imp̄-  
 cipio huius epis p̄positum fuit tribus que-  
 stionibus p̄not ut materia pateceret inquirere  
 de quaz duab; primis in superuob libris ut

Ms. R f. 29r

sit peccatum q̄ infirmum est ab illo qui solvere  
 uult ostendendo formam illam non esse se-  
 uatam. Sicut peccati sit imātia. Aut est quia  
 simpliciter falsum sed; quid si simpliciter pec-  
 catorum ascripti solvendi est. Si sed qd  
 perditūtem hāc uiso ad meliorem huius  
 aliar inferius fietur solutiōis euidētia ad  
 uerendum quod eā sensum nullū duplicat  
 errare otingit. Aut querendo ipm ubi non  
 est. Aut accipiendo alit quā accipi debeat p̄  
 principum dicit Augustinus incuitate dei.  
 Non in omnia que gesta narrantur etiam signi-  
 ficare aliquid putanda sunt. Sed p̄ illa que  
 aliquid significant etiam ea que nihil signi-  
 ficant atque ueritate solo ueritate tra p̄fendit.  
 Sed ut hoc fieri possit etiam cetera narra-  
 tiva membra sunt necia p̄ quod item aut in  
 doctrina xp̄iana loquens de ille alud in s̄  
 scripturis sentire quam ille qui scripsit eas  
 dicit quod ita fallunt q̄ hanc si quisquam  
 deserens uiam eo tñ p̄griū pereget quod  
 uia illa p̄duat q̄ subdit demonstrandū est  
 ut officium demum de uandū etiam intrā huc  
 sum aut p̄uicium s̄re cogatur. Deinde in  
 uis causam quare euendū sit hāc s̄re  
 p̄tius dicitur et t̄tubant fides si diuina s̄re  
 p̄tiaz uatillat auctoritas. Ego aut dicit q̄  
 sitalia sunt de ignorantie correctioe dili-  
 gentie adhibita. Ignoscendum est sicut.  
 Ignoscendum est illi qui leonem in uis  
 b̄ formidat. Sine eo industria non alit  
 cum sit erantibus est agendum quā auz  
 tyrannus qui publica iurē non ad eōm  
 utilitatem sciantie sed ad p̄pria uetore q̄e

Ms. E f. 30r

i materia probabili hēt matiam falsi sicut  
 forma sit peccatum q̄ infirmum est ab illo  
 qui solvere uult ostendendo formam illam non  
 esse se uatam. Si uō peccati sit in materia  
 aut est quia simpliciter falsum sed; quid si simpli-  
 citer peccatorum hoc uis ad meliorem  
 huius aliar inferius fietur solutiōis euidē-  
 tiam ad uerendum quod eā sensum nullū  
 duplicat errare otingit. Aut querendo ipm ubi  
 non est. Aut accipiendo alit quā accipi debeat  
 p̄ principum dicit Augustinus incuitate dei.  
 Non in omnia que gesta narrantur etiam signi-  
 ficare aliquid putanda sunt. Sed p̄ illa que  
 aliquid significant etiam ea que nihil signi-  
 ficant atque ueritate solo ueritate tra p̄fendit.  
 Sed ut hoc fieri possit etiam cetera narra-  
 tiva membra sunt necia p̄ quod item aut in  
 doctrina xp̄iana loquens de ille alud in s̄  
 scripturis sentire quam ille qui scripsit eas  
 dicit quod ita fallunt q̄ hanc si quisquam  
 deserens uiam eo tñ p̄griū pereget quod  
 uia illa p̄duat q̄ subdit demonstrandū est  
 ut officium demum de uandū etiam intrā huc  
 sum aut p̄uicium s̄re cogatur. Deinde in  
 uis causam quare euendū sit hāc s̄re  
 p̄tius dicitur et t̄tubant fides si diuina s̄re  
 p̄tiaz uatillat auctoritas. Ego aut dicit q̄  
 sitalia sunt de ignorantie correctioe dili-  
 gentie adhibita. Ignoscendum est sicut.  
 Ignoscendum est illi qui leonem in uis  
 b̄ formidat. Sine eo industria non alit  
 cum sit erantibus est agendum quā auz  
 tyrannus qui publica iurē non ad eōm  
 utilitatem sciantie sed ad p̄pria uetore q̄e

Ms. R f. 33r

vniuersale distribuere quo uiso facile exarbit-  
 q̄m s̄ia distributio dilatare. Cognita natura  
 am b̄m t̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m  
 ligatur s̄. l. i. q̄m q̄m s̄m s̄m s̄m s̄m s̄m s̄m  
 qd dicit q̄ non s̄ia hāc facere possit. qum est solu-  
 ere uicē auz q̄ ligare ipm ab omne primo  
 qd nullo nō p̄t. possit est solvere mo nō p̄ntē  
 q̄ ēt ip̄e deus facere nō possit. Cum ergo nō sit  
 manifestū q̄ nō absolute sumēda est illa distri-  
 butio. Sed respectue ad aliquid quod ad illa  
 respicit sans ē euidens consideratio. Illud ē qd  
 sibi cōceditue ora quod illa distributio s̄ia.  
 Dicit enim xp̄us petro. Tibi dabo clauē regni et  
 uia hāc est quod facere ostendit Regni etia De-  
 inde subdit et ad n̄q̄ q̄ est omne quod ad s̄ia  
 offitū expectabit solvere potius et ligare et sic signū  
 vniuersale quod meliū d̄m q̄p̄ contrahit in s̄ia di-  
 strubūde ab offitio clauis regni celoꝝ et sic ass-  
 ūmēdo uera est illa p̄p̄tio absolute uō nō ut patet.  
 Et ideo dico quod et si successores petri s̄m exigentia  
 offitū omni s̄i p̄t possit solvere et ligare. Non tñ p̄  
 hoc sequit quod possit solvere seu ligare decreta  
 imp̄i seu leges ut ip̄i dicebant nisi uicē p̄p̄ba  
 ret hāc expectare ad offitū clauis cuius contra-  
 rium ostenditue inferunt.  
**A**ccipiunt et illud licet qd petrus dixit x̄po auz  
 aut edie duo gladij hic et dicit qd p̄fios duos  
 gladios duo p̄a regimina intelligunt que quod  
 petrus dixit et ibi ubi erat hāc est apud se unde ai quod  
 illa duo regimina s̄m auctoritatis apud successorem  
 petri consistere. Et ad hoc dicendum per m̄p̄h̄e  
 sensus in quo fundat auz q̄ d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m  
 gladios quod n̄m signat p̄t̄us duo p̄fata regi-  
 mina ip̄tue qd omio negandū est tñ q̄ illa ratio

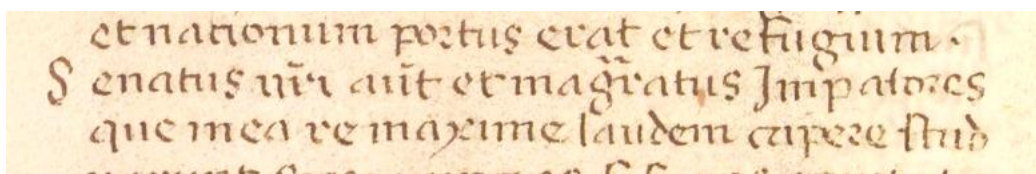
Ms. E f. 33r

illa distri. uō sed respectue ad aliquid quod  
 illa respicit sans ē euidens consideratio. Illud ē qd  
 sibi cōceditue ora quod illa distributio s̄ia.  
 Dicit enim xp̄us petro. Tibi dabo clauē regni et  
 uia hāc est quod facere ostendit Regni etia De-  
 inde subdit et ad n̄q̄ q̄ est omne quod ad s̄ia  
 offitū expectabit solvere potius et ligare et sic signū  
 vniuersale quod meliū d̄m q̄p̄ contrahit in s̄ia di-  
 strubūde ab offitio clauis regni celoꝝ et sic ass-  
 ūmēdo uera est illa p̄p̄tio absolute uō nō ut patet.  
 Et ideo dico quod et si successores petri s̄m exigentia  
 offitū omni s̄i p̄t possit solvere et ligare. Non tñ p̄  
 hoc sequit quod possit solvere seu ligare decreta  
 imp̄i seu leges ut ip̄i dicebant nisi uicē p̄p̄ba  
 ret hāc expectare ad offitū clauis cuius contra-  
 rium ostenditue inferunt.  
**A**ccipiunt et illud licet qd petrus dixit x̄po auz  
 aut edie duo gladij hic et dicit qd p̄fios duos  
 gladios duo p̄a regimina intelligunt que quod  
 petrus dixit et ibi ubi erat hāc est apud se unde ai quod  
 illa duo regimina s̄m auctoritatis apud successorem  
 petri consistere. Et ad hoc dicendum per m̄p̄h̄e  
 sensus in quo fundat auz q̄ d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m d̄m  
 gladios quod n̄m signat p̄t̄us duo p̄fata regi-  
 mina ip̄tue qd omio negandū est tñ q̄ illa ratio

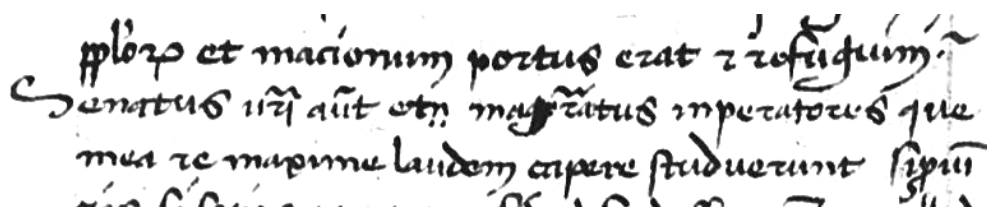
Ms. R f. 38r



Furthermore there are anomalies in the use of paragraph breaks which are exactly replicated from one manuscript to the other, including several cases where a new paragraph is introduced inappropriately in both witnesses in the middle of a sentence. At II, v, 7, for no obvious reason a new paragraph is introduced mid-sentence with the word *Senatus*:

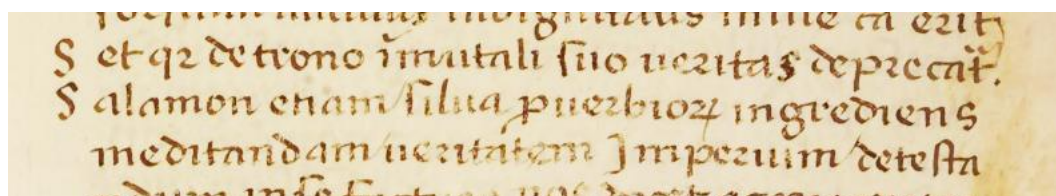


Ms. E f. 17v

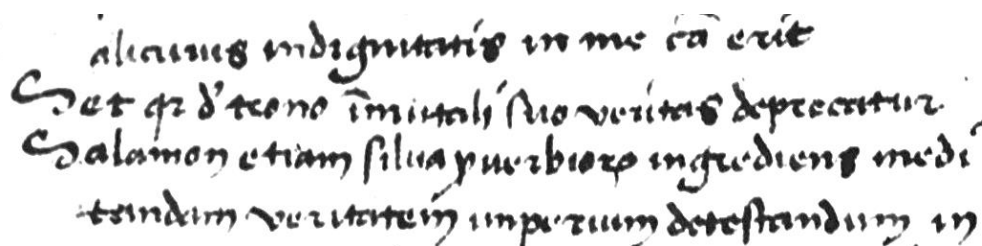


Ms. R f. 19r

At III, i, 3, both scribes begin two new paragraphs on successive lines, the second one in mid-sentence with the word *Salamon*:

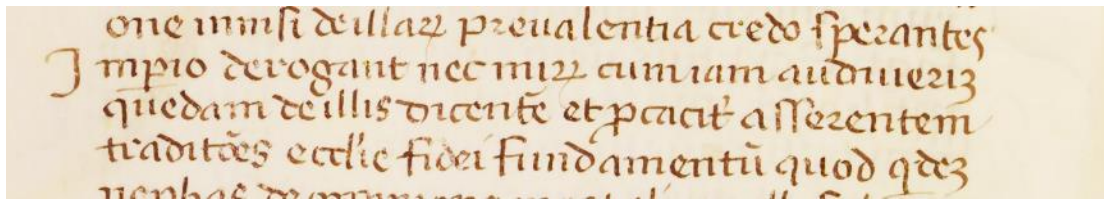


Ms. E f. 27r

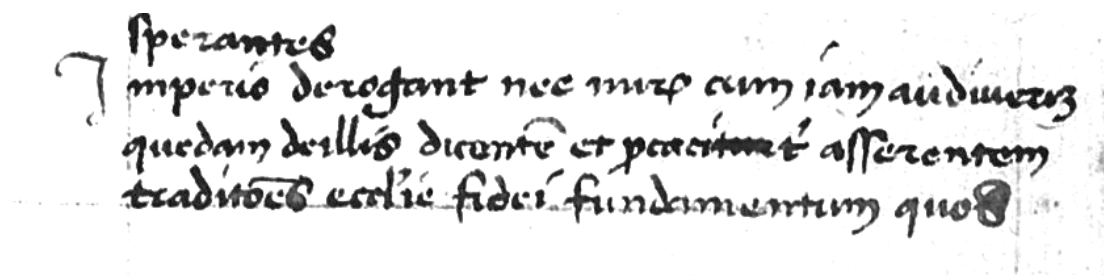


Ms. R f. 29v

At III, iii, 9, again for no obvious reason a new paragraph is introduced mid-sentence with the word *Imperio*:

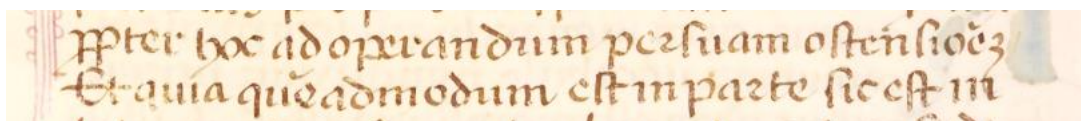


Ms. E f. 28v



Ms. R f. 31r

We may note also a few additional minor points which suggest direct descent: the marginal note on f. 23r in R reproduces exactly the same note in the same position on f. 21r in E. The *saut du même au même* in R at I, iv, 1 (f. 3v, lines 7-8), where the phrase *per suam extensionem Et quia quemadmodum* is omitted, can be accounted for by the fact that in E (f. 3r, four and five lines from the bottom) two words ending in *-dum* are directly one beneath the other.



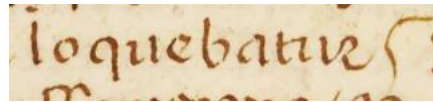
Ms. E f. 3r

The scribe of R starts to make another *saut du même au même* a few lines lower down on the same page, but catches the mistake in time and self-corrects: in E (f. 3v) the final syllables of the words *longitudo* and *pulcritudo* are directly underneath one another, and it is this which triggers the eyeskip. At II, iii, 13 the word *loquebatur* is followed by a long stroke which has no textual substance:



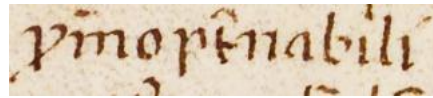
Ms. R f. 17r line 14;

it exactly replicates a similar stroke in ms. E:



Ms. E f. 15v line 14.

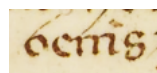
The striking similarities between E and R do not just involve layout and presentation. They also encompass textual substance. Many extremely idiosyncratic abbreviated forms (not all of them intelligible) are found at the same point in both manuscripts. These are fully documented in the notes to the transcriptions of E and R, but we can note in passing the following parallel instances: on the first page we find *lutiū* (a corruption of the required *lucrum*) and *haneli'* (more difficult to explain in terms of an original *hanc*). Later we have *ol'is* where what is required is *elementis*, and at III, iv, 4 a baffling



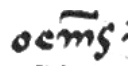
in ms. E, exactly replicated in



in ms. R – only if one knows that the text should read *pro inoppinabili* does it become possible to see how the corruption has occurred. Other forms are extremely odd or unlikely, as at I, v, 4



for *omnes* in ms. E,

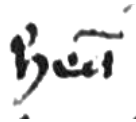


in ms. R;

and at III, iv, 1

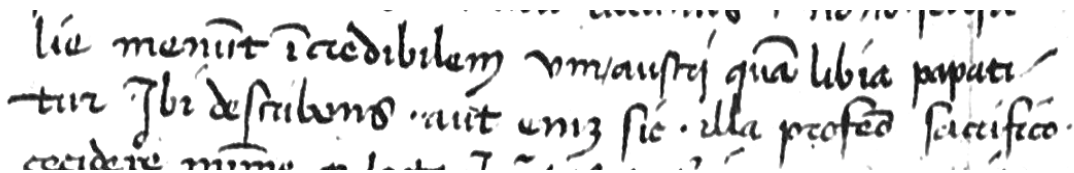


for *habeat* in ms. E,

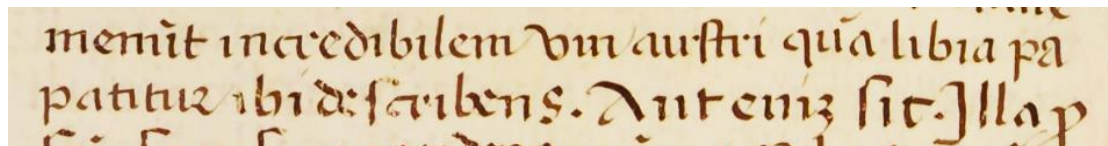


in ms. R. All these odd or puzzling abbreviated forms (and many more) occur in E and are reproduced exactly in R.

Finally – and this argument seems to me conclusive – we have a whole series of oddities in the readings of R which are explicable in terms of the physical character and layout of E. Some of these concern the line-fillers and linebreaks in E and the way they are misunderstood by the scribe of R. Thus at II, iv, 6 R reads, bizarrely, *papatitur* instead of *patitur*:

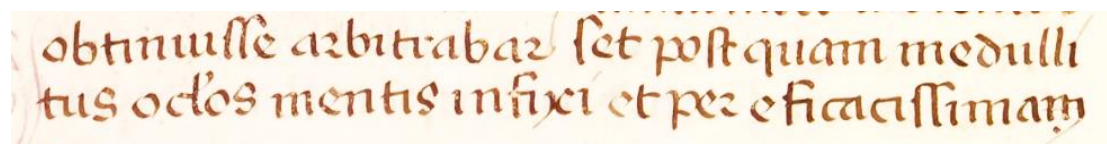


Here the duplication of the first syllable replicates the reading of E at this point,



where *pa* appears at the end of a line where it functions as a line-filler, with *patitur* written in full on the next line. The scribe of ms. R (or the manuscript which comes between E and R) has failed to recognise the line-filler function of the letters *pa* and transcribes the whole sequence as a single word *papatitur*.

Conversely, R sometimes in mid-line breaks into two words what is in reality a single word which in E happens to be split across a line break: thus at II, i, 3 *medullitus*:

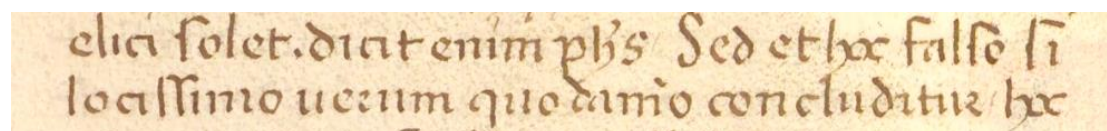


obtinuisse arbitrabar set postquam medullitus  
oculos mentis infixi et per efficacissimam

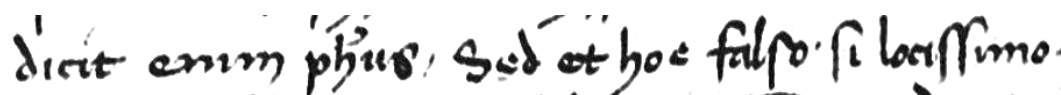


set postquam medullitus oculos mentis infixi et

at II, v, 23 *si locissimo*:

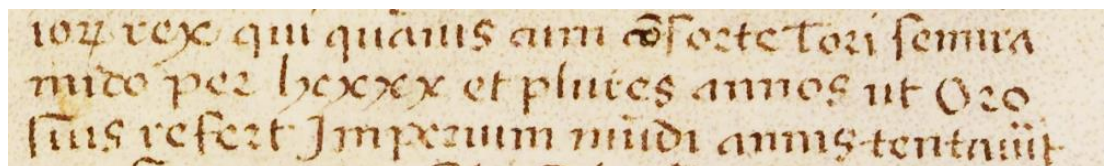


elici solet. dicit enim phis Sed et hoc falso si  
locissimo uerum quodammodo concluditur hoc

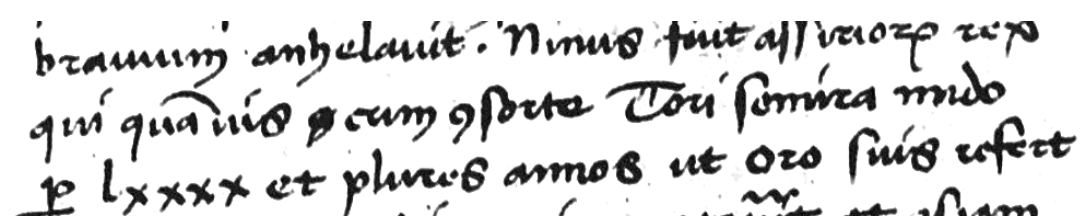


dicit enim phis Sed et hoc falso si locissimo.

at II, viii, 3 *semiramido* and *Orosius* (which in R has become *Orosius*):

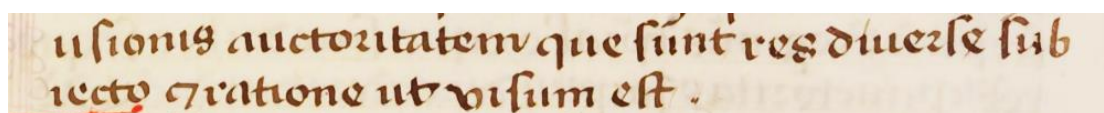


107 rex qui quatuor annis ante Tori semira  
mido per lxxx et plures annos ut Oro  
sius refert Imperium mundi annis tentauit

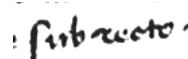


braunum anhelauit. Ninus fuit affricor rex  
qui quatuor annis ante Tori semira mido  
per lxxx et plures annos ut orosius refert

at III iv 22 *sub iecto* (which in R becomes *sub recto*):



usionis auctoritatem que sunt res diuersae sub  
iecto creatione ut visum est.



subrecto.

At I, xi, 10 (f. 7v line 8) R has a superfluous *p* interpolated in the text. In E at this point (f. 7r line 20) there is a cancelled *p* which serves as a line-filler: again the scribe has failed to recognise its function and has copied it as part of the text. Two lines above this in R there is an interpolated *b* which makes nonsense of the syllogism, which corresponds again to a cancelled *b* in E which the scribe of R has not recognised as a deletion. At II, v, 21 both manuscripts duplicate the word *est* in mid-sentence in a way which makes no sense ('Sic omnis finis propriam habeat rem cuius est est finis ...'). This is clearly an inadvertent repetition in E which R copies verbatim.

This series of uncanny resemblances between the two manuscripts, of which the above is a by no means exhaustive list, is more than sufficient to my mind to establish the relationship of direct descent between them. No hypothetical common *antigrafo* would have had the text laid out in exactly the way which generates the oddities of R which can be so clearly accounted for in terms of the physical characteristics of E. Ricci may have failed to consider the possibility of direct descent seriously because he was misled by a small series of corrections to the text in the opening pages of R, especially on the first page. (All the alleged errors of E in I, i not present in R are in fact to be found on the first page of each manuscript.) Some of these are corrections to misreadings or errors in E. It is not clear when they were made, or whether the corrector had recourse to another manuscript, though it seems likely that he did.<sup>104</sup> They peter out after a page or two. If we return to the list supplied by Ricci of errors of E not found in R, two of them (*non, tum*) are corrections in R of an original which was identical to E. One of them (*quatenus*) involves an abbreviated form, where Ricci's reading of the abbreviated form in E (*quot*) is, I believe, mistaken: Cappelli registers an almost identical form for *quatenus*.<sup>105</sup> The last one, as already mentioned, is again a misreporting by Ricci of the reading in R, which is not *redarguar*, as he claims, but *redarguatur*, an error based on the erroneous *redarguat* of E. In short, of Ricci's list of six alleged errors of E not found in R, three do not exist, two are corrections in R which do not lend themselves to easy conclusions, and one is a debatable abbreviated form.

The situation is further complicated because there are also a few corrections to E in the opening chapters of the treatise which are not reflected in R: a *dicebat* corrected *decebat*, a *condendum* corrected *concedendum*, where ms. R has *dicebat* and *condendum*. But the corrections to E could well have been made after the manuscript had been copied. These few corrections to both manuscripts in the opening pages of the treatise make it less easy to see immediately what is going on, but they do not, I believe, invalidate the case made here for a relationship of direct descent of R from E. Whether the case is considered proven or not, what can be asserted with absolute confidence is that the copy of the text of the *Monarchia* in ms. R adds nothing to our knowledge or understanding of the text of Dante's treatise, except to provide a chastening demonstration of just how easily that text could be eroded. We can conclude by noting that, while E has no omissions not present in R, R has many omissions not present in E, among them the following:

- I, iii, 9 [anima. Potentia etiam intellectiva de qua]
- I, iv, 1-2 [per suam extensionem. Et quia quemadmodum est]
- I, v, 9 [hoc]
- I, vi, 2 [exercitus inter se et ordo earum ad ducem ordo partium]
- I, vii, 1 [ut]
- I, xi, 5 [et]
- I, xiv, 2 [per unum si fieri]
- II, ii, 4 [ius]
- II, v, 1 [est]
- II, v, 16 [hoc]
- III, ii, 1 [nam]
- III, ii, 2 [quod est: Deum non nolle quod nature intentioni repugnat.]
- III, ii, 3 [Et si hoc non falsum, nec ea que secuntur ad ipsum; impossibile enim est in necessariis consequentiis falsum]
- III, x, 8 [humanum esset si se ipsum destrueret; ergo Imperio se ipsum destruere non licet]

Ricci's conclusion that E is more corrupt than R is patently wrong.

## A<sup>2</sup>

The scribe of ms. A, it will be remembered, changed exemplar in the course of copying the text: the errors and omissions found in A in the second half of the treatise (from II, viii on) no longer link A to T (and more generally to the non-beta manuscripts), but instead are those which characterise beta, and – as we shall now see – more particularly β3.

Ricci argues persuasively that, given the very different character of the three manuscripts A<sup>2</sup>, G and V – A<sup>2</sup> with its 'infiniti errori' which come from 'ignoranza' and 'disattenzione', G disfigured by 'volute alterazioni', i.e. by deliberate editorial intervention, and V the least corrupt manuscript of the whole beta family – the points at which the three share variants not found elsewhere, or A<sup>2</sup> shares such variants with either G or V, must be considered particularly telling; it is hard to disagree with him.

On pp. 77-78 Ricci provides a list of such omissions and variants common to A<sup>2</sup> and G:

II, viii, 3	[qui]	
II, ix, 14	[patuisset]	
II, x, 1	executionem	executorem
II, xi, 3	[in ipsum]	
III, iii, 8	negare	negarent
III, viii, 1	apostolis + videtur +	
III, viii, 10	[et]	
III, ix, 5	eloquio	colloquio
III, x, 3	tractata	tacta
III, xii, 2	[idem]	
III, xii, 11	[quo]	
III, xvi, 16	[ad...querebatur] <sup>106</sup>	



There follows a shorter list of omissions and variants common to A<sup>2</sup> and V:

III, iv, 4	[hic]	
III, vi, 5	[et]	
III, viii, 10	quocunque trahitur	quodcunque contrahitur
III, x, 3	restat	restant
III, xii, 8	sunt reducenda	reducenda sunt
III, xiv, 5	[in]	
III, xvi, 8	adversas	ad diversas

We should note however that at III, viii, 10 the shared AV reading is only *quocunque* for *quodcunque* (also in Ph); *trahitur* for *contrahitur* is in A but not in V.

We can just note too that *restat* for *restant* is also present in N and M, which rather weakens its value as a variant found only in A<sup>2</sup> and V, and that *adversas* for *ad diversas* is also in Ph, a manuscript not known to Ricci.

A final list (pp. 78-79) gives variants common to A<sup>2</sup> and ER:

III, iv, 3	[quod]	
III, vi, 2	[Et]	
III, ix, 3	sciendum + est +	
III, xii, 2	reliquum	relinquitur

I do not include the last example Ricci gives at III, xii, 4 since the situation is more complicated than he suggests and does not lend itself to any simple conclusion about an omission shared by A<sup>2</sup> and E. (R at this stage is absent.) The omitted [Et] at III, vi, 2 is also in Z and the added + est + at III, ix, 3 is also in S.

Although Ricci has not shown errors or variants common to all the manuscripts in β<sub>3</sub>, as he did with β<sub>1</sub> and β<sub>2</sub>, the network of common

errors and variants linking pairs of manuscripts within the group is fully persuasive, and there is no reason to call into question the existence of the group.

### **$\beta_4$ : C + M + S + H + Z**

Ricci's demonstration of the existence of the sub-group  $\beta_4$ , consisting of the manuscripts CSMHZ, is thorough, well documented, and convincing, except in one detail which we will consider at the end. As with the demonstration of  $\beta_3$ , he again works from small groups up to larger ones, rather than starting with errors common to all members of the group. He first demonstrates the close relationship between M and S, listing omissions the two manuscripts share which are not found elsewhere (*EN*, p. 79). Of the sixteen cases he lists eleven are, as he states, unique to M and S; the remaining five are found in other isolated manuscripts, but these convergences are not sufficiently striking to undermine the validity of his case. I give here a sample of the longer omissions:

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| I, xi, 15    | [homines non appropinquant nisi in parte, Monarche vero secundum totum. Et rursus: principibus aliis] |
| II, iii, 8   | [est Poeta noster introducens in primo Ilioneum orantem sic]  |
| III, iii, 18 | [pius in Ecclesiam]   |
| III, v, 4    | [sed etiam preceduntur]   |

The omission of the words *humanum genus secundum sua comunia, que omnibus competunt, ab eo regatur et* at I, xiv, 7 is found also in D, but as D and M are closely related, as we shall see shortly, this is of no particular consequence.

There follows a list of variants common to M and S and found in no other manuscripts (*EN*, pp. 79-80). (Here again two minor convergences with other manuscripts do not invalidate the argument.) Some of the more striking cases are:

I, iv, 6	probatum	probandum
I, xi, 14	iuxta	maxime
I, xiii, 7	morales	mortales
II, v, 22	oportet	patet
III, vii, 8	submictere	substituere
III, x, 5	dicunt	dico
III, xi, 2	refert	relinquitur
III, xii, 1	primo	a principio

Next Ricci argues for a relationship of MS with C ('il terzo membro di questo gruppo'), citing 'numerous' and 'decisive' variants which establish this link. A first list (*EN*, pp. 80-81) gives variants common to C and S: most of these do indeed make the point he is arguing, but two of them emphatically do not. At I, v, 9 Ricci says that C and S have + *est* + *fu**it*: in fact *est* in C is cancelled and replaced by *fu**it*, whereas S has *est* instead of *fu**it*, as do mss. ABDH; at II, iv, 21 M and S have *temporale* instead of *spirituale*, as Ricci states, but so do mss. FVHZ and the *princeps*: neither of these variants can therefore be said to establish a link between C and S.

The problem here and elsewhere, as will by now have become apparent, is that even when Ricci's conclusions are sound, some of the evidence he cites in their support is not accurately reported: it would be tedious to go through case by case amending every list on small points of detail, and I leave that task to interested readers, who can now easily check these variants using the electronic apparatus if they so wish.

Among the persuasive cases listed by Ricci to link C and S are the following:

I, xi, 14	sumpta	spretta
I, xii, 7	Qui	Quod
I, xv, 3	sumpto	spreto



judgment which contrasts strikingly, as we have noted, with his earlier dismissal of C as ‘scorrettissimo’, a change of mind which he nowhere explains or accounts for); S is ‘gravato da guasti pressoché infiniti’ and ‘poco giova alla costituzione del testo’ (a judgment one can only heartily endorse or even reformulate more harshly: *nulla giova alla costituzione del testo*); M is characterised by ‘errori che vengono dal dis-tratto, dal balordo, dall’ignorante ... dal saccente’, and is ‘uno dei testi più insidiosamente scorretti dell’intera tradizione.’

The remaining two manuscripts of the  $\beta_4$  group – H and Z – have a common ancestor: Ricci rightly describes this as ‘un rapporto di per sé lampante anche al più superficiale osservatore’. The list provided (EN, p. 84) of variants they share is confined to the first three chapters of each book and is substantially accurate, with the following small modifications: the lacuna at II, ii, 3 does not include the final word *materie*, which is present in both manuscripts; the addition of + *et* + before *in Affrica* at II, iii, 15 is also in CMS, and indeed is listed as a reading common to all five mss. of  $\beta_4$  on p. 96 of the EN, where it is rightly described as ‘abusiva e fastidiosa’; at II, ii, 8 + *etiam* + is not an addition in HZ but simply part of a reversed word order, *humana etiam* instead of *etiam humana*. All the other variants are as listed and prove beyond doubt the close relationship between H and Z. Here is a sample from the variants listed by Ricci:

I, i, 5	indiscussa	intemptata
I, iii, 5	de primo	de potentia
I, iii, 9	uberes	universales
II, i, 2	offitium	effectum
III, iii, 5	alia	aliena
III, iii, 8	[negarent]	

Ricci adds on pp. 85-86 a supplementary list of variants he thinks reveal the hand of a corrector (‘un correttore miope e petulante’); two notable examples are:

I, xii, 3	iudicans prosequitur + quod iudicat + sive fugit	
III, iv, 10	cum eo sic certante	cum sic errantibus

To prove that neither manuscript is copied from the other, Ricci offers a list of H readings not found in Z, including three lacunae and four interpolations. Among them are:

I, iii, 6	[quia sic etiam participatur a brutis; sed esse apprehensivum] <sup>107</sup>
II, v, i	[proportio]
II, vii, 12	+ viribus suis + quam
III, iii, 16	[sed ab Ecclesia traditionibus]

There follows a list of Z readings not found in H, though here too the list requires fine-tuning. The alleged interpolation at III, xi, 3 of the phrase + *cum inferunt ex hiis* + is in fact cancelled by underdotting in Z, so is a self-correction, i.e. the scribe first writes the phrase then cancels it, showing that he is aware that it is an error. In spite of these minor inaccuracies, Ricci's conclusion is indubitably correct: H and Z share a common ancestor and neither manuscript is copied from the other.

### *D between M and G*

Ricci now moves on to consider the position of ms. D, first establishing its strong link with M, initially through a series of omissions, and then through a series of shared variants (*EN*, p. 87).

I list here some of the examples he cites:

I, xiv, 7	[proprie]
II, v, 13	[de ipso]
II, v, 15	[mortis]
II, xi, 2	[omnes]

III, xiii, 5	[ad Festum]	
III, xvi, 2	[mundi] <sup>108</sup>	
I, xiv, 9	cariora	comuniora
I, xiv, 10	conueniens	consequens
II, v, 7	imperiumque una re	imperatoresque in ea re <sup>109</sup>
II, v, 9	animo	termino
III, ii, 7	videretur	videlicet
III, iv, 12	interpretationem	interemptionem
III, x, 7	fundata	hedificata
III, xv, 2	demonstrationem	determinationem

Ricci supplements these lists with further examples (*EN*, pp. 88-89) of conjectural readings shared by D and M which he believes are attributable to the intervention of a corrector. Most of these are accurate except for II, iii, 6 (there is no added *etiam* in M as claimed), but some of them are found in other manuscripts as well (S, H, Z), and one of them (+ *de illo* + at III, iv, 8) is found in L, not even a  $\beta 4$  manuscript, and in U. But in spite of these instances which do not quite fit the pattern he is demonstrating, the case for a strong link between D and M is certainly well-founded.

Ricci now goes through a parallel process to establish the links of D with G, i.e. with a manuscript which is a member not of  $\beta 4$  but of  $\beta 3$ . (That D and G shared significant readings in common had been recognised by Bertalot.) Again the lists of omissions and variant readings (*EN*, pp. 90-91) are persuasive and largely accurate. I give some sample readings from the two lists:

II, iii, 7	[atque piissimus]	
III, iv, 11	[non in Paulum]	
III, vii, 7	[non]	
III, x, 10	[ambitu suo]	
I, xi, 19	diligit	intelligit
I, xiii, 2	applicetur	amplietur

III, v, 4    archiepiscopi                    archipresbyteri

Ricci adds a series of conjectural variants in D and G, of which I again give a sample:

I, v, 1    vocatur                                  nuncupatur

III, xv, 4    + *pium* +<sup>110</sup>

Ricci describes the position of D thus: ‘sono riconoscibili due strati di alterazioni: quelle ch’egli divide con M e quelle ch’egli divide con G; ambedue numerosissime, ambedue fortemente caratterizzanti’; but what makes D even more distinctive, Ricci believes, are the ‘centinaia di alterazioni che D non divide con alcun altro testo’, a reflection of the editorial intention of its copyist, who is described as ‘un conciatore impegnato a procurare una vera e propria edizione del trattato’. This editorial activity is reflected in a long series of *lectiones singulares* which seem to reflect an active engagement with the text rather than mere passive copying. It manifests itself most clearly in arbitrary variation, as when the *Et* which introduces various chapters is replaced variously by *Preterea* (I, viii), *Insuper* (I, x), and *Adhuc* (I, xiv); elsewhere, *fons* is replaced by *origo* (I, ii, 6), *inquit* by *dicit* (I, xi, 5), *penitus* by *totaliter* (III, iii, 11), and so on.

Ricci summarises the situation: ‘Nessun rispetto ... per il testo altrui; ma invece una continua pretesa di correggere, violentando l’intenzione dell’autore.’ We should perhaps just clarify that the phenomenon Ricci is here describing – editorial intervention which deliberately alters Dante’s text – almost certainly relates to an earlier stage in the transmission history, rather than to any activity by the scribe of this particular manuscript. On reading D, at least as striking as these aberrant readings is the sense of a copyist struggling with material which is beyond him (see the Transcription Note for ms. D to substantiate this point). It seems unlikely that he himself was responsible for, or indeed capable of, anything as focused or thoughtful as editorial activity: on the contrary, he seems to have had real difficulty with the material just



at the simple level of transcribing it. Over-confident intervention in the textual substance was surely beyond him.

Ricci adds some supplementary lists on pp. 93-94 to strengthen the case for D's connection with both  $\beta_4$  and  $\beta_3$ : first is a list of variants D shares not just with M but with S as well, among them the following:

I, xiv, 4	[non]
II, iv, 7	ibi + omnino +
III, vii, 2	[quod]
III, viii, 9	[hoc est 'Faciam te hostiarium regni celorum']
III, ix, 14	[parum]
III, x, 15	possibilis + ad recipiendum +

The next list (p. 94) shows readings shared with V as well as G. I replicate this list in its entirety because of the striking fact that every reading on it with the exception of the last one is present also in Ph – a clearcut confirmation of the point already made, and to which we will return, that Ph has strong affinities with V and G. (A small number of isolated casual convergences with other manuscripts is of no significance here.)

I, v, 1	suppositum	propositum
I, xi, 1	[illud]	
I, xii, 11	[et]	
II, v, 11	[sibi]	
II, v, 25	[et]	
II, vii, 9	quod	ut
II, ix, 1	ut	unde
II, xi, 5	[illa pena punitio non fuisset]	
III, iv, 17	illud	illum
III, vi, 3	[quia]	

III, vii, 6	potentiam	potestatem
III, ix, 10	[in]	
III, x, 5	contrarius	contrarium
III, x, 14	nec	neque

Finally Ricci adds a small number of cases of variants shared by DGM, of which the most clearcut is the reading *videretur quod Deus usus fuisset* in the place of *videretur Deus usus fuisse* at III, iv, 13.

Ricci's account of D is wholly persuasive: the manuscript reflects the mingling of readings from two different lines of transmission, it is 'un testo bimembre nel quale confluiscono le alterazioni di più manoscritti appartenenti a gruppi diversi'. It is perhaps worth emphasising that the 'double' nature of ms. D is very different from the superficially similar 'double' nature of ms. A: where A simply changes exemplar midway through the copying process, so that the two halves of the text have quite different affiliations with other manuscripts, there is in D, over the whole length of the text, a commingling of readings from two different branches of beta – a situation for which the word 'contamination' seems appropriate, although it is a word Ricci nowhere uses.

D is of course one of the oldest surviving copies of the *Monarchia*, dating as it does, like the codex Bini, from the mid-fourteenth century. It is significant that this very early copy already shows clear evidence that the text of Dante's treatise did not enjoy a simple vertical transmission history. Like the 1336 Landiano ms. of the *Commedia*, it shows evidence of deliberate, extensive and thorough-going contaminatory editorial activity. Where the *Commedia* manuscript has extensive abruptions and rewritings which physically reflect the process of contaminatory intervention, this *Monarchia* manuscript with its two intermingled lines of descent is a witness whose handsome physical aspect does not immediately declare its mixed parentage.

## *The position of S*

On several occasions Ricci refers to the anomalous position within S of the second half of Book II. He has demonstrated conclusively the close relationship which links S to M and also to C; but this relationship, he explains in a long note (*EN*, p. 82 n. 3; see also p. 97), does not hold good in ‘una parte abbastanza notevole di S (la seconda metà del secondo libro)’. This part of the text, he says, has ‘caratteri particolari che nettamente la distinguono, mostrandola legata a parentele diverse: appunto con la coppia ER.’ Oddly, given his fondness for lists of variants, he refrains from offering even a small sample to illustrate the point, referring instead to a ‘statistica di valore perentorio’ which makes exemplification otiose: ‘Per quanto riguarda il corredo delle prove non m’ingolferò in un tedioso elenco di varianti; mi basterà sintetizzare la situazione con una statistica di valore perentorio: nella prima metà del secondo libro due sole volte S s’incontra casualmente con ER, ma nella seconda metà ben settantadue volte. E poiché nel terzo libro si torna alla precedente rarefazione, chiaro sarà che il copista di S ebbe innanzi un modello mancante di tutta la seconda metà del secondo libro, e colmò il vuoto servendosi di un testo simile a quello della coppia ER; per tornare subito dopo al modello precedente, usandolo fino al termine dell’opera.’

It is difficult to understand how Ricci came up with this idea and what he based it on. Disconcertingly, his ‘statistica di valore perentorio’ has no foundation in fact whatsoever, as anyone examining the evidence will be forced to conclude: we have moved from the realm of the debatable to the realm of the fantastical. I summarise here the results of an exhaustive search through the two halves of Book II, looking for variants shared just by S and ER which might give some substance to Ricci’s statistical claim.

In chapters i-vi, there are, as Ricci says, just two readings shared by S and ER alone (or three if one includes *dispectio* for *despectio* as a real variant and not just a formal variant); there are a further eight variants S shares with ER and one or more other manuscripts; there is one variant shared by S and R alone, and one shared by SRD. There is no

obvious pattern here, the *incontri* do indeed seem *fortuiti*. There are many random convergences between S and other manuscripts, just as many as there are between S and ER. So far so good: everything is as Ricci says it is.

When we move on to the second half of Book II (chapters vii-xi) the pattern is identical. There are just four variants shared by S and ER alone against the three in the first half of Book II; there are two shared by S and R alone; and two shared by S and ER and one or more other manuscripts. In other words there is no change at all in the pattern of distribution of variants in S in relation to ER between the two halves of Book II. Equally and oppositely, the affiliation of S with  $\beta_4$  does not change: the links with M and C remain in the second half of Book II. Furthermore the distribution of the very large number of distinctive variants found in ER and in no other manuscript (almost three hundred in Book II alone) likewise remains constant right through the second book. Our conclusion must be, *pace* Ricci, that S is a unified witness copied from a single exemplar whose characteristics remain consistent throughout the treatise. There is no evidence of any kind to suggest a change of exemplar for the second half of Book II as Ricci repeatedly claims.

Finally, on pp. 96-97, Ricci returns to the question of the  $\beta_4$  group, and lists eight variants which link all five manuscripts, and a further two which link CMHZ in that portion of the text where he claims S goes with ER (a claim whose untenability we have just demonstrated). Once again the list needs some significant fine-tuning. The first variant, the omission of *Monarchia* [*ergo ad optimam mundi dispositionem requiritur esse Monarchiam*] at I, xi, 2, is a *saut du même au même* which, Ricci says, ‘*si ripet[e] nei cinque testi e in essi soli*’: in fact it is also found in A, although the convergence may well be only coincidental. The third variant, *ait* for *aiat* at III, i, 4, is found also in DGLU, so can hardly be thought of as characterising CMSHZ. Three other variants among those listed are also found in D, which is not in itself problematical, as D has close affinities with M. The ninth variant, an added + *etiam* + at II, viii, 14, allegedly not in S because S now goes with ER, is in fact present in S, and also in K, but not in H, which has *etcetera* at this point.

However, in spite of the many inaccuracies in Ricci's lists of variants, it seems clear that there is a sub-group  $\beta_4$  consisting of CMSHZ. In this last list of ten variants the consistency with which the variants occur in these manuscripts does establish a pattern. Seven of these variants are also present in U, and it is to the position of U within the beta family that we must now turn our attention.

### *The Uppsala manuscript*

The Uppsala manuscript has a series of readings in common with all five core manuscripts which constitute  $\beta_4$  (CMSHZ), and there can be no doubt that it is with this sub-group that it has its strongest affiliation. As we have just noted, seven of the ten variants cited by Ricci as characterising these manuscripts are found in U (*EN*, pp. 96-97); three of them, as noted below, are also in D:

II, viii, 14	+ etiam + in illa parte	
II, x, 4	[a]	
III, i, 4	ait (also in DG)	aiat
III, iii, 13	ut manifestatur	ut Matheus testatur
III, iii, 18	incipio certamen	certamen incipio
III, iv, 2	[scilicet] (also in DK)	
III, ix, 3	[cena] (also in D)	

To this we can add the following readings also shared by U with  $\beta_4$ :

II, iii, 4	virtutes (also in D)	virtus
II, v, 26	aut	ut
III, v, 5	non causa (also in P)	non causam
III, iv, 1	[rationis]	

(This last variant, described by Ricci, *EN*, p. 97, as omitted only in MSHZ, is in fact also missing in C and D.)

There are in addition many readings shared by U with smaller groups of manuscripts or single manuscripts within  $\beta_4$ .

Particularly striking are the variants shared with CSM: all three of those described by Ricci as marking the ‘suggello definitivo della parentela’ of these three manuscripts are present in U:

I, viii, 3	MS infelix	Israel
	C [ ], aliter infelix <i>in margin</i>	
	U Israel infelix	
II, v, 5	[romanus]	
III, iv, 7	+ si + significare (also in L)	

Other variants shared with smaller groups within  $\beta_4$  include the following (a fuller list, including variants shared with single manuscripts, is given in ‘Il codice Uppsalense’, pp. 327-328, 330):

#### U + CSMZ

II, v, 5	intenderat	intenderit
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#### U + CSMH

II, ix, 5	servanda	servata
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#### U + CHZ

I, xi, 6	nisi	ubi
I, xii, 8	alio	illo

#### U + CSD

I, iii, 3	producit	prodit
	(Ph prodit vel producit)	

## U + MHZ

II, v, 9    imperatoris                    imperatorio

## U + MS:

ix, 3            suspicabatur                    suspirabat  
(M sciscitabatur)

II, i, 2            pertingentis                    pertingentes

III, v, 2            dissolvi                        dissolvere

III, vi, 4            sciendum                        sciendum est

## U + CS

III, ii, 5            esset (rei)                        esse (rei)

III, xii, 11            ndomius (also in V)            Deus

## U + HZ

III, xiii, 7            offeretis                        conferetis

## U + DM

II, vi, 3            est ergo                        igitur est

III, iv, 8            illo + qui vult +  
(also in L)

## U + DG

III, viii, 4            [vero]

III, iv, 17            adversario                        adversarium

III, vii, 3            qui (also in A)                    quod

III, ix, 18            non + enim +

As well as this conspicuous series of readings which link it with  $\beta$ 4, U has a series of significant variants in common with the  $\beta$ 1 manuscripts BL:

I, vi, 3	+ reperitur sive + reperiri	
I, xi, 7	virtus	iustus
I, xii, 4	+ ad + appetitum	
I, xii, 9	+ ergo + genus (B ergo [genus])	
I, xiii, 5	+ per omnes + (cf. $\beta$ 1 and D + per os tuum +)	
II, i, 5	malui	mavult
II, i, 6	evelletur	eluetur

There are also many variants shared by U and  $\beta$ 1 and found in just one or two other manuscripts (see 'Il codice Uppsalense', p. 326), including the following:

II, ii, 8	cernantur (also in S)	cernatur
II, v, 12	exemplum (also in T)	exemplar
II, x, 6	humani generis (also in T)	generis humani
III, vii, 7	+ in + quantum (also in A)	
III, xii, 1	enim (also in AE)	etenim
III, xiii, 7	patrimonium (also in D)	patrocinium
III, xiv, 7	autem (also in DP)	vero



III, xvi, 5	est quoddam	quoddam est
	(also in K)	

And there are some variants found just in U and L:

I, ii, 5	philosophica	physica
II, ii, 8	humanarum	humana
II, ii, 8	voluntatum	volentem
II, ix, 9	iustius	iustitie
III, iii, 8	sanctissimi	sacratissimi
III, x, 1	+ non solum + Imperii sedem	
III, xii, 12	ad rationem + responsio +	
	(LD + responsio + ad rationem)	

Although there are isolated variants shared by U with other groups of manuscripts or individual witnesses within beta (noted in ‘Il codice Uppsalsense’ at pp. 326-327), no consistent pattern emerges which suggests a strong link between them.

As the evidence outlined above makes abundantly clear, U is a beta manuscript, although its primary  $\beta_4$  affiliation is complicated by some significant  $\beta_1$  readings. However, as we have already had occasion to observe, U also shares significant readings with KTA<sup>1</sup> – almost always correct readings where the remaining beta manuscripts are clearly corrupt. To give the measure of these convergences, we can note that of the twenty cases listed by Ricci to establish the opposition of KT to all the other witnesses in the second half of the treatise (*EN*, pp. 60-61), eight are to be found in U.<sup>111</sup>

We have already noted three of these cases when discussing beta errors: *in necessariis consequentiis* at II, ii, 3; *quod prius* at III, ii, 7; and *ascensurum* at III, iii, 13. The fourth case mentioned there was not noted by Ricci, and can be added to the list: *aut quo non virtuate* at III, xii, 3, a phrase indispensable to the development of the argument, is present

only in KT and U. The remaining cases on Ricci's list where U shares the reading of KT (several of which we have already discussed) are: + *in + pugile* at II, ix, 11; *ab illa specula* at II, ix, 20; + *in + carne* at II, xi, 5; *et* at III, iii, 13; *quid est quod* (U *quid est quod est*) at III, viii, 6. We should perhaps also note a variant common to KTU but not present in A<sup>1</sup>: *in Phrygia regnaverunt, Asye regione* at II, iii, 10 against *Frigiam regnaverunt, Asye regionem* in the remaining manuscripts. (This variant is not, *pace* Ricci, in K alone;<sup>112</sup> but equally, not being present in A<sup>1</sup>, it is not characteristic of the non-beta manuscripts.)

Because of these multiple affiliations it is difficult to place the Uppsala manuscript neatly in Ricci's *stemma*. U is close to β<sub>4</sub>, many of whose characteristic readings it shares; but there are clear links with other manuscripts within beta, notably with β<sub>1</sub>. In addition there is the very significant agreement with non-beta manuscripts in a series of correct readings where beta is corrupt – cases which cannot be explained in terms of intelligent conjectures on the part of the U scribe. It seems clear that the scribe either copied from an exemplar which was already contaminated, or himself contaminated as he copied, perhaps working with a manuscript which had variants recorded in the margin and incorporating the base text or the variant into his copy as he saw fit.

The tree generated electronically for the whole text places U unequivocally close to KT, reflecting the presence in U of the shared good readings which are not present in beta. There is no other beta manuscript which has this striking characteristic.

### *The Phillipps manuscript*

The Phillipps manuscript is less problematical to place within Ricci's *stemma*, since it shares readings only with manuscripts within the β<sub>3</sub> group, and particularly with V and G: we have already noted a series of seven omissions shared by these three manuscripts alone (see above, V + G).

Franca Brambilla Ageno, in her study of Ph published when the manuscript first came to light in 1981, pointed to the special connection between V and Ph: she listed twenty variants found only in these two manuscripts, and on this basis argued that they had a common *antigrafo*.<sup>113</sup> Three of these variants are in fact found in other manuscripts,<sup>114</sup> but the remaining seventeen amply prove her point. Ageno was working with the incomplete materials available in the *EN*, supplemented by the Uppsalense article and Bertalot's apparatus, just as Favati had done before her. To her list can be added many more clear-cut cases of errors or variants found only in V and Ph identified by my own subsequent researches. The list below conflates the VPh variants identified by Ageno and those subsequently added to that list in 'Le correzioni di copista', p. 307, giving a total of over forty variants shared by no other manuscript:

I, iii, 2	hominibus	omnibus
I, iv, 5	propter iniquissimum (Ph propter iniquissimum vel nequissimum)	propinquissimum
I, xi, 4	consistens	consistentes
I, xi, 9	potest	preter
II, i, 5	V lucolentus Ph colentus	luculenter
II, i, 6	partis	partem
II, i, 7	similiter	simul
II, v, 9	subdaturus	sudaturus
II, v, 13	pulcram	pulcra
II, v, 15	+ veritatis + libertatis	libertatis
II, v, 17	eius	ei
II, vi, 1	[quod est impossibile]	
II, vi, 2	prudencia	providencia
II, vi, 6	adversas	ad diversas

II, vi, 7	abstruit	astruit
II, vii, 10	+ in + Ypomene	
II, vii, 11	[in] quinto	
II, viii, 1	postulatus	postulamus
II, viii, 2	consideretur	considerantur
II, viii, 6	V transalata	translato
	Ph trans[a]lata	
II, viii, 7	bidon	Abidon
II, viii, 7	amirabiliter	admirabilis
II, viii,10	[Dei]	
II, viii, 10	coathleta	coathletam
II, viii, 13	V requoquens	recoquens
	Ph requequens	
II, x, 10	+ etiam + iniuste	
II, x, 10	persuasit [iniuste...persuasist]	
	quoddam	
II, xi, 6	tiberis	Tyberii
III, ii, 7	quod patet	quod potest
III, iv, 1	a quo	ad quos
III, iv, 4	parmonidem	Parmenidem
III, iv, 8	etiam	in
III, iv, 13	dupliciter	duplici
III, vii, 7	[hominis non equivalet ei quantum in hoc quod vicar- ius] (In V the om. is slightly longer.)	
III, viii, 2	successores	successorem
III, viii, 11	aspectare	spectare
III, ix, 18	sensu	sensum

III, x, 5	[in] primo	
III, x, 8	imperium	Imperio
III, xvi, 4	assentialem	essentialem
III, xvi, 6	cum sequitur	consequitur
III, xvi, 7	propriam	propria
III, xvi, 14	quod	quia

We can add a further small group of errors found in V and Ph alone which show slight variations in the readings in the two manuscripts, but where the readings are almost certainly derived from a common source:

I, xvi, 1	V inde	videlicet
	Ph idem	
II, v, 16	V consulem	consul cum
	Ph consultum	
II, ix, 18	V mundum	nondum
	Ph nudum	
	(mundum also in A)	
II, x, 9	V exstructionem	destructionem
	Ph effectionem	
II, xi, 6	V ypostasin	ypostasi
	Ph ipso stasim	

Agno supplied a list of errors which linked Ph to V and G; that list too can be supplemented with additional cases revealed by a more thorough examination of the tradition.<sup>115</sup> The list below includes the seven omissions in V G Ph already noted earlier (see V + G):

I, vi, 2	[ordo]
I, xi, 13	[pauca]

I, xiv, 10	optimus	optimum
I, xv, 1	[et] quanto	
II, iii, 10	[illum]	
II, v, 17	[Cato]	
II, v, 22	+ per + consequens	
II, vi, 10	per	qui
II, vii, 2	[homo]	
II, ix, 14	condonasse	condonasset
III, ii, 5	ociosum	otiose
III, iii, 16	[enim]	
III, iv, 7	[significant etiam ea que]	
III, iv, 22	[in]	
III, v, 2	posse	possem
III, xiii, 8	+ et + per	

There is nothing to add to Ageno's list of errors shared by V Ph G D, which I reproduce here omitting four cases of omissions found also in other manuscripts:

I, v, 1	suppositum	propositum
I, xi, 1	[illud]	
II, v, 11	[sibi]	
II, vii, 9	quod patet	ut patet
II, ix, 1	ut	unde
II, xi, 5	[illa pena punitio non fuisset] <sup>116</sup>	
III, iv, 17	illud	illum
III, ix, 10	[in]	
III, x, 5	contrarius	contrarium

To this overwhelmingly persuasive list of indicators of Ph's place within  $\beta 3$  we can add a small group of errors found only in V Ph D:

I, ii, 4	per certitudinem	pro certitudine
I, xi, 3	[et]	
II, iii, 15	[hoc]	
II, ix, 8	ne	non
II, x, 1	amittunt	admittunt

Agno's conclusions – that the Phillipps manuscript has a particular affinity with V and a more general affinity with  $\beta 3$  – are thus amply confirmed by the data which have emerged from a close examination of the whole manuscript tradition. In particular, the V Ph pairing is remarkably solid, as solid as that of any other pair of manuscripts for which we hypothesise a common progenitor. It is the close link between V and Ph which enables us to reach important conclusions about the corrections made to V over the whole length of the treatise.<sup>117</sup>

[For a discussion of ms. Y and its place in the stemma, see Shaw 2018.]

### *The non-beta witnesses*

We may now return to the non-beta witnesses (Ricci's 'alpha family'): the *editio princeps* K, the Trivulziana manuscript T, and the first half of the Ambrosiana ms. A (A<sup>1</sup>). It must be acknowledged at the outset that, as Favati pointed out many years ago, Ricci offers no proof in the *EN* that these witnesses constitute a family. They seem to be treated as a family by default, simply by virtue of not being part of beta: the family resemblance, as it were, is established by the absence of certain characteristics rather than by their presence. Crucially, there is no list offered of errors in common which would prove the case by establishing a shared ancestor less remote than the archetype. Ricci offers a list of shared readings in KT in the second half of the treatise, but his list does not have this probative force unless those readings are clearly erroneous, and the errors are significant – the kinds of errors we have found

in abundance in beta and its sub-groups which establish their affiliations beyond any shadow of doubt. Favati's argument that none of these KT readings was necessarily an error was the basis of his attack on the two-branched stemma hypothesis. For the first half of the treatise, we may note, Ricci offers no list at all of errors common to KTA<sup>1</sup>; and indeed there are no such errors, a fact which would seem to undermine his case at the outset.<sup>118</sup>

Before we grapple with this fundamental methodological issue, we can review two aspects of Ricci's account of the non-beta witnesses and the relationships between them which are certainly correct. The first is uncontroversial and I have accepted it as a given throughout my discussion: that ms. A is 'privo di struttura unitaria', and that while the first half of the manuscript has strong links with K and T, the second half has equally strong links with beta. Ricci talks of a 'rete di prove massicce, convergenti, indubitabili' and he is surely right. The divided ancestry is reflected in the labels A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup> which Ricci proposed and which I have adopted throughout. The dividing line between the two halves – between A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup> – comes in the middle of Book II halfway through chapter vii.<sup>119</sup>

Ricci's demonstration of the close relationship between T and A<sup>1</sup> is likewise thoroughly documented and entirely persuasive (EN, pp. 57-59). He first offers a list of omissions shared by these two manuscripts alone. Most arresting are the two long lacunae in chapter iii of Book II: the first includes part of paragraph 12 and the whole of paragraph 13; the second consists of the whole of paragraph 16.

These substantial pieces of text, running to a total of some sixteen lines in the printed edition, are missing in A<sup>1</sup> and T and no other manuscripts. Other smaller omissions the two have in common include the following:

- I, iii, 8 [hec]
- I, viii, 3 [Sed genus humanum maxime Deo assimilatur]
- I, x, 5 [sive Imperator. Est igitur Monarchia]



I, xi, 13	[eo]
I, xi, 15	[vero]
I, xii, 10	civis [bonus]
I, xii, 11	[etiam]
I, xiii, 3	[Omne]
II, ii, 3	[sola]
II, v, 20	[quod quicumque finem iuris intendit cum iure graditur]

There follows an equally persuasive list of shared variants: two of those mentioned by Ricci are found in other manuscripts, but the remainder are present only in A<sup>1</sup> and T, among them:

I, iii, 6	materialibus	mineralibus
I, iii, 9	auctor	Averrois
I, v, 3	esse regulare sive re- gens	regulare sive re- gere
I, ix, 3	necessarium + est et +	
I, xi, 18	+ omnes + mortales	
I, xii, 5	ea	eorum
I, xv, i	dico + vobis +	
II, i, 2	eam	causam
II, iii, 14	poeta + dicens +	
II, iii, 17	patebit	latebit
II, iv, 11	orbis	ordinis

Although for chronological reasons A<sup>1</sup> cannot be a copy of T, Ricci nonetheless offers a list of omissions in T not found in A which confirms the point (EN, p. 59). Many of these are reported accurately, including:

II, v, 9	[post boves]
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II, v, 16 [ubi]

II, v, 22 [est bonam]

There can be no doubt that Ricci's analysis of the situation is correct: A<sup>1</sup> and T share a common *antigrafo* from which they inherit many striking features which cannot be thought of as polygenetic.

Ricci reminds us of the textual degradation of A: 'tra i manoscritti scorretti può vantarsi d'essere scorrettissimo', and (echoing Bertalot) 'non v'è specie di errore che gli manchi'. This is certainly true, but Ricci is carried away by his own rhetoric and overstates the case, claiming that there are more than 120 omissions in Book I alone, and adding 'e sono talora di sì vasta ampiezza, da sembrare piuttosto voragini nelle quali irrimediabilmente si spezza il tessuto del testo.'<sup>120</sup> In fact there are about 65 omissions in Book I in ms. A (a high count, to be sure), but most of them are of single words or short phrases, and even the longest do not fit Ricci's melodramatic description. The longest one he refers to in his note 1 on p. 60 by way of supplementary evidence is not in A at all but only in V (a *saut du même au même* of 14 words at I, vii, 2); the other two cited from Book I are shorter and are also found in other manuscripts. His characterisation of the textual state of A in terms of 'voragini nelle quali irrimediabilmente si spezza il tessuto del testo' is a flight of fancy.

We now return to the vexed and crucial question of errors in common which might serve to establish the existence of Ricci's putative alpha family. We have already seen a whole series of important readings which unequivocally offer a correct reading in KTA<sup>1</sup> where the beta manuscripts are corrupt – a far larger number than Ricci's treatment of identifying errors in beta in the *EN* would ever lead one to suspect. We must now examine more closely those readings which might seem to support Ricci's position, or where the point is at least debatable; but before doing so it will be useful to offer a brief historical overview of the debate as it originally unfolded.

When Favati attacked Ricci's *stemma* and argued that the editor of the *EN* had failed to demonstrate that there were errors common to the

‘alpha’ manuscripts, he was working with incomplete materials. He had at his disposal the evidence provided in the *EN* itself (very incomplete and not always reliable, as we have repeatedly seen); the further evidence provided in my article on the Uppsala manuscript, which compared the readings of U with those of all other manuscripts (this analysis, based on a fresh examination of the manuscript evidence, recorded many readings not given in the *EN*); and what could be gleaned from Bertalot’s apparatus, which often gives readings not recorded in Ricci, but from a significantly smaller number of manuscripts.<sup>121</sup> Favati appears to have worked in haste, as some startling slips suggest – none more so than his claim that Dante does not use the term *intellectus possibilis* in Mon. I, iii (but see Mon. I, iii, 6: ‘sed esse apprehensivum per intellectum possibilem’). Nonetheless the main thrust of his argument was both acute and damaging.

Ricci responded to the criticism at a conference in Ravenna in 1971, subsequently published in the conference proceedings.<sup>122</sup> His response did not inspire confidence. The sense that he was flailing is reflected nowhere more disconcertingly than in his methodologically inadmissible comment that surely two correct manuscripts could constitute a family. (‘Non potrebbero ... essere due gemelli di un padre egualmente corretto?’) However true this may be in the real world, it is not true in the world of textual criticism, where descent is established through shared significant errors of the kind Ricci himself had been at such pains to demonstrate for the beta family. He conceded on that same occasion that on the basis of my analysis of the Uppsala manuscript, contamination must be a significant factor in the textual transmission of the treatise (he had not spoken in these terms in the *EN*). He supplied a short list of alleged errors in KT (p. 81), but this list was deeply unsatisfactory: in spite of his disclaimer that ‘di proposito lascio da parte i casi in cui KT hanno un errore, ma lo dividono con altri manoscritti del ramo beta’, most of the errors he lists are in some (sometimes many) beta manuscripts; three of those in the first half of the treatise are not in A<sup>1</sup>, so cannot be regarded as characteristic of alpha and are probably polygenetic; one at least of the readings is certainly not an error; and one of them is non-existent.

I analysed Ricci's response in an article published in *Studi Danteschi*<sup>123</sup> and concluded that the rebuttal of Favati's charges was deeply flawed; I returned to the subject in an article in *Italian Studies*.<sup>124</sup> Rather than summarise the material in Favati's and Ricci's articles (a thankless task, given that a large part of any such account would necessarily consist in pointing out inaccuracies) it seems more sensible to start afresh and consider the case first in general terms. The material which follows in part recapitulates the substance of my earlier articles – I have not changed my mind on any important issues – but sets it out in a different way, starting with an overview examining categories of error in KTA<sup>1</sup> rather than dealing point by point with individual readings and the arguments advanced to support or reject them by Favati and Ricci. Anyone who wishes to track the debate as it developed can easily do so by consulting the original articles; and of course those who want to check the evidence for themselves where readings are in dispute can now do so by consulting the images and transcriptions provided in this digital edition.

The non-beta witnesses (Ricci's alleged 'alpha family') are, by definition, free of the mistakes which are shared by the whole beta group. Ricci lists just three beta errors, but, as we have seen, there are others which he does not list – many others if we include the instances where just one or two beta manuscripts agree with KTA<sup>1</sup> against the erroneous reading to which the bulk of the beta manuscripts bear witness. But of course there are mistakes which are found in all the non-beta witnesses: first, and obviously, the three indisputable archetype errors; but also many other errors of various kinds: it is these which we must now review.

In a first large group of cases where K and TA<sup>1</sup> share a reading rejected by all modern editors<sup>125</sup> – i.e. where the reading of beta (or of some beta manuscripts) is accepted as correct against an erroneous reading in KTA<sup>1</sup> – the rejected KTA<sup>1</sup> reading will prove on examination to be either polygenetic, or trivial, or shared in whole or in part by some beta manuscripts, and therefore not in itself characteristic of the non-beta manuscripts as a group, or not of sufficient weight to establish a link between them.

In a second smaller group of cases where the beta reading is clearly preferable, the non-beta manuscripts have a variety of readings rather than a single shared error which links them: thus again there is no proof of a common ancestor. This pattern of error is so consistent across the tradition that, strongly suggestive as it is of independent lines of descent for K and TA<sup>1</sup>, it constitutes in itself a kind of negative proof of Favati's thesis.

A third group of cases embodies another noteworthy feature of the textual tradition of the treatise which supplements the previous point: where we have clear instances of diffraction – where there is a wide spread of readings at a given point in the text – K and TA<sup>1</sup> invariably have different readings.

I shall illustrate these various points in order. I have divided the first group, where KTA<sup>1</sup> share an erroneous reading, into polygenetic error, trivial error, and errors shared in whole or in part with some beta manuscripts, but these categories are not mutually exclusive: often the same error can be classed under two or even three of these headings. I have treated them under one heading rather than another simply on grounds of expository convenience. In the examples which follow, the text cited in brackets following the reference is in each case the received text accepted as correct by all modern editors, unless the contrary is explicitly stated.

### *Polygenetic error in KTA<sup>1</sup>*

An instructive example is to be found at III, i, 3 ('impium detestandum ... nos docet') where both T and the *princeps* have *imperium* instead of *impium*. But the error is certainly polygenetic: the word *imperium* has been used so many times in the course of the argument that scribes introduce it here unthinkingly and independently – to do so all that is required is a single pen-stroke, the crossing of the tail of the *p* to give the syllable *per*. The self-evidently erroneous reading is found not only in KT but also in many beta manuscripts (C E G H L Ph R S U) with no obvious pattern linking its appearances: it certainly cannot be adduced

as an error proving a connection between K and T. The same error recurs later in the same paragraph ('impium atque mendacem de palestra ... eiciam') in isolated beta manuscripts.

A similar variant involving the presence or absence of an abbreviation sign occurs at II, v, 11 ('Nonne Fabritius altum nobis dedit exemplum'), where KTA<sup>1</sup>, along with U D G L M, have *alterum*, an acceptable reading but one which all modern editors have regarded as less satisfying than *altum*. (Thus Ricci: 'Mi lascio trascinare dall'esempio di tutti gli editori moderni, i quali hanno indubbiamente ragione di sottolineare il bel rapporto che esiste tra *altum* ed *exemplum*'). In manuscripts of the *Commedia*, the alternation *alto/altro* is ubiquitous and never in itself probative of a relation between witnesses. The same is true here.

At II, v, 26 ('cum in propositione dicatur de fine iuris existente, non tantum apparente') the variant *tamen* for *tantum* is found in KTA<sup>1</sup> and in the beta manuscripts C D E F G P R S; clearly the reading *tantum* is the correct reading, but equally clearly the reading *tamen* is polygenetic and comes from a confusion of the abbreviated forms of the two words *tm̄* and *tn̄*. It certainly does not establish a link between K and T. (It seems extraordinary that Ricci does not describe the textual situation at this point in his Apparatus or Notes.)

At II, vii, 5 ('Nam hoc ratio humana per se iustum intueri non potest') the reading *hoc* is certainly correct but is found only in some beta manuscripts (B D Ph U); KT and the remaining beta manuscripts (C E G F L M N R S V Z) read *hec* at this point (in A the word is omitted). This error too derives from a misunderstanding of an abbreviated form, and the proximity of the word *ratio*, and does not constitute evidence of a link between the manuscripts which have it.

There is a very large number of errors of this kind in the textual tradition of the *Monarchia*, as will be apparent to any reader who browses through the variant files; further examples are discussed below under Errors shared with some beta manuscripts.<sup>126</sup>

## ***Trivial error in KTA<sup>1</sup>***

At III, xvi, 16 the variant *Monarchiæ* for *Monarche* is found in K and T alone ('utrum an bene esse mundi necessarium esset Monarche offitium'). But the oscillation between *monarchia* and *monarcha* is endemic throughout the tradition, and liable to occur independently in any manuscript. Thus at I, ii, 3 ('Monarche offitium ... auctoritas Monarche') no fewer than ten manuscripts have *monarchie* instead of *monarche* the first time and eleven have *monarchie* instead of *monarche* the second time; at I, x, 4 A C M U V have *monarchia* for *monarcha*; at I, xi, 12 A and D have *monarchia* for *monarcha*, at I, xii, 8 B and D have *monarchia* instead of *monarcha*, at I, xii, 9 U has *monarchia* for *monarcha*, at I, xiv, 10 S has *monarchiam* for *monarcham*; conversely at I, xiv, 11 G has *monarcham* for *monarchiam*, and at I, xv, 10 A and T have *monarcham* for *monarchiam*; and so on. This variant, even though at this point in the text it is found only in K and T, does not constitute proof of a link between them.<sup>127</sup>

## ***KTA<sup>1</sup> errors shared with beta manuscripts***

At I, ix, 1 ('cum vestigia celi, in quantum propria natura permittit, ymitatur') only five manuscripts A B L M Q have the reading *in quantum*; KT and all the other beta manuscripts have simply *quantum*. The reading *in quantum*, as Ricci argues, is guaranteed by the parallel phrase immediately preceding in the same paragraph. The missing *in* – missing in most witnesses – does not constitute evidence of a link between K and T, and in any case the word is present in A which at this point is a non-beta manuscript.

At I, iii, 2 ('Et hoc queritur hic tanquam principium inquisitionis directivum') the reading *hoc queritur hic* is only in beta manuscripts B L Q M D P. The textual situation is complex: four beta manuscripts (C N Ph V) have *hic queritur hic*, as does A<sup>1</sup>, while KT along with U F G H have simply *hic queritur*, that is *hic* has taken the place of *hoc* before *queritur*, and been omitted after it. Again it seems clear either that confusion has been caused by an abbreviated form (*hoc* being misread as

*hic*), or that an error of anticipation has occurred (*hic* for *hoc*): some scribes then eliminate the resulting duplicated second *hic* while some retain it. Again this cannot be regarded as evidence of a link between K and T, and in any case *hic* is not missing in A<sup>1</sup> which at this point is a non-beta manuscript.

At II, v, 20 ('Que conclusio ut ex omnibus manifestis illata sit, manifestandum est hoc quod dicitur') a small group of witnesses (KT D F N) have *manifestum* instead of *manifestandum*, inadvertently echoing the earlier *manifestis*. Again this is clearly an independent slip, triggered by the close proximity of the two words, and does not constitute evidence of a link between the copies in which it is found. Once again the correct reading is found in A<sup>1</sup>: A is a non-beta manuscript at this point. None of these examples, or others like them, prove anything about an 'alpha family'.

### ***Different errors in K and TA<sup>1</sup>***

Where the reading attested in all the beta manuscripts is certainly correct, it will be found that the non-beta manuscripts always have different readings, and not a shared error proving a family relationship. A striking case occurs at I, x, 4 ('Et hic aut erit Monarcha aut non'): the reading *hic aut* is not found in KTA<sup>1</sup>, but each of the three non-beta witnesses has a different reading: T *hic autem*; K *hic [aut]*; A *hic Antonius*. This certainly cannot be adduced as evidence of a link between the non-beta manuscripts. An analogous case occurs at III, iii, 7 ('alii gregum cristianorum pastores') where most of the beta manuscripts have the correct *gregum*, T has *regum*, while K and D have *Graecorum* (other isolated beta manuscripts have *gregis* and *gentium*, while a small group has *grecum*). K and T are erroneous, but (crucially) they do not have a shared error. At III, iii, 8 ('et huius principia inpunder negarent') most of the beta manuscripts have *negarent*, K has *negarunt*, and T has *negare audent*.

A similar but more debatable case occurs at III, xv, 2 ('per prius tamen dicitur de forma'), where Ricci defends and adopts the beta reading *per*



*prius* against previous editors who preferred *proprius*: here beta has *per prius*, K has *proprius* and T has *proprius* (but *proprius* is also in beta manuscripts FLN). Again, crucially, K and T have different readings.

At II, vi, 3 ('necesse igitur est ordinem de iure servari') the reading *ordinem*, which Ricci says is the only acceptable reading and which Witte, Bertalot and Rostagno likewise adopted, is in A  $\beta 1$   $\beta 2$  only; T (+S) has in its place *quod natura ordinavit*, while K has *quod quicquid natura ordinavit* and adds *debeat* after *servari*. The remaining beta manuscripts have variations on the phrase in T, usually including the word *ordinavit*. While it is even more difficult than usual to account for the spread of readings here, the fact remains that K and T have different readings, which do not allow us to postulate a common source, and again A<sup>1</sup> is correct.

The recurring pattern revealed by the evidence is that when non-beta is clearly wrong, or even arguably wrong, K and TA<sup>1</sup> do not have the same reading. Here are some further examples (in each of them the cited text is again that accepted not just by Ricci but also by Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte: the correctness of the text is not an issue).

At I, ii, 2 ('Est ergo temporalis Monarchia, quam dicunt 'Imperium', unicus principatus et super omnes') most of the beta manuscripts have the correct *unicus* (V *unitus*), TA<sup>1</sup> have *unicum*, K (+UGC) have *unius*. Crucially, K and TA<sup>1</sup> do not share an error.

At II, ix, 19 ('Vere dicere potuit homo romanus') *homo* is in the beta manuscripts; K has *vir*, T has *hoc*. K and T are different and independent.

At III, i, 3 ('impium destestandum in se facturo nos docet') *facturo* is in most of the beta manuscripts, K has *futuro*, and T has *facturus*. Again K and T are different and independent.

At III, ii, 2 ('Hec igitur irrefragabilis veritas prefigatur') *prefigatur* is in C F G P U V D H S, K has *premittatur*, T (with some beta manuscripts) has *prefiguratur*. Once again K and T are different and independent.

At I, xvi, 2 ('quia nullum nostre felicitatis ministerium ministro vacavit') most of the beta manuscripts have *ministerium*, AT have *ministrum*, while K has *misterium* (as do D M L).

At II, v, 15 ('Quorum alteri pro salute patrie') most of the beta manuscripts have the correct *alteri*, K (+UDHZ) have *alter*, TA<sup>1</sup> have *alterius* (corrected *alteri* in T).

At II, v, 15 ('sed quantum potest glorificando renarrat') *renarrat* is in most beta manuscripts, T has *enarrat*, while K B L G have *narrat*.

At III, vii, 1 ('dicentes Cristum recepisse simul thus et aurum ad significandum se ipsum dominum et gubernatorem spiritualium et temporalium') most of the beta manuscripts have *significandum*, K Z have *signandum*, T E R H have *designandum*. Again K and T do not share a reading.

To recapitulate, in all these cases where the correct or preferable reading is the beta reading, K and TA<sup>1</sup> do not share an error or a variant reading, and there is thus no case to be made that they share a common ancestor.

## *Diffraction*

The phenomenon of diffraction, as Contini called it,<sup>128</sup> occurs when there is a difficulty in the text which copyists will react to independently of one another, by innovating in order to accommodate or iron out the perceived difficulty. The analogy is with physics, where diffraction is the spreading out which occurs when light waves pass around a small object or through a narrow gap. The textual result will characteristically be a spread of readings which do not lend themselves to analysis in stemmatic terms, since the stimulus to innovation – the 'obstacle' or difficult reading – will be there wherever the original text survives: it may be tampered with at any point in the transmission process, and bypass or circumvent the normal model of vertical transmission. Contini usefully distinguished between *diffrazione in presenza*, where the original reading survives in at least one manuscript, and

*diffrazione in assenza*, where the original reading does not survive but must be conjecturally supplied by the editor.

The examples listed below are all cases of *diffrazione in presenza*, inasmuch as the correct reading survives in isolated witnesses. These cases form an addendum to the argument so far outlined, in that they are not cases of errors in KTA<sup>1</sup> such as we have so far examined, but rather they yet again illustrate very clearly the tendency of the non-beta manuscripts to show diverging responses or lines of descent.

At I, iii, 6 ('nec esse complexionatum, quia hoc reperitur in mineralibus') the reading *mineralibus* is found in beta manuscripts B V C F L N P Q U; TA<sup>1</sup> have *materialibus*; K has *animalibus*; other beta manuscripts have different readings again: M S *naturalibus*; D E R *innumerabilibus*, and so on.

At I, viii, 2, in a passage where editors have diverged widely in their view of what Dante's original must have been, Ricci (like Bertalot) reads 'De intentione Dei est ut omne causatum divinam similitudinem representet'; *causatum* is a reading found only in TA<sup>1</sup>; K has *creatum* (the reading favoured by Nardi); DMHZ have *in tantum* (the editorial choice of Witte and Rostagno); G has *totum*; U has *ens*; B C E F L N P Ph Q R S V have simply *tantum*. I agree with Ricci and Bertalot that *causatum* is the best choice here, but even if it were not it would not be an error shared with K.

At II, iv, 4 ('Qua re suum contradictorium concedere sanctum est') the reading *sanctum* is found in T B F N P Ph and G; there is a whole spread of alternative readings in other manuscripts: *factum* in A C E M R S; *visum* in K; *fatuum* in U; *sacrum* in V; and *falsum* in D H Z and L. K, T and A all have different readings. Again it seems extraordinary that Ricci does not comment on the spread of readings here, as though the textual situation were not worthy of comment.

At II, v, 9 ('nobis reliquit exemplum libere deponendi dignitatem in termino') most witnesses (K A B C E G H N P Ph R S V Z) have *termino*; nonetheless there is a significant spread of readings in the remaining

manuscripts: *animo* in D M; *toto* in F; *agro* in L; *triumpho* in T; and a blank space in U. Once again K and T do not have the same reading.

At III, iii, 1 ('quasi equaliter ad ignorantiam et litigium se habebat'), *quasi* is in many beta manuscripts (B L C E F G N Ph R), while K A have *quomodo*, H V *quare*, M S *que*, P U *questio*, T *quo*, Z *causa*. Again K and T do not share a reading.

At III, viii, 7 Ricci's text reads 'Unde cum dicitur 'quodcunque ligaveris', si illud 'quodcunque' summeretur absolute ...'. I have argued elsewhere that the correct reading here is *si ly quodcunque*: *ly* is a term much used in medieval logical discourse, whose function corresponds exactly to the modern typographical convention of quotation marks. It removes the word which follows it from the syntactic sequence, isolating it from its normal grammatical function and signalling that it is being discussed as a lexical item. The reading *ly* (or *li*) survives only in mss. A F P U E R Ph and in a distorted but still recognisable form (*fili*) in N. The *illud* accepted by Ricci, Rostagno and Bertalot is found only in B L G; Witte's *hoc* is only in S. Other manuscripts have a spread of readings, from V's *ligaveris* (clearly based on *li*), to C D M *ibi*, H Z *istud*, K *hic* and T [ ]. Yet once again K and T do not share a reading.

There remains a very small number of odd or anomalous cases not covered by the above categories where the beta reading is preferable to the variant wholly or partly present in KTA<sup>1</sup>: we must now review them. We will postpone until the next section consideration of a final group of cases where the KTA<sup>1</sup> reading and the beta reading are equally possible (*lezioni indifferenti*), and where previous editors have understandably chosen the beta reading (present in most manuscripts) against the non-beta reading with its much more attenuated attestation, but where a three-branched *stemma* suggests that the non-beta reading is to be preferred.

We may start by reiterating the point made earlier: in the first half of the treatise there are no errors in common shared by KTA<sup>1</sup>, and this in itself is extremely indicative. There is an isolated variant shared by KT only, but its absence in A<sup>1</sup> means it is not characteristic of the group as

a whole; as it happens, it is also present as a correction in one beta manuscript. At I, i, 1 ('ita et ipsi posteris prolaborent') K and T have *pro posteris laborent* instead of *posteris prolaborent*; the same reading is present as a correction in a later hand in ms. M. The reading is a *banalizzazione*, which loses the impact of the *cursus velox*, and as such will have occurred independently in these witnesses.<sup>129</sup>

A slightly more perplexing case occurs at III, ix, 7 ('Unde oportet vos preparare'): KT have the reading *ut oporteat* instead of *unde oportet*, but this is not a clearcut non-beta/beta opposition. In fact *ut* is in many beta manuscripts (C E F H N Ph Z) and *oporteat* may be an independent conjecture in K and T. Ricci comments: 'Allettante *ut oporteat* di KT: il che legittima il sospetto che *ut* sia falsa lettura in luogo di *unde*, e che *oporteat* sia una congettura suggerita da scrupoli grammaticali.' Again this is not evidence of a common *antigrafo* for K and T.<sup>130</sup>

At II, ix, 15 Ricci's text reads: 'Et hoc diligenter Livius in prima parte contextit, cuius Orosius etiam contestatur.' Earlier editors had not thought *cuius* (present in most beta manuscripts) an acceptable reading; Witte and Rostagno preferred the *cui* attested in K T U G; Bertalot emended to *quod*, reflecting the fact that elsewhere in the *Monarchia* Dante uses the verb *contestor* with exactly this sense ('to confirm', 'to offer confirmatory testimony') and with precisely this construction: II, iii, 6 'quod Titus Livius ... contestatur'; III, ix, 14 'Et hoc etiam contestatur Marcus'.<sup>131</sup> Ricci argues that 'Il *cui* pare proprio da scartare, perché *contestari aliquid alicui* è termine giuridico col significato di intentare un processo, il che qui non ha luogo.' But there is no question here about the meaning of the verb or the non-legal character of the context: its use here echoes its use in a precisely analogous way elsewhere in the *Monarchia*. Ricci's explanation, that the *cuius* refers not to the fact or incident recounted, which Orosius confirms, but to Livy ('il *cuius*, genitivo possessivo riferito a Livio') seems fanciful. I have chosen to follow Bertalot at this point: the parallel cases just cited would seem to constitute solid evidence in favour of the conjectural emendation *quod* to accord with Dante's documented *usus scribendi*. Ricci's choice is the least convincing of the three options; certainly it is not a sound basis for asserting an error linking K and T.

This is (remarkably) the only case in the entire treatise where Ricci argues that the alpha reading is an unequivocal error, though it seems unlikely that he himself was aware of this fact or its import. His editorial choice here goes against that of all previous modern editors, in striking contrast to the large number of significant beta errors we have documented which are agreed to be errors by all those who have worked seriously on the text. If I have invoked the names of Witte, Bertalot and Rostagno so often, it is not for the purpose of doing a head count – a print equivalent of a ‘solido appoggio nei manoscritti’ – but simply to demonstrate the unanimity with which certain key errors have been recognised by all serious scholars, and to highlight the doubtful status of this one supposed error identified by Ricci: the sole basis, it transpires, of his supposed alpha family.<sup>132</sup>

It is in fact impossible to assert with any degree of confidence that we have an alpha reading which is incontrovertibly wrong and which comes from a common source. Against the overwhelming weight of evidence for a beta family – far stronger than Ricci indicates in his Introduction to the *EN*, or was perhaps even aware of – there is in effect no solid evidence at all of an alpha family.

We may conclude our discussion with a final consideration which bears on the question. The issue here is not one of textual substance, but of Dante’s shaping and structuring of his material – the treatise as artefact rather than argument.

All editors of the *Monarchia* before Ricci treat as two separate chapters the material which in his edition is presented as the tenth chapter of Book III. The break comes at III, x, 18 with the words: ‘Adhuc dicunt quod Adrianus papa Carolum Magnum sibi et Ecclesie advocavit.’ For Witte, Bertalot and Rostagno this is the beginning of the eleventh chapter of Book III, which in consequence has a total of 16 (not 15) chapters. Dante, having discussed at some length the argument based on the so-called Donation of Constantine, at this point moves on to a related, but strictly speaking separate, argument – the argument based on the crowning and anointing of Charlemagne as emperor in the West by the Pope, an event cited by papal apologists to defend the

proposition that imperial power is in the gift of the church. This argument Dante dismisses with extraordinary terseness: ‘*usurpatio enim iuris non facit ius.*’ If it were a valid argument, he goes on, one could argue conversely that it is in the emperor’s power to appoint the pope, since history also provides us with an example where precisely this happened.

It is Dante’s habit in the *Monarchia* to devote a new chapter to each new argument; it would therefore seem consistent with his practice elsewhere to make this a separate, if brief, chapter (no briefer, though, than the seventh chapter of Book I). As already noted, all previous editors of the treatise begin a new chapter here. Why does Ricci suppress a chapter division which authorial practice suggests is appropriate and previous editorial consensus endorsed?

Ricci’s account of his reasons for suppressing the chapter division runs as follows: “Anche il terzo libro ha il suo problema: alcuni testi (KT + P + GV + DM) spezzano in due il capitolo decimo, facendo dei paragrafi 18-20 un capitolo per sé stante: l’undecimo del Witte, del Bertalot, del Rostagno. Ma gli altri manoscritti non hanno qui distinzione di capitolo; ed a ragione, come dimostra ciò che è detto in iv, 1, 4-6 e x, 3, 8-10. In ambedue i luoghi Dante afferma che gli avversari dell’Impero si valgono di tre specie di argomenti: quelli tratti dalla Scrittura, quelli tratti dalle vicende storiche, e infine quelli basati sul ragionamento. Terminata la discussione dei primi, nel decimo capitolo si parla dei secondi e nel capitolo undecimo dei terzi. Non v’è pertanto alcuna ragione di separare in un capitolo distinto gli argomenti discussi nei paragrafi 18-20 del capitolo decimo.”<sup>133</sup>

But this is precisely to miss the point. Each of the arguments based on scripture has a chapter to itself. Logically each of the arguments based on history might be expected similarly to occupy a chapter, and this is exactly what a chapter division at Ricci’s III, x, 18 achieves. In fact, as it happens, we are dealing once again with a non-beta/beta division: non-beta (+DM) has the chapter division at *Adhuc dicunt quod Adrianus papa*, beta (-DM) does not have it. Ricci’s inclusion of P, G and V among the manuscripts which have this division is inexplicable and is a final

and (sadly) characteristic example of his inaccuracy. Those wishing to check this claim can now turn to the manuscript images at III, xi, 1 for P, G and V and ascertain the true situation for themselves.

Dante lays out his argument in Book III with his customary attention to shape and structure. Each of his opponents' arguments occupies a chapter: six arguments based on the Bible, two arguments based on historical events, and finally one argument from reason, giving a total of nine hierocratic arguments altogether. The number of arguments (and therefore chapters) is not insignificant. I have argued elsewhere,<sup>134</sup> and will here briefly recapitulate, that the restoration of this chapter division restores the treatise to the shape Dante intended it to have – a perfectly symmetrical structure which can be represented numerically as 16 + 11 + 16. Those familiar with medieval number symbolism will immediately appreciate the force and beauty of this arrangement, which embodies a number pattern which Dante would certainly have found immensely satisfying, based as it is on the numbers 3 and 7:  $16 + 11 + 16 = 43$ ;  $4 + 3 = 7$ ; and again  $1 + 6 = 7$ ;  $1 + 1 = 2$ ;  $1 + 6 = 7$ ;  $7 + 2 + 7 = 16$ ;  $1 + 6 = 7$ . Just as the treatise itself with its three books echoes the three-in-one principle of both the Trinity and the syllogism, its component parts are constructed around the numbers 7 and 2. 7 is the number of creation, of holiness, of morality, of time, of knowledge;<sup>135</sup> for St. Augustine it is the number of wholeness or universality (*universitas*), while for other medieval writers it signifies earthly life and mutability – connotations whose appropriateness and resonance in a treatise concerned with the human race as a collectivity (*humana universitas*) and humanity's earthly existence hardly need spelling out.<sup>136</sup> 2 is the number which traditionally signifies 'both the antithesis of good and evil and its conquest by the two natures of Christ';<sup>137</sup> in this context it inescapably suggests also the double nature of human beings, and the twofold guidance they need if they are to find earthly and eternal happiness – the starting-point of Dante's argument, and its conclusion.

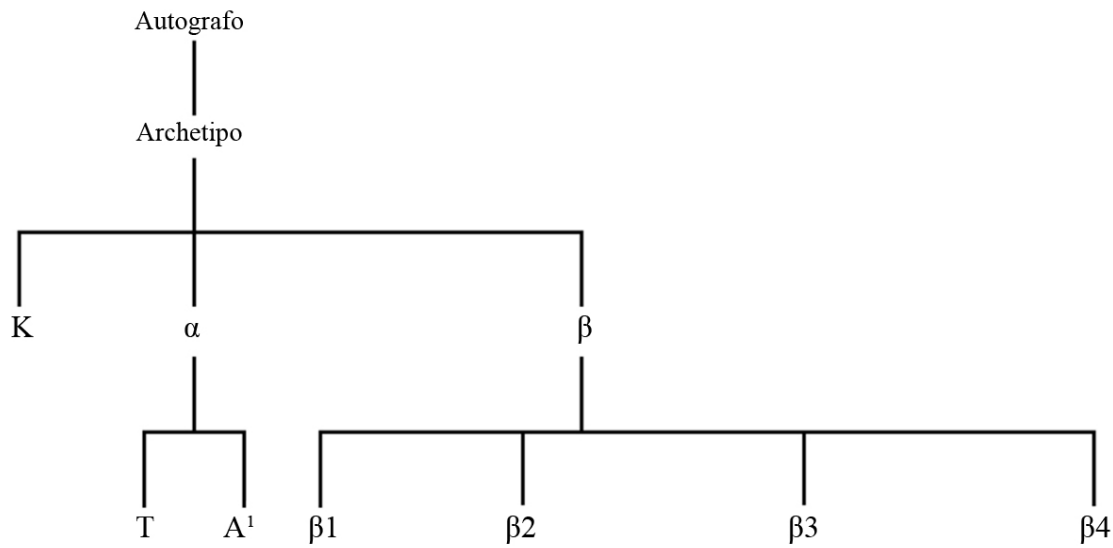
As we have seen so often in the preceding pages, the reading of the non-beta witnesses is once again a demonstrably better reading than that of the beta manuscripts. It embodies (and enables us to retrieve)



the numerical model on which Dante's treatise was based, confirming the appropriateness of a chapter division at *Adhuc dicunt* whose desirability was already clear from internal considerations about Dante's structuring of the text.

The Trivulziana manuscript T preserves the chapter divisions exactly as they are here described, and as they appear in this edition of the treatise. No manuscript, it is perhaps worth pointing out, has the chapter divisions as Ricci's edition presents them – nor indeed as they appear in the editions of Witte, Bertalot, and Rostagno. The *princeps* retains the pattern 16 – 11 – 16 (although the chapters are not numbered, so the symmetry is less apparent), but divides Book II differently, splitting ch. v into two, and suppressing the division between chs. ix and x. Ricci himself acknowledged that T was the most correct of all the surviving manuscripts of the treatise: in this respect it is more correct than even he realised.<sup>138</sup>

What our examination of the evidence has shown is that – as Favati with great acumen intuited but was not in a position to prove – there is no alpha family. K, the *editio princeps*, is independent of TA<sup>1</sup> in the first half of the treatise, and of T in the second half of the treatise. In future we must learn to use alpha to refer only to the two (or more accurately one and a half) manuscripts which are not part of beta, and not to the first printed edition, which constitutes a separate line of transmission from the archetype – a witness always to be treated with extreme caution, certainly, but whose confirmation of the readings of TA<sup>1</sup> or T has indubitably greater weight than if they shared a common ancestor. The *stemma codicum* of the *Monarchia* in its higher levels must henceforth be represented as a three-branched tree thus:



Joseph Bédier famously (and wittily) drew attention to the fact that in the wood where textual scholars labour there grow almost without exception trees which have only two branches. ‘Dans la flore philologique il n’y a d’arbres que d’une seule essence: toujours le tronc se divise en deux branches maîtresses, et en deux seulement ...’ He added: ‘Un arbre bifide n’a rien d’étrange, mais un bosquet d’arbres bifides, un bois, une forêt? *Silva portentosa*.’<sup>139</sup> This strange arboreal uniformity he interpreted as reflecting an unconscious drive on the part of scholars to interpret the textual evidence in a way which leaves the greatest possible room for the operation of the scholar’s own knowledge, taste and intelligence.<sup>140</sup> A two-branch tree allows free play to the editor’s *iudicium*; a three-branch tree gives a ‘mathematical’ or ‘mechanical’ outcome in all those cases where the tradition divides two against one. Since Bédier’s time textual scholars have repeatedly returned to these issues, examining both the factual basis of Bédier’s claim and the statistical probabilities involved,<sup>141</sup> the implications for editorial practice have been a primary focus of debate ever since.

Ricci’s procedure in the *EN* would seem to be a classic illustration of Bédier’s point, his blind spots and short cuts effectively enacting an unconscious urge to maximise editorial autonomy. But closer examination of the textual evidence relating to the *Monarchia* reveals the existence, in this case at least, of a three-branch tree – however

problematical the evidence of the *princeps* as sole representative of one branch might be thought to be. Moreover the presence, in some measure, of contamination in the tradition, combined with the unstoppable force of polygenetic error, means that a simple mathematical calculation will not always be opportune, and that internal criteria (*lectio difficilior, usus scribendi, diffrazione*) will be even more important than usual. The emendations to be made to the text of Dante's treatise in the light of these considerations are the subject of the next chapter.

# The electronic stemma

Co-written by Peter Robinson<sup>142</sup>

## *How it is created*

### *Step 1.*

A single XML-encoded file was created which contained the entire record of agreements and disagreements for the whole of the *Monarchia*. This file stated for every word in every one of the twenty manuscripts, the *editio princeps* (K) and the critical text (Sh), just how these twenty-two versions of the text agree and disagree. All information given in the electronic edition about the variants at any one word or phrase is generated from this file: most obviously in the Word Collation, but also in the variant views given in the VMaps windows, and in the results of all VBase searches.

### *Step 2.*

The information in this file was then translated into the standard NEXUS file format, widely used by evolutionary biologists to hold data concerning agreements and disagreements among populations of objects ('taxa' in evolutionary biology, 'witnesses' in textual criticism) at precise points ('characters' to the biologists, 'sites of variation' to the textual critics; each variation is a 'character state' to a biologist, a 'variant reading' to a textual critic). The fundamental element in a NEXUS file is a data matrix, in which the agreements and disagreements at each place of variation ('character') among the objects surveyed are registered as entries in a series of columns and rows. The example below shows the variants on the phrase 'quos ad amorem veritatis' in Book I, chapter i, paragraph 1, in NEXUS file data matrix format:

```
IGiL1_quos_ad_amorem_v 00000100000020030040000
```

The label 'IGiL1\_quos\_ad\_amorem\_v' shows that this line represents the variants at the phrase 'quos ad amorem veritatis' in Book I, chapter i, paragraph 1. The phrase is here truncated, with spaces replaced by underscores, for the purposes of the process. Following this label is a series of characters (0 1 2 3 ?), each place in the series corresponding to a witness. The first place is for the collation base, which is always zero, and is later discarded. The second place represents the critical text Sh, followed by witness A, then B, C, D, E and so on. In this example Sh A B and C all have reading 0: from another part of the file, we find this is 'quos ad amorem veritatis'; D has reading 1: 'in quos amorem veritatis', so appearing in the sixth place in the row (following the base, Sh A B C); M has reading 2 ('in quos Amorem virtutis'); Ph reading 3 ('quos ad morem veritatis'); S reading 4 ('quos amorem veritatis').

### *Step 3.*

Experiment by other projects has established that the program PAUP (Phylogenetic Analysis Using Parsimony, Swofford 1996) is useful for analysis of textual traditions. Generally, PAUP gives good results where it appears that the population of objects surveyed has developed through comparatively straightforward genetic descent, i.e. in situations where most variation has been propagated through vertical inheritance, from parent to child, and where there has not been large-scale horizontal transmission of variation such as might occur in a heavily contaminated tradition.

PAUP is particularly suited to the purposes of textual critics because of its use of sophisticated methods to find the most 'parsimonious' evolutionary hypothesis. Briefly, this method seeks to explain the sharing of characteristics as evidence of common descent, rather than by independent introduction in each object.

If reading A is present in two manuscripts, parsimony analysis explains this by supposing there was one change only in a joint ancestor of the two, rather than two distinct changes, one in each manuscript. Hence the term 'parsimony': the method looks for the genetic

hypothesis which requires the smallest number of changes to explain the distribution of agreements and disagreements in the objects surveyed. In short, it offers the most parsimonious explanation.

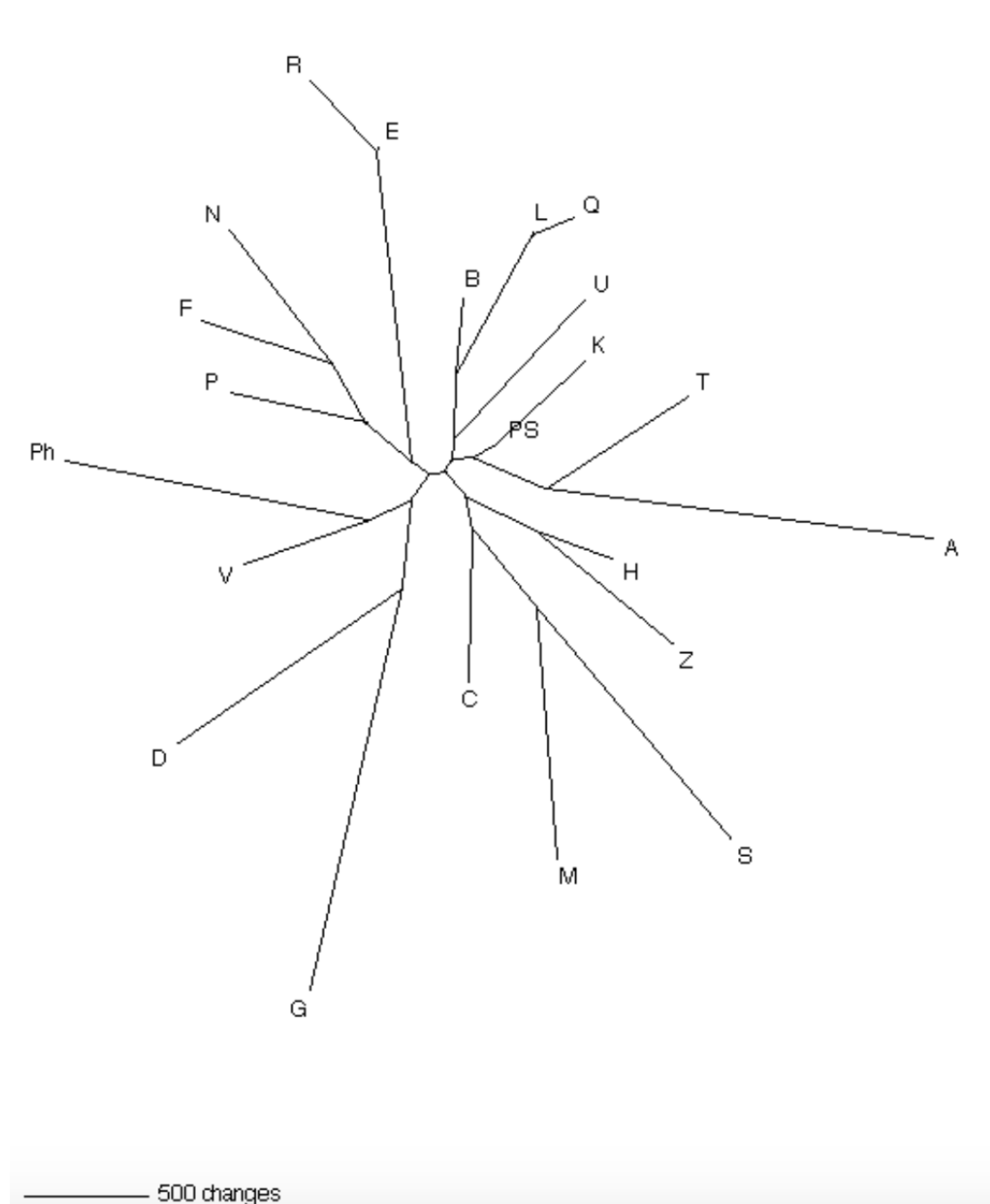
*Step 4.*

The single NEXUS file was then processed three times: once for the whole file; a second time for all the variants up to II, vii, 8 (the point at which, scholars have long agreed, A shifts its affiliation), and a third time for all the variants after this point. The base text was excluded from the analysis, and the parsimony analysis was run through one hundred replications for each of the three sets of data. Briefly, in PAUP's implementation each parsimony replication is a separate run of the program: that is, the program was asked one hundred times, for each of the three sets of data, to find the 'best' – that is, the most parsimonious – tree it could. For each replication, the program fixes on an initial tree within an 'island' of trees among the many trillion (literally – actually, we do not have a word for a number anything like this big) possible for this set of data. It then examines the trees in this island by creating further trees from this initial tree (technically, by bisecting and swapping the branches of this first tree), and then creating yet further trees on those trees. It repeats this process as many times as you ask (in this case, one hundred times), and at the end of the process offers the 'shortest', or most parsimonious, tree or trees found. It appears that in cases where there is considerable ambiguity in the data (as will happen where the tradition is heavily contaminated, or where there is insufficient data to give a clear analysis) parsimony analysis might yield many trees of identical length at each replication. To put this in text critical terms: if there is heavy contamination, then one cannot represent the tradition efficiently by a single tree of descent – and the more contamination there is, the more trees one might need. Accordingly, if this repeated analysis throws up just a few trees as equally parsimonious, one can be reasonably confident that the data is coherent and represents a textual tradition where most of the variants have been

generated by straightforward 'descent with modification', in Darwin's famous phrase.

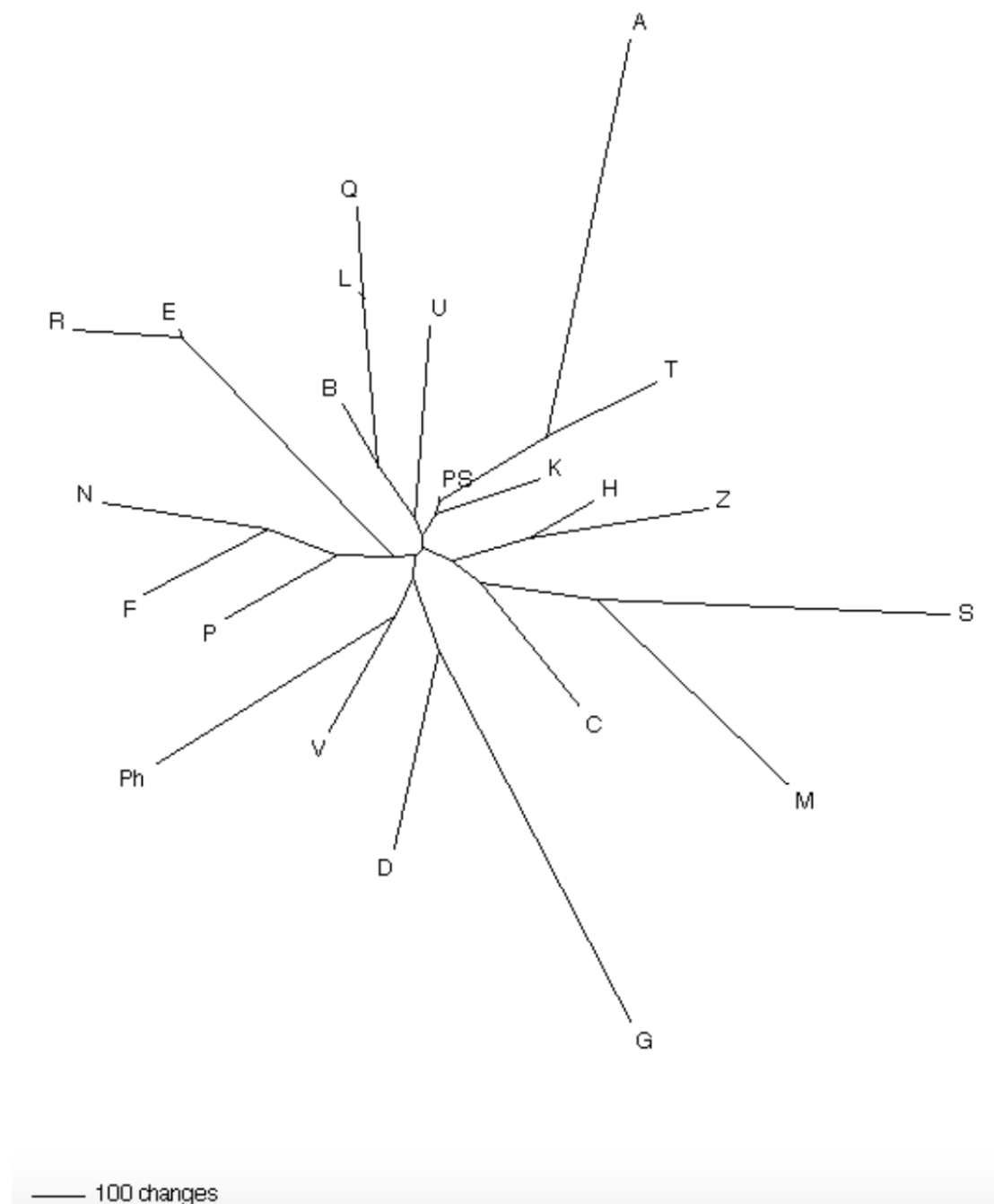
The analysis of the data for the whole *Monarchia* produced just one tree: indeed, each of the one hundred replications produced the identical tree.

This tree can be seen here:



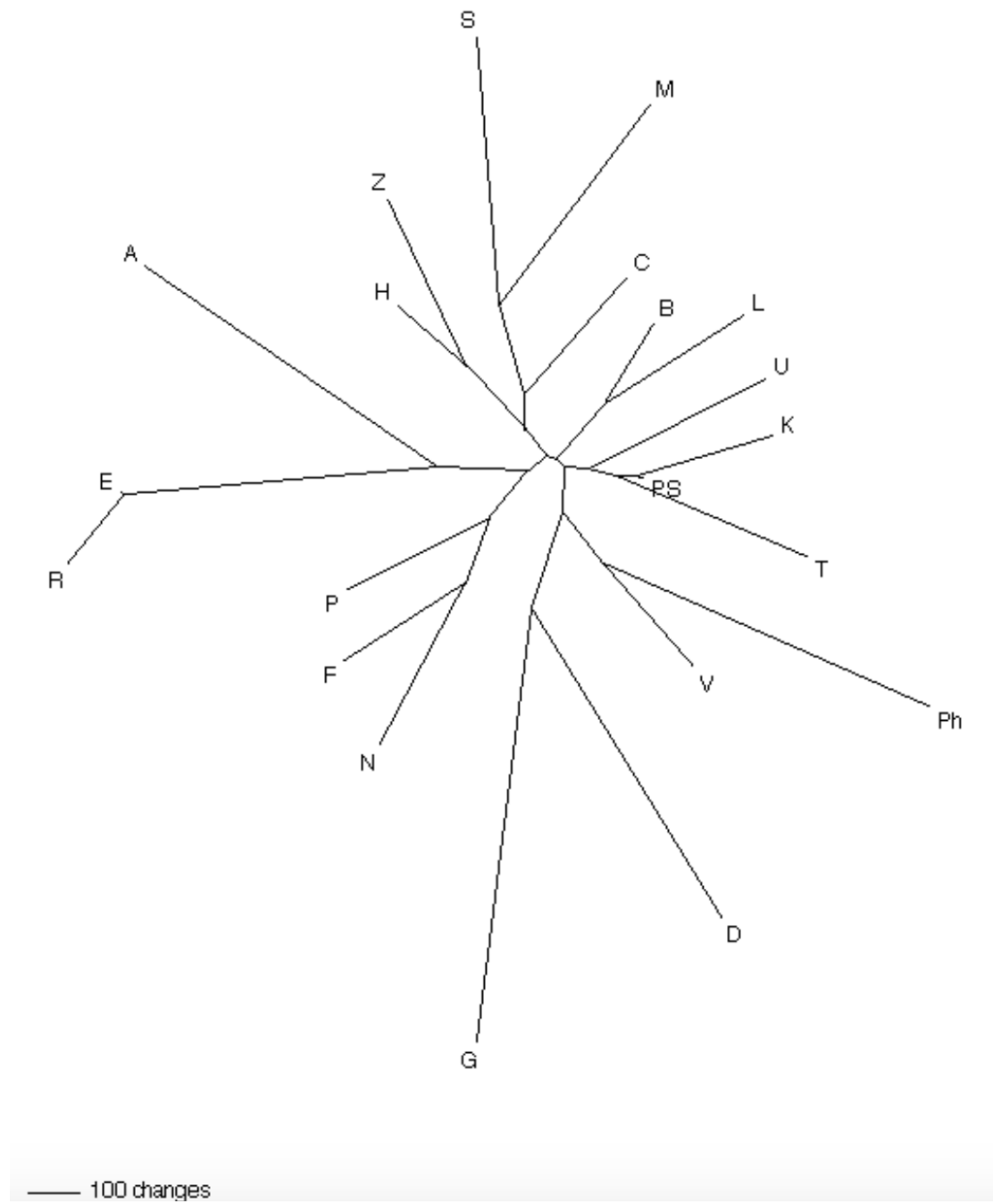
Note that the edited text is here labelled 'PS'.

The analysis of the data for the first half of the text gave three trees, the first of which is given here:





while for the second half it gave just two trees, the first of which is given here:



The three trees for the first half differed very little from one another, as was also the case for the two trees for the second half. Indeed,

examination of all six trees (the single tree for the whole text; the three for the first half; the two for the second half) showed that all agreed on the same fundamental groupings, as discussed in ‘What it tells us’ below. The low number of trees generated suggested, as explained above, that most of the variants within the tradition have been transmitted by simple descent, from copy to copy. This is a striking and useful conclusion, given that there undoubtedly is some contamination in the tradition, and given the high incidence of polygenetic error (usually called ‘convergent’ error in English) which the textual tradition of the *Monarchia* displays.

### *Step 5*

One tree from each half of the text was selected, and these are the trees the reader sees in the ‘variants map’ view. [*Not available in this second edition of the digital edition.*] The reader may thus examine the variants at any point and see how the manuscript groupings at each variant correspond (or do not correspond) with the groupings for the whole of each half of the text, as established by the phylogenetic analysis. For example: at I, i, 5 ‘intemptata’ we can see that H Z share the variant ‘indiscussa’; VMaps shows us that H Z appear as a pair throughout, and so it is likely that this variant (along with many other variants in H Z) was found in and derives from the shared ancestor of H Z.

### *Unrooted phylograms.*

Within the ‘variants map’ view, the trees are represented as ‘unrooted phylograms’. The ‘unrooted’ view means that the branching appears to occur as an organic growth, from a relatively central point, rather than as a process of uni-directional descent, down from an ancestor, as in traditional representations of a stemma (as for example in the stemma reproduced above). This may free the reader from an oversimple view of the tradition, presented as series of vertical straight lines running down from the ancestor signifying cumulative

corruption over time. One striking advantage of the ‘unrooted phylogram’ display compared with a traditional geometric representation lies in the correlation between the length of the branches and the degree of divergence from other witnesses.

### *Length of branches.*

The ‘phylogram’ view means that branch lengths are (broadly speaking) a measure of difference between witnesses. Consider the phylogram for the whole of the *Monarchia*. One can measure the length of each line against the scale ‘500 changes’ at the base of the phylogram to gain a sense of how many variants separate particular witnesses in the tradition. For example, the manuscripts A and G have particularly long lines separating them from the nodes from which they branch. These lines appear to be around three times the length of the ‘500 changes’ scale: this suggests that each of mss. A and G has around 1500 variants not present in any other manuscript. A VBase search confirms this: A has some 1231 unique variants, and G has 1324 unique variants.

Similarly, the node from which the pair E and R jointly branch is separated by a long line approximately twice the length of the ‘500 changes’ scale from the node linking to the other witnesses. A VBase search suggests that there are some 973 variants likely to have been introduced by the joint ancestor of the pair E R. We should remember that these figures must not be understood as absolute. There are many different ways of determining what is a variant: throughout this edition variant numbers are liable to be inflated because each lacuna of a single phrase, of whatever length, counts as a series of separate variants for each individual missing word when they might more accurately be considered to constitute a single variant.

### *What it tells us*

It is important to be aware of what the electronic stemma does and does not establish.

- It confirms unequivocally the validity of the AT affiliation in the first half of the text, and the A- $\beta$ 3 affiliation in the second half. It is notable that though the distinction of the break point as being precisely at II, vii, 8 was established by Ricci using traditional scholarly investigative procedures, one could have deduced the shift and its approximate location from PAUP alone. It has become standard practice when using PAUP with manuscript traditions to run the analysis over different ranges of data (for example, Robinson's analysis of the two halves of *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 1997). Thus, the trees for the first and the second half of the *Monarchia* show clearly the movement of A from T to ER between the two halves of the treatise (see above).
- Work is currently (2006) under way in the Department of Molecular Biology in Cambridge to optimize the identification of such 'break-points' in the tradition. This is the TEXTNET project, led by Christopher Howe (Cambridge) and Peter Robinson (Birmingham). Preliminary work on material from the *Canterbury Tales* using the techniques to be explored by TEXTNET has shown that they can identify 'break-points' to within a few lines of the place suggested by other factors. It will be interesting to see how close to II, vii, 8 these methods can come when applied to the *Monarchia*. A related problem is where a manuscript draws on two separate exemplars throughout. This is the case for ms. D, which over its entire length draws on two different sub-groups within beta ( $\beta$ 3 and  $\beta$ 4), having close affinities with ms. D and ms. M (see V. Methodology. D between M and G.) This is a situation which occurs in nature, in the form of hybridization, and TEXTNET will explore the applicability of methods developed by phylogeneticists to such instances in manuscript traditions.
- The position of U as a beta manuscript closer to non-beta than any other is likewise confirmed by PAUP, although the phylogram interestingly places U closer to  $\beta$ 1 than to  $\beta$ 4, whereas traditional analysis suggested an affinity with both these branches but with a slightly stronger link to  $\beta$ 4.
- PAUP clearly confirms the overall groupings within beta:  $\beta$ 1,  $\beta$ 2, and  $\beta$ 4 are absolutely clearcut;  $\beta$ 3, as the traditional

analysis supplied by Ricci suggested, is slightly less so, since the groupings V Ph G D and E R which together constitute  $\beta_3$  appear on the phylogram on either side of  $\beta_2$  – but since  $\beta_2$  and  $\beta_3$  themselves have a common ancestor, both according to traditional analysis and on the phylogram, this is not problematic. The neatness and precision with which these groupings are represented on the phylogram, including the linking of pairs of manuscripts within subgroups, is striking.

- The status of the manuscripts Q and R (Q *descriptus* [copied] from L, R *descriptus* from E) would also appear to be confirmed by the electronic stemma, where in each of the pairs we find a very short line from the parent (L, E) and a longer line from the copy (Q, R) to the branching point shared by parent and copy. Use of PAUP on other manuscript traditions where it is known from external evidence that one manuscript is copied from another conforms to this pattern. Characteristically, one sees the two manuscripts – the parent and its copy – descended from a single node, with a very short line to the parent manuscript (here, E and L) and a rather longer line to its copy (here, R and Q respectively). The short line represents the very few unique variants in the parent which are not copied to the child; the long line represents the many errors made by the scribe while copying the parent.
- PAUP does not unequivocally prove either the two-branch or the three-branch stemma hypothesis: both could be justified with reference to the phylogram. The three-branch hypothesis places the archetype (the point of origin from which the whole surviving tradition descends) at the juncture where three branches break off. But it would be possible to argue that the point of divergence could be slightly further along that line towards the beta grouping, and if we were to place it there then there would be only two branches. Only traditional scholarly investigative techniques establish, in my view beyond any shadow of doubt, that the three-branch hypothesis is the one which most accurately accounts for the data. The electronic stemma needs to be interpreted with a lively awareness of the significance and weight of traditional scholarly procedures.

## Notes

63. *EN*, p. 99.
64. Favati's central criticism of Ricci – that he had failed to demonstrate that the manuscripts in question have errors in common – was roundly endorsed by Franca Brambilla Ageno in 'Il Codice già Phillipps della *Monarchia*', *SD* LIII (1981), p. 293, n. 9: 'Guido Favati ... ha perfettamente ragione'.
65. See the Introduction for some reflections on the status of *lectiones singulares* in K.
66. Bertalot comments appositely that it is hard to think of any kind of transcription error that the scribe of A does not make.
67. In Ricci's Apparatus alone there are more than twice as many of these cases (some 40-odd) as of a simple alpha/beta split.
68. *EN*, p. 50.
69. Nardi in his edition *ad loc.* queried whether *Subassumpta* was not a possible reading here, but he is certainly wrong.
70. In T the word is abbreviated, but as the identical abbreviated form has been used three times on the previous line for *maxime*, it seems reasonable, *pace* Ricci, to assume that *maxime* and not *maximo* is what is intended here; see T image f. 143v, first two lines.
71. *SD* XXXI (1953), pp. 31-58; *SD* XXXIV (1957), pp. 127-162.
72. Unfortunately, in his Notes to the text (*EN*, p. 151), in plain contradiction to what he had described correctly in the Introduction (pp. 47-48), Ricci states that the intrusive *ab* is found in all witnesses before *unica lege* instead of *unico motu*. This oversight generated a great deal of confusion both for Favati and for Nardi. Ricci himself corrected the error in 'A sette anni', pp. 89-90.
73. Bigongiari, 'Notes', pp. 6-7; *Essays*, pp. 37-38.
74. Ageno, 'Il codice già Phillipps', p. 322, n. 25, questioned whether this was an error of sufficient weight to count as an archetype error, but

its presence in all witnesses without exception is striking. Pézard proposed a different conjectural reading – *inter se differentes proprietates* – to correct what he acknowledged to be an error (*La rotta gonna*, pp. 67-68).

75. *EN*, p. 49: ‘Dopo un *sequeretur* le costruzioni usate da Dante sono due: o l’infinito o il congiuntivo retto da *quod*.’
76. Fraticelli, 1857 edn, p. 376; Giuliani, *ed. cit.*, pp. 277, 406.
77. Bigongiari, ‘The Text of Dante’s *Monarchia*’, pp.461-462; *Essays*, pp. 30-31.
78. ‘That *non vellet* is the subject of *sequeretur*, and not what the editors make it, is shown even superficially by the logical deduction: “ad non nolle alterum duorum sequitur ... aut velle [subject] aut non velle [subject] sicut ad non odire sequitur amare [subject] aut non amare [subject] ... prout non vellet [subject] *sequeretur* ad non velle.” In this last sentence we should expect *non velle* instead of *non vellet*, but the subjunctive might perhaps be retained as though quoted.’ Bigongiari translates the amended phrase ‘prout non vellet *sequeretur* ad non nolle’ as ‘not wanting following here from *non nolle*’, and this is the crux of the issue: is Dante reminding his readers here that he is using *non vellet* in the precise restricted sense in which it can be logically inferred from *non nolle*, rather than in the more usual sense in which it can be inferred from *nolle*?
79. *EN*, p. 223.
80. A recent article by Andrea Tabarroni, ‘“Non velle” o “non nolle”? Una proposta di emendazione rivalutata per *Mon. III, II, 6*’, in *Pensiero Politico Medievale* 1 (2003): 27-40 (an article which I saw only when work on this electronic edition was complete), reopens the question with a closely argued defence of Bigongiari’s proposed emendation, on the grounds that it is indeed necessary, being required by the logical development of Dante’s argument. Tabarroni reformulates that argument in the highly technical language of modal propositional logic and concludes that the Ricci/Rostagno text ‘non agevola la comprensione dell’argomentazione, bensí la ostacola’. Whereas in the Ricci/Rostagno text the general sense of the development of the argument is, it has to be said, perfectly clear, the Bigongiari/Tabarroni text spells out more exactly the precise logical strategy used by Dante

- for which the groundwork has been laid in par. 4, with its careful distinction between *nolle* (active negative volition) and *non velle* (inactive indifference): *nec non velle est nolle* – as he proceeds to use it in par. 6. Tabarroni further argues, if I understand him correctly, that not to reiterate this point – that is, not to reiterate that *non velle* is here being used as a logical inference from *non nolle* rather than from *nolle* – in fact invalidates the argument (‘Senza questa precisazione infatti il ragionamento non regge’), because it does not produce the contradictory of the premise as Dante’s line of reasoning requires. Unlike Ricci, Tabarroni offers no suggestion as to how or why the error might have arisen; furthermore, developing a point made by Pizzica, he considers that the *enim* adopted by Ricci at the beginning of the sentence must be another archetype error, since what is required here for the articulation of the argument is *autem* (p. 36, n. 20). [See Shaw 2018 for further consideration of this question.]
81. Bigongiari, ‘Notes’, p. 6; *Essays*, p. 37; Giuliani, *ed. cit.*, pp. 272, 395. Pézard, *La rotta gonna*, pp. 83-84, defends the reading *presumpsit*.
82. *SD XXXIV* (1957), pp. 147-148; *EN*, p. 204.
83. Favati plausibly postulates the existence of a proto-archetype to account for the anomalous position of *vel substinentis*: he believes the gloss must have been written in the margin in this proto-archetype, then inserted in the text, but at the wrong point, in the archetype.
84. As at *EN*, p. 190, à propos of *Epycurus/Epycurum*; *EN*, p. 199, à propos of *unam ... alteram/una ... altera*; *EN*, p. 228, à propos of *qui*; *EN*, p. 230, à propos of *hoc*; *EN*, p. 246, à propos of *alius/aliud*.
85. *IDE*, pp. 22-25.
86. See Aristotle, *Categories* 12; and Peter of Spain, *Tractatus called afterwards Summule logicales*, III, 30, ed. L. M. De Rijk, Assen 1972, p. 40, where the Aristotelian distinctions between the five kinds of priority are summarised. All modern editors accept that *primum* is an error.
87. *EN*, p. 51, footnote 3 refers to other less important variants which distinguish the two families but gives no hint of the incontrovertible errors of beta which we are about to consider. Some of these errors, but not all of them, are discussed in the Notes to the text.



88. Bigongiari had argued against the authenticity of the phrase, mistakenly believing it to have been added by Ficino in his *volgarizzamento* – yet another example of the long shadow cast over the transmission of Dante’s treatise by misconceptions about the Ficino translation. In fact the phrase is not in the Ficino version, but is added by Fraticelli with no indication that he is altering Ficino’s text; see ‘La versione ficiniana’, p. 399; ‘Per l’edizione’, p. 929.
89. The point is confirmed by the fact that later in this same paragraph A reads *quod* with beta against *ut* in KT.
90. Ricci claims that his Apparatus includes all cases of an alpha/beta split – ‘Stabilito infatti che il testo dovesse nascere dal confronto tra alpha e beta, v’era l’obbligo di scrupolosamente registrare le varianti delle due famiglie.’ (EN, p. 109) – but as this case and others demonstrate he falls far short of doing so.
91. Bigongiari, ‘The text’, pp. 457-458; *Essays*, pp. 25-26; Toynbee, ‘Dante Notes’, in *The Modern Language Review* XXIV (1929), pp. 53-54.
92. Mancini, A., reviewing Bigongiari’s ‘The text of Dante’s *Monarchia*’ in *SD* XIII (1928), pp. 101-104; Shaw (1995), pp. 90-91, n. 22.
93. When I use the term ‘all modern editors’ here and in what follows I mean Witte, Bertalot, Rostagno and Ricci.
94. We could add to the list of cases where Ricci chooses KT against beta (and in so doing endorses the choice of all modern editors) the following where just a few beta manuscripts agree with KT: at III, xii, 7 (‘qui est mensura omnium aliorum, et ydea ut dicam’) *ydea* is found only in KT + DGN (Ph *ydeam*) against *ideo* in the remaining beta manuscripts; in the same paragraph (‘ad existentem maxime unum in genere suo’) *suo* is present only in KT + DM.
95. E.g. at III, iii, 16 FP have *et vestigando* and N *investigando*: none of them has *et investigando* as Ricci claims; at III, iii, 17 only N has *iaceant*, while F and P have *iactant* like the other witnesses.
96. As when A and U, like FNP, have *habentes* for *abeuntes* at I, xii, 5.
97. It is however unsettling that when talking of ‘lezioni che fanno d’artificiale e d’arbitrario’ in N (EN, p. 71) Ricci should cite the very *maxime* which he has earlier – rightly – insisted is the only possible

reading at this point, preserved, he believes, only in N (*EN*, p. 49, n. 2 and p. 166 where he describes the N reading as ‘certissima’; see my comment on the textual situation in An overview of the problem, above. We can also note that the reading *vendat tunicam + suam +* which he cites in the same context is also in F and G, and *quin + ymo + potius* is also in G, meaning that neither example lends itself to the point he is making about artificial and arbitrary readings which characterise N alone.

98. It is strange that the copyist, so meticulous in his checking of the text and marking of dubious readings, seems not to have noticed the lacuna and consequent abrupt change in direction of the argument at this point. The lacuna occurs mid-page and indeed mid-line [see the image for P, f. 45r], and clearly reflects a missing folio in the *antigrafo* of P. See the Transcription Note on ms. P and ‘Le correzioni di copista’, pp. 288-291.
99. *EN*, p. 62.
100. *EN*, p. 64.
101. Two of the cases Ricci lists are not quite as he reports them: at III, ii, 2 *non* is present in B, but as a marginal addition, apparently in the original hand; at III, iii, 3 the word *litigium* is not missing in B, but the words appear in a different order (*causa ignorantie litigium* instead of *litigium causa ignorantie*).
102. For an account of these, see ‘Il manoscritto Q’, pp. 820-821.
103. Three of the cases cited by Ricci do not really prove his point: at I, iii, 2 G has *ab hoc* [ ] instead of *ab utroque*, so it is not accurate to call *ab utroque* an omission in G; at II, v, 16 the situation is more complicated than Ricci suggests, as a look at the context makes clear: the received text is *consul cum*, G has *consul* [*cum*], V has *consulem*, and Ph *consultum*; strictly speaking *cum* is missing only in G, since V and Ph have an extra final syllable on *consul* which corresponds to the missing *cum*; at III, xiv, 7 *ab* is not strictly speaking omitted in either G or V, since G has *a*, V has *ad* at this point.
104. Thus it is unlikely that he could correct the bizarre *haneli*’ with *aliter hanc* without recourse to another copy of the text.

105. A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, Milano 1967<sup>6</sup>, p. 315.
106. *executionem* at II, x, 1 and *eloquio* at III, ix, 5 are found also in U.
107. This lacuna, a *saut du même au même*, is also in F, certainly fortuitously.
108. But *omnes* at II, xi, 2 is not missing in M.
109. But *una re* is only in D, not in M as Ricci says, so the shared variant is just *imperiumque*.
110. At I, xiv, 1, however (*fieri possunt A et B* instead of *fieri potest*), *possunt* is in D but not in G as Ricci claims – the G reading is the correct *potest*.
111. A ninth case is ambiguous, because the abbreviated form *cant.* in U could represent *Canticum* (KT) or *Canticorum* (some beta manuscripts).
112. EN, p. 53.
113. SD LIII (1981), p. 324.
114. See ‘Le correzioni di copista’, p. 306, n. 42.
115. ‘Le correzioni di copista’, p. 308.
116. The phrase is missing also in A<sup>2</sup>.
117. ‘Le correzioni di copista’, pp. 309-312.
118. The list of KT errors Ricci later supplied in ‘A sette anni’ is, as we shall see, deeply flawed.
119. Ricci placed the dividing line at the end of chapter vii (‘la prima metà del testo ... fino al capitolo settimo compreso, del secondo libro’), but I would suggest it comes in the middle of the chapter, between paragraph 4, where A<sup>1</sup> reads *sacris* with KT, and paragraph 8, where A<sup>2</sup> reads *quod* with beta against *qui* in KT.
120. EN, pp. 59-60 (1965).

121. Guido Favati, 'Sul testo della *Monarchia*' (1970).
122. Pier Giorgio Ricci, 'A sette anni' (1979).
123. *SD* LIII (1981), pp. 187-217.
124. *Italian Studies* LI (1996), pp. 5-26.
125. As explained, when I use the term 'all modern editors' here and in what follows I mean Witte, Bertalot, Rostagno and Ricci.
126. Two further cases of variants which fall into this category are KT *Canticum* at III, x, 8 and KT *alius* ('vicarius Dei') at III, vii, 3. The second case is textually complex and is discussed by Ricci in detail in his Notes *ad loc.*
127. I have listed this polygenetic error separately from the preceding ones not because it differs from them in any way but simply because it is the only case where such an error in K and T is not found also in some beta manuscripts. The phrase echoes the phrase *Monarchie offitium* used in the opening section of the treatise at I, ii, 3, but, as noted, some ten manuscripts read *monarchie offitium* at that point.
128. G. Contini, *Breviario di ecdotica*, pp. 29-30 (1986).
129. Ricci himself acknowledges as much in relation to T and M in *SD* XXXII (1954), p. 63, where he describes the reading as conjectural in both manuscripts. This is at odds with what he later says in 'A sette anni' (1979), where he is desperately searching for errors in KT. Toynbee, 'Dante and the Cursus', pp. 242-243, comments on Dante's 'marked predilection' for the alliterative *cursus velox* and cites *pósteris pròlabórent* as an example.
130. Ageno, 'Il codice già Phillipps', p. 323 n. 31, comments: 'oporteat è forma possibile e interessante, cfr. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*, Lund, Gleerup, 1956, II, p. 131, ma rimarrebbe, se abbiamo ben visto, completamente isolato nel latino dantesco.'
131. Cf. *Mon.* II, iv, 7; *Epistole* vi, 3; xi, 15; and xiii, 63: 'Quod etiam scriptura paganorum contestatur.'

132. To summarise the findings: there are 13 unequivocal significant beta errors recognised by all modern editors; another four recognised by most modern editors, including Ricci; and a further six where Ricci alone (I believe correctly) identifies a beta error.
133. *EN*, p. 128.
134. For a fuller account see Dante, *Monarchia*, Edited and translated by Prue Shaw, Cambridge, 1995, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii.
135. Thus: the seven days of creation; the seven planets; the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; the seven sacraments; the seven virtues; the seven days of the week; the seven liberal arts.
136. St. Augustine talks of 7 as the number of *universitas* in *De civitate Dei* 11, 31. On 7 as the number of earthly life, see G. R. Sarolli, *Analitica della "Divina Commedia", I: Struttura numerologica e poesia*, Bari 1974, pp. 52, 83, 143, 157-161, 196.
137. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated by W. R. Trask (ch. xv: 'Numerical Composition'), New York 1953, p. 503.
138. *EN*, p. 55: 'Eppure il Trivulziano poteva vantare, nel quadro dell'intera tradizione, meriti non comuni: più corretto di qualsivoglia altro manoscritto, più autorevole, più utile ...'
139. J. Bédier, 'La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*', in *Romania* LIV 1928, pp. 161-196; 321-356.
140. Bédier, 'La tradition manuscrite': '... la force dichotomique, une fois déchaînée, agit jusqu'au bout.'
141. S. Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, Firenze 1963, pp. 112-135, 'Appendice C. Stemmi bipartiti e contaminazione', gives a useful overview.
142. Robinson is responsible for most of the first part of this document, 'How it is created'; Shaw is responsible for most of the second part, 'What it tells us'.

# VI. Emendations to Ricci's text

## *General*

The emendations to be made to the text of the *Monarchia* in the light of the preceding methodological considerations are the subject of this next section. These changes were already present in the Cambridge University Press edition of the treatise, where they were signalled in notes, but where, because of constraints on space in the series in which the volume appeared, there was no opportunity to explain or defend them.<sup>143</sup> Some of these readings represented a return to textual choices favoured by earlier editors, but now supported by a more thorough and nuanced examination and analysis of the textual situation; some of them were new readings suggested by Guido Favati in his *IDE* article; one had been proposed by Dino Bigongiari, but rejected by Ricci; a few were entirely new and had appeared in no previous edition of the treatise, nor been suggested by other scholars commenting on the text.

In the light of the more detailed and accurate account of the surviving textual evidence offered in the previous section of this Introduction, which in its turn is backed up by the fullness of material available, it becomes possible to make a more coherent set of editorial choices in establishing the text of the treatise – indeed certain patterns of editorial choice become incumbent on the editor, in the sense that only strong countervailing factors would lead one to override the *lezione maggioritaria* when there is one. Whereas Ricci's two-branched *stemma* in effect left everything to the editor's *iudicium*, leaving its deviser that total freedom to choose which Bédier had ruefully decided editors will always subconsciously guarantee for themselves by the way they slant their interpretation of the evidence, the new *stemma*, at least in theory, imposes a criterion of mathematical majority. Thus the choices made

in this edition, rather than adopting Ricci's piecemeal procedure, reflect a consistent criterion for weighting the evidence across the whole length of the treatise – a criterion which has emerged both from a more fine-tuned and carefully argued understanding of the relationships among the manuscripts, and from a much more accurate sense than Ricci's edition provides of what the full range of readings actually is at any given point.

Two things should be noted at the outset, however. The first is that the new analysis supports Ricci's textual choices in a very large number of cases – indeed, as we have seen, in a significant number of instances it gives even stronger support for the reading he championed than did his own analysis.<sup>144</sup> These cases will not be reviewed here: Ricci's arguments speak for themselves, and the textual backing for them can now be accessed by any interested reader and evaluated with all the evidence to hand.

The second point, already made in the preceding pages, is that very often the textual material simply circumvents the notion of a *stemma*, in that the distribution of variants is spread across the tradition – characteristically, with K + some beta manuscripts having one reading and T + some beta manuscripts the other – in a way which is at odds with the notion of a *lezione maggioritaria* in a strict stemmatic sense, whether the *stemma* is a two-branched or a three-branched one. A typical case is to be found at III, iv, 10 ('si talia fiunt de ignorantia, correctione diligenter adhibita ignoscendum est'), where the reading *correctione* is found in T + 11 beta mss (B C D E F L N R S U V) while the reading *correptione* is found in K + 5 beta mss (A H M P Ph – the two remaining beta manuscripts G and Z read *corruptione*). Ricci argues that *correptione* (the reading preferred by Witte and Rostagno) 'non ha bastante sostegno nella tradizione manoscritta', and opts for *correctione*; both readings make perfect sense in context, and in cases like these the notion of a *lezione maggioritaria* is strictly speaking of no help to the editor.

Ricci repeatedly remarks that a given reading has 'poco appoggio nei manoscritti', 'un sostegno troppo scarso', 'un appoggio assai fiacco', 'un debole sostegno nella tradizione', and other phrases in similar vein.

In instances like the one we have just examined, the use of such a phrase is entirely appropriate: although each reading appears in one of the non-beta witnesses, *correctione* is supported by more than twice as many beta manuscripts as *correptione*, and among their number are the two most prestigious and correct of the whole beta family (B and V). No one would want to argue with Ricci's use of the expression here, nor with the conclusion he draws from it, namely the inclusion of *correctione* in the critical text.

In this case 'non ha bastante sostegno nella tradizione manoscritta' correlates perfectly with numbers of manuscripts which have a certain reading. But often the notion of a *lezione maggioritaria* will not be at odds with a reading which has 'poco sostegno nella tradizione' if one takes this latter phrase in a simple numerical sense. Where the tradition divides neatly along the lines non-beta/beta, phrases of this kind must be used with caution. Given the extreme exiguity of two of the three branches of the *stemma* – the *editio princeps*, we remember, stands on its own as representative of one branch, while T has the support of A<sup>1</sup> for just half the length of the treatise and then it too stands on its own as representative of the second branch – the notion of a *lezione maggioritaria* in this technical sense is at odds with what its commonsense meaning might be taken to be. A weighting of two against one stemmatically (the 'lezione maggioritaria') translates in simple terms of numbers into three witnesses in the first half of the treatise and two in the second, standing against a *lezione minoritaria* which consists of seventeen or eighteen manuscripts. The phrase 'poco appoggio nei manoscritti' could be misleading in this context. Such phrases always risk sounding like a simple numerical count of witnesses, and indeed they clearly mean no more than this when used by some scholars who are not textual critics.<sup>145</sup>

Bearing these things in mind, we may now proceed to consider the textual emendations introduced into this edition. The emendations with respect to Ricci's text can be usefully divided into a number of categories. These are not hard-and-fast discrete categories: rather they serve the practical purpose of clarifying the precise nature of the shift in the weighting of evidence in the light of the new *stemma*. It seemed more



helpful to treat the material in groups of roughly analogous cases, where the weighting of evidence conforms to a similar pattern, rather than simply to list individual changes in the order in which they occur in the text.

The categories into which the emendations naturally fall and the order in which they will be discussed are as follows:

- i. cases where almost the whole textual tradition supports a given reading, that is where we have a possible reading with overwhelming manuscript support.
- ii. cases where the distribution of readings is still clearcut, but a substantial number of beta manuscripts diverges from K and TA<sup>1</sup>.
- iii. cases where the distribution of readings is more problematic (as with *correctione/correptione* just discussed), since K shares the reading of some beta manuscripts while TA<sup>1</sup> share the reading of other beta manuscripts.
- iv. readings related to the terminology of scholastic logic.
- v. lezioni indifferenti, with a simple alpha/beta split in Ricci's *stemma*, but with a *lezione maggioritaria* (K + TA<sup>1</sup> vs. beta) in the new *stemma*.
- vi. a final small group of cases which fit none of the above categories.

### ***Readings supported by almost all the tradition***

A first group of cases are those where almost the whole textual tradition supports a given reading, i.e. where we have a possible reading with overwhelming manuscript support. That Ricci did not consider or discuss these cases would seem to suggest that he did not collate the manuscripts as thoroughly as he might have done. The choice of reading in this first group is quite independent of whether a two-branched or three-branched *stemma* best accounts for the surviving evidence.

III, x, 7 'Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere preter id quod positum est, qui est Cristus Iesus': Ricci's text here reads 'quod est Cristus Iesus'. Both *quod* and *qui* are possible readings and both are found in medieval manuscripts of the Bible: the Vulgate here reads *qui*, with

*quod* registered in the Apparatus as a variant.<sup>146</sup> The manuscript support for *qui* includes non-beta manuscripts K and T, and many beta manuscripts (UBLACGER); *quod* is found only in MHZ, while the words *qui est* are missing in the remaining beta manuscripts. Ricci does not justify his choice of *quod*, or even indicate that there is a decision to be made by the editor at this point.<sup>147</sup> The reading *qui*, guaranteed by the number and quality of witnesses which carry it, is imposed not just by the three-branched *stemma* proposed in this edition, but by Ricci's two-branched *stemma* as well.

II, x, 1 'Usque adhuc patet propositum per rationes que plurimum rationabilibus principiis innituntur': Ricci's text here reads 'rationalibus principiis'. Only the *editio princeps* K reads *rationalibus* at this point; all the manuscripts read *rationabilibus*,<sup>148</sup> with the exception of S which has the eccentric *rationibus et principiis rationalibus*. The reading *rationalibus* is in effect a *lectio singularis* of K, and as such would require a very carefully argued defence against the testimony of all but one of the manuscripts. The reading *rationabilibus* was advocated by Favati,<sup>149</sup> who, however, rashly (and wrongly) claimed that the word was 'frequentissimo nella *Monarchia*' – in fact it is not used elsewhere in the treatise. It is however used many times and in various related forms in the *De vulgari eloquentia*.<sup>150</sup> Ricci's belated defence of his choice of *rationalibus* in his response to Favati, although buttressed with a quotation from the *Catholicon* of Giovanni Balbi, does not persuade me to abandon a reading present in all manuscripts but one for a reading which is most convincingly and economically explained as an editorial intervention by the editor of the *princeps*.<sup>151</sup>

The difference between *rationabilis* and *rationalis* is well illustrated by a quotation from the *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, cited at both entries in order to underline the distinction between them: 'unus non dicitur alio rationalior, sed rationabilior, ita quod intensio cadit super usu rationis, qui significatur per rationabile, et non super essentia anime rationalis, que omnibus equaliter inest.'<sup>152</sup>

III, iv, 11 'O summum facinus, etiamsi contingat in sompnis, eterni Spiritus intentione abuti!': Ricci here reads 'in sompniis'. But *sompniis*

is found only in the *editio princeps* K and a single manuscript, D; *sompnis* is in all the others except VGER which have different variants (*supremis, sonus*). As the words *somnus* and *somnium* are closely related in meaning and even overlap in use,<sup>153</sup> there is no reason not to choose the form of the variant which is widely attested across the tradition. Again an intervention by the editor of the *princeps* seems likely.

II, ix, 16 ‘per tres Oratios fratres hinc et per totidem Curiatios fratres inde in conspectu regum et populorum altrinsecus expectantium decertatum est ... Deinde cum finitimis, omni iure belli servato, cum Sabinis, cum Samnitibus, licet in multitudine decertantium, sub forma tamen duelli, de imperio decretum fuisse Livius narrat: in quo quidem modo decertandi cum Samnitibus ...’: Ricci here reads ‘de imperio decertatum fuisse’, but the meaning remains identical with the variant *decretum fuisse*,<sup>154</sup> which is present not just in K and T but also in beta manuscripts C D E F H L M N Ph R V Z; only ABGSU have *decertatum*. It is not difficult to see how the attraction of the surrounding instances of *decertatum, decertantium, decertandi* might have led isolated copyists to change *decretum* to *decertatum*; it is much more difficult to explain the presence of *decretum* right across the tradition if it was not the original reading.

### *Readings where some beta manuscripts diverge*

The second group of cases are those where the distribution of readings is still clearcut, but a substantial number of beta manuscripts diverges from the *lezione maggioritaria* represented by K + TA<sup>1</sup> + the remaining beta manuscripts. The new weighting of evidence suggests that the *lezione maggioritaria* (the non-beta reading), which in these cases also has some beta support, is the logical choice.

I, ii, 5 ‘quoniam in talibus operatio est finis’: Ricci’s text reads ‘in talibus operatio finis’. Ricci himself in his Notes to the text admits to accepting this ‘energica ellisse’ with some hesitation. The new *stemma* suggests that what he calls a ‘dizione ... indubbiamente più normale e tranquilla’ with the verb is the correct reading: *est* is in K + TA<sup>1</sup> + beta manuscripts DNU (M *subest*). We have seen how prone the beta ancestor is to

omissions, often important ones; it seems plausible that shorter omissions also will have occurred, and this is likely to have been one of them.

I, ii, 7 'Nam alia erit ratio incidendi lignum propter domum construendam, et alia propter navim': Ricci's text reads 'propter domum constituendam'. He defends this choice on the grounds that *construendam* is a *lectio facilior*, a 'banalizzazione del verbo originario', but it seems at least as likely that *constituendam* is a variant based on a simple paleographic misreading of an original *construendam*, as happens elsewhere in the tradition of the *Monarchia* when the genuineness of the reading *construendo* is not in doubt. At III, vi, 7 in the phrase 'construendo sic', *construendo* has the technical logical sense of 'affirming', yet even here two manuscripts (A and L) independently substitute the wholly inappropriate *constituendo*. The reading *construendam* is in K + TA<sup>1</sup> + beta manuscripts NDGEMRS. Aristotle in Physics I-III repeatedly uses the example of house-building when developing his argument about causation and coming into being, but the verb used in medieval Latin translations of the text is neither *construere* nor *constituere* but *edificare*, so they are of no help to the editor at this point. We may note however that in Aquinas's commentary on the *Ethics* the precise phrase *propter domum construendam* occurs in a context concerned with ends dictating means which is strikingly similar to Dante's argument at this point in the *Monarchia*.<sup>155</sup> 'Et si quaeratur quid sit bonum intentum in unaquaque arte o in unoquoque negotio, sciendum est, quod hoc est illud cuius gratia omnia alia fiunt. In medicina enim omnia fiunt propter sanitatem. In militari omnia fiunt propter victoriam. Et in aedificativa omnia fiunt propter domum construendam. Et similiter in quolibet alio negotio aliquod aliud est bonum intentum, cuius gratia omnia alia fiunt. Hoc autem bonum intentum in unaquaque operatione vel electione dicitur finis. Quia *finis* nihil aliud est quam illud *cuius gratia alia fiunt*.'<sup>156</sup>

II, v, 16 'eamque mortem ardentiore studio peteret quam Epycurus voluptatem petendam putat': Ricci's text reads 'ardentiori studio'. The *lezione maggioritaria* gives us the normal ablative form *ardentiore* which

seems entirely appropriate here: *ardentiore* is in K + T + beta manuscripts UCER.<sup>157</sup>

II, vii, 8 ‘Cum ignoramus quid agere debeamus, hoc solum habemus residui: ut oculos nostros ad Te dirigamus’: Ricci’s text reads ‘quod oculos nostros’.<sup>158</sup> The reading *ut* is in K + T + DH; *ut* is the reading at this point in the Vulgate, which does not list *quod* as a variant in the Apparatus.<sup>159</sup>

II, viii, 7: ‘Tales fama canit tumidum super equora construxisse vias.’ [Pharsalia II, 672-673]

Ricci’s text reads ‘Talis fama’: both readings (*tales* and *talis*) are widely attested in manuscripts of the *Pharsalia*.<sup>160</sup> While it is true that *talis* is a possible alternative form for accusative plural *tales* in classical poetry, nonetheless in this context *talis* risks seeming to be in agreement with *fama*, rather than with *vias* as the sense requires. The lines from the *Pharsalia* translate: ‘Fame sings that proud Xerxes built such paths [*tales ... vias*] across the sea.’<sup>161</sup> The reading *Tales* is in K + T + N. Given the proximity of *fama* it is not difficult to explain the introduction of *talis* in the ancestor of beta; much less likely is a correction from *talis* to *tales* independently in K and T.<sup>162</sup>

II, xi, 4 ‘‘punitio’ non est simpliciter ‘pena iniuriam inferentis’, sed ‘pena inflictam iniuriam inferenti ab habente iurisdictionem puniendi’’: Ricci’s text reads in the first clause ‘pena iniuriam inferenti’ and this choice of reading is defended, against the consensus of all earlier editors of the text, on the basis that it anticipates the following phrase ‘pena inflictam iniuriam inferenti’ and should therefore correspond to it exactly. The reading *inferentis* is in K + T + beta manuscripts BL, and Ricci himself admits that it has ‘ottime testimonianze nella tradizione, ed è molto plausibile’; I have no hesitation in accepting it as the *lezione maggioritaria*.

III, iv, 18 ‘quia motus eius est a motore proprio, et influentia sua est a propriis eius radiis’: Ricci’s text omits *et*. The reading *et* is in K + T + G only but is nonetheless *maggioritaria* and there is no reason not to

accept it. Again we may remind ourselves of the propensity of the beta ancestor to make omissions.<sup>163</sup>

III, x, 3 ‘Positis igitur et solutis argumentis que radices in divinis eloquiis habere videbantur.’: Ricci’s text reads ‘Positis et solutis igitur’. *Positis igitur et solutis* is in K + T + beta manuscripts BC, while the variant *Positis ergo et solutis* in FU reflects the same word order. There is no reason not to accept the *lezione maggioritaria* in this instance.<sup>164</sup>

### *Readings distributed across the tradition*

In a third group of cases the distribution of readings is more problematical, since it cuts across both the two-branched *stemma* and the three-branched *stemma*. In the first case listed, which comes from Book I, KT share a reading with some beta manuscripts, while A<sup>1</sup> goes with the other beta manuscripts; in the remaining cases (as with *correctione/corruptione* discussed above) K shares the reading of some beta manuscripts while TA<sup>1</sup> share the reading of other beta manuscripts. In all of these cases neither of the possible readings has a clearcut majority weighting, whichever *stemma* one accepts.

I, xv, 2 ‘qua re Pictagoras in correlationibus suis ex parte boni ponebat unum, ex parte vero mali plura’: Ricci’s text reads ‘ex parte vero mali plurale’. In justification of this reading Ricci merely notes: ‘Garantito dal testo aristotelico qui citato’ without further comment. Nardi questioned the accuracy of this laconic reference, pointing out not unreasonably that ‘pare che san Tommaso (commento alla *Metafisica*, I, lez. 8<sup>a</sup>) leggesse per tre volte “unum et plura”’ and that ‘plura, anzi che plurale, sta benissimo ed è più evidente’.<sup>165</sup> While it is true that the Aristotelian phrase is variously translated in Latin in the Middle Ages (*unum plurale*;<sup>166</sup> *unum multitudinem*;<sup>167</sup> *unum et plura*), it is this last version cited by Nardi which is used in the critical edition of the Aquinas *Commentary* on the *Metaphysics* in both sections, i.e. in the *Textus Aristotelis* and the *Commentarium S. Thomae*.<sup>168</sup> The reading *plura* is in K + T (but not A<sup>1</sup>) + beta manuscripts UBLG. Although the reading *plurale* in A<sup>1</sup> prevents *plura* from being a *lezione maggioritaria* strictly speaking,

nonetheless the weighting is such that, with the support of the text quoted by Nardi, it seems the better choice.

Before we proceed to examine the remaining cases we can consider a general point about the value of the testimony of ms. T. In Ricci's judgment, as we noted earlier, T is the most correct of all the surviving manuscripts: 'più corretto di qualsivoglia altro manoscritto, più autorevole, più utile'<sup>169</sup> – a judgment not just confirmed but amply reinforced by the present analysis. Ricci argued, almost certainly correctly, that although T was a relatively late copy of the text, it was based on an exemplar which dated from the fourteenth century and possibly even from the first half of the century – the earliest extant manuscripts, B and D, it will be remembered, date from the middle of the century.<sup>170</sup> Ricci thought that the manuscript on which the *editio princeps* was based was even more correct than T, but the incrustation of small editorial adjustments to the text of the *princeps* across its whole length makes it difficult to reach a firm conclusion on this question. In saying this Ricci may simply have had in mind that whereas both K and T (like A<sup>1</sup>) are conspicuously free of the many lacunae which disfigure beta, K is also free of the omissions which link T and A<sup>1</sup> – two of them lengthy omissions of some substance, as we have seen.<sup>171</sup> But leaving aside these lacunae, T seems consistently as correct as and probably more correct than K on fine points of textual substance. We can remind ourselves that of the eleven cases of textual fragility we examined in the Methodology section of the Introduction, on ten occasions the correct reading is preserved in non-beta (only *Subassumptam* at II, iii, 6 is not), and in seven of those ten cases the correct reading is preserved in T.<sup>172</sup> We may remember too that T alone of all the witnesses preserves the chapter divisions exactly as they appear in the critical edition, clearly reflecting what Dante's original ordering of his material must have been.

I propose therefore as a guiding strategy when choosing between variants where the distribution of readings divides K from T – that is, where K + some beta manuscripts show one reading and T + some beta manuscripts the other – to choose the reading of T unless there are strong reasons not to do so. We shall find, in fact, that often there are

strong reasons to choose the T reading, and there are never strong reasons not to choose it, as the cases examined below will reveal. When T has the support of B or V or U, the most authoritative of the beta manuscripts, as from time to time it does, then the case for choosing the T reading is particularly powerful.

In the cases we shall now consider the split is K against T with some manuscript support from beta for both readings, but no *lezione maggioritaria*.

III, ix, 5 ‘Et ex hinc continuato colloquio venit ad hoc’: Ricci’s text reads ‘venit ad hec’, and he comments: ‘Difficile scegliere tra *ad hec* e *ad hoc*. M’intruppo con gli altri editori sperando in bene.’ But *ad hoc* is in T + B C D F G H L M N Ph S T U V Z; only K + A P E R have *ad hec*. Given the sheer weight of numbers this time, plus the fact that T is supported by B, V and U as well as the many other beta manuscripts listed above, the choice of *ad hoc* seems imperative. Ricci’s ‘sperando in bene’ does not quite answer the case.

III, xii, 4 ‘et eodem modo aliud est esse hominem, aliud est esse Imperatorem’: Ricci’s text omits *est* the second time, reading *aliud esse Imperatorem*. The reading *aliud est esse* is in T + F G H N P Ph U V E L S; the phrase as Ricci has it is only in K (all the remaining beta manuscripts – ABCMZ – have slight variations on the phrase; B omits *est* but adds *et* before *aliud*). Later in the same paragraph we find a similar pattern of variants:

III, xii, 4 ‘sicut aliud est esse hominem, aliud est esse patrem et dominum’: Ricci’s text adds *et* before the second *aliud*, reading *et aliud est esse patrem et dominum*. The reading *aliud est esse patrem et dominum* is in T + A C F N Ph U V Z; Ricci’s *et* is only in B E H L P S M (while K D G omit both *est* and *et*). The nature of the text in these two instances means that independent innovation by individual copyists is very likely, but there still seems no good reason not to choose the T reading, given also that by making that choice the two readings in the two halves of the paragraph neatly parallel one another.



III, xv, 5 ‘Sed Cristus huiusmodi regnum coram Pilato abnegavit’: Ricci’s text reads ‘huiusmodi regimen’. The reading *regnum* is in T + U B L P F N G Ph M Z; *regimen* is in K + A D E H S V. Since in the quotation of Christ’s words from John, xviii, 36 which immediately follows the word *regnum* is used three times (‘Regnum ... meum non est de hoc mundo; si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum ... regnum meum non est hinc.’), *regnum* seems a better choice than *regimen* at this point.

II, x, 9 ‘Et nota quod argumentum sumptum ...’: Ricci’s text reads ‘Et notandum quod’. The reading *Et nota* is in T + B L P F N C H Z, while *Et notandum* is in K + A G Ph S U V E M. Both forms are found *passim* in logical treatises, and intrinsically there is nothing to choose between them. Here I choose the reading found in T +  $\beta$ 1 +  $\beta$ 2 + the more reliable manuscripts of  $\beta$ 4 as being a marginally preferable weighting.

III, ix, 1 ‘illud quod Petrus dixit Cristo, cum ait “Ecce gladii duo hic”’: Ricci’s text reads ‘Ecce duo gladii’. The reading *gladii duo* is in T + BLGM, and is supported by the biblical text of the Vulgate<sup>173</sup> and the Vetus Latina, both of which list *duo gladii* as a variant in the Apparatus.<sup>174</sup>

II, ix, 3 ‘et ultimo per prelium dimicandum est’: Ricci’s text reads ‘et ultimum per prelium’, but he comments ‘non si può tacere che se *ultimo* fosse meglio sostenuto, potrebbe valersi del perfetto parallelismo con i due *ultimo* di 3, 17 e 3, 18’, that is with the two points later in the same paragraph where a similar phrase is used: ‘ad hoc ultimo recurrendum ... ad hoc remedium ultimo ... recurramus.’ The reading *ultimo* is in T + UDGGM; *ultimum*, admittedly in a far larger group of manuscripts (K + A B C E F H L N P Ph R S V Z), including B and V, can nonetheless easily be accounted for, as Favati pointed out, in terms of the attraction of the following *prelium* and of the many accusatives and words ending in *-um* in the immediate vicinity.<sup>175</sup>

III, iv, 20 ‘Sic ergo dico quod regimen temporale non recipit esse a spiritali’: Ricci’s text reads ‘regnum temporale’. The reading *regimen* is in T + UBNZ and its presence in manuscripts as authoritative as B and T prompted Nardi to ask: ‘e perché non *regimen* di B e T non ricordati

nell'apparato del Ricci?'<sup>176</sup> Nardi's question is more than legitimate. At risk of labouring the obvious, Dante's usage in this chapter is consistent throughout. He is talking about *regimina* (par. 12 *duo hec regimina*; par. 13 *huiusmodi regimina*; par. 14 *ista regimina ... huiusmodi regimina*; par. 16 *hec duo regimina*). It is only natural that at paragraph 20 he should continue in the same vein and write 'regimen temporale non recipit esse a spirituali'; he then carries the argument forward in paragraph 21 by demonstrating the invalidity of his opponents' syllogism constructed on the terms *regimen spirituale* and *regimen temporale*. It seems very unlikely that he would break the pattern with *regnum* instead of *regimen* just once here in paragraph 20. Paleographically the substitution of *regnum* for *regimen* is easily explained.<sup>177</sup> There is no doubt that *regimen* is the better reading here. Ricci does not mention the textual situation in his Apparatus or Notes.

I have followed a consistent and coherent pattern in making this last group of textual choices: I have always chosen the reading preserved in T, a manuscript I believe to be more correct than even Ricci imagined. In some of the cases examined above, T is certainly correct, i.e. the weighting is impossible to ignore. In other cases, like the last one, where the evidence is less clear in terms of the distribution of readings but the context makes the choice of the T reading preferable, I would go so far as to say that its presence in T is in itself a strong indicator that the reading is correct. The text of T has certainly been less tampered with than that of the *editio princeps*, and it seems wiser to trust it. Often, of course, as we have seen, it has powerful support, from beta manuscripts U, B and sometimes V.

In order to put this decision in perspective, we can usefully compare some of the many cases where Ricci has made just such a choice himself, often without drawing attention to the distribution of readings in the manuscripts. Here are some instances:

III, iii, 1 'sed que fuit secunde questionis, quasi equaliter ad ignorantiam et litigium se habebat': the reading *habebat* is in T + Ph G D only, whereas the reading rejected by Ricci, *habeat*, is in the remaining witnesses (with isolated *lectiones singulares* in M, N, R and U). Ricci

accepts the T reading but does not mention the distribution of evidence or discuss his choice in his Notes to the text. Favati queried Ricci's choice here, but his counter-argument, though ingenious, is not persuasive.<sup>178</sup> I would argue that this is yet another case where a good reading is preserved in T and just a handful of other manuscripts.<sup>179</sup> I endorse Ricci's choice, although it would have been interesting to know why he made it.

III, iv, 18 'influentia sua est a propriis eius radiis': Ricci has chosen the *eius* of T + C D E H M N P Ph R S V against the *suis* of K + A B F L but notes both readings in his Apparatus and acknowledges in the notes that this is a difficult choice.

III, vii, 2 'sed quod ex illa inferre conantur interimo': *interimo* is in T + B G H L N P U Z, whereas K + A C M S V D F have a clearly erroneous *in termino* (K and D adjust to the aberrant reading by adding an explanatory word: *deficiunt* and *nego* respectively).

III, vii, 6 'quoniam potestatem creandi et similiter baptizandi': *potestatem* is in T + A B C E F H L M N P R S U Z, whereas K + V Ph D G have *potentiam*. Ricci lists the two readings in his Apparatus. The distribution is not dissimilar to the case of *nota/notandum* at II, x, 9 discussed above.

III, vii, 8 'qua re instantia nullam efficaciam habet': *qua re* is in T + B F H M N U V Z, whereas *quia* is in K + A C D E G L P R S Ph. The reading *qua re* is indubitably correct here; Ricci does not mention this editorial choice in his Apparatus or Notes to the text.

III, x, 6 'et cessissent in potestatem Ecclesie': *in potestatem* is in T + U E R D Z, while the remaining witnesses have in *potestate*. Ricci lists both readings in his Apparatus but does not explain his choice, perhaps because he thought it self-explanatory.

It is interesting to note that many of these K readings rejected by Ricci have the support of V and one even has the support of B: although V and B are authoritative manuscripts, their authority is not such as to override other considerations. Just such considerations apply at:

III, xii, 7 ‘et alia prout sunt et Papa et Imperator’, where T + B D E G M P S V omit *et* before *Papa* and K + A C F H L N Ph U Z have *et*. Although as I have argued above T + BV is a very powerful alignment, nonetheless Ricci’s argument here is persuasive and I believe his choice is the right one.<sup>180</sup>

### *Readings related to the terminology of scholastic logic*

A fourth group of cases concerns readings related to the terminology of scholastic logic. The first two discussed here continue the pattern of good readings preserved in T + some beta manuscripts; the third is a case of diffraction where the notion of a majority reading does not apply; the fourth is a minority reading required by the development of the logical argument.

III, v, 5 ‘Et sic instantia videtur errare secundum ‘non causam ut causam’; Ricci’s text at this point reads ‘secundum non causam ut causa’. The reading *secundum non causam ut causam*, present in T + B F N G, reflects the form normally used in medieval manuals of logic;<sup>181</sup> the alternative form ‘non causa ut causa’ is also found,<sup>182</sup> but the hybrid form chosen by Ricci, although present in the *princeps* and some manuscripts, does not seem to have been in use. The reading is in fewer manuscripts than might at first glance appear: three manuscripts have *scilicet non causa ut causa*, three have *sed non causa ut causa*, and one has *secundum non causa ut causa*. The reading present in T + some beta manuscripts (including the authoritative B) is undoubtedly correct.

II, xi, 4 ‘Propter consequentiam sciendum quod ‘punitio’ non est simpliciter ‘pena iniuriam inferentis’...’: Ricci’s text reads ‘Propter convenientiam’. The reading *consequentiam* is in T + L M N; *convenientiam* is in A B C E F G H Ph R S V Z, while K and P have *convenientia*; U has *conscientiam*, and D leaves a blank space. Dino Bigongiari, writing in 1950, argued that what the logic of the argument required here was not *convenientiam* (the reading which had been accepted by Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte) but *consequentiam*; he is surely right, as I explain below.<sup>183</sup>

Ricci rejected Bigongiari's suggested emendation with an argument which is to say the least perplexing: 'Sbagliava, perché *convenientia* è termine tecnico che si oppone a *diversitas* (cfr. Petri Hispani *Summule log.*, 7, 46; 7, 50; 7, 58); e qui cade calzantissimo. Dante sta infatti dimostrando la *falsitas consequentis* ... e già ha condotto a termine la prima parte del suo ragionamento richiamandosi alla morte di Cristo come *punitio* del peccato originale; ora deve dimostrare che quella morte fu vera *punitio* e non una *iniuria*. Ebbene, questa seconda parte del ragionamento è integrazione della prima, e con quella perfettamente s'accorda (*convenientia*).'<sup>184</sup>

As I have argued elsewhere, this is not an accurate account of Dante's reasoning.<sup>185</sup> Dante has, exactly as Bigongiari claims, completed his demonstration of the *falsitas consequentis*; he now moves on to the second (and separate) point, the demonstration of the logical connection between antecedent and consequent and thus by implication the validity of his inference: in short, the *consequentia*. The definition of the word 'punishment' that he now offers, which links it to the notion of a legitimate authority, provides this conceptual link and establishes the relationship of necessary implication between antecedent and consequent.

The following is a summary of the way the argument is developed in the final chapters of Book II of the treatise.<sup>186</sup> Dante's procedure in these last two chapters is to make an antecedent-consequent statement (if x, then y); then to make the valid logical inference (not y, therefore not x); and then (crucially) to prove that the relationship between the statements is indeed one of logical implication. The logical principle being used is self-evidently valid; what will require proof is the relationship of implication; and what may also require proof (though only, as it happens, in one of Dante's two cases) is the truth or falsity of the consequent itself.

In fact, as Dante has announced at the beginning of II, x, he is now arguing from the principles of the Christian faith, and it is precisely because the consequent in each case denies an article of faith that Dante rejects it and thus logically can, indeed must, reject the conditional proposition to which it is linked. Having established that the

consequent is false, Dante makes the next logical step, inferring that the antecedent must be false: in each case, then, the proposition ‘The Roman Empire was not based on right’ is false; the conclusion therefore is that ‘the Roman Empire was based on right’.

Dante must now prove the logical connection between antecedent and consequent which guarantees the validity of the conclusion he has reached. This he does in II, x, 6: *Consequentiam sic ostendo*, where *consequentiam* has a precise technical meaning: the relationship of consequentality, of necessary implication which exists between antecedent and consequent, and hence the validity of the inference which results from converting them *econtrario*. In II, xi the corresponding point in the argument is reached at paragraph 4, where again it is the technical term *consequentiam*, as Bigongiari saw, which is required by the argument.<sup>187</sup>

III, viii, 7 ‘Unde cum dicitur ‘quodcunque ligaveris’, si *ly* ‘quodcunque’ summeretur absolute, verum esset quod dicunt’: Ricci’s text reads ‘si illud ‘quodcunque’’. As noted earlier in this Introduction,<sup>188</sup> *ly* (or *li*) is a standard term in medieval logic whose function is equivalent to the modern typographic convention of inverted commas or italics; it marks the word which follows as being isolated from the syntactic structure in which it is embedded and draws attention to it as a lexical item whose meaning or use is being discussed. (In a modern critical edition the use of inverted commas around *quodcunque* exactly duplicates the function of *ly*.)<sup>189</sup> The reading *li* is found in A F P U E R Ph (and N *fili*). As also noted earlier, this is a clear case of *diffrazione in presenza*, with a whole spread of variant readings in other witnesses: Ricci’s *illud* (also chosen by Rostagno and Bertalot) is found only in B, L and G; Witte’s *hoc* is in S alone; other manuscripts have *ibi* (CDM); *istud* (HZ); *ligaveris* (V) – a reading clearly based on incomprehension of the word *li*; while the *princeps* reads *hic*. In view of the obvious difficulties many scribes had with the vocabulary and concepts of scholastic logic, the spread of readings is not surprising. Diffraction accounts for the scattering of readings as scribes encounter and deal in different ways with an unfamiliar technical term; the notion of a *lezione maggioritaria* in this context becomes irrelevant.

II, x, 9 ‘Et nota quod argumentum sumptum a destructione consequentis, licet de sua forma per aliquem locum teneat, tamen vim suam per secundam figuram ostendit, si reducatur sicut argumentum a positione antecedentis per primam.’ Ricci’s text at this point reads ‘ad destructionem consequentis’, in line with all but two of the manuscripts; the CUP text reads ‘a destructione consequentis’, as above, but follows with ‘a positione consequentis per primam’, a reading which upon further reflection I am persuaded was an unnecessary emendation. (The same phrase is repeated in the following paragraph, and there too the emendation is unnecessary.) The argument is highly technical and again involves the terminology of formal logic and the medieval theory of consequences. I repeat the first part of the argument advanced in ‘Some Proposed Emendations’; the second part of that argument I now believe to be mistaken, for reasons I explain below.

Readers have found the last two paragraphs (9-10) of chapter x of Book II perplexing, partly no doubt because the logical procedures to which Dante here subjects his argument seem arcane to modern eyes. But even more confusing, I believe, is that Dante’s reference – in the editions of Ricci, Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte – to an *argumentum sumptum ad destructionem consequentis* (the argument put forward to disprove or refute the consequent) flies in the face of what he has said only a few lines earlier: *Falsitatem consequentis ad fideles ostendere non oportet*. There is no need to demonstrate that the consequent (‘Cristus nascendo persuasit iniustum’) is false, because all believers take it as an article of faith that it is false; and in fact no argument has been advanced *ad destructionem consequentis*, to refute or rebut the consequent. What has been advanced is an argument *sumptum a destructione consequentis*, in accordance with the normal rules of valid inference for conditionals – an argument based on denying the consequent. The reading *a destructione consequentis* is found in two manuscripts (D and G), whose scribes, I suggest, saw the error of what must have been the archetype reading and restored the reading which both context and logic require.<sup>190</sup>

Dante’s argument in this chapter is based on denying the consequent, in accordance with the normal rules for handling conditionals, which

in its turn presupposes the *locus* or logical commonplace that of two strict opposites or contradictories, one is true, one is false. If the antecedent is false, as the argument *a destructione consequentis* shows it to be, then its opposite will be true: thus if it is false that ‘The Roman Empire was not based on right’, as it has been shown to be, then it must be true that ‘The Roman Empire was based on right’.

But the full force of the argument will be revealed, Dante explains in paragraph 9, if it is formulated as a syllogism in the second figure, and then reduced to a first figure syllogism. Dante proceeds to do just this in the final paragraph of chapter x: he produces a second figure syllogism of type 4,<sup>191</sup> and then reduces it to a first figure syllogism of type 3.<sup>192</sup> First figure syllogisms are regarded by Aristotle, and hence by medieval logicians generally and all who use Aristotelian formal logic, as having greater evidential force than any other kind of argument: this presumably is why Dante adopts the procedure he does. In fact it leads to a conclusion even more shockingly blasphemous for a believer than the original consequent (not just that Christ sanctioned ‘an injustice’ – an isolated instance – but that he sanctioned ‘unjustly’).

In conditional arguments there are two forms of valid inference: *a destructione consequentis*, the form that Dante has used in both chapter x and chapter xi; and *a positione antecedentis*. The conditional statement ‘if x, then y’ yields two inferences: ‘not y, therefore not x’; and ‘x, therefore y’. The first is an argument *a destructione consequentis* and is a form of argument known as the *modus tollens*; the second is an argument *a positione antecedentis* and is a form of argument known as the *modus ponens*. It is this second form of argument that Dante says he is going to use in the latter part of II, x, 9, and then actually uses in II, x, 10. My emendation in the CUP edition of *a positione antecedentis* to *a positione consequentis* failed to take this into account and is, I now believe, unnecessary: in fact to affirm the antecedent (i.e. to argue *a positione antecedentis*) is precisely to affirm the consequent (‘x, therefore y’), so the emendation I had proposed does not differ in meaning from the text as most manuscripts have it, though it expresses that argument in a more technical, and thus for the reader more demanding, way.



In the words of the young American scholar whose work has clarified the textual situation at this point more effectively than that of any other intervention in the debate to date: ‘A restoration of the text to read ‘argumentum sumptum a destructione consequentis’ and ‘argumentum a positione antecedentis’ brings out the parallel symmetry of the two valid consequential argument forms. The formal validity of the consequential arguments is mirrored by the formal validity of the syllogisms ...’<sup>193</sup>

### *Indifferent variants, divided between beta/non-beta*

Where the readings are equally acceptable (*lezioni indifferenti*) and there is a simple beta/non-beta split, Ricci always chose beta, presumably simply because of the sheer weight of numbers of manuscripts which constitute the beta family. Often he does not even discuss these cases, though he lists them in the Apparatus, as though the choice in such a situation were automatic. Many of these emendations were suggested by Favati as a simple and direct consequence of his proposed 3-branched *stemma*, and in the light of a more thorough exploration of the textual tradition than he was able to work with, it is difficult not to agree with him.<sup>194</sup>

I, xiv, 3 ‘Preterea, res dicitur melior esse per esse propinquior optime’: Ricci’s text omits the first *esse* and reads ‘res dicitur melior per esse propinquior’. The reading *melior esse* is in TA<sup>1</sup>, K reads *esse melior*, while *esse* is missing in beta. In the Cambridge University Press edition I had accepted Ricci’s choice, which in these situations always favours the reading of beta; on reflection, it now seems more consistent to accept the non-beta reading with *esse* in the form attested in TA<sup>1</sup>, bearing in mind two points made by Favati: the well-documented tendency of the beta ancestor to omissions; and the fact that the TA<sup>1</sup> reading ‘presenta il vantaggio di costituire chiasmo col successivo *esse propinquior*: una figura che Dante particolarmente predilige laddove il suo eloquio si fa più mosso.’

II, ix, 1 ‘ne iusitia derelicta remaneat recurrendum est ad Illum qui tantum eam dilexit ut, quod ipsa exigebat, de proprio sanguine moriendo supplevit’: Ricci’s text reads ‘de proprio sanguine ipse moriendo supplevit’. Here *ipse* is present in beta and absent in KT, an inversion of the more common pattern where an omission is in beta, but the reading without *ipse* is perfectly acceptable and is a *lezione maggioritaria*.

II, ix, 18 ‘sicut Livius et omnes romane rei scriptores testificari conantur.’: Ricci’s text here reads ‘et alii romane rei scriptores’. The reading *alii* is in beta while *omnes* is in KT, but *romane rei* is only in KTF while all the beta manuscripts except F have *rei romane*. Ricci opts for (and discusses) the choice of *romane rei*, justifying it with reference to Dante’s usage elsewhere in the treatise at II, iv, 9 and II, iv, 10, and in Epistola vi, 25, but makes no mention in Apparatus or Notes of the *omnes/alii* split. The *omnes* of KT seems not out of place in the light of Dante’s insistence elsewhere on unanimity of historical testimony; compare ‘ystoriographi omnes’ at I, xvi, 2 and ‘omnes fere scribe romane rei’ at II, iv, 10. The change from *omnes* to *alii* in beta is easier to explain than a change from *alii* to *omnes* in non-beta, and aligns with the change from *romane rei* to *rei romane* which Ricci himself argues occurred in beta.

III, iii, 16 ‘Itaque solas traditiones habentes ab hoc – ut dicebatur – gignasio excludendi sunt’: Ricci’s text here reads ‘Hiique solas traditiones habentes’. *Itaque* is a perfectly acceptable reading here, not mentioned by Ricci in his Apparatus or Notes.

III, iv, 7 ‘Propter primum dicit Augustinus in *Civitate Dei*: “Non sane omnia que gesta narrantur ...”’: Ricci’s text omits *sane*, in line with all the beta manuscripts; only KT have *sane*. Ricci mentions the variant in his Apparatus, but does not discuss it: again one assumes that sheer weight of numbers in the beta family led him to assume that the choice was not significant. But *sane* is not only perfectly possible, it is in the text as it appears in all editions of Augustine’s work known to me.<sup>195</sup> Again an omission in beta is a much more likely explanation than an independent addition in K and T.

III, iv, 15 ‘Stultus etenim esset medicus qui, ante nativitatem hominis, pro apostemate futuro illi emplastrum conficeret’: Ricci’s text reads *enim* instead of *etenim*. Again it is a question of a small omission in beta, which reads *enim*, against the *lezione maggioritaria* of KT *etenim*.<sup>196</sup>

III, xiv, 6 ‘Sed constat quod, si Ecclesia sibi dedit illam virtutem, non habebat illam priusquam daret sibi’: Ricci’s text omits *sibi*, following beta; once again we have a beta omission which is accepted by Ricci without discussion.

To recapitulate, four out of seven of these cases are small omissions in beta (just one is a reading in beta which is missing in non-beta – admittedly slightly anomalous in terms of the pattern established overall, but not so unlikely as to call that pattern into question). Ricci mentions some of these cases in his Apparatus but discusses only the first of them in his Notes, apparently taking it for granted that where there was (in terms of his two-branched *stemma*) a straight alpha/beta split, then the beta reading was always to be preferred. The only reason for this preference seems to be the numerical majority of beta witnesses, since in his own stemmatic terms the two readings enjoy parity of status. With the new three-branched *stemma* that weighting is altered in favour of the non-beta readings, and they are therefore chosen for inclusion in the critical text as Favati argued they should be.

### *Other variants*

A final small group consists of cases which fit none of the above categories: they are, in order, the correction of an inadvertent slip in Ricci’s text; a conjectural emendation following Bertalot; a much-debated *lezione minoritaria*; a case which turns on whether a reading found in all witnesses is to be taken as one word or two; two cases which concern punctuation; and a final puzzling case where an emendation of Ricci’s which I had accepted in the CUP edition has, I now think rightly, been called into question.

a. the correction of an inadvertent slip in Ricci, where his text does not correspond to his notes.

II, v, 15 ‘accedit et illud inenarrabile sacrificium severissimi libertatis tutoris Marci Catonis’: Ricci’s text reads, certainly through an oversight, ‘severissimi vere libertatis tutoris’. In the notes Ricci states that the *vere* accepted in their editions by Rostagno and Witte ‘non merita nemmeno d’essere discussa’. In fact the word *vere* is found only in P, while FN have *veri*, and Ph V *veritatis*; no other witness has any trace of it.

b. a conjectural emendation, following Bertalot.

II, ix, 15 ‘Et hoc diligenter Livius in prima parte contextit, quod Orosius etiam contestatur.’ As explained in an earlier section of this Introduction, Bertalot’s conjectural emendation *quod* mirrors the construction used by Dante with the verb *contestor* elsewhere in the *Monarchia*, as Ricci himself acknowledges (‘la congettura del Bertalot è correttamente ricalcata su questi esempi’).<sup>197</sup>

Neither Ricci’s defense of *cuius* (present in most beta manuscripts) nor Favati’s of *cui* (present in KTUG) seems sufficiently well-grounded to override this solid evidence of Dante’s *usus scribendi*, and I follow Bertalot’s emendation as the least problematic solution.

I have however changed my mind about the wisdom of a second conjectural emendation in the CUP edition. At II, viii, 9

‘Ultima Lagee stirpis perituraque proles  
degener, inceste sceptris cessure sororis’      [*Pharsalia* viii, 692-3]

the CUP edition, like those of Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte, reads ‘inceste sceptris cessure sorori’, on the grounds that *sorori* is a better reading than *sororis* (and is indeed chosen by all modern editors of the text of the *Pharsalia*: Ptolemy will surrender his sceptre to his incestuous sister). However it is indubitably true that the reading *sororis* is widely attested in medieval manuscripts of the poem, as Ricci says, and that Dante may have known the text and quoted it in this form. The more

cautious approach is therefore to retain a reading present in all witnesses, which gives a possible meaning (Ptolemy will yield to the sceptre of his incestuous sister) though perhaps one less satisfactory to modern eyes.

c. II, x, 3 'Redeant unde venerunt: venerunt bene, redeunt male': this much-debated reading was adopted by all modern editors of the text except Ricci, who dismissed *redeant* as a 'capriccio della coppia HZ' and defended the reading *redeunt* present in most other witnesses. It is true that *redeant* is found only in H and Z, but I am unpersuaded by Ricci's arguments; indeed I am not even sure that I understand them.<sup>198</sup> Nardi's energetic defense of the reading preferred by all modern editors is by contrast entirely persuasive.<sup>199</sup> We can just note that in the context of a tradition where so many indubitably correct readings are preserved only in a small number of manuscripts, to use the word *capriccio* dismissively here but not in other analogous cases seems a questionable rhetorical strategy.

d. III, xiii, 6 'Quod si Cesar iam tunc iudicandi temporalia non habuisset auctoritatem nec Cristus hoc persuasisset, nec angelus illa verba nuntiasset, nec ille qui dicebat "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Cristo" in competentem iudicem appellasset.' Ricci's text, like those of Rostagno and Witte, reads 'incompetentem iudicem': *in competentem* with the word split into two is the reading preferred by Bertalot, whose choice I follow. The reading *in competentem* is found in manuscripts B D L M S; the other witnesses treat this as a single word.<sup>200</sup> In this instance it is strictly speaking the meaning of the phrase and its relation to the rest of the sentence which determines the choice of variant, and Bertalot's *in competentem*, dismissed by Ricci, seems on reflection a better reading. Ricci's comment is worth quoting in full, because he seems to misunderstand the meaning of the passage when Bertalot's emendation is accepted. He writes: 'incompetentem: Così anche il Witte e il Rostagno; il Bertalot, invece, *in competentem*. In questo caso la frase direbbe che S. Paolo, ricorrendo a Cesare, non sarebbe riuscito a ricorrere ad un giudice competente. Ma assai più in armonia con i concetti di questo capitolo parmi dire che S. Paolo non avrebbe fatto ricorso a Cesare, se avesse saputo che non era competente a giudicare.' But this ('non

sarebbe riuscito a ricorrere ad un giudice competente’) is surely not the meaning conveyed by Bertalot’s emendation; the sense is rather that Paul ‘would not have been appealing to a competent judge’, in strict parallel with the two preceding statements: Christ would not have assented to this (but he did assent), the angel would not have pronounced those words (but he did pronounce them), and Paul would not have been appealing to a competent judge (but he was appealing to a competent judge, precisely because Caesar had authority to judge in temporal matters). Bertalot’s emendation gives a more coherent and logical development to the line of thought than the dislocation mid-sentence entailed by Ricci’s text, where the third fact offered as proof stands in a quite different relationship to the opening ‘if’ clause from the preceding two.

e. Punctuation: there are emendations to the punctuation of the Ricci edition at two points:

II, iv, 6 ait enim sic:

Illa profecto  
sacrificio cedere Nume [*Pharsalia*, IX, 477-478]

Ricci punctuates with the colon after *enim* and the quotation beginning with the word *Sic*, as did Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte, and indeed all the modern editions of the *Pharsalia*. Here the manuscript evidence is telling, as it rarely is in matters of punctuation: almost without exception the manuscripts have a *punctus* after *sic* and a capital letter for *Illa*, as anyone can now check by turning to the manuscript images. Such a form of punctuation is in conformity with Dante’s practice elsewhere in the treatise, where he frequently introduces quotations this way with the word *sic*, as he does at II, iii, 8; II, iii, 11; II, iii, 14; II, iii, 16; II, iv, 8; II, vi, 9; II, viii, 7; II, viii, 13; and II, ix, 17.<sup>201</sup> The *princeps* begins the quotation with *Sic* but duplicates the word so that the text reads: *ait enim sic: Sic illa*. [For further reflections on this point, see Shaw 2018.]

III, viii, 2 ‘quod etiam omnibus apostolis est dictum (similiter accipiunt de lictera Mathei, similiter et Iohannis). Ex quo arguunt successorem

Petri omnia de concessione Dei posse tam ligare quam solvere'. Like Rostagno, Bertalot and Witte, I find it more logical in terms of the development of the argument to begin the second paragraph of this chapter with the words *Ex quo arguunt*, rather than the preceding *Similiter accipiunt de lictera Mathei, similiter et Iohannis* as Ricci does. Ricci argues that the paragraph division must come with the word *similiter* because the important point is that the two gospels concur in their testimony, but this is unconvincing. The second and third references are merely corroborative: the first is the crucial one, in which Christ confers powers on Peter (the words are preceded, as Dante will tell us in par. 9, by 'Tibi dabo claves regni celorum'; it is this *ex quo arguunt* (and compare the opening of the next chapter, where par. 2 begins with the same phrase: *Ex quo arguunt*). Nardi notes Ricci's change without explicitly endorsing it; Pizzica and Kay, rightly to my mind, reject it.

We may now consider a final case where in the CUP edition I had accepted an emendation of Ricci's, as Nardi and other scholars had done,<sup>202</sup> but where the traditional reading has recently been strongly defended as a significantly better one (indeed, the only possible one). At III, iii, 4 Ricci's text reads: 'Hominibus nanque rationis intuitu voluntatem prevolantibus hoc sepe contingit: ut, male affecti, lumine ratione postposito, affectu quasi ceci trahantur et pertinaciter suam denegent cecitatem.' The Rostagno text, like that of Bertalot and Witte, reads instead: 'Hominibus namque rationis intuitum voluntate prevolantibus hoc semper contingit ...' It is this reading (*rationis intuitum voluntate prevolantibus*) which has recently been impressively defended by a young scholar, Paolo Falzone, who bases his case on two arguments: on the inner logic of Dante's reasoning in this section of the chapter (several scholars have queried Ricci's emendation on similar grounds),<sup>203</sup> and, more tellingly, on linguistic grounds. The question turns on the meaning of the verb *prevolare*. Ricci, in a long note *ad loc.*, interprets the word as meaning 'to guide'.<sup>204</sup> The traditional reading had assumed that *prevolare* had a very different meaning, negative rather than positive, with connotations of precipitousness and impetuous haste incompatible with due deliberation ('un movimento impetuoso e sregolato ... quale appunto è quello proprio delle facoltà appetitive', in Falzone's words).<sup>205</sup>

It is this negative meaning which is now confirmed by a fresh examination of the Aristotelian sources of Dante's thinking. Medieval translations of the section in Aristotle's *Ethics* to which Dante's lines clearly allude leave the matter in no doubt, as various passages cited by Falzone conclusively demonstrate.<sup>206</sup> Aquinas's commentary on the *Ethics*, also cited, is equally clear: 'quidam vero ducuntur a passione propter hoc quod non consiliantur, sed statim concupiscentia superveniente eam sequuntur, et haec incontinentia dicitur *praevolatio*, propter sui velocitatem qua anticipat consilium.'<sup>207</sup> There is further support for this interpretation of *prevolantibus* in *quaestio* CLVI of the *Secunda Secundae* of the *Summa Theologiae*, which analyses the sin of incontinence, drawing a contrast between two kinds of incontinence, that which results from weakness (*debilitas*), and that which comes from lack of control (*irrefrenata incontinentia sive praevolatio*).<sup>208</sup>

To Falzone's unarguable evidence about the meaning of *prevolare* in the context of discussions of reason and passion, we can add a supporting quotation from the *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi* which likewise emphasises the negative connotations of the word and makes precisely the same connection with chapter VII of the *Ethics*: '**praevolo**, are: – b) *fig.*: passio ad venerea ... est ita fortis, quod ... facit sensualitatem prevolare sine preconconsiliatione ad obiectum, ut dicit Philosophus VII. ethicorum; unde dicti incontinentes prevolantes.'<sup>209</sup>

If Falzone is right, as I now believe him to be, then once again T has the correct reading (*ratione intuitum voluntate prevolantibus*) and indeed is the only witness which does so.<sup>210</sup> But the textual situation is very puzzling, because this traditional reading requires the adverb *semper* and not Ricci's *sepe*: *semper* is in beta, while *sepe* is in KT and also in A<sup>2</sup> (anomalously, because A<sup>2</sup> normally aligns with beta in the second half of the treatise.) Perhaps the variant can be explained paleographically: a copyist confronted with a form like Ph *seper* might find it difficult to know whether *sepe* or *semper* is intended (he could either add a macron to form *semper* or suppress the final *r* of *-per* to form *sepe*). Ricci operates a certain sleight of hand here (just as he had done with *alii romane rei* as described above) by mixing his 'alpha' and beta witnesses: he chooses the reading of beta + K, but with the adverb found only in



KTA<sup>2</sup>: only K has the complete reading exactly as it appears in Ricci's text. On the traditional view now championed by Falzone, we have a similar mixing: the reading of T but the adverb of beta. It is not easy to explain the textual situation at this point fully satisfactorily, but the fact that *sepe* is found in both K and T is in my view not of sufficient weight to call into question the conclusions reached about the independence of K from T.

One of Ricci's most significant contributions to the study of the text of the *Monarchia* was his reduction of the number of conjectural emendations considered necessary to eliminate supposed archetype errors – the proliferation of such emendations in Rostagno's 1921 edition was the chief ground of his dissatisfaction with it.<sup>211</sup> Ricci's second extremely significant contribution to our understanding of the textual transmission of the treatise was his grasp of the importance of the Trivulziano manuscript, which, as we have noted, he repeatedly declared to be the most correct of the extant codices, in spite of its relative lateness and its modest physical appearance as compared with splendid and venerable parchment exemplars such as B, D and V. In an early preparatory article for the Edizione Nazionale, in which he first argued for the importance of the testimony of T, he spoke of it in even more glowing and laudatory terms than those he subsequently used in the edition, though he did so with a significant qualification: 'Veramente le condizioni testuali di questo Trivulziano sarebbero magnifiche, tali da giustificare ogni fiducia ed ogni entusiasmo, se la lezione non fosse di tanto in tanto inquinata da saccenteria.'<sup>212</sup>

But the evidence Ricci offers of 'saccenteria' is curious: of eight cases cited, six are in fact correct readings accepted by Ricci himself in his critical text as being the only possible good readings. They become 'saccenteria' only in a context where the corruption of the remaining manuscripts leads Ricci to assume that T has made a conjectural emendation to a corrupt text (to what must on this view be archetype errors, presumably, though he does not say this explicitly). But such an assumption implies a view of the textual tradition which is not so very different from Rostagno's: a tradition vitiated by a large number of archetype errors (though not, of course, the same ones identified by

Rostagno) – errors which the T copyist with his ‘saccenteria’ had the wit to correct.

In this preparatory article Ricci makes no mention of the *princeps* and does not consider the relationship of T to K; in the *EN*, by contrast, there is no mention of T’s ‘saccenteria’. There is an unexamined and unresolved problem here. In fact K also has the good readings at the points listed in the article: if these good readings are evidence of ‘saccenteria’ in T, how can one explain their presence in K? Did the K exemplar also make these conjectural corrections, or did a shared ancestor of K and T make them? Ricci nowhere addresses this issue, and in the *EN*, as noted, the question is never raised.

But as these are good readings, there is in reality no need for any such explanation; they are good readings which descend to K and T from the archetype: they prove nothing about a common ancestor for K and T and nothing about ‘saccenteria’ in the T scribe. Ricci balked at thinking through the implications of his initial diagnosis of ‘saccenteria’ in T and shied away from the conclusion it inevitably led to – or so we must assume – because it so comprehensively undermines the two-branched *stemma* on which his editorial choices are predicated.

Supposing for the sake of argument that one were to contemplate an edition of the *Monarchia* based solely on the surviving manuscripts, leaving aside the testimony of the *princeps*: one would then indeed have a two-branched *stemma*, with just TA<sup>1</sup> representing one branch. But in spite of the extreme numerical imbalance between the two branches, one would be obliged many times to choose the reading of TA<sup>1</sup> because of the obvious unsatisfactoriness of the beta reading. All the beta errors listed earlier in this Introduction – errors acknowledged and amended by Ricci in his edition – would still need to be eliminated by choosing the TA<sup>1</sup> reading.<sup>213</sup> If we now consider the various categories of emendation to Ricci’s text enumerated and discussed above in relation to such a hypothetical edition based on the manuscripts alone, it is clear that the majority of the readings proposed would still be choices imposed on the editor by considerations of stemmatic weighting. Indeed the case for some of those choices is strengthened

by eliminating the *princeps* from consideration: so it is for *rationabilibus* and *sompnis* in the first category; for *non causam ut causam* and *propter consequentiam* in the fourth category; and for all the readings in the third category, where it is the testimony of K against T which makes the situation problematic, and where the elimination of the *princeps* would make the readings proposed here *maggioritarie* and therefore mandatory. Only the fifth category of *lezioni indifferenti* leaves the editor of such a hypothetical edition free to choose beta – but to make that choice, in the context of the whole tradition as we now understand it, would simply look like a failure of nerve.

Perhaps Ricci was disinclined to follow through on the logic of his initial diagnosis of T's 'saccenteria' because the conclusion it leads to is so counter-intuitive. How can we allow the evidence of eighteen manuscripts to count for less than the testimony of two late witnesses, one of them a printed text? Yet that is what a dispassionate analysis of the evidence requires us to do, as I hope I have demonstrated in the preceding pages; that is what Ricci himself did far more often than he seems to have been fully aware of; and that is the working hypothesis embodied and reflected in the critical text presented here.

## Notes

143. A small number of changes to the CUP text, the fruit of my further reflection on the textual tradition, are flagged as we encounter them in what follows. Misprints in the CUP text have also been corrected.
144. Strikingly so in the five cases where earlier editors had preferred the beta reading but Ricci argued cogently, and I believe rightly, in support of his 'alpha family', i.e. our non-beta witnesses K and TA<sup>1</sup>; see V. Methodology of the Edition. iii. The beta family. As I foresaw in 1988 à propos of the projected edition: 'certamente non ci saranno grandi sorprese ... vere novità da scoprire sicuramente non ci sono. Si tratta, caso mai, di qualche piccolo ritocco al testo'; 'Per un nuovo testo critico', p. 442.
145. Thus Richard Kay in his edition of the *Monarchia* uses the phrase in a way which appears to mean no more than 'not found in many manuscripts', with no indication of how manuscript relationships might affect the issue.
146. I Cor. 3, 11 in *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, adiuvantibus Bonifatio Fischer OSB, Johanne Gribomont OSB, H.F.D Sparks, W. Thiele, Stuttgart 1969, vol. II, p. 1772. The *Vetus Latina* edition of *I Corinthians* has not yet appeared in print, but the introductory material which has been published leads me to believe that the same situation holds: *Vetus Latina Die Reste der Altleinischen Bibel. 22 Epistula ad Corinthios I*, ed. U. Fröhlich, Turnhout, 1 Lieferung 1995; 2 Lieferung 1996; 3 Lieferung 1998, pp. 62, 90, 117, 118, 129.
147. In the *EN* no mention is made of the textual situation.
148. In Z a syllable has inadvertently been omitted as the scribe moves on to a new line, giving *raciobilibus*.
149. *IDE*, p. 39.
150. *De vulgari eloquentia*, I, iv, 4; I, v, 1; I, xv, 5; cf. *rationabiliter* I, iv, 3; I, v, 1; I, x, 2; *rationabilius* I, iv, 3; I, xvi, 1.
151. 'A sette anni', pp. 102-103. Both Favati and Ricci say that *rationalibus* is in ms. P but in fact this entire section of the text is missing in P. In the *EN* no mention was made of the textual situation at this point.

152. *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, vol. VII, Leiden 1999, pp. 4139, 4141. The *Catholicon* quotation cited by Ricci reads: 'Licet quidam ista nomina indifferenter accipiant, differunt tamen, quia 'rationale' dicitur quod utitur ratione, ... sed 'rationabile' quod ratione agitur vel ducitur; unde multi, immo omnes, homines sunt 'rationales', idest aptitudinem habent ratiocinandi, sed non omnes 'rationabiles' quia non ducuntur ratione'. This quotation too would seem to support the reading *rationabilibus* in Dante's text.
153. C.T. Lewis, C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* [1879], Oxford 1966, p. 1729: somnus, i I. Lit, *sleep*: ... in somnis aliquid videre, *in sleep, in dreams*; ... II. ... D. *A dream*..
154. C.T. Lewis, C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* [1879], Oxford 1966, p. 518: decerno, -crevi, -cretum... B. Milit. *to decide by combat*; hence (like cernere and certare), in gen., *to fight, combat, contend*.
155. *Physica. Translatio Vetus*, (Aristoteles Latinus VII 1 ), ed. F. Bossier, J. Brams, Leiden-New York 1990, e.g. at 201<sup>b</sup> 5-10, pp. 101-102; *Physica. Translatio Vaticana*, (Aristoteles Latinus VII 2 ), ed. A. Mansion, Bruges-Paris 1957. See also S. Thomae Aquinatis *In octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis expositio*, cura et studio M. Maggiolo, Turin 1965, e.g. at pp. 97-98.
156. *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum Expositio*, Editio Tertia, cura et studio R.M. Spiazzi. Torino 1964, §105, pp. 29-30.
157. This reading was omitted from the CUP edition by an oversight; see *IDE*, p. 39.
158. I have included this case in this group rather than in the next one on the assumption that A<sup>1</sup> divides from A<sup>2</sup> at (or just before) II, vii, 7 rather than at the end of chapter vii of Book II as Ricci suggests, and that A is therefore at this point a beta witness. Ricci lists this variant in his Apparatus but does not explain his choice of *quod*.
159. II Paral., xx, 12 in *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, adiuvantibus Bonifatio Fischer OSB, Johanne Gribomont OSB, H.F.D Sparks, W. Thiele, Stuttgart 1969, vol. I, p. 610. The *Vetus Latina* edition of *II Paralipomenon* has not yet appeared in print.

160. See for example M. Annaei Lucani, *De bello civile*, ed. C. Hosius, Leipzig 1892, p. 57; Harold C. Gotoff, *The Transmission of the Text of Lucan in the Ninth Century*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1971, p. 196.
161. The gloss of Arnulf of Orléans on this line spells out the correct interpretation: 'Xersem rex fuit Orientalis qui proposuit se per terram navigare et ire siccis pedibus per mare. Ille *consimilem* fecit pontem super mare quod est inter Seston et Abidon' [my italics], in Berthe M. Marti, *Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule super Lucanum*, American Academy in Rome 1958, p. 149.
162. The situation is not discussed by Ricci in his Notes to the text.
163. Ricci does not mention this choice in the Apparatus or Notes to the text.
164. Again Ricci does not discuss this choice in his Apparatus or Notes.
165. Nardi, *ed. cit.*, p. 359.
166. *Metaphysica*. Lib. I-X, XII-XIV, *Translatio Anonyma sive 'Media'*, (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 2), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1976, p. 19; *Metaphysica*. Lib. I-XIV, *Recensio et translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka*, (Aristoteles Latinus XXV 3.2), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden-New York-Köln 1995, p. 25.
167. *Metaphysica* Lib. I-IV.4, *Translatio Iacobi sive 'Vetustissima' cum Scholiis et Translatio Composita sive 'Vetus'*, (Aristoteles Latinus XXV I-I<sup>a</sup>), ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Bruxelles-Paris 1970, pp. 101, 18.
168. S. Thomae Aquinatis *In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis expositio*. Editio iam a M.-R. Cathala, exarata retractatur cura et studio R.M. Spiazzi. Torino 1964, 2nd edition 1971, pp. 37-38. Witte like Nardi had preferred the reading *plura*.
169. *EN*, p. 55.
170. *EN*, p. 55: 'a conferirgli un suggello particolare provvedeva il pregio d'esser copia diretta di un manoscritto trecentesco; e non del tardo Trecento, ma della metà, e forse anche della prima metà.'
171. See Introduction. V. Methodology. v. The non-beta witnesses.

172. K and A<sup>1</sup> each preserve three of these 'fragile' readings.
173. Luc. xxii, 38 in *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, adiuvantibus Bonifatio Fischer OSB, Johanne Gribomont OSB, H.F.D Sparks, W. Thiele, Stuttgart 1969, vol. II, p. 1652.
174. *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung. 3. Lukas-Evangelium. 2te verbesserte Auflage. Adolf Jülicher, rev. Walter Matzkow & Kurt Aland. Berlin 1976, p. 248.*
175. *IDE*, p. 39.
176. Nardi, *ed. cit.*, p. 453.
177. Indeed in some manuscripts using abbreviated forms it can sometimes be difficult to be sure which word the scribe intended.
178. *IDE*, p. 37.
179. See V. Methodology. i. An overview of the problem.
180. *EN*, p. 263: 'Rinuncio al semplice *papa* del Rostagno e torno alla lezione del Witte e del Bertalot, perché considero più probabile che alcuni copisti abbiano saltato una *et* piuttosto che altri abbiano voluto deliberatamente introdurre un'eleganza stilistica. Senza contare che, anche ammessa questa eventualità, i testi che hanno la *et* non formano un gruppo separato e compatto, ma rappresentano rami diversi della tradizione. Dovremmo allora credere che persone diverse e in tempi e luoghi diversi fossero tutte animate, e proprio in questo punto, da un identico ideale d'eleganza?'
181. It is found passim in L. M. De Rijk, *Logica Modernorum. A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, Vol. I, *On the Twelfth Century Theories of Fallacy*, Assen 1962., e.g. at pp. 221, 421, 448, 539. See also Aquinas, 'De fallaciis ad quosdam nobiles artistas', in *Opuscula Philosophica*, ed. R.M. Spiazzi, Turin 1954: Caput 17. De fallacia non causam ut causam, pp. 239-240; and *De Sophisticis Elenchis. Translatio Boethii, Fragmenta Translationis Iacobi, et Recensio Guillelmi de Moerbeke*, (Aristoteles Latinus VI 1-3 ), ed. Bernardus G. Dod, Leiden-Bruxelles 1975, pp. 13, 81.

182. *Logica Modernorum*, e.g. at pp. 539, 605: 'Est enim non-causa ut causa fallacia proveniens ex ...'.
183. Dino Bigongiari, 'Notes', pp. 5-6; reprinted in *Essays*, pp. 36-37.
184. *EN*, p. 215.
185. Shaw, 'Some Proposed Emendations', pp. 5-6.
186. A fuller account is to be found in 'Some Proposed Emendations'.
187. Nardi in the notes to his edition of the *Monarchia* (pp. 430-431), rightly dismisses Ricci's references to the *Summule* as irrelevant to Dante's reasoning in this passage, but he leaves open the question of whether in fact *consequentiam* is a better reading. *Propter convenientiam* gives a possible but much less cogent meaning (Nardi translates: 'E perché s'intenda come ciò convenisse ...'): the phrase would refer to the appropriateness both of the punishment (the crucifixion) to the crime (Adam's sin), and of Christ's last words on the cross. (The two are in any case logically inseparable.) In abbreviated form the words *consequentia* and *convenientia* are of course virtually identical, see A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 6th edn., Milano, p. 68.
188. V. Methodology. v. The non-beta witnesses. Diffraction.
189. See Maierù, Alfonso, *Terminologia logica della tarda scolastica*, Roma, Edizione dell'Ateneo, 1972, pp. 296-297.
190. The word *destructio* has a slightly different meaning depending on which reading one chooses: to disprove or refute (*ad destructionem*), or to deny, to declare that something is not the case (*a destructione*). The first refers to demolishing an argument with counter arguments, the second to a logical strategy.
191. *Summule* IV, 7-8.
192. *Summule* IV, 6.
193. Elizabeth Mozzillo-Howell, 'Monarchia II, x and the Medieval Theory of Consequences', in *Italian Studies* LVII (2002), pp. 20-36 (p. 35). I am grateful to Enzo Cecchini and Richard Kay, whose resistance to my proposed emendations caused me to think again, although I remain unconvinced by their objections to *a destructione consequentis*; and I am



particularly grateful to Elizabeth Mozzillo-Howell, whose thoughtful and judicious conclusions – on the need for my first emendation but the superfluosness of my second – as summarised in the paragraph quoted above, I thoroughly endorse. See Enzo Cecchini, ‘Per un’indagine sistematica su formule e procedimenti argomentativi nelle opere in prosa di Dante’, in *Dante: da Firenze all’aldilà*, ed. M. Picone, Firenze 2001, pp. 133-48 and ‘Dante, *Mon.* II, x, 4-10’, in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, 5 vols., Firenze, 1983, vol I, pp. 177-84; Richard Kay, *ed. cit., ad loc.*

194. *IDE*, pp. 31, 34-35.
195. Thus, for example, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina. XLVIII. Aurelii Augustini Opera. Pars XIV, 2. *De civitate Dei*, Libri XI-XXII, Turnholti Typographi Brepols Editores Pontifici 1955, p. 501; S. Aurelii Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis *De civitate Dei Contra Paganos Libri XXII*, vol. II, ed. J.E.C. Welldon, London 1924, p. 188; Saint Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, with an English translation by E. Matthews Sanford and W. McAllen Green, vol. V, The Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge (Mass.) 1965, p. 14; Sancti Aurelii Augustini Episcopi *De Civitate Dei libri XXII*, vol. II, ed. B. Dombart, A. Kalb, Stuttgart (1929), 5a 1981, p. 125.
196. Ricci mentions the KT reading in the Apparatus but erroneously says it is also in G.
197. *EN*, pp. 209-210. The parallel instances are at II, iii, 6 and III, ix, 14; cf. also II, iv, 7 and *Epistole* vi, 3; xi, 15 and xiii, 63.
198. *EN*, p. 213.
199. Nardi, *ed. cit., ad loc.*, and further bibliography cited there. As Nardi points out, the Ficino translation clearly reflects the reading of HZ: ‘Ritornino honde vennono: vennono bene, ritornano male, perché sono cose ben date et male possedute’; see P. Shaw, ‘La versione ficiniana’, p. 375.
200. The division in itself does not count for a great deal bearing in mind that scribal habits in the treatment of negative *in-* can vary: the scribe of M often separates negative *in-* from what follows (thus *in premeditata* at III, ix, 9, and *in moto* at III, x, 16).

201. Ageno, 'Il codice già Phillipps', comments on the punctuation in Ph: 'Il codice, che unisce *sic* a ciò che precede, e non al passo di Lucano, ha certo ragione; cfr. II iii 8 29, II iii 14 68, II iii 16 79, ecc.'
202. Nardi, *ed. cit.*, p. 438: '[il] Ricci ... è riuscito a liberare da un grave errore il testo'; Pizzica, *ed. cit.* p. 314, p. 373: 'Giustissimi i motivi per cui il Ricci ha difeso la lezione ...'; Sanguineti, *ed. cit.*, p. 98.
203. Thus Gennaro Sasso, *Dante [.] L'imperatore e Aristotele*, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, ("Nuovi Studi Storici", 62), Roma 2002, p. 303, n. 13; Giorgio Stabile, **volontà**, in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, V, Roma 1976, pp. 1134-1140 (p. 1138) sees a more general incompatibility between Ricci's emendation and Dante's conception of the relationship between reason and appetite.
204. The phrase in Ricci's text thus means, as Nardi translates it, 'ad uomini avvezzi a guidare la volontà col lume di ragione'.
205. The phrase in the traditional reading thus means, as in Vinay's translation, 'agli uomini avvezzi a precorrere con la volontà l'intuito della ragione.'
206. Paolo Falzone, 'Ignoranza, desiderio, giudizio. L'Etica Nicomachea nella struttura argomentativa di *Monarchia* III iii', in *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale*, 17 (2006): 65-88.
207. *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis In decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum Expositio*, Editio Tertia, cura et studio R.M. Spiazzi, Torino 1964, p. 379; *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia [.] Tomus XLVII [.] Sententia Libri Ethicorum*, vol. II, ed. R.-A. Gauthier, Romae, ad Sanctae Sabinae, 1969, p. 412.
208. S. Thomae Aquinatis *Summa Theologiae*, cura et studio P. Caramello, Pars II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>e</sup>, Torino 1962 (qu. CLVI, art. 1), p. 680. Compare the text and translation in the Blackfriars edition: St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Volume 44, *Well-Tempered Passion* (2a2ae. 155-70), Latin text, English translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries, Thomas Gilby O. P., London-New York, pp. 20-21: 'Uno modo, quando anima passionibus cedit antequam ratio consiliatur: quae quidem vocatur irrefrenata incontinentia, vel praevolatio': 'First, as when the soul gives way before the reason has deliberated; this is

called unbridled incontinence or flying into an unpremeditated passion.'

209. *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, vol. VI, ed. O. Weijers, M. Gumbert-Hepp, Leiden 1998, p. 3862.
210. Exceptionally, however, and for reasons which it is difficult to fathom, the Ficino translation supports the reading of T at this point: 'Agli huomini che volano collo appetito innanzi alla consideratione della ragione ...'; P. Shaw, *ed. cit.*, pp. 379-380.
211. By way of example one can cite Rostagno's entirely unnecessary emendation at II, iii, 17 (rightly rejected by Ricci, following Vianello and Toynbee), whereby the unanimous reading of all witnesses *in illo duplici concursu sanguinis* was altered to read *in illo triplici concursu sanguinis*, as though Dante meant Aeneas's nobility to be predicated on the geographical fact of his connection with three continents rather than on the genealogical fact of his ennoblement both through ancestry and matrimonial alliances.
212. *SD*, XXXII (1954), p. 62.
213. See V. Methodology of the edition. iii. The beta family.

# VII. Varia

## *The Title*

The title of Dante's treatise is *Monarchia*; the alternative title *De Monarchia*, still occasionally used by English-speaking scholars, has no manuscript basis. Almost half the extant manuscripts do not name the treatise at all, evidently preferring anonymity for a work known to have incurred ecclesiastical displeasure. All those manuscripts which do name the work call it *Monarchia* or *liber monarchie* or *monarchie liber* (or even *liber Monarchia*).<sup>214</sup>

The source of the alternative version of the title *De Monarchia* is the *editio princeps*. Although the *princeps* uses the correct title *Monarchia* at the beginning of the text (*Dantis Aligherii Florentini Monarchia*), and again at the end (*Explicit Liber Monarchiæ Dantis Aligherij de Florentia*), and to mark the beginning of the second and third books (*Dantis Liber Secundus Monarchiæ, Liber Tertius Monarchiæ*), it nevertheless uses a different form of the title on the overall title-page for the miscellany which lists the several works on related subjects contained in the volume: *Dantis Florentini De Monarchia libri tres*. This form is echoed in the running title in the upper margin of each recto page (*De Monarchia Lib. I*, and so on), in conformity with the layout of the other texts. This becomes the title regularly used by nineteenth-century editors who based their editions on the *princeps*.

Nicola Zingarelli, writing in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* more than one hundred years ago, first urged scholars to adopt the correct title: 'Mi parrebbe che dovessimo ormai smettere di scrivere *De Monarchia*, e preferire *Monarchia* semplicemente, secondo il proprio titolo dell'opera, che è pure così nel Boccaccio e nel Villani.'<sup>215</sup> His recommendation was followed in the 1921 centenary volume of Dante's works, where Rostagno's edition of the treatise bears the title *Monarchia*, and where the preface enjoins readers to adopt the

correct title: 'sarà ormai tempo che di questo trattato si corregga il titolo, divulgatosi nella forma 'De Monarchia' contro alla tradizione dei manoscritti e alla concorde testimonianza de' più antichi biografi di Dante.'<sup>216</sup>

As well as the early biographers, Dante's first critic, Guido Vernani, writing c. 1327, uses the title *Monarchia* both in his own title (*De reprobatione Monarchiae compositae a Dante*) and in his text ('quoddam eius scriptum quod *Monarchiam* voluit appellare'). *Monarchia* is the title used in both the anonymous fifteenth-century *volgarizzamento* of the treatise, and the Ficino version; it is used by Girolamo Benivieni in his *Dialogo di Antonio Manetti, cittadino fiorentino, circa al sito, forma et misure dello inferno di Dante Alighieri*; and it is the title used when the treatise first appears on the Vatican's Index of prohibited books.<sup>217</sup>

The exact form of the incipit and explicit in each manuscript can now be checked by any interested reader by turning to the images on this web site.

## *Chapters*

The chapter numbering in this edition differs from that in Ricci's *EN* in one respect only: Ricci's tenth chapter of Book III has been split into two and here becomes chapters x and xi. (The following chapters of Book III are consequently renumbered, with the final chapter now being xvi rather than xv.) This chapter division at Ricci's III, x, 18 ('Adhuc dicunt quod Adrianus papa') was present in the editions of Witte, Bertalot and Rostagno; it was suppressed by Ricci for reasons he explains, though neither accurately nor convincingly, in *EN*, p. 128. It has been re-instated for two reasons: on grounds of internal consistency in the organisation of Dante's material, and on grounds of stemmatic weighting.

Dante allots a new chapter to each new argument advanced by his opponents to attack the imperial cause: having dealt with the six arguments based on the Scriptures (three from the Old Testament and three

from the New), each in a separate chapter, he now deals with the two arguments from history used by papal apologists, and he will go on to demolish their final and ninth argument, the argument from reason, in the next chapter. The two arguments from history (the donation of Constantine, and the *translatio imperii* which supposedly occurred when Charlemagne was crowned emperor by pope Hadrian) are separate arguments, and it is both fitting and consistent that each be countered in a separate chapter.

Significantly, such a chapter division is supported by considerations of stemmatic weighting: a chapter division at this point is found in ms. T and in the *princeps* (thus constituting a *lezione maggioritaria*), and in beta manuscripts D and M. The editorial choice in this respect is exactly analogous to the other choices made in the second category of Emendations to Ricci's Text, where a substantial number of beta manuscripts diverges from the K + T reading. The proliferation of spurious chapter divisions and the ignoring of others in many beta manuscripts is a striking feature of the group as a whole and can be verified by any interested reader by turning to the images in this digital edition.

[For further discussion of this question, see Shaw 2018, pp. 56-74: *Divisioni in capitoli.*]

The chapter divisions as they appear in this edition are exactly those of the Trivulziana manuscript T. It is perhaps worth reiterating that no manuscript has the chapter divisions as Ricci's edition presents them – nor indeed as they appear in the editions of Witte, Bertalot, and Rostagno. The *princeps* retains the same number and arrangement of chapters as ms. T (16 – 11 – 16), but divides the material differently in Book II, splitting the fifth chapter into two at II, v, 18 ('Declaranda igitur duo sunt'), and suppressing the division between chapters ix and x.

## *Paragraphs*

Two signal contributions made by Rostagno to the study of Dante's treatise are the restoration of its correct title, and the division of the material into numbered paragraphs within chapters. The usefulness of this division into paragraphs is apparent to all who read or work on the text, and it has been generally adopted by subsequent editors, including Ricci. Rostagno's paragraph divisions are followed in this edition. (A few small anomalies in Ricci's *EN* numbering are probably oversights on the editor's part and have been corrected.)<sup>218</sup>

## *Punctuation*

This edition follows Ricci's punctuation except at the two points discussed in Emendations to Ricci's Text. Ricci's punctuation, as he himself notes,<sup>219</sup> largely follows Rostagno's, though with a more fine-tuned use of the colon and semi-colon. Ricci declares that he has not used the exclamation mark because it is anachronistic,<sup>220</sup> but in fact uses it several times (at I, xvi, 4, II, xi, 8 and III, iv, 11). It is used in this edition at the same points.

## *Spelling*

The earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Monarchia* date from the middle of the fourteenth century, some three decades after Dante's death in 1321. We have no autograph material in Dante's own hand, either Latin or vernacular – not even a signature. We simply do not know for certain how Dante spelled Latin. One of the tasks facing editors of his Latin texts is that of deciding what spelling conventions to follow in their published versions.

Pio Rajna, in the introduction to his pioneering 1896 edition of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, laid down the principle which subsequent editors have followed: 'a me ... pare doveroso di conservare inalterato al testo il suo carattere medioevale'.<sup>221</sup> Rajna surveyed the Latin spelling

conventions in use in Tuscany in Dante's time, basing his account on a wide range of contemporary evidence, including grammatical treatises for the learning of Latin and a wealth of documents in the Florentine archives penned by educated Florentines in the closing decades of the thirteenth century and the first two of the fourteenth. The principal divergences from earlier (classical) and later (Renaissance) usage are listed and discussed at length in his Introduction.<sup>222</sup>

Ricci, in his 1965 Edizione Nazionale of the *Monarchia*, followed in Rajna's footsteps, but with a shift of emphasis towards the evidence of usage reflected in surviving documents ('la pratica effettiva' as against 'i precetti dei teorici'). He favoured 'quello che vediamo essere stato l'uso generale in Firenze ai tempi di Dante': in the light of this change of emphasis, he recapitulated Rajna's list with some modifications, and incorporated those spellings into his edition.<sup>223</sup> He explicitly resisted the notion that the spelling in any surviving manuscripts might reflect Dante's original: 'con i loro suggerimenti mai potrebbesi, non dico ricostruire l'ortografia di Dante, ma neppure un'altra qualunque che sapesse di fiorentino e di primi decenni del Trecento.'<sup>224</sup> Some of the spellings used in Ricci's *EN* are not found in any manuscript of the *Monarchia* (even the earliest manuscripts being, as we know, many generations removed from the original).

In adopting these spelling conventions in his Latin text, Ricci rightly emphasised their hypothetical character – this is probably the way Dante would have spelled Latin, but we have no proof or certainty of it – making the point that of course we cannot even be sure that Dante would always have spelled the same word in the same way, given the fluidity of usage at the time.<sup>225</sup> Concern with consistency is a modern preoccupation, and the expectation of it is strictly speaking anachronistic.

In this edition the choice has been made to follow Ricci's practice in this respect. The changes made to Ricci's text, as outlined in the Introduction, are small changes of substance imposed by the manuscript evidence or the inner logic of the argument. The spelling conventions he adopted remain unaltered. Ricci's solution offers consistency, which



readers of modern printed books expect but medieval readers did not. To adopt the spellings of any one witness would have been arbitrary, and distracting for a modern reader, without giving anything that could be regarded as 'authentic' in any meaningful or useful way. In any case, in this digital edition, the manuscript images and transcriptions ensure that any reader interested in this aspect of the treatise has to hand full evidence of the variety of spellings across the tradition, and the spread of spellings in any given manuscript. This wide variety of spellings (even within single manuscripts) is discussed in IV. The Critical Apparatus. ii. Regularisation, and readers are referred to that section of the editorial material for full exemplification.

## Notes

214. In two manuscripts – G f. 36v and T f. 134r – the words *De Monarchia* have been added by a later hand which is certainly not that of the original copyist.
215. *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* XX (1913), p. 70.
216. *Le Opere di Dante*. Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana, a cura di M. Barbi, E.G. Parodi, F. Pellegrini, E. Pistelli, P. Rajna, E. Rostagno, G. Vandelli, Firenze 1921, p. xviii.
217. See Bruno Nardi, 'Tre pretese fasi del pensiero politico di Dante', in *Saggi di filosofia dantesca*, Milano-Genova-Roma-Napoli 1930, p. 342, n. 3 and Shaw (1995), p. xlvi.
218. At II, iii, 17 and at II, v, 15.
219. *EN*, pp. 111-112.
220. *EN*, pp. 112-113.
221. Rajna, Pio. *Opere minori di Dante Alighieri, edizione critica. Il trattato De vulgari eloquentia*. Società Dantesca Italiana. Firenze 1896; ristampa stereotipa, Milano 1965, p. cxlv.
222. Rajna, *ed. cit.*, pp. cxliv-cxcv.
223. *EN*, pp. 113-125. Ricci also acknowledges indebtedness to Aristide Marigo's discussion of the question in his edition of the *De vulgari eloquentia*, pp. 302-304.
224. *EN*, p. 115, n. 3. Ricci's negative judgment on the deficiencies of Bertalot and Rostagno in respect of the spelling conventions used in their editions is expressed on p. 117. Witte in his edition had used classical orthography.
225. Rajna, *ed. cit.*, p. cxlvii, had made the same point: 'Certo non è presumibile che l'ortografia dantesca fosse in tutto e per tutto costante.'

# VIII. Transcription Notes

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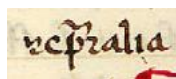
## Ms. A

Manuscript A presents very few difficulties for the transcriber at one level: the script is beautifully clear, and there are no interventions by later hands which tinker with or correct the text.

The problems presented by the manuscript are rather of a different kind. It illustrates and exemplifies particularly well some issues connected with the use of abbreviation signs in the textual tradition of the *Monarchia*, and the sorts of mistakes which can result from a scribe's misreading of those signs. It also demonstrates clearly that these misunderstandings – which may already have been present in the copyist's exemplar – may be independent of his carefulness in other respects. This copyist, for example, is unusually alert to the problems posed by repetitions in the text: on various occasions he starts to make a significant *saut du même au même* but notices and corrects his mistake before proceeding (e.g. at I, vii, 2 and at I, xiii, 3). He does, however, have a tendency to repeat a word inadvertently across a line-break.

There are two main kinds of problems with abbreviation signs in manuscript A. At times the abbreviation sign used is unequivocal, but the meaning is wrong for the context (this is surprisingly common and produces some surprisingly odd readings); and in a small number of cases it is difficult to know what the abbreviation stands for. In cases of the first kind, the abbreviation is resolved as it stands, even if the meaning in context is problematic. (In some cases, of course, its erroneousness may only be obvious to us because we have a better text.) Cases of the second kind (relatively few in number) are more difficult to deal with: it may well be that the scribe himself was baffled and simply copied something whose meaning was not clear to him. In these cases the abbreviated form is transcribed as it stands, with a note

explaining the difficulty, accessed by positioning the cursor over [\*] in the transcription. Sometimes the original word can be intuited under the form as it stands here, but has become irrecoverable to an unprepared reader of the text, e.g.



(reþralia) at I, xvi, 2 where what is required is *temporalia* (elsewhere the word *temporalia* is written in full).

A related phenomenon is that sometimes a word written in full clearly derives from an abbreviated form of what would have been the correct reading if it had been resolved properly. In these cases it is impossible to know if the copyist of this manuscript is responsible for the misreading or whether it was already in his exemplar. Some examples: *esse* for *omne* at I, ii, 6 (‘esse politicum nostre potestati subiacet’) and conversely *omne* for *esse* at III, ix, 1 (‘dixit omne ibi ubi erat’), *nomen* for *omne* at I, viii, 1 (‘et nomen illud’), *humilis* for *universalis* at I, xvi, 2 (‘in pacis humilis tranquillitate’), *propter* for *preter* at II, ii, 3 (‘propter intentionem’), *similli* for *sillogismi* at III, viii, 3 (‘circa maiores similli quo utitur’), *maxima* for *media* at III, xvi, 8 (‘per diversa maxima venire oportet’). Sometimes misreadings derive from a failure to recognise an abbreviated form for what it is, e.g. *prosilus* for *prosillogismus* at I, xi, 9; and sometimes from a mistaken assumption that a word is an abbreviation when in fact it is not, e.g. *Anthonius* for *aut* at I, x, 4 (‘Et hic Anthonius erit monarchia’) and *substancia sumpta* for *subassumpta* at I, xi, 20 (‘Satis igitur declarata substancia sumpta’).

In general, the spelling in this manuscript is remarkably fluid and decidedly idiosyncratic. Thus we find (sometimes on the same line) *mundi* and *mondi*; *persuasit* and *persuassit*; *discipulis* and *disipulis*; *necesse* and *neccesse*; *subcumbere* and *subcombere*; *cunctis* and *conctis*; *ecclexiam* and *ecclesiam*. Forms like *scinceritas*, *scentire*, *scilentio*, *scileant* abound alongside forms like *septro*, *assendere*, *transsendunt*, *silicet*.

Many of the spellings in A are found in no other manuscript of the treatise (e.g. *mondi* for *mundi*, *occiosse* for *otiose*). This raises a further

problem for the transcriber. When a word appears in abbreviated form, should it be resolved using the idiosyncratic spelling which seems characteristic of the scribe, or the standard spelling? It was decided after some hesitation to resolve abbreviations using standard spellings, even though this probably flattens and normalises the linguistic character of the text, and even when statistically the non-standard form occurs more frequently than the standard form when the words are written in full. Thus the abbreviated form is transcribed *propositum*, even though the scribe usually writes *propositum* (but we have *proposito* with a single *s* at I, i, 5); the abbreviated form is transcribed *secundum*, whereas the scribe writes *secundum*, *secumdum* and *secondum* indifferently when he writes the word in full. The abbreviated form *.s.* is resolved as *scilicet* even though on the two occasions when the scribe writes the word in full he writes *silicet*. The letters *c* and *t* are often virtually interchangeable: thus we find *partium* and *parcium* on the same line at I, vi, 2, and *nuntius* and *nuncius* on the same line at III, vi, 5 (the scribe usually uses *c* before *i*). Indeed the letters are so close in form that it is sometimes impossible to be sure which is intended. Normally this does not matter, and the benefit of the doubt is given where necessary, but occasionally the failure to distinguish between *c* and *t* by this scribe or the copyist of his exemplar has led to a real mistake, as when he writes *collorando* instead of *tollerando* at III, iv, 17 ('hoc mendatio collorando').

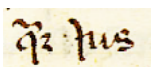
The word *cum* (whether conjunction or preposition) is always written by the scribe in full or with just a macron to represent the final *m*. The compendium 9 for *con*, by contrast, is used as part of longer words, whether as a first or middle syllable. On the two occasions when 9 is used where *cum* is required, the compendium is retained in the transcription, as this seems a possible source of confusion given the scribe's normal *usus scribendi*. These two occasions are 9simul at II, 1, 7 for *cum simul* and 9arguendo at III, v, 3 for *cum arguendo*. Compare *co(n)ventum est* (in full except for the macron) for *cum ventum est* at II, iv, 2.

There is a recurring problem in distinguishing between *iu* and *ui*, i.e. between three consecutive strokes or minims with no dot to indicate an *i*. Thus we have identical forms – but not always – for *vis* (both noun

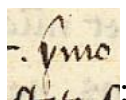
and verb) and *ius*: sometimes the initial letter will be a *v* rather than a *u*, leaving no room for confusion, but often, with three identical strokes and no dot on the *i*, the word could be read either way. The benefit of the doubt has been given in these cases, assuming that the word is *vis* and not *ius*, although it could easily be read as *ius*, for example at I, iii, 6.



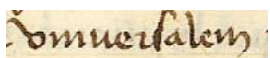
In some cases the scribe himself is clearly confused, as when he writes *quam Ius* instead of *quamvis* at II, ii, 8



The letter *y* is written with a flourish in the form of a loop above it, e.g. at I, ii, 6: *ymo*



the flourish is not an abbreviation sign. For the letter *u* before *n* at the beginning of a word, as in *unum* and *universale*, the scribe always uses the *v* form: thus at II, vi, 5



The scribe three times uses an upward curved stroke after *ne* to indicate a question (at II, iii, 14; II, v, 13; II, ix, 5). These strokes, like other punctuation marks, are not included in the transcription.

The scribe regularly writes the name *Nicomacum* as *Nicomatium* or *Nichomatium*. These have been treated as (somewhat idiosyncratic) spelling variants in the Word Collation.

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## Ms. B

Manuscript B presents few problems for the transcriber. The copyist gives the impression of being completely assured and in control of his material: one feels one is in safe hands. There is nothing surprising or startling (as there so often is in ms. A) and little that is baffling. The scribe carefully corrects his own small mistakes as he goes, especially mistakes of anticipation to which he is somewhat prone. There are no interventions by a second hand.

The scribe is consistent both in his spelling conventions and in his use of abbreviated forms. He distinguishes scrupulously, for example, between the forms for *hic* (*h<sup>i</sup>*), *hoc* (*h<sup>̄</sup>*) and *hec* (*h<sup>'</sup>*), and is likewise absolutely consistent in his use of the abbreviated forms of *converso* (*9<sup>o</sup>*), *contrario* (*ḡio*) and *conclusio* (*9cl'o*) – these forms are regularly confused in many manuscripts. There are few superfluous or misused abbreviations: indeed, three times the scribe self-corrects by cancelling a superfluous abbreviation sign, though three times he fails to do so. These small points are all registered in the notes to the transcription (accessed by positioning the cursor over [\*] at the appropriate point in the transcription itself).

The only difficulty – and it is a very minor one – is presented by the abbreviations for *huius* and *huiusmodi*. *Huius* is abbreviated in four different but closely similar ways: thus

*hi'* at I, ii, 8



*hui'* at II, v 10



*hi'*. at I, v, 5



and *hui*'.



The problem is whether these forms can also signify *huiusmodi*, which on five occasions where they are used – at I, xi, 13; I, xiii, 2; I, xv, 4; III, iv, 12 and 14; and III, xi, 6 – would be the appropriate reading. (Elsewhere *huiusmodi* is abbreviated with any of these forms plus *modi* written in full or abbreviated.) Was the copyist sufficiently confident in his readers' sense of context to assume that they could supply *huiusmodi* where required even with the more abbreviated form which normally represents *huius* – but which, as Cappelli registers (p. 160), is also a possible abbreviation for *huiusmodi*? These cases have been transcribed *huiusmodi*[?] with the grey typeface and question mark signifying that *modi* is problematic. Bertalot in transcribing these forms simply registers the reading as *huius* each time.

The grey typeface is used twice to indicate an uncertain reading for numbers. The scribe uses both Arabic and Roman numerals: his Arabic 4 and Roman *x* are close in shape and easily confused. Twice where 4 is required he has written what seems to be a Roman *x*: at II, v, 3



and at II, viii, 4



These are transcribed as 4[?].

Very occasionally the letter *e* is indistinguishable from *o* in this hand. Sometimes a capital letter shape is used in a small size: it is transcribed as lower-case; sometimes a lower-case shape is used in a larger size, though not the full capital letter size.

Bertalot gave a full, though not complete, record of the readings of ms. B in the Apparatus to his edition. On the few occasions where I



disagree with Bertalot's reading, this is registered in the notes to the transcription using the editorial notes icon [\*].

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## Ms. C

Manuscript C, initially described by Ricci as one of the worst in the whole tradition, was subsequently reassessed by him without explanation as one of the best. Certainly the physical character of the text is extremely pleasing: it is written in a beautifully clear calligraphic hand and punctuated in a way which is orderly and helpful. The punctuation is unusually fine-tuned: the scribe consistently breaks the sentences up into meaningful smaller units; he uses paraph markers to underline the logic of the argument, for example the structure of the syllogism, as at II, iii, 2. He punctuates to try to make sense of problematic readings, strikingly so for example at III, iv, 8; and he preserves distinctions which are lost in many other manuscripts, e.g. at III, xv, 7.

The hand itself presents few problems to the transcriber, although the letters *c* and *e* are occasionally indistinguishable. This can sometimes be problematic in abbreviated forms, for example the word *alie* (twice at I, xv, 7) looks like *a<sup>c</sup>* rather than *a<sup>e</sup>* as required



The grey typeface is used in the transcription here to highlight that there is a potential difficulty. The scribe uses many heavily abbreviated forms of this kind, where words are reduced to a single letter followed by a single superscript letter, as in *p<sup>a</sup> t<sup>a</sup> m<sup>e</sup> p<sup>e</sup>* (*potentia tota materie prime*); thus also *m<sup>m</sup>* (*manifestum*); *p<sup>t</sup>* (*potest*); *o<sup>t</sup>* (*ostendit*); *m<sup>o</sup>* (*medio*); *q<sup>m</sup>* (*quantum*) and many more.

These severely contracted forms become problematic in two circumstances. Sometimes the abbreviation is clear but is the wrong word in context – e.g. *ntr* (*naturaliter*) where what is needed is *utr* (*universaliter*) – in these cases the transcription perforce records what is actually there. Sometimes it is difficult to be sure what the heavily abbreviated

form is intended to represent, e.g. 9<sup>m</sup> (*conceptum? constitutum?*) – in these cases (all puzzling in context) the abbreviated form is left in the transcription and the difficulty is described in a note. As in other manuscripts, ambiguous forms like *utes* (which could signify *universales* or *utiles*) are left as they stand in the transcription.

Some misreadings written in full clearly come from a misunderstanding of an abbreviated form, though whether by this scribe or by the copyist of his exemplar it is impossible to say: thus *pars* for *quis* at III, iii, 13.

The notes to the transcription, accessed by positioning the cursor over [\*] within the transcription, clarify and comment on these difficulties. The notes also specify where the correcting hand has intervened in paler ink as the difference in ink colour is not clear from the black and white images. Most of the marginal notes are in the original hand; just a few are in the correcting hand.

There is a folio missing between 77v and 78r: the text goes from III, xii, 11 at the bottom of 77v to III, xv, 7 at the top of 78r. (The missing chapters xiii and xiv and the missing paragraphs of chapters xii and xv are therefore not available in the transcription or in the variant files.) The last folio is of poor quality parchment, with ink showing through from the verso.

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## Ms. D

Manuscript D gives a first impression of being a sober and orderly witness in most respects, including its spelling, its punctuation, its use of capital letters and the accuracy of its classical quotations. The hand in itself presents no particular problems to the transcriber, though the cross strokes are so fine that sometimes the stroke which distinguishes an *e* from a *c* can only be seen with a magnifying glass in strong natural light: thus for example at II, v, 23 we have *eubaliam* and not *cubaliam* as it seems at first glance. All corrections to the text are minor and were made by the original scribe at the time of copying.

There is however a major difficulty – the scribe’s use of abbreviated forms – which creates very real problems for the transcriber. The various forms the problem takes are outlined below.

An extraordinarily large number of words simply do not have an abbreviation sign where one is required. Words with a missing abbreviation sign are transcribed exactly as they stand, with a note if the form is perplexing. Usually the missing sign is as obvious and the meaning as clear as a misprint in a modern printed edition (thus *pvidentia* for *providentia*, *pprius* for *proprius*, *ppositum* for *propositum*, *p* for *per*, *ptinaciter* for *pertinaciter*, *pdicatum* for *predicatum*, and so on), and the word as transcribed does not require a note in order to be intelligible. (These many words with a missing abbreviation sign on *p* are regularised out in the Variant files display.)

There is some fluidity in the abbreviations used for the same word. The word *falsum*, for example, is at different times *fl'm* or *fl'um* or *flu'm* and even *flum* with a macron over the *m*. Since this last form would normally be an abbreviation for *flumen* (and is recognised only as such in Cappelli), the transcription *falsum* here is in grey typeface to indicate that there is a difficulty or possible ambiguity.

Displaced abbreviation marks, especially macrons but also tilde, are an acute and recurring problem. In these cases the abbreviated word is more or less recognisable but the macron is markedly displaced to left or right and appears over an inappropriate letter, eg. *mōre* instead of *morē* for *morem* at II, vi, 9

*mōre*

or *atexunt* with a tilde over the *x* for *attexuntur* at III, iv, 7

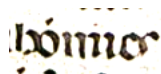
*atexũnt*

The first is transcribed as *morem*, but the abbreviated form is left for *attexuntur* because the displacement in this case is potentially more misleading. Where the displacement creates an alternative reading, eg. *sumantur* instead of *summatur* at I, v, 2, this has been registered.

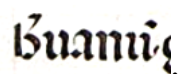
Most abbreviated forms with displaced macrons have been resolved as if the macrons were in the correct position, but it should be noted that they are a major source of likely error or misunderstanding to someone who does not have the advantage modern scholars have of access to a 'correct' text. The waywardness of this scribe in his use of the macron is a constant challenge to the reader. Notes have not been added on every case because they would be legion.

As in other manuscripts, ambiguous forms like *ul'is* (which could signify *universalis* or *utilis*) are left as they stand in the transcription. Also retained are abbreviated forms where it is impossible to fathom what the abbreviation means or to be sure what the scribe intended. Where an abbreviation is unequivocal but wrong, eg. *nūm* (*numerum*) where what is required is *uūm* (*verum*), the transcription records what the scribe has actually written (in this case *numerum*). The scribe of ms. D uses the abbreviation *ff.* for *Digestum* (Cappelli, p. 137) or *Digestorum*, a form which appears elsewhere only in ms. P.

Slips with abbreviation signs (omissions and displacements) become much more frequent and their use even more capricious from f. 41v b on, a point at which the hand also seems to get tighter. The scribe now uses ' after *h* where previously he used a macron to represent *m* or *n*: so we have the odd forms *h'omies* for *homines* at II, xi, 2



and *h'uanū* for *humanum* at II, xi, 5



There is also an increased number of blank spaces left in the text, and some very odd readings. This continues until f. 51r when the hand again becomes larger, looser, and more legible, and the number of aberrant forms declines markedly. These changes suggest that the central section of the text may have been copied by a different scribe. Indeed, the incidence of error and the erratic use of abbreviations is so high, particularly in this central section, that one wonders if the scribe was

copying a text he made no attempt to understand. The heartfelt *Deo gratias* he appended to the text when he reached the end is echoed with feeling by its hapless transcriber.

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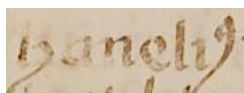
## Ms. E

The hand which copies ms. E is clear and presents no particular problems to the transcriber, though the first page and all the hair sides of the folios are very rubbed. Some small corrections have been made to the text by a later hand in the opening chapters of the treatise.

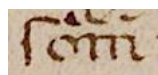
Abbreviations are for the most part used sparingly, though some are superfluous or misplaced. There are however some very puzzling abbreviated forms which suggest incomprehension on the part of the scribe, who may have been copying something he did not understand: on the first page we find *lutiū* at I, i, 5



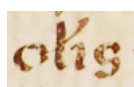
(where it is not difficult to see the form as a corruption of the required *lucrum*) and *haneli'* at I, i, 5



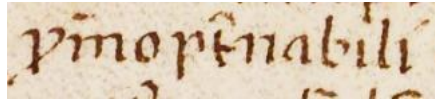
(which is more difficult to explain in terms of the original *hanc*). Later we have



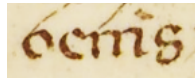
at II, v, 9 (which cannot represent the required *sanctum*, though it might just signify *sommum*); *ol'is* at I, iii, 6



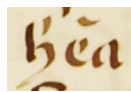
(which cannot represent *elementis*); and



at III, iv, 4 (where one can intuit the original form *pro inopinabili*, but only if one knows what one is looking for). Other forms are extremely odd or unlikely:



at I, v, 4 for *omnes*, *h'ēa* at III, iv, 17



for *habeat*. All these puzzling abbreviated forms are reproduced in the transcription just as they appear in the manuscript and are replicated exactly in ms. R. *.S.* is *scilicet*, but, as in ms. R, also often appears where other readings (*si*, *solum*) are required.

The manuscript is characterised by a large number of eccentric, not to say bizarre, readings, which it shares with ms. R. Ricci unkindly but not unfairly described the text presented by these two witnesses as: 'fogne di tutti gli errori che generar possono l'ignoranza, la sbadattaggine, la trascuratezza.' (For an account of the relationship between the two manuscripts, see the Introduction. V. Methodology of the Edition. R *descriptus* from E?)

As a line-filler the scribe often uses the first letter of the word which follows on the next line, cancelled with a stroke and an underdot.

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## Ms. F

Manuscript F is copied by a single hand, with very few corrections, all made immediately by the scribe in the course of copying. He seems to have worked with considerable care: nothing is hasty or rash. Cancellations are done extremely discreetly with a very fine line, sometimes only visible with a magnifying glass. (Some half a dozen small

inadvertent repetitions remain uncanceled.) The few marginal additions of omitted words are probably in the same hand. The ornamented capitals have not been executed, but the guide letters are visible, and have been recorded in the transcription as lower-case letters. The combination *-ti-* is, without exception, written *-ci-*. The letter *w* is used for both *vu* and *vv*.

The use of abbreviations is orderly and consistent, if quite daring: sometimes the forms are extremely contracted, the copyist evidently assuming that the reader can follow without difficulty.

The only real problem for the transcriber is presented by the form *h'* which is used to mean both *hec* and *hic* (*hec* is also sometimes *h<sup>c</sup>*). By contrast the form *h<sup>o</sup>* is used very consistently for *hoc* throughout. Where the *h'* form is problematic it is transcribed either *hec* or *hic* depending on context: thus *hec* seems more likely at I, xiv, 10 and again at II, iii, 12; whereas *hic* seems more likely at II, v, 17 and II, viii, 2. The abbreviated form *h'* is retained at II, ix, 3 where the *textus receptus* is *hoc*: the scribe's great consistency in using *h<sup>o</sup>* for *hoc* makes it unlikely that that is what he intended here.

There is an anomaly or quirk in the abbreviated forms for verbs like *assumitur* and *assumit*, which tend to have a supernumerary minium: thus *assumitur* at I, ii, 5 is

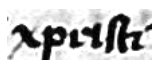


and *assumit* at I, xiv, 7 is

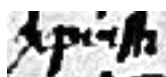


These are transcribed as they stand but are regularised out to base text as they are part of the scribe's *usus scribendi*. The abbreviated forms for *presens* (or *presenti*, *presentis*) and *psalmus* are very similar, consisting of *ps* with a macron or tilde, eg. at I, xii, 11; II, ii, 1; II, ix, 21 and II, ix, 1 (*presens* is also *pns* with macron at III, 1, 3 and 5).

Finally we may note the unusual spelling for *crustum* and *cristi* which combines the *xp* of the abbreviated form with the remainder of the word spelled out, thus *xpristi* at III, iii, 7

A small image showing the handwritten word 'xpristi' in a medieval script, where the 'xp' is written in a larger, bolder hand than the rest of the word.

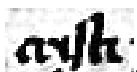
and III, vi, 2

A small image showing the handwritten word 'xpisti' in a medieval script, with 'xp' written in a larger, bolder hand.

and *xpristum* at III, iii, 13

A small image showing the handwritten word 'xpristum' in a medieval script, with 'xp' written in a larger, bolder hand.

These forms are transcribed *christi* and *christum*. Oddly, when the word is written in full it is spelt *cristi* as at III, x, 17

A small image showing the handwritten word 'cristi' in a medieval script, where the 'c' is written in a larger, bolder hand.

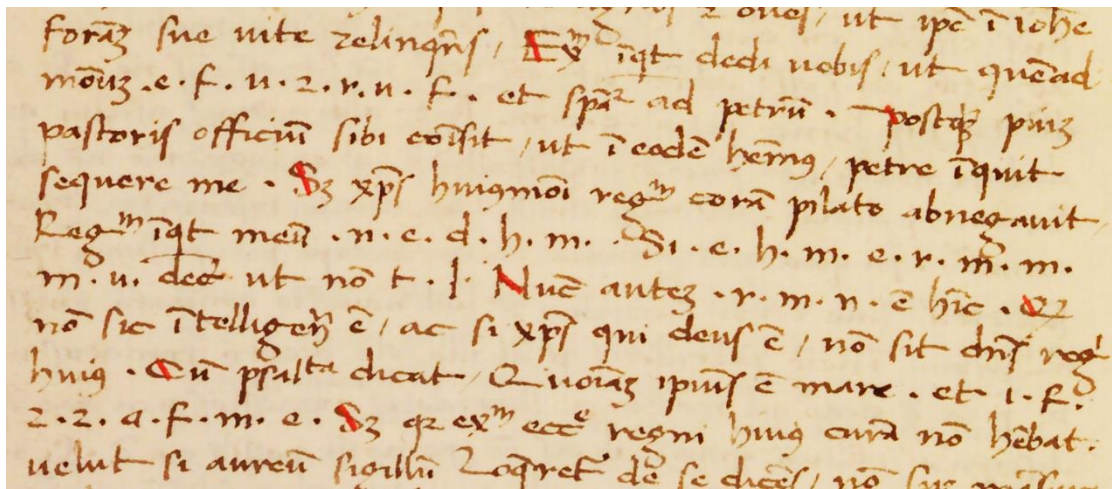
The notes to the transcription, accessed by positioning the cursor over the editorial notes icon [\*], clarify and comment on these difficulties and anomalies.

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## Ms. G

Manuscript G is one of the most straightforward for the transcriber and presents few problems. The copyist is very bold in his use of abbreviations, many words being contracted to just a few letters: thus for example *aln* with a macron over the *n* for *aliquando*, *ar* with a macron over the *r* for *arguitur*, *M<sup>r</sup>* for *Magister*, *c<sup>t</sup>* for both *currit* and *canit*, *p.* for *populus*. *9<sup>o</sup>* is both *converso* and *conclusio*, *9<sup>a</sup>* is *consequentia*, *9<sup>ta</sup>* is *cuncta*. In biblical quotations the scribe goes even further and reduces words to their initial letter only, clearly assuming the reader will have no problem in supplying the text from memory. Thus for example *s. t. e. l.* is *super terram erit ligatum* and *n. e. v. p. m. s. g.* is *non enim veni pacem mictere sed gladium*. There are many similar cases, as can be seen here:





Ms. G f. 35v: III, xiv, 4-7

Where the text is contracted in this way the expansion is transcribed in full, as in the examples given above, but without italics.

Chapters 7 and 8 of Book I have been copied in the wrong order, because the scribe made what is in effect a huge *saut du même au même* from *unum principem sive principatum* near the end of chapter 6 to *unum principem* near the end of chapter 7, skipping a whole chapter. He then realised his mistake and self-corrected by cancelling a few lines at the end of chapter 6 and putting *b* and *a* in the margin. (The cancelled lines at the end of chapter 6 are in fact the closing lines of chapter 7, almost exactly opposite on the facing page, 5r).

Where occasionally an abbreviation sign is missing, the word is transcribed as it stands, eg. *pterea*; a contemporary reader might well have taken this in his stride as we would a misprint in a modern edition. Where an abbreviated form is unequivocal but wrong, as when the scribe writes an abbreviation for *a domino* instead of the required *ad non*, the transcription registers what the scribe has actually written. Occasionally the scribe seems to use an abbreviation sign for a number of endings, relying on the reader to supply the correct form: thus the form which normally indicates *-tatis* is used also for *-tatem* and *-tate*. The notes to the transcription, accessed by clicking on [\[\\*\]](#), clarify and comment on these difficulties and anomalies.

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## Ms. H

In manuscript H the text is accompanied by an extensive commentary which fills the margins of many pages. No attempt has been made to transcribe this commentary, which can be consulted in the edition of Pier Giorgio Ricci: 'Il commento di Cola di Rienzo alla *Monarchia* di Dante', in *Studi medievali*, VI, 2 (1965), pp. 665-708.

There are occasional glosses on single words in the commentary hand; these glosses, which are mostly embedded within the text itself (i.e. in an interlinear position) are included in the transcription and can be accessed by clicking on § within the transcription. The rubricator worked after both text and commentary were complete, occasionally marking letters or words in red in the commentary as well as in the text, and sometimes crossing through with a red stroke words in the text already cancelled by the scribe. Apart from these additional scorings through by the rubricator, all corrections to the text are in the original hand. The scribe occasionally transcribes words in the wrong order but then self-corrects by indicating the correct order with markers over the words. The transcription reflects the actual order of the words and the markers are represented by Roman numerals *ii* and *i* preceding the words they refer to. In each case a note draws attention to the correction. Thus at I, i, 5

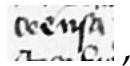
the transcriptions are respectively: <sup>\ii/</sup>utilissima <sup>\i/</sup>noticia and <sup>\ii/</sup>ad lucrum <sup>\i/</sup>inmediate.

There are refreshingly few problems with abbreviations in this manuscript. There are very few missing or superfluous abbreviation signs. Some abbreviations are very truncated but unproblematical, eg. *młti.* for *multiplicati* (f. 7r); *medi.* for *meditati* (f. 7v); *hĩ.* for *habitare* (f. 7v); *g* with a tilde over it for *gratia* (f. 12r); *n9* for *nullus* (18r); *.d.* for *diceret* (f. 18v). The scribe is pleasingly consistent in his use of the abbreviated forms for *hoc*, *hic* and *hec*: *hoc* is *hc* or more often *ho*; *hic* is *h'*; and *hec* is

h. The abbreviation *dnt* with a macron over the *n* stands for both *dicunt* and *debent*: the form is used with both meanings in close proximity to one another (eg. f. 20v), the scribe clearly relying on the fact that his reader's sense of context will enable him to determine the meaning at any given point. The word *ergo* is sometimes written *go* on the line rather than *g<sup>o</sup>*.

Where the scribe uses the letter *w* as part of a word written in full, as in *ewangelio* (f. 13r and f. 14v), *Swesortes* (f. 12v), *sangwine* (f. 12v), *wltus* (f. 12v), *wlt* (f. 15r), it is transcribed as *w*; on the half dozen occasions where the abbreviated form *wt* occurs the word is transcribed *vult*. The letters *c* and *t* are sometimes clearly distinguished, sometimes not; often they are interchangeable, eg. before *i*. When a *c* is required but the letter looks very like a *t* the transcription reflects this situation, with the *c* appearing in the text as grey rather than black, followed by a question mark (eg. *Marc[?]hi* at II, v, 15).

There is a recurring problem with names which appear not to have been recognised by the scribe: thus we have *Enclidis* for *Euclidis*, *lanina* for *Lavinia*, *tentros* for *Teucros*, *crensa* for *Creusa* at II, iii, 14



and so on. The words have been transcribed exactly as they appear. The same problem – an *n* where what is required is a *u* – occasionally affects other words as well (eg. *nm* – transcribed *nullum* – where what is required is *vm* – *verum*).

Bertalot's apparatus in his edition of the *Monarchia* gives many of the readings of H, but by no means all of them: thus for example at III, vii, 6-7 (f. 18r) he does not register *beatificandi* for *baptizandi*, *sententiis* for *quarto*, or the omission of *Scimus*. The notes to the transcription, accessed by [\*] within the transcription, draw attention to the small number of cases where this transcription diverges from Bertalot's, as well as clarifying and commenting on difficulties and anomalies.

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## The *editio princeps* K

The text of the treatise in the *editio princeps* is divided into books and chapters but the chapters are not numbered. The beginning of each new chapter is simply marked by the beginning of a new paragraph. Thus (in accordance with some manuscripts but not others) there is a new chapter at *Declaranda igitur* on p. 106, and at *Adhuc dicunt* on p. 163. Conversely, there is no new chapter at II, x (p. 126). Whereas in most manuscripts verse quotations are copied as part of the continuous prose text, in the *princeps*, by contrast, they are distinguished typographically, by being set on a new line and printed in italics (as on p. 97, for example). Where the prose text resumes on the following line it looks like a new paragraph, but these new paragraphs are easily distinguished from those which indicate a new chapter.

On the whole the printed text presents few problems for the transcriber and is instantly intelligible even to the reader who may have difficulty with some manuscript hands. The text is heavily punctuated: no attempt has been made to reproduce the punctuation, including the use of accents and parentheses. Oddly to modern eyes, a full stop is not always followed by a capital letter. Occasional marks which reflect the process of type-setting and have no textual substance, such as the bar between the words *Consules* and *propter* on p. 77, have not been transcribed. The punctuation is occasionally misleading, as at II, iii, 3-4 (p. 136): *Magnis hominibus* (the sentence should start with the word *Hominibus*); sometimes it is helpful, as when the phrase (*aliud in scripturis sentire, quam ille qui scripsit eas*) at III, iv, 8 is placed within brackets. Just occasionally the text makes no sense at all, as at III, iv, 21: *Luna recipit lucem a sole qui est regimen temporale regimen temporale est luna ergo...* It is difficult to know if this reflects the manuscript original on which the edition is based, or if it is the result of a misprint. A small number of misprints (eg. *Eccle* | *clesiæ*) has been transcribed exactly as found.

The printed text makes use of simple abbreviated forms and these are resolved in the transcription just as they are in the manuscripts. Ampersand, used quite liberally, is transcribed *et*. The text uses the ligatures *æ* and *œ* and these are reproduced exactly.

The form *e* with a tail, used alongside *æ* and equivalent to it, is transcribed as a simple *e* (thus we have *quæ* and *que*, *naturæ* and *nature*, *quærit* and *querit*, exactly equivalent in sound and meaning, alongside one another in the same paragraph.). The spelling is not always consistent – we find (I, v, 6)

**præminentem**

alongside

**preeminere**

within a line or two of each other, and *auctoritas* alongside *authoritas*, *quum* alongside *cum*.

A curious feature of the printed text is a small series of marginal variants which seem to be a direct reflection of the manuscript original on which it was based. These are marked by an asterisk in the text before the word in question, with a corresponding asterisk and variant in the margin, and they are transcribed just as they appear.

Their treatment in the printed text is rather haphazard. In two instances, there is an asterisk in the text but no corresponding marginal variant (p. 89 and p. 132). Again, these are transcribed as they stand, and notes draw attention to the anomaly.

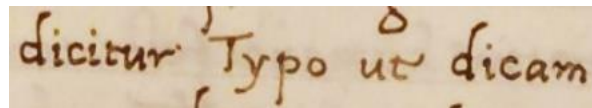
There is one anomaly in the numbering of the pages. The verso of page 67 is also numbered 67, and there is no page 69: the verso of page 68 is numbered 70, which re-establishes the correct sequence of recto and verso. Running titles have not been transcribed; nor have the catchwords which occur at the bottom of every page.

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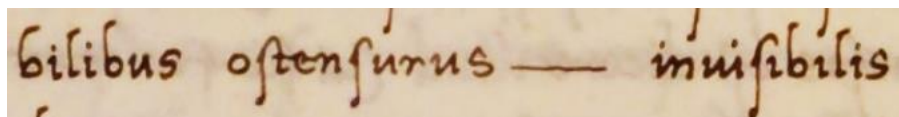
## **Ms. L**

Manuscript L is copied in a beautifully clear hand which in itself presents no problems to the transcriber. The text has been thoroughly revised and corrected throughout. Many of these corrections are made

by a hand which can be clearly distinguished from the original hand – the ink is paler, the letters smaller or larger than the surrounding text, depending on the size of the space left and the length of the word or phrase it must accommodate – though it seems to be the original scribe who returns to fill in gaps in the text left blank at the time of copying. Thus for example at I, ii, 1

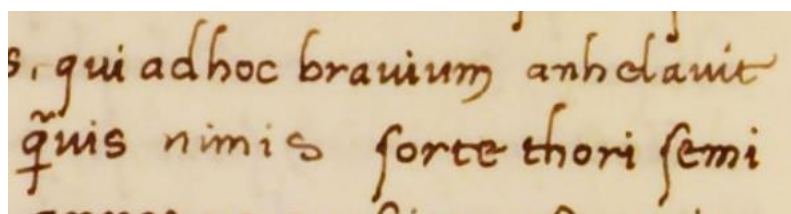


the words *Typo ut* have been inserted into a space originally left blank, as both the paler colour of the ink and the wider spacing of the letters clearly indicate. There are many other cases which are equally clearcut: for example, the word *ostensurus* is added in a much larger space at II, iv, 11



Additions of this kind appear in the transcription in the form: [[\Typo ut/](#)] [[\ostensurus/](#)].

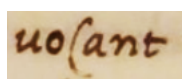
Marginal additions which correct inadvertent omissions are likewise often later additions by the same hand (they too tend to be in paler ink), as at f. 232r. There are inevitably some cases where it seems likely that something is added later but it is impossible to be sure. At II, viii, 3 for example, *nimis* is an unequivocal addition but *anhelavit* in the line above is less certain



These more doubtful cases are not marked as later additions in the transcription but are commented on in the notes, which are accessed by placing the cursor over [[\\*](#)] in the body of the transcription. The

whole correcting process has been carried out very discreetly: the corrections impinge very little on the aesthetic effect of what is a very handsome manuscript.

The scribe uses two forms of the letter *c*, a shorter and a longer one, more or less randomly. The longer one occurs mid-word as well as at the beginning of words, and is transcribed as lowercase: thus at III, iii, 9



is transcribed *vocant*.

There is a problem with figures in ms. L, in that the scribe appears on four occasions to use the Roman numeral *x* when what is required is the similarly shaped (but by no means identical) Arabic numeral 4: at II, v, 3



at II, viii, 4



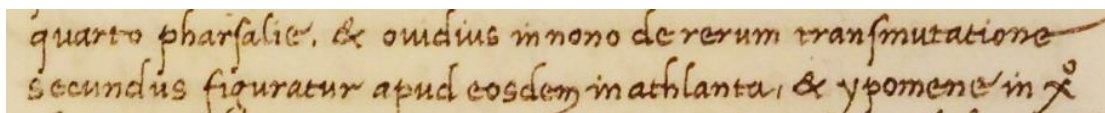
at III, iv, 15



and at III, x, 13



Where the scribe uses 4 or *fourth* correctly he writes the word in full, as at II, iii, 15; II, v, 16 and II, vi, 10; at II, vii, 10



he writes *quarto* in full and uses  $x^o$  correctly for *decimo*. It is this  $x^o$  which seems identical in shape to the cases listed above which have been transcribed as  $x$  and not as 4.

A number of abbreviations have been left unresolved in the transcription in the first fourteen chapters of Book I of this manuscript in order to facilitate the comparison with ms. Q, which is *descriptus* from L (thus at I, x, 1



the abbreviated form  $p'o$  in L is not recognised as an abbreviation for *primo* and is copied in Q as *pio*). Finally we may note that some of the attempts of the scribe of ms. L at resolving abbreviated forms are surprisingly off-target, as when what should be *falsitatem consequentis* is rendered *felicitatem consistendis* and *secundum accidens* becomes *sed accusans*.

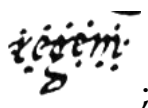
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## Ms. M

Manuscript M presents no particular problems for the transcriber. The corrections to the opening pages are by a later hand in black ink, clearly distinguished from the brown ink of the original. Because it is not possible to distinguish the two inks in the black and white images, the notes clarify where a correction is by the later hand: any correction not so noted is by the original hand. Later in the text a second correcting hand adds some marginal variants; these too are identified in the notes.

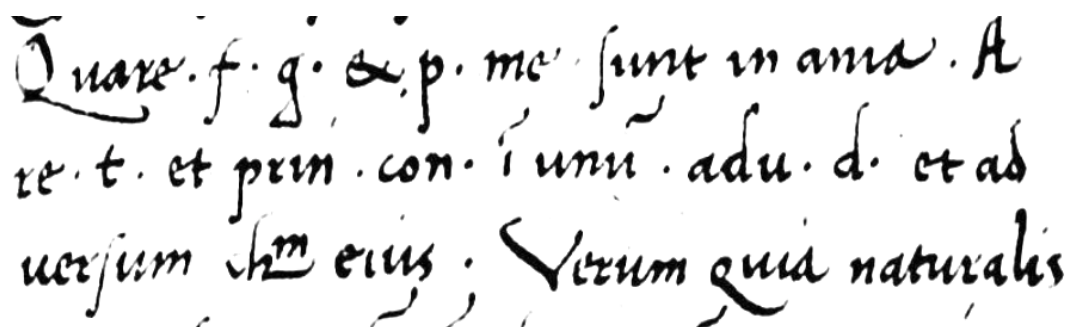
The scribe is particularly vulnerable to making mistakes when he starts a new page; thus he omits a word at the beginning of pages 20v, 32r, 37v, 39r, 43r, 43v, 44v, 53v, 84v, 85r (on this last occasion, the mistake also involves the catchword and the scribe sees the error and corrects it); even more strikingly, he makes a *saut du même au même* as he starts a new page at 8v, 65r and 81v, and is then forced to strike through a number of lines of text in order to correct his mistake. He uses dots to surround the word *regem* to indicate cancellation at I, xii, 11





these are transcribed as underdots.

The scribe characteristically separates negative *in-* from the word to which it would normally be attached, as for example *in premeditata* at III, ix, 9, and *in moto* at III, x, 16. These words are transcribed as they stand with the spacing as it appears in the manuscript. He uses *e* with a tail for *æ*: these are transcribed *e*. He occasionally abbreviates by extreme truncation to one or two letters, as in the biblical quotation at II, i, 4: *Quare fremuerunt gentes et populi meditati sunt in ania Astiterunt reges terre et principes convenerunt in unum adversus dominum.*



In the transcription these words are written in full and not in italics. The word *Iesus*, visible in whole or in part in the upper margin of some folios, has not been transcribed.

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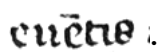
## Ms. N

The scribe of manuscript N creates the impression of being careful, methodical, and professional – anything but slapdash or wayward. Yet the manuscript presents acute problems to the transcriber, for reasons set out below.

The hand is very clear and the scribe is very consistent in his use of abbreviation signs: there are very few superfluous or missing signs (fewer perhaps than in any other manuscript of the treatise). *Hoc*, for example, is usually written in full, but is sometimes abbreviated *h<sup>o</sup>*; *h'*

is used for both *hec* and *hic* and has been transcribed as one or the other according to context.

The problems come from a different source altogether: confusion about letter shapes and consequent confusion about abbreviated forms which incorporate those letters. The confusion was probably already present in the exemplar from which this scribe was copying. For example, although the letters *e* and *c* are clearly distinguished in this hand, there are readings and abbreviations which suggest that in an ancestor they were easily confused. Thus we find what can only be read as *eventis* where what is required is *cunctis* at II, viii, 1



this is transcribed, obviously, as *eventis*. At II, v, 17 we find *cāque* (*causamque*) where what is required is *eamque*.

There are acute problems of this kind with abbreviated forms from the very first page of the text: forms which normally mean and are used elsewhere in this same manuscript to mean, something which is inappropriate where found in a particular context. In other words we have very clear abbreviations like *cā* (*causa*) which give bizarre misreadings when they are resolved. In these cases the abbreviated forms are retained in the transcription and notes (accessed by placing the cursor over [\*] within the transcription) explain the problem.

These difficulties become more acute when they are connected with what we might describe more generally as the minim problem, and in particular the distinction – or often the impossibility of distinguishing – between letters composed of minims (*i*, *n*, *u*, *m*) when they are adjacent to one another. The distinction between *n* and *u* is particularly taxing. Thus *Qui* at I, i, 4 is transcribed *Qui* in spite of appearances



because *Qni* is meaningless, and likewise *Cum* at I, xiii, 7



because *Cnm* is meaningless. But there are many more problematic cases where the word as it is written suggests a different reading from the one which is required: thus for example *nudas* for *undas* at II, viii, 13

*nudas*

is transcribed as it stands.

With abbreviated forms the difficulty is compounded. Thus *vero* and *non*, which in some of their abbreviated forms are virtually identical, have regularly been confused with one another: *non* has become *vero* at II, v, 23 and again at II, ix, 4

*uō vno · nō*

(where the contrast with *non* two words later seems very clear); *vero* seems to have become *non* at II, vii, 7 and at II, ix, 3, and is transcribed in grey to indicate that the reading is problematic.

The abbreviated form of *videtur* at III, iv, 17

*ñ·*

looks more like the form for *noster*. A further complication is that sometimes the scribe has copied a word correctly except for an inappropriately dotted minim which can only be read as an *i*: thus twice for example what should be *adiuta* is written *aduita*.

In cases where a reader unfamiliar with the text would certainly take the letter to be the wrong one the transcription records the problematic letter or letters in grey, indicating that there is a difficulty: thus *misenum* at II, iii, 9

*unſemī*

is transcribed *mi[?]senum* because an unprepared reader would certainly read this as *unsenum*. The grey typeface gives the benefit of the doubt. There are countless similar examples, and the decision as to

how to transcribe in each case – whether to use the grey typeface, to retain or resolve a problematic abbreviation – has been made depending not just on the immediate context but also on the broader context of the manuscript tradition as a whole. Thus if the potential source of misunderstanding connects with a misreading in another manuscript the ambiguous form is retained; if the difficulty is not illuminating the grey typeface is used. The transcription must be read bearing these problems in mind and consulting the notes as appropriate. Ironically, it is precisely because the scribe is so meticulous in other respects that these anomalies are so striking.

The word *Nicomacum* is regularly written *nico* with no indication that this is an abbreviation; although it is not really clear that the scribe recognised the name, it is transcribed in full ('nicomacum'). The letter *w* is used in the word *wltus* (*vultus*). Where the scribe boxes a word in with dots to cancel it at III, xiv, 4



the word is transcribed with underdots.

There is a small number of marginal variants or clarifications in a much later hand; these are identified as such in the notes and have not been transcribed.

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## Ms. P

As one would expect of a scribe of the calibre of Francesco Piendibeni, manuscript P is a thorough, meticulous, professional copy. There are almost no careless slips, the spelling is extraordinarily consistent, and the punctuation and capitalisation are very helpful. (The punctuation includes the question mark, used frequently and appropriately.) The rubrication is equally helpful: the rubricator marks the beginning of paragraphs in red. All these various devices help underline the development and logic of the argument: the beginnings of quotations and syllogisms, for example, are marked with a capital letter. The

orderliness is very striking compared with the more undisciplined and seemingly randomised use of these features in some manuscripts. There is an ample marginal commentary, with the comments tending to line up with the red paraph markers in the text, making it easy to identify the exact point in the text to which the comment relates.

The text has been meticulously checked over its entire length. Many words are marked with a very discreet sign over them, indicating the revisor's dissatisfaction with the reading or his suspicion that the text is faulty. Some of these marked words are accompanied by a marginal variant or gloss, but many are not. These markers go from the first page of the treatise, where there are five of them (all marking what are in fact errors in the text) to the last page, where the last marker appears on the very last word of the treatise. In all there are some 65 of these markers, most with a corresponding caret in the margin (with or without a suggested variant); there are a further 30 carets in the margin which do not relate to a marked word in the text. These additional marginal carets may simply mark passages which the scribe found puzzling rather than words he suspected might be misreadings. Where no marginal variant is supplied, the markers usually (though not quite always) pick out what are in fact erroneous readings. Where there is a marginal variant it is included in the transcription. Where there is no marginal variant accompanying the caret there is a note to that effect, accessed by placing the cursor over [\*] in the transcription; the notes likewise list the 30-odd cases where there is a caret in the margin which is not linked to a marker in the text. It is perhaps worth pointing out that in the Schneider facsimile edition of this manuscript (1970) these carets are for the most part not visible.

There is a large *lacuna* in the text which occurs mid-sentence and mid-page, at the end of line 9 on f. 45r, between the words *succumbere* and *nasci*: the *lacuna* between these two contiguous words encompasses the text from II, ix, 6 to II, x, 6, and clearly reflects the loss of an entire folio in the exemplar. This portion of text is perforce missing in the transcription and in the Apparatus. The heading OUT P at the top of the Variants display for these paragraphs alerts the reader to the *lacuna*. Oddly, for a scribe so meticulous in his attention to the meaning of

what he is transcribing, the scribe appears not to have noticed the dislocated argument.

There are very few problems with abbreviations in this manuscript. The scribe makes sparing use of them, even for common words. We may just note that on a number of occasions he uses the abbreviation for *tamen* (*tn* with a macron over the *n*) when what is required is *tantum* (*tm* with a macron over the *m*): these are transcribed as *tamen*. He puts one minim too many in the abbreviated form of *sententie*, but he does it so regularly that one assumes that this is a part of his *usus scribendi* rather than a careless slip (we transcribe *sententie*). Grey typeface is used for the doubtful element (*-modi*) in the problematic expansion *huiusmodi*[?].

Cancelled letters are used as line-fillers throughout and appear in the transcription as a conventional symbol ꝑ. The guide letters for the rubricator are visible in the far margin but have not been transcribed.

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## Ms. Ph

This manuscript, which is in private hands, is the only one where it has not been possible to check the transcription against the original. The quality of the photographs in the possession of the Società Dantesca Italiana is good, but inevitably some doubts remain about some readings on the more rubbed or damaged folios.

The main problem for the transcriber of ms. Ph is the scribe's very erratic use of abbreviation signs. Irregularities include the following, listed in order of their increasing likelihood of baffling the reader (in the examples given the word in brackets is the word the abbreviated form supposedly represents):

- superfluous abbreviation signs eg. *p'oeta* (*poeta*), *patr'e* (*patre*), *p̄lacet* (*placet*). Most commonly the superfluous sign is a macron, often placed midway between two letters: in these cases the transcription puts the macron over the first of the letters to which it relates.

abbreviations which duplicate a letter or letters already written in full eg. *qua* (*qua*), *qui* (*qui*).

- abbreviation signs placed in an odd position in a word eg. *uli's* instead of the normal *ul'is* for *universalis*.
- standard abbreviations but used for the wrong word eg. *fr's* is normally *fratres*, not the *factus* required by the context. Several oddities of this kind seem to derive from a *c* in the exemplar being misread as an *r*.
- puzzling or unusual abbreviated forms which make an approximate stab at the required word without actually representing it, although equally they do not suggest another word eg. *nicōe* (*nicomacum*), *dāna* (*divina*), *meies* (*meritis*).
- abbreviated words to which it is difficult to assign any meaning at all eg. *tieban* (*tubam*), *pasc'ba* (*pasca*).
- sometimes the faulty signs have taken on a life of their own, like a cancerous growth, generating readings to which it is impossible to assign any useful meaning in context, eg. *clavi-ger* has become *clavi gerē* (=gerere), *divinam* has become *d'i nām* (=dei naturam)

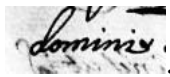
In all the cases listed above, the abbreviated forms are transcribed exactly as they stand, that is they are retained in the transcription just as they appear in the original. Regrettably, they clutter the apparatus with trivial variation or error, but no other solution was possible without distorting the character of the witness and smoothing out its very real strangeness and difficulty. Many of the odder forms are quite baffling even to a prepared reader. Their proliferation suggests that the copyist is grappling with a text which he only partly or imperfectly comprehends. Notes, accessed by placing the cursor over [\*] in the transcription, draw attention to the aberrant forms. Elsewhere grey typeface is used where readings are doubtful or the benefit of the doubt has been given.

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## Ms. Q

Notwithstanding Ricci's assertion to the contrary, ms. Q in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence is a direct copy of ms. L in the Biblioteca

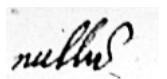
Laurenziana, and therefore of no value to the editor of Dante's treatise (see Shaw, 'Il manoscritto Q della *Monarchia*'); the conclusions are summarised in the Introduction. V. Methodology. Q *descriptus* from L on this web site). There are no particular problems with the hand in ms. Q. The letter *-i* at the end of a word tends to have an extravagant flourish, easily mistaken for an additional letter: thus *domini* at I, xii, 12:



The letter *e* is often written with a flourish directly above it that has no textual significance: thus *necesse* at I, ii, 4:



For final *-m* the scribe frequently uses a version of the macron which is more an upward flourish looped away from the letter than a line over it: thus *nullum* at I, i, 4:



He often uses *ae* where ms. L uses a simple *e*, so *monarchiae, quae, haec, iustitiae* instead of *monarchie, que, hec, iustitie*. He transcribes & as *et* and makes minor adjustments to the spelling of his exemplar: thus he writes *umanum, intenzione, scrutandum* where ms. L has *humanum, intentione, scrupandum*.

The scribe faithfully copies trivial errors in ms. L: *precedenti* for *precedenti*, *aperabitur* for *operabitur*. In addition he makes a significant number of careless errors of his own, including *pater* for *patet*, *par* for *pars*, *prinpes* for *principes*, *volunt* for *nolunt*, *debet* for *habet*, *tractum* for *tactum*, *quinmo* for *quin immo*. This is not an exhaustive list.

The main problem ms. L presented to the scribe of Q was its use of abbreviations, which he seems to have found baffling. Some he expands wrongly: forms which are quite clear and used consistently in ms. L (and whose meaning one might think would be clear from



context) are not understood. Thus abbreviated *quam* is regularly transcribed *quem*, abbreviated *qui* is transcribed *quae*. Others he was unable to expand and left as blank spaces in his copy, perhaps hoping to return to it at a later time.

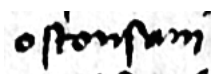
The scribe checked his work and corrected a number of errors, most notably the omission of two separate complete lines of text on the first page. (That the omitted passages each correspond to exactly one line in ms. L is in itself a powerful indication that this was his exemplar. A similar omission of another whole line later in the text is not picked up.) Other corrections seem to have been made with recourse to the vernacular translation of Dante's treatise: thus the corrections to the syllogism at I, xi, 9 (f. 11v) and the two notes on the same page which record the reading of the text in the *volgarizzamento* to clarify a difficulty.

The notes to the transcription, accessed by placing the cursor over [\*] in the transcription, draw attention to the many idiosyncrasies of ms. Q, most of which can be explained in terms of its being a direct copy of ms. L.

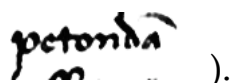
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## Ms. R

The hand in ms. R is generally unproblematic, though the letters *o* and *e* are sometimes indistinguishable: in particular, *e* regularly looks like *o* before *n* (eg. *ostensam* at I, i, 4



and *petendam* at II, v, 16

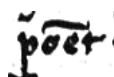


The letters *e* and *c* are also at times very similar. However some dubious letters seem to reflect a slapdash approach rather than an alternative letter form: when the scribe writes *loborare* instead of *laborare* it

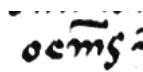
seems to be simple carelessness, and these words are transcribed exactly as they are written. The letter *h* with a bar through the ascender (easily mistaken for *hoc*) is repeatedly used as a line-filler, as are other cancelled letters from time to time.

The scribe is slapdash in many respects: for example, three times he writes the word *mund* omitting the final letter. He is also very undisciplined in his use of abbreviation signs, often adding superfluous signs and equally often omitting signs. While some words with missing signs remain intelligible and can be confidently transcribed in full (thus *pot* for *potest*, *het* for *habet*), there are many others for which this is not true.

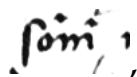
Furthermore some of the abbreviations used seem wildly approximate or inappropriate, and several of these are of very common words: thus *potest* is repeatedly abbreviated *pōēt* as at I, iii, 8



alongside more normal abbreviated forms, and *omnes* is abbreviated



at I, v, 4 alongside the normal *ōs*; *el'eosma* evidently stands for *elemosina*. These forms are transcribed just as they appear in the manuscript as it is by no means clear that a reader unfamiliar with the text would recognise them for what they apparently represent. Other abbreviations are simply impossible to resolve; thus *sōm̄* at II, v, 9



*p̄mō p̄tnabli* at III, iv, 4



*p̄r̄ti<sup>li</sup>* at III, vii, 4

p̄m̄l̄:

these too are retained as they appear. All of these puzzling abbreviations, with the exception of the first, are identical to forms in ms. E where they likewise remain unresolved in the transcription. .S. is *scilicet*, but also often appears where other readings (*si, solum*) are required, just as happens in ms. E.

The scribe seems unbothered by the distinction between the endings *-tur* and *-ter*, regularly confusing the two in their abbreviated (and even in their unabbreviated) forms: thus *sufficientur* for *sufficienter* at II, ii, 1, and II, ii, 7, alongside the correct form at III, i, 1; *mendacitur* at II, i, 6. But he is perhaps dimly aware that there is a problem as he self-corrects at III, iii, 10 from *procacitur* to *-ter*. The transcription retains the abbreviated form or reflects the abbreviation actually used, as the scribe evidently regards forms in *-ter* and *-tur* as roughly interchangeable (so *It' – Iter –* for *Itur* at I, iv, 5 and *comunitur* for *comuniter* at II, ii, 3).

There is a whole series of small interventions by a correcting hand in the opening pages, especially on the first page; the ink in which these changes are executed is the same colour as that of the text, making it difficult sometimes to be sure that an intervention has taken place. (Notes accessed by placing the cursor over [\*] register these less clear-cut cases.) Some of these are real corrections, and indeed correct errors ms. R shares with ms. E; others are not, but rather are just tinkering with letter shapes. When letters are overwritten it is impossible to be sure which comes first and which is the correction, but it seems likely that aberrant forms have been corrected to more standard ones (so *varago* to *vorago* rather than *vice versa*, and *refuntens* to *refundens*). The transcription reflects this assumption. The corrections were presumably made with recourse to a different manuscript.

The manuscript is incomplete (the text ends at III, x, 8) and a folio has been lost between the last two folios (the text from III, ix, 7 to III, ix, 18 is thus also missing). Furthermore these last two folios have been bound into the manuscript in the wrong order, so that the folio

currently numbered 38 is in fact 37 and the folio numbered 37 is 38 (and would originally have been 39, allowing for the missing folio). In the transcription we have presented the text continuously (with a gap for the missing folio), i.e. we have transcribed the two final folios in the correct order, not in the order in which they are bound into the manuscript. The manuscript has suffered damage on these final pages which makes some of the readings less certain than in the remainder of the text.

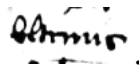
As well as drawing attention to the many errors and oddities in the scribe's use of abbreviations, the notes (accessed by placing the cursor over [\*] in the transcription) underline some of the respects in which both the layout and the finer points of textual representation in this manuscript seem directly modelled on ms. E. (The large number of eccentric variant readings shared by these two manuscripts alone will be apparent from the collation but is not commented on in the notes.) For an analysis of the relationship between them, which concludes that ms. R is almost certainly *descriptus* from ms. E, see V. Methodology. R *descriptus* from E?

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## Ms. S

Manuscript S is striking for the contrast between the chaotic state of the text in terms of textual substance and the relatively few transcription problems it poses. The text sometimes deteriorates into complete unintelligibility – for example, the opening lines of II, v, 14 – and when this happens there seems no point in even trying to make sense of it. The chaotic quality invests every aspect of the text: forms of words (*storiagrofi* may just be a slip for *storiografi*, but what of *polastra* for *pa-lestra?*), lack of agreements, indifference to correct case endings, indiscriminate use of capital letters and rubrication (there is a red line through many capital letters almost randomly, and the capital letters themselves are scattered like sultanas in a pudding), and even letter forms.

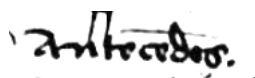
Capital letter shapes, with or without a red stroke through them, are often close in size to lower-case forms – this is especially true of the letters *a* and *r*. These have been treated simply as variant letter forms and transcribed as lower-case. Because the black and white image does not distinguish between black ink and red, some letters look odd in shape on the image because there is a red line through them (but they are perfectly clear in the original); there are some idle strokes in red, eg. the mark over the *m* of *Imperium* at II, x, 4 (56r b), which are not transcribed. Occasionally the letters *i* and *e* are indistinguishable and the same is true at times of *c* and *r*. Sometimes we have -çç- or -çc-, but where it seems likely that a single cedilla is meant to apply to both letters it has been so transcribed, as in *Athletiççantibus* at II, viii, 15. The scribe sometimes uses a strange form of *u* with a flourish which makes it look like a *b*, for example *ultimis* at III, xii, 7



There is some fluidity of spelling, with the letters *x* and *ss* or *sc* used interchangeably: thus we have *exentiam* for *essentiam*, *conplexionatum* for *complexionatum*, *produssit* for *produxit*, and *dixipuli* for *discipuli*.

Typically, abbreviated forms are wrong by one crucial letter so that it becomes impossible to resolve them satisfactorily: thus *m<sup>a</sup>rum*, where the superscript *a* instead of *o* rules out the required *modorum* as the reading; *n<sup>e</sup>* where the *n* instead of *m* means the word cannot be read as *materie*. These forms have been left unresolved in the transcription and represented exactly as they appear in the manuscript. The abbreviated form for *sed* is resolved *sed* even though the scribe usually writes *set* in full.

The scribe uses very long macrons, which can cover as many as 6 or 7 letters to represent a single missing letter, for example *antecedens* at III, xii, 3



Conversely, sometimes the macron is too short to suggest a number of separate contracted letters, but in these cases the transcription gives the benefit of the doubt, and transcribes the word in full: thus *propositio* at III, xiii, 5 and *superpositionis* at III, xii, 10 and 11.

The marginal notes on f. 53r b naming figures listed in the text have been partly trimmed away and have not been transcribed; nor have similar notes on ff. 53v, 54r and 55v. The marginal note *Ovidius* at II, viii, 3 is not visible on the image but is clearly visible in the original. Corrections are all by the original hand and executed at the time of transcribing; there are no later additions and corrections.

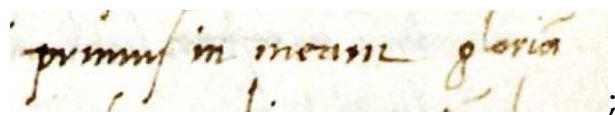
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## Ms. T

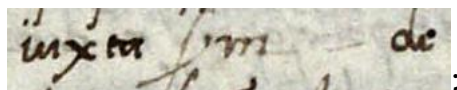
In ms. T it is possible to distinguish clearly between the original transcription and a whole series of later interventions to the text. Most of these later interventions appear to have been made by the original scribe who carefully revised and corrected his copy, sometimes cancelling a word and adding a corrected reading in the margin, and sometimes adding words where he had originally left a blank space.

The corrected readings very often replace incorrect readings which derive from a misunderstanding of an abbreviated form, thus *universalis* replaces *utilis* at I, iv, 2, *oportet* replaces *ostendit* repeatedly, *operationem* replaces *oppositionem*; *subassumpta* replaces *substantia sumpta*; *subiecto* replaces *subiuncto*. Occasionally the original reading is not cancelled and the marginal variant seems intended as an alternative reading rather than an outright substitution, as when *prestaret* is written alongside *prepararet* at I, i, 4 and *rationem* alongside *intentionem* at I, ii, 1.

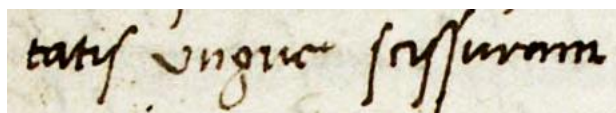
Where words are added into spaces originally left blank, they are transcribed thus: [*\abcde/*]. The irregularity of the spacing often reveals these additions very clearly, as in these cases:[*\meam/*] at I, i, 5:



[\secundum/] at I, ix, 1:



[\ungue/] at I, xvi, 3:

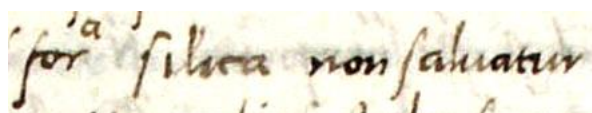


There are no notes on these clearcut cases as the display itself reflects the process of correction. Inevitably there are some cases where one suspects a word has been added but the word fits exactly into the space which was left and one cannot be sure. These more doubtful cases are not included in the transcription but are mentioned in the notes, accessed by positioning the cursor over the editorial note icon [\*] within the transcription. As there is a lot of natural variation in the ink colour in the original transcription, from very pale to quite dark, ink colour alone is not a reliable indicator of a later addition.

Some of the later additions into spaces originally left blank retain abbreviated forms. The scribe clearly did not understand these forms and reproduced them as he found them: thus d'd' at III, viii, 3:



*sil'ica* at III, vii, 3:



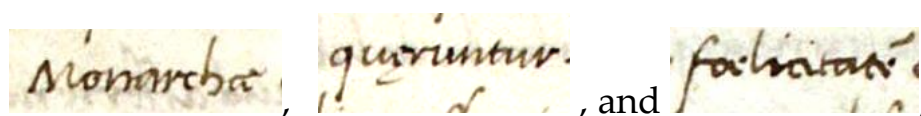
For an analysis of the significance of the corrections to ms. T, see Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista.'

The scribe is himself both sparing and disciplined in his use of abbreviated forms, and they present few difficulties to the transcriber. The problem is rather with incorrectly expanded abbreviations: some, as

we have seen, were subsequently corrected, but others are not corrected, as when we have *questionis* for *quasi*, or *inconsequens* for *inconueniens*. (These incorrect expansions may of course already have been present in his exemplar.)

The extremely regular and consistent punctuation makes the text very readable in this manuscript. The spelling too is very regular and disciplined; word division is very careful: when occasionally two words are inadvertently run together they are carefully separated with markers.

The scribe uses *æ* alongside *e* with a tail (transcribed *e*) and less often *œ*: thus



*æ* and *œ* are transcribed as they appear. Where he occasionally uses *Z* mid-word it is transcribed as lower case *z*. Signatures at the bottom of the page have not been transcribed eg. *c4* on 153r. The marginal notes are in a later hand in very faded red ink, and are accessed by clicking on § in the transcription.

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## Ms. U

Ms. U presents a very clean and consistent copy of the treatise, with no spelling variants and no misuse of abbreviation signs. There are very few missing signs, and any superfluous ones are usually cancelled by the scribe as he writes. Where these superfluous signs duplicate a letter already expressed in full as a letter, they are not included in the transcription but simply registered in the notes, accessed by positioning the cursor over the editorial note icon [\*] in the transcription. Where they effect a change in reading, they are included in the transcription.

All corrections to the text are by the original hand and appear to have been made in the course of transcribing. Some blank spaces have been left but no attempt has been made to fill them. Damage to the bottom outside corner of many pages makes some words or parts of words



unreadable; sometimes fragmentary parts of a letter are visible, but these are transcribed or noted only when there can be no doubt about what the complete letter was.

The scribe uses three different forms of the letter *s* (a long form, a short one, and a different form again when *s* is the final letter of a word). There is normally a ligature between *c* and *t*; *æ* and *e* with a tail are interchangeable; = is used as a linefiller. The word *illud* is normally written in full; *id* seems not to be an abbreviation for *illud*, even if the *d* is marginally smaller than the *i*: it is used both where the received text is *id* and (occasionally) where it is *illud*.

The text is heavily and helpfully punctuated, the marks including comma, colon, question mark and parenthesis. Commas are occasionally so big they might be confused with minims, eg. at II, iii, 10, but they are not transcribed or commented on. Very little is opaque in meaning; the scribe has made plausible sense even of the corrupted text at the end of II, ii (*humanarum exempla voluntatum* instead of *humana extra volentem*). Unusually, classical quotations from poets are set out as verse and stand out clearly from the surrounding prose text. There is one note in paler ink at III, ix, 1 (Luc 22 ) which has not been transcribed.

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## Ms. V

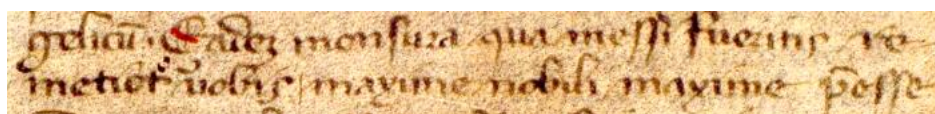
The problems which confront the transcriber of manuscript V are caused rather by the physical characteristics of the codex than by the difficulty of the hand or by any carelessness or inconsistency in the scribe's habits. The quality of the parchment is rather poor and on the hair side very dark. This rough side of the parchment, especially where it has been erased, often does not take the ink well.

The whole text has been meticulously corrected by a second hand in darker ink. This hand sometimes adds words or phrases omitted in the original transcription, but more characteristically erases the original reading and replaces it with a substitute. The correcting hand uses

more upright letters, with a more compact spacing. Often there is a mismatch between the original reading and the replacement, so that a blank space of several letters may be left after the inserted word, or the new word squeezed into a space which is too small for it.

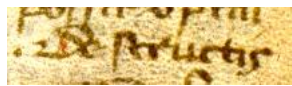
Sometimes the original reading is still discernible to the naked eye or is legible with the help of an ultra-violet lamp; sometimes it remains indecipherable. Where the original reading can be ascertained the transcription takes the form: cupidita[**tis**]s I, xi, 13; [**necessitas**]neffas II, iv, 3. Here blue indicates the original reading, enclosed in square brackets, green the corrected reading. Where the original reading is not recoverable the transcription takes the form: [.....]quare I, xv, 2; rep[.....]atriandi II, v, 12. Sometimes letters or words have been overwritten in dark ink in order to clarify a reading where the ink was very faded or rubbed, without the reading having been changed. These small retouchings are self-evident in the images and are not recorded in the transcription or in the notes. Where words are added over erasures the display is self-explanatory, and there is no accompanying note. More doubtful cases, where it is impossible to be sure if the correcting hand has changed a reading or merely overwritten it to make it clearer, are not included in the transcription but are mentioned in the notes, accessed by positioning the cursor over the editorial icon [\*] in the transcription.

There are few problems with abbreviations in this manuscript (there are very few superfluous or missing signs). There is very limited use of heavily contracted forms: indeed the occasional one (*trm* with a macron over the *r* for *terminum*, *pp<sup>m</sup>* for *perpetuum* at III, xvi, 4) comes as something of a surprise. There appears to have been some confusion, probably in the exemplar, between abbreviated forms for *potest*, *preter*, *prodest*, *propter* and *patet*. The correcting hand sometimes rewrites an abbreviation sign in a position closer to the word it is attached to: thus the sign which represents the *-ur* in *remetietur vobis* at II, iii, 5



has been repositioned, but the original mark is still clearly visible over the *v* of *vobis*. In cases of this kind (this is not an isolated instance) the duplicated signs can at first glance seem slightly confusing.

The spelling in this manuscript is very consistent: always *quemamodum* for *quemadmodum*, always (with just one exception at III, x, 2) *autoritas* not *auctoritas*. The scribe's capital *D* has a rather extravagant initial flourish which can look like an extra letter: thus *Destructis* at I, ix, 11

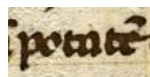


Blank spaces at the end of chapters are filled with words or phrases repeated from the immediately preceding text which are then underlined and cancelled; the underlining is by the original scribe, the stroke through the words is in the red of the rubricator. These words and phrases used as line-fillers are retained in the transcription but regularised out in Word Collation as they are of no textual interest.

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## Ms. Y

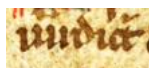
The manuscript, copied by a single hand and heavily abbreviated, presents no particular challenges to the transcriber. The scribe clearly feels completely at ease with the abbreviation system he uses, and counts on the reader being able to decipher it without difficulty. Occasionally a *compendio* is missing where we would expect it, but it is difficult to know in these cases if it has been omitted through carelessness or whether the very reduced form is considered sufficiently clear to convey the meaning. Thus at III x 6 (f. 15r) we find



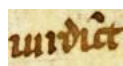
for *potestatem*. Elsewhere the scribe uses the same extremely abbreviated form to signify different forms of the word *iurisdictio*:



is *iurisdictionem* at III x 10, and the same form



is *iurisdictione* at III x 12 . There is an even more abbreviated form



at II xi 5 for *iurisdictionem*, and the same form



at III x 11 for *iurisdictionis*: either a *compendio* has been omitted, or else a single macron stands for *-is* and *-ionem* in the first case, and for *-is* and *-ionis* in the second.

Where abbreviation signs are ambiguous and could be resolved in two different ways, the transcription retains the abbreviated form: thus *ul'is* (*utilis* or *universalis*) and related forms *ul'r*, *ul'em*, *ul'e*; *pol'* (*politici* or *possibilis*); *canct'* (*canticum*, *canticam*, *cantice*, *cantici* or *canticorum*: all forms written in full in other mss.). Anomalous forms are transcribed exactly as they appear in the manuscript: thus *sil'm* for *simul* at II i 7, alongside the regular *siml'* on the same line. There is only one word whose meaning it is difficult to fathom: *int'nīt* at III iii 18 (the *EN* text at this point reads *matri*; there are no variants on the word in other mss.).

For a more detailed account of abbreviated forms in Y and a complete list of occasional missing or superfluous abbreviation signs, see the section *Caratteristiche della copia* in the chapter *Descrizione codicologica* in Shaw 2018. In general, where a *compendio* is missing, or a letter is missing from a word, the transcription exactly replicates the ms. form and there is an editorial note accessed by floating the cursor over the [\*] icon.

Scribal corrections are registered in this electronic edition using the conventions used in the other ms. transcriptions, some of which differ slightly from those used in the facsimile edition of Y in Shaw 2018. As

in the other ms. transcriptions on this web site, blank spaces left by the copyist are registered thus: [ ]; cancelled and underdotted words are registered ~~opera~~ and auctoritate respectively; interlinear and marginal additions are between sloping slashes thus: \habet/, cris|i/pus. Uncorrected errors are transcribed exactly as they are in the manuscript, whether a word is inadvertently repeated, or left unfinished at the end of a line, or a syllable is repeated at the beginning of a line.

On four occasions (at I iii 2, II iii 14, II xi 1, and III ix 12) the scribe corrects the word order with tiny markers to restore the word order in the *EN* text. Editorial notes [\*] at the relevant point draw attention to these corrections. There are no corrections by a second hand. Scribal notes are accessed by clicking on § in the transcription.

Unlike the transcriptions of the other mss. in this electronic edition, the transcription of ms. Y shows all expanded abbreviations in italics; it registers the distinction between *u* and *v*, and between *i* and *j*, exactly as the scribe wrote them; and it registers all punctuation (*punctus* . and *virgula suspensiva* /). The italics and punctuation have been removed in the Apparatus.

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## Ms. Z

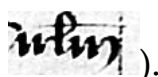
The text of the treatise in ms. Z, as in ms. H, is accompanied by an extensive commentary by Cola di Rienzo. Whereas in ms. H the commentary is confined to the margins and has not been included in the transcription, in ms. Z significant sections of the commentary form the long rubrics between chapters, and these run continuously with the text. These rubrics have been transcribed and are displayed with the text; the remainder of the commentary has also been transcribed and can be accessed by clicking on § in the transcription at the appropriate point. (For further comments on the transcription of the commentary, see below.)

The single most striking feature in this hand is the use of an extended form of the macron – a long very fine horizontal line (clearly visible on

the original, and now mostly visible on the digitised images) – to signify not just *m* and *n*, but also *i* and *s* (as in *racio*, *quasi*, *suppositionis*), less commonly *u* (as in *nullum*, *simul*), and sometimes *a* (as in *talibus*) or *e* (as in *angelos*); occasionally this abbreviation sign represents a whole syllable (the *-do* of *modo*) or a sequence of letters (both the *a* and the *vi* of *nativitate* at III, v 3



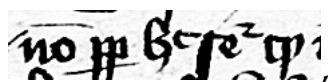
or all the letters except *irlm* in *ierusalem* at III ix 10



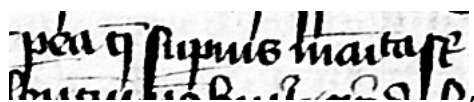
It functions virtually as an all-purpose abbreviation sign. Equally, a large very looped version of the macron, which normally represents *r* plus a vowel, can sometimes represent a nasal or *r* plus 2 vowels (eg. *-eru-* in *fuertunt* at II, viii, 3



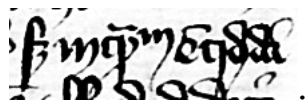
One gets the impression that this copyist is absolutely at home with his abbreviation system, uses it confidently and discriminatingly, and expects his reader to be alert and intelligent. Sometimes a vowel seems to be omitted with nothing to signal it is required (eg. *particulariter*, *pollticis*): the copyist may just expect his reader to supply this from native wit, but in these cases the word has been transcribed as it stands. At times the text is so abbreviated as to read almost like shorthand. Thus almost every word is abbreviated in phrases such as: *non propter hoc sequitur quod* at III, iv, 17



*per ea que superius manifestata sunt* at III, xiv, 7



*sed in quantum est quoddam* at III, xv, 7

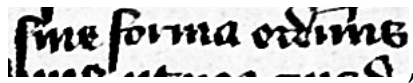


Only occasionally (compared with some other manuscripts where it is a frequent occurrence) is there a misreading which derives from a misunderstanding of an abbreviation sign – eg. *personam sumpsit* for *presumpsit* at II, x, 4 – but almost certainly the inappropriate expansion was already present in the scribe's exemplar.

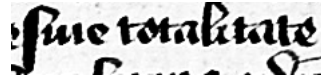
The copyist is very consistent in his use of abbreviations – thus *hoc* is *h<sup>c</sup>*, *hic* is *h'* and *hec* is *h̄* and they are rarely confused – and on the whole in spelling forms as well (it comes as something of a surprise to find *gymnasium* at III, i, 3 and *gimpnasio* at III, iii, 11 and 16). Only very occasionally is there a missing abbreviation sign or a superfluous one: these are recorded in the notes to the transcriptions. There appears to have been some confusion (perhaps in the scribe's exemplar) between abbreviated forms for *sciendum*, *secundum* and *scilicet*.

The letters *c* and *t* are sometimes clearly distinguished in this hand but very often they are indistinguishable. (Where either letter is appropriate and the meaning is not affected, as in alternations like *notitia/noticia*, I have not agonised over the distinction in the transcriptions.) The same is true, more problematically, of the letters *n* and *u*. Thus the words *huic* and *hinc* are virtually identical, as are *sive* and *sine*, but these are different words and the distinction between them will affect meaning.

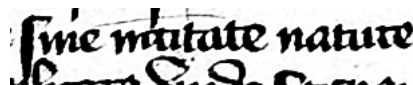
On the whole in these cases the benefit of the doubt has been given. If the word could be interpreted as the received text requires, then it is transcribed as such, even if it might well be read by an inattentive scribe or reader as something different: if the context requires *sive*, and the word allows that reading, that is what I transcribe. (A reader who uses the transcriptions alongside the images will quickly get the measure of the problem.) But several times – as at *sine forma ordinis* I, vi, 3



where the word *sive* occurs in the line immediately above (at I, vi, 3

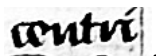


*sive totalitate*) and the contrast between the two is striking, and at I, xiii, 1



*sine necessitate nature* – the word can only be read as *sine* where the text requires *sive*, and in these cases it is perforce transcribed *sine*. The same problem occurs with *movet/monet*; *indicantur/iudicantur*, and other pairs of this kind.

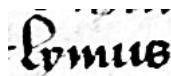
There are some problematical or erroneous readings which can be attributed to the similarity between these letters (*c* and *t*, or *n* and *u*) in the scribe's exemplar, i.e. the confusion has already occurred at an earlier stage and the scribe simply copies a text which is already corrupted. Thus he writes *centri* instead of *teuceri* at II, iii, 11 and again at II, viii, 11:



Here with all the good will in the world it is not possible to read the word as *teuceri*; and indeed the corrupt form is repeated in the commentary at II, iii, 11

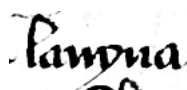


In general, proper names are a recurring problem: it is very difficult to be sure the copyist recognises even well known names like Livy or Lavinia, which as they are written look very like *lynius*

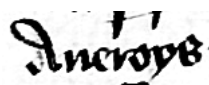





at II, v, 9 and *lanyna*



at II, iii, 16. Here, as with *huic* and *hinc* above, the benefit of the doubt has been given where it is possible to do so. In borderline cases the problematic letter is in grey typeface, thus at I, iii, 9



is transcribed *Av[?]eroys* and at II, viii, 1



is transcribed *cun[?]ctis*. The letter *w* is used in words like *wlnera* and *ewangelicum*; the abbreviated form *w<sup>t</sup>* is transcribed *vult*.

Occasionally when writing words which have a sequence of minims the scribe is one minim short or adds one too many: thus we find both *assunitur* and *assumutur* for *assumitur*. The words are transcribed as they are written, without comment.

The manuscript has been corrected throughout, though not extensively. Some of these corrections are by the original hand, others by the commentary hand, yet others by a third hand. Where it is not possible to be sure if a correction is by the original or a later hand, the copyist is not specified in the transcription: thus the stroke through the word *maiozem* in the first line may well be by the original hand but could be by a later one. The copyist is specified only where a correction can be reasonably clearly identified as being in the commentator's hand [hand 2] or the corrector's hand [hand 3]: this information is given in the notes to the transcription, accessed by positioning the cursor over the editorial note icon [\*].

There is a small number of alternative readings where a letter is added between the lines but without cancelling the letter over which it is placed: thus *mundi<sup>o/</sup>* at I, x, 5

*subassump ta*<sup>ol</sup> at I, xi, 20

and *ab*<sup>d/</sup> at II, ix, 3

These additions are all by hand 3, the correcting hand. Some words have a marker over them indicating that the scribe or corrector wished to clarify something, but there is no accompanying note in the margin: these markers do not appear in the transcription, but are registered in the editorial notes, accessed by positioning the cursor over the symbol [\*].

The version of the commentary in ms. Z is slightly less full than the version in ms. H. The edition by Pier Giorgio Ricci draws on both manuscripts, and records the differences between them, though not always entirely accurately. From time to time ms. Z has a reading which is clearly corrupt: here, for intelligibility and completeness, our transcription registers the reading of ms. H and/or the Ricci edition in square brackets thus: *potencia* [*ms. H, ed. Ricci: patientia*], *respondendo* [*ms. H, ed. Ricci: radendo*], *temporaliter* [*ms. H, ed. Ricci: turpiter*]. (In the rubrics these alternative readings in ms. H, which appear in the Ricci edition unless otherwise indicated, are accessed by clicking on [\*]; where Ricci diverges from a reading found in both manuscripts, only his reading is recorded in the note.)

Some letters are only partly visible at the edge of some pages through wear and tear to the manuscript. Occasionally several letters are missing because the page has been trimmed, and these missing letters have then been restored by being squeezed into the remaining space, as on f. 14r and 14v. On one occasion (f. 8v) the correcting hand strikes out a

whole section of the commentary affected in this way and rewrites it in the margin below. A few words in the commentary have a marker over them indicating that the corrector was perplexed or wished to check something: these are transcribed as a backward slash over the word in question. The few superfluous abbreviation signs are left unresolved and transcribed as they appear. The pointing hands in the margin on folios 3r, 3v, 4r, 8v, 10r, 13r, 14r, 18r, 18v, 30r, and 31r are by the correcting hand. Attention is drawn in the notes to occasional remarks missing in ms. H (and in Ricci's edition of the commentary), as when at III, ii, 1 the commentator notes warily: *Notanda sunt hec non tamen omnia credenda*.

# IX. Witness Descriptions

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## **A: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 119 inf.**

Described by Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, p. 3; Ricci, *EN*, p. 7; F. Cheneval, *Die Rezeption der Monarchia Dantes bis zur Editio Princeps im Jahre 1559. Metamorphosen eines philosophischen Werkes*. München 1995, p. 31.

Paper; second half of the fifteenth century; 30 pages numbered in the top right hand margin in pencil by a modern hand;<sup>226</sup> two unnumbered guard pages at the front and two at the end; 33.5 x 24.5 cm; 18th century binding in coarse-textured cardboard; no title, author or opening rubric; the hand is described by Ricci as a ‘rozza mano lombarda’. Watermarks in the form of a perfectly regular eight-petalled flower are clearly visible on the last page of the text and the three blank pages which follow; see Briquet, *Les filigranes*, I, pp. 373-374; III, 6597 (Chiavenna 1465, Milano 1472) and 6601 (Lecco 1480, Milano 1480 and 1485; Pavia 1486).

1r Omnium hominum

27r omnium temporalium et spiritualium gubernator. Amen.

Explicit monarchia dantis alligerii celeberrimi poete florentini.

27v-30v blank.

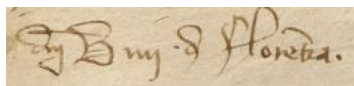
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## **B: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. folio 437**

Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, p. 3; Bertalot, ‘Il Codice B del *De vulgari eloquentia*’. *Bibliofilia* 24 (1922), pp. 261-264; Rajna, *SD*, VII (1923), pp. 110-120; Billanovich, *Prime ricerche dantesche*, pp. 13-19; F. Schneider, *Die Monarchia*

*Dantes aus der Berliner Handschrift Cod. Lat. Folio 437 als Faksimile-Druck.* Weimar 1930, pp. 3-8 (with ample bibliography on earlier descriptions); Ricci, *EN*, pp. 7-8; F. Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 21-23.<sup>227</sup>

This manuscript is known as the codex Bini because of the note on f. 89r naming its owner as *domini Bini de Florentia*:



(Cheneval, *op. cit.*, reviews attempts to identify *dominus Bini*.) The manuscript has returned to Berlin from the Tübingen University Library (Ricci, *EN*, pp. 7-8), where it remained for several decades after the war; it went first to the Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Dahlem in 1967, and then in 1978 to the new Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in the city centre.

Parchment, mid 14th century, nineteenth-century leather and cloth binding; ff. 98; cm. 36 x 23.5. The codex was brought to the attention of scholars by Bertalot, who used it for his editions of the *Monarchia* and the *De vulgari eloquentia*.

1r-88v Dionigi da Borgosansepulcro's commentary on Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*.

1r-v Epistola dedicatoria to the Commentary, which is dedicated to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna.

1r Incipit epistola super declaratione valerii maximi edita a fratre dyonisiio de burgo santi sepulcri ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti augustinii sacre theologie magistro. Reverendo in christo patri et suo domino speciali Johanni de Columpna divina providencia sancti angeli diacono cardinali frater dyonisius de burgo sancti sepulcri.

1r Explicit epistola. Incipit expositio et declaratio super valerium maximum edita a fratre dyonisiio de burgo sancti sepulcri ordinis fratrum heremitarum sacre theologie magistro.

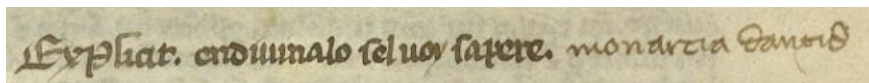
1v-88r *Expositio super Valerium Maximum*. (The text of the *Expositio* has been annotated by several hands.)

88v blank.

89r-94v *Monarchia*. Dante's treatise has no title, author or initial rubric; a later but still fourteenth-century hand adds a misleading rubric from which one word has been erased: Incipit Rectorica dantis [.....] domini Bini de florentia.

89r Omnium hominum

94v omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator. Explicit. endivinalo sel voy sapere. (A later hand, still 14th century, adds the words: *monarcia dantis*.)



95r-98v *De vulgari eloquentia*.

This is the oldest surviving copy of the *De vulgari eloquentia*. Again Dante's treatise has no title, author or initial rubric.

95r Cum neminem ante nos de vulgaris eloquentie doctrina quicquid inveniamus tractasse

98v et alia decenti prolixitate passim veniant ad extremum. Explicit. rectorica dantis domini Bini. (The words *rectorica dantis* have been erased but are still legible.)

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## C: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 401

Described in S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York 1937, II, p. 1441; *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States*

and Canada, C.U. Faye, W.H. Bond, New York 1962, p. 344; Ricci, *EN*, pp. 8-9; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 23-24.

The *Monarchia* is preceded by a miscellany of texts, a number of them by, attributed to, or about St. Jerome. They are listed by Cheneval, *op. cit.*, who comments on the unlikely mixture of texts in this manuscript and discusses the attribution of the disputed ones. The codex was acquired by Pierpont Morgan in 1910 from A. Imbert and was rebound in 1966 by Miss Ullman in dark green leather with gold decoration; the spine bears the title *Jerome De Viris Illustribus*.

Parchment; second half of the fourteenth century; ff. 78, numbered in the top right hand corner in ink in an old hand;<sup>228</sup> two modern and one old paper guard pages at the beginning and the end; cm. 34 x 24 (with some minimal variation in folio size); the text is written in two columns by a hand described by Ricci as 'una bella mano dell'Italia Settentrionale'. The rubrics are in red, the initials at the beginning of chapters are alternately red and blue (though sometimes there are several red initials consecutively); the paraph markers are mostly red, but very occasionally blue. A second hand makes eleven small marginal corrections to the text of the *Monarchia*. The coat of arms on f. 1 is identified in the library's card catalogue as belonging to Aldobrandino di Rosso of Florence.

1r-13v *De viris illustribus*, St Jerome.

1r Incipit prologus beati Ieronimi in librum de viris illustribus.

13v-14r *De duodecim doctoribus*, attributed to St. Jerome.

15r: Isidori de viris illustribus liber incipit. Iacobus cognomento sapiens necibene nobilis persarum.

22r Explicit Ysidorus de viris Illustribus.

De Osio cordubensi episcopo Capitulum I.

Osius cordubensis civitatis episcopus scripsit ad sororem de laude virginitatis epistulam pulcro ac diserto comptam eloquio.

26r-41v Epistola beati Eusebii missa beato Damasio episcopo.

41v et in futuro gaudia que iam tu possides adipisci amen.  
Explicit de transitu beati Ieronimi edito ab Eusebio eius discipulo.

41v Epistola sancti Augustini ad Cirillum de laude et apparitione beati Jeronimi.

44v Epistola Cirilli episcopi ad Augustinum de eadem materia. Venerabili episcoporum eximio Augustino ypponensi presuli Cirillus ierosolomitanus pontifex.

59r Incipit vita beati Jeronimi et primo de nomine. Jeronimus dicitur ager, quod est sanctum et nemus quasi santum nemus vel norma quod est lex.

60v Explicit: nec maledictio gravis est que divina laude invitatur. Obiit circha annos domini cclxxxviii. Explicit Istoria beati Jeronimi.

61r-78v *Monarchia*.

61r Incipit Monarchia dantis alagheryy. Liber primus de necessitate monarchie. Feliciter incipit. Omnium hominum

78v omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator. Explicit Monarchia dantis Alagherii. deo gratias. amen.

The text is followed by the epitaph for Dante composed by Bernardo di Canaccio Scannabecchi.<sup>229</sup>

Iura monarchie superos flegetonta lacusque  
Lustrando Cecini voluerunt fata quousque  
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris  
Autoremque suum rediit felicior astris  
Hic claudor dantes pat'ris exter[?]nus ab oris  
Que[m] genuit parvi florentia mater amoris



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## **D: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4683**

Described in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae, Parisiis* 1744, III, p. 623; Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, pp. 3-4; Ricci, *EN*, p. 9; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, p. 25. Mentioned by H. Grauert, in 'Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft' XXIX (1908), pp. 499-501; E. Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1955, p. 174, n. 453, p. 309, n. 457.

Parchment; mid fourteenth-century; ff. 57, numbered in the top right hand corner in an old hand which is not that of the copyist; 2 blank paper guard pages at the beginning and the end; cm. 30.8 x 21; nineteenth-century binding in half leather.

1r-26v *Tractatus de iurisdictione imperatoris et imperii*, attributed to Tolomeo da Lucca.

27r-57r *Monarchia*.

27r Incipit monarchia dantis. Omnium hominum

57r Explicit gubernator. Deo gratias.

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## **E: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnham 619**

Described by Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, p. 4; Ricci, *EN*, p. 10; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, p. 25.

Parchment; end of the fourteenth century (Bertalot had judged it to be mid-fifteenth century); ff. 40, numbered in the bottom right hand corner of the page by a modern hand; cm. 21 x 14.5; copied by a single hand, with a few marginal notes in a different hand; no title, author or initial rubric; nineteenth century binding.

1r Omnium hominum

40r omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator.

Explicit liber Monarchie dantis.

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## **F: Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, Feliniano 224**

Described by Witte, *ed. cit.*, p. lvii; Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, pp. 4-5; Ricci, *EN*, pp. 10-11; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 31-34.

The codex, which contains a rich miscellany of short texts on canon law (listed by Cheneval, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, n. 100) came to the Biblioteca Capitolare as part of the collection of legal texts which belonged to Felino Sandeo, a church dignitary and expert on jurisprudence from Ferrara who subsequently became bishop of Lucca (1501-1503) and bequeathed his books to the library.

Paper; mid fifteenth-century; ff. 344, numbered in the top right hand margin; cm 42.6 x 28.7; various hands; good modern binding.

The *Monarchia* occupies ff. 219r-231r and is copied by a single hand which is also responsible for the small number of minor corrections to the text, probably made in the course of transcription.

219r Monarchia Dantis aldigerii de florencia.

[o]mnum hominum

231r omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator et rector.  
Explicit monarchia dantis aldigerii christiani de florencia.

The text is prefaced by an admonition in faded pink ink at the top of f. 219r suggesting a cautious approach be adopted to what follows:  
Legimus Aliqua ne Negligantur: Legimus ne ignoremus  
Legimus non ut teneamus: Sed ut repudiemus.

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## **G: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1590**

Described in Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, p. 5; Ricci, *EN*, p. 11; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, p. 34.

Paper; mid fifteenth century; ff. 36, numbered in a modern hand in the bottom right hand corner; cm. 21 x 14; the text is copied by a single hand until the last page (36v), which is in a different hand; nineteenth century binding. The work is not identified by title, author or opening rubric. Two owners' notes on f. 1r suggest a non-Italian provenance for the manuscript, discussed by Ricci and Cheneval, *op. cit.*.

1r Incipit: Omnium hominum

36v Explicit: omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator.  
Cui laus est honor et gloria infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

A much later hand adds below the text:  
Explicit de Monarchia. Dante

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## **H: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 212**

Described in E. Bartoniek, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi (Catalogus Bibliothecae Musei Nationalis Hungarici XII)*, Budapest 1940, pp. 186-187; J. Kaposi, *Dante Magyarországon*, Budapest 1911, pp. 74-76; Ricci, *EN*, pp. 11-12; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 34-37. The Budapest manuscript is no longer in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (*pace* Cheneval), but in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, the library in the ancient Royal Castle complex on the other side of the river (i.e. it is not in Pest but in Buda).

The codex is a miscellany, whose first section contains the *Monarchia*, with Cola di Rienzo's commentary filling much of the margins (text and commentary are in the same hand). A composite of parchment and paper (ff. 1-24 paper, ff. 25-122 a mixture of paper and parchment, sometimes interleaved); fifteenth century; ff. 122, copied by three different hands; cm. 28.8 x 22; white parchment binding. The codex is now kept in a protective wooden case lined with green felt.

1r-23r *Monarchia*.

1r Incipit: Omnium hominum

A later hand adds at the bottom of 1r: Hic Aligherius in præsentī tractatu Ius Imperatoris contra Papam de quo tunc temporis inter Imperatorem Ludovicum Bavarum et Pontifices vehementer disceptabatur, defendit, et quod Imperator Papæ nullatenus subjectus sit evincit. Quam ob rem ab aliquibus inter hæreticos computatur.

23r Explicit: qui est omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator. Beneath the text is written:

O rex o summi tu principis unice fili

Respice gratuite monarchiam atque monarcham

Summum dico presulem romanorumque Imperatorem

Ac simul lectorem albertum nomine dictum

Ultimo scriptorem henricum operis huius

Cui pro mercede des tecum gaudia vere

(For an overview of attempts to identify ‘albertum’, see Cheneval, *op. cit.*.)

23v-24v blank.

25r-98r Joachim ad fratrem Ranerium de poncio super prophetas. Incipit prologus (i.e. Pseudo-Joachim de Flore, *Super Esaiam Prophetam*), with commentary [second hand].

25r Incipit: Si ad hoc rotarum misterialium centrum ingredimur ut super orbem habundancius solito prunas desolatorias effundamus.

98r Explicit: pro qua plurima mala fient Apprehensa est inquit bestia et cum illa pseudo propheta et missi sunt in stagnum ignis. Amen. Expliciunt prophecie Ysaie prophete. Finis adest operis mercedem posco laboris. Alleluia.

98r [filling the remaining space on the page] Three short epigrams (see Bartoniek, *op. cit.*, p. 186).

98v Forma celebrandi sacras missas per venerabilem doctorem Bonam-venturam.

98v Versus magistri Petri Comestoris quos composuit in laudem virginis gloriose.

99r-122r Tractatus de Eucharistia (anon.)

[The text is now set out in two columns and copied by a third hand].

99r Incipit: Videte quomodo caute ambuletis non ut insipientes sed ut sapientes.

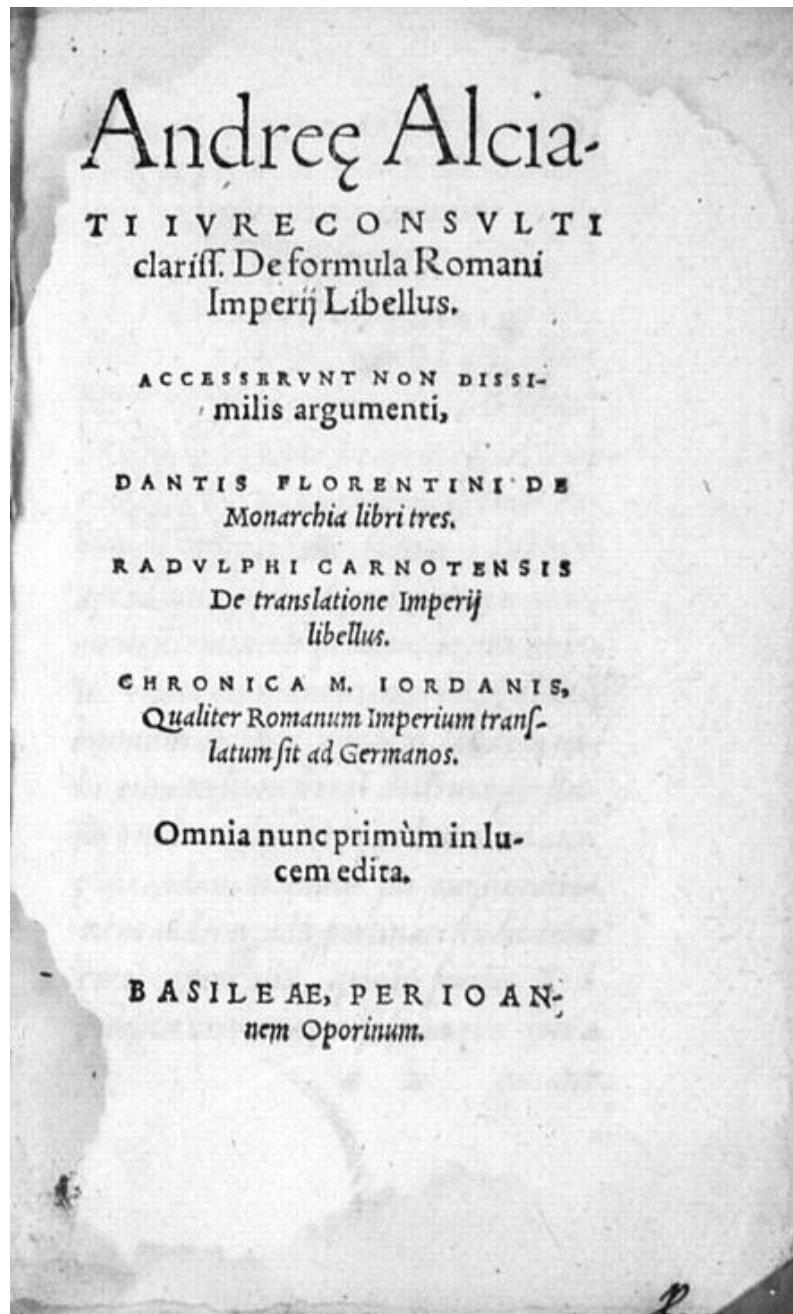
122v Explicit: et consequamur fructum glorie etcetera.

Three longish notes follow on this page, two below the text in column a, the third occupying most of column b; see Bartoniek, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

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## **K: The *editio princeps***

The *editio princeps* of the *Monarchia* was published in Basle in 1559. It is a small octavo volume which contains a miscellany of texts dealing with the question of imperial jurisdiction: *Andreæ Alciati iure consulti clariss. De formula Romani Imperii Libellus. Accesserunt non dissimilis argumenti, Dantis Florentini «De Monarchia» libri tres. Radulphi Carnotensis De translatione Imperii libellus. Chronica M. Iordanis, Qualiter Romanum Imperium translatum sit ad Germanos. Omnia nunc primùm in lucem edita. Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum.*



Title page from Uppsala Biblioteka Carolina Rediviva copy.

The *Monarchia* occupies pp. 53-179 and is preceded by an *Epistola Dedicatoria* (pp. 49-52), which claims that the work is not by Dante ‘the famous older Florentine poet’, but by a philosopher contemporary of Angelo Poliziano (p. 51). The *Epistola Dedicatoria* can be viewed here:

48 De Form. Ro. Imperij.  
esse, nec multum damni inferre possit. Optasset Galeatius uicecomes, ut eadem Ludouici Bauari animo sententia sedisset. dimissaq; urbe Monguntiam petisset: non enim ea in gratitudinis in se exempla fuisset perpeffus, ut ab eo, pro cuius tuenda dignitate, maxima cum rei suae iactura, aduersus Pontificem armatus, ceu hostis & infidus in teterrimū carcerem traheretur.

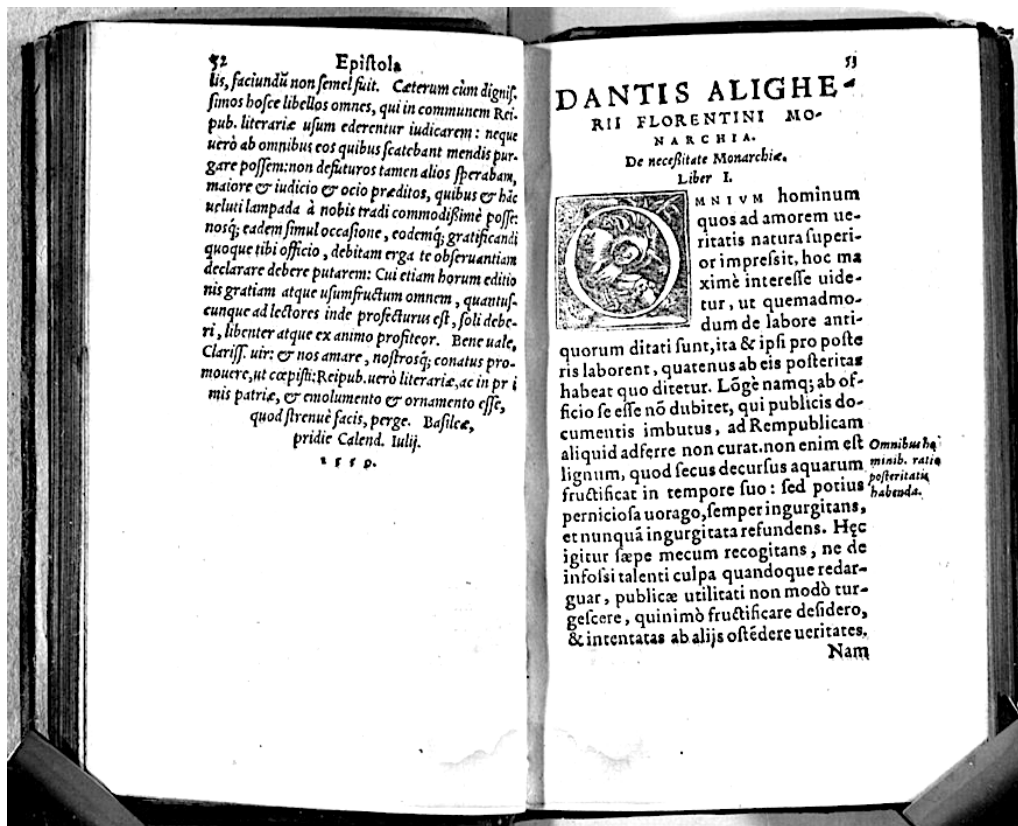
Reliqua desiderantur.

49  
CLARISSIMO ATQVE  
ERVDITISSIMO VIRO, D. HIERONYMO FRICKERO, PATRICIO BERNENSI, & Praefecto Neuidunensi, Domino & amico suo in primis colendo, Ioan. Oporinus S.

**H**ic redit ad te, mi D. HIERONYME, Andréæ Alciati de Formula Rom. Imperij libellus, nostris tandem typis descriptus: sed tuo de Repub. literaria potissimum bene merendi studio è tenebris in lucem, ab interitu in publicum studioforum usum uindicatus atq; editus. Cuius quidem nomine plurimum tibi debebunt omnes bonarū literarū, praecipue uerò Historicae lectionis studiosi. Ad me quod attinet, libenter in eo edendo tibi gratificatus sum: & gratificatus essem multo adhuc libentius atq; alacrius, si emendatius esset à librario siue am inueniendi descriptus, et ab ipso autore absolutus. Sexcenta certe errata, dum, quantum per alias occupationes licuit, emendando eo incubuimus, à nobis esse sublata, bona fide affirmare possumus: quamlibet aliqui tamen paruus libellus est. ut

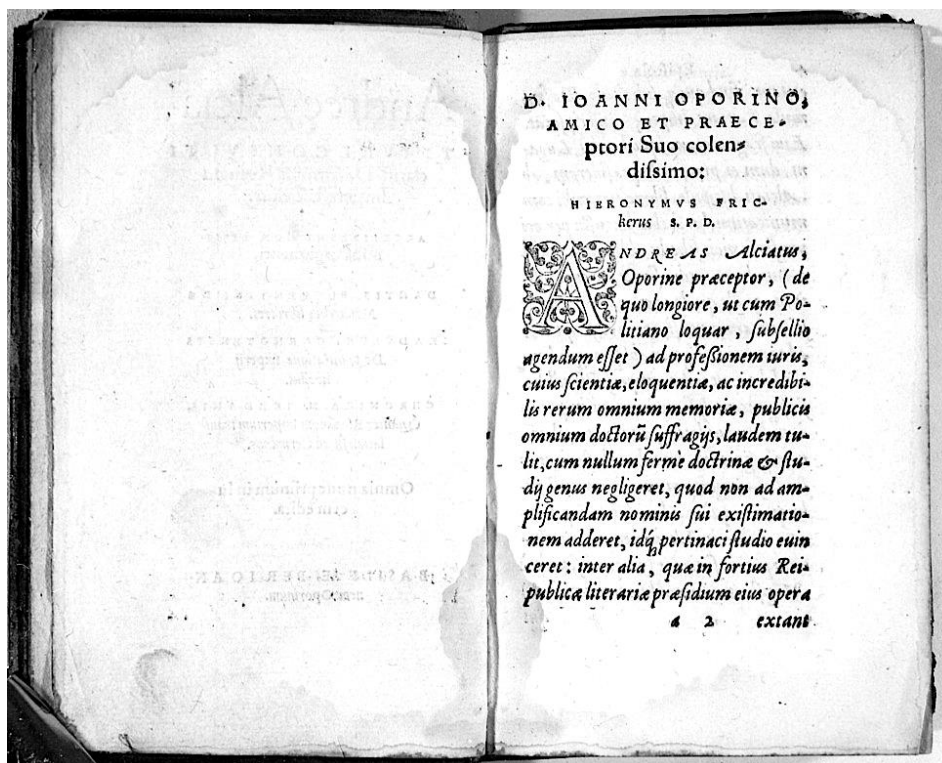
50 Epistola  
ualde mihi & reprehendenda uideatur eorum negligentia, qui praestantium uirorum lucubrationibus describendis, non summam & fidem & industriam sibi adhibendam putant, neque quicquam minus pensi habere uidentur, quam ut quae describere, alijs etiam prodesse possint: & uerò execranda eorum quoque inuidia, qui si quid huiusmodi lucubrationum alicunde sunt nacti, sibi ipsi, aut blatis ac timeis potius seruire, quam in publicum studioforum usum emittere malunt. Doluit igitur nobis inter legendum atque emendandum hunc libellum non semel, illorum quos diximus, & negligentia & improbitas. Interea tamen perpetuo ueluti in Augiæ stabulo repurgando uersantes: aut potius (quod Virgilium Enij monumenta percurrere dicere soliti frunt) aurum quasi è sterquilino seligentes, idq; fato quodam nostro: hanc etiam molestiam, cum multis alijs deuorandam nobis esse rati, quantum potuimus, prestare sumus conati, ut aliquis huius libelli, opera quoq; nostra qualicunq; nitidioris iam in lucem prodeant, usus esset. Et quo intelligeres, quam ad gratificandum cum tibi in primis, tot nominibus de me optimè haecenus merito, tum uerò Reipub. literariae, cui iam pridem omne meum studium, omnemq; operam addixi, paratus essem: libuit hunc ad te libellum non solum iam,

51 Dedicatoria.  
iam, sed luculento etiam scenore auctum, adiunctisq; eiusdem, aut saltem non dissimilis argumenti libellis tribus comitatum, remittere: ijsq; etiam ipsis haecenus non editis, dignis tamen, qui non perpetuo squalore ac situ perirent, sed tandem aliquando, una cum plurimis alijs nostro seculo identidem uelut ab Orco emergentibus, ipsi etiam prodirent in medium. Sunt autem quos adiunximus, primum DANTIS Aligherij, non uetustioris illius Florentini poetae celeberrimi, sed philosophi acutissimi atque doctissimi uiri, & Angeli Politiani familiaris quondam, de Monarchia libri tres: dignissimi certe, qui ob rerum & argumentorum, quibus creberrimis sunt referti, acumen & copiam, publicè etiam extent, neq; diutius, ob stili forte scabricem (eiusmodi tamen frè doctissimi quicq; ea licet eruditissima etate, in tractanda philosophia uis solebant) negligantur. In quo tamen ipso opere typis quoque nostris describendo, non minus rarò coniectura utendum fuit: sepe uerò (ubi nō potuimus assequi) ipsam archetypum sequi potius, quam temere aliquid siue addere, siue inducere aut mutare usum est: tutius id ita fore, ac nostro conuenientius muneri existimantibus. Id quod etiam in alijs duobus huic adiectis, RADVLPHI de Columna, & M. IORDANIS de Translatione Imperij libellis,

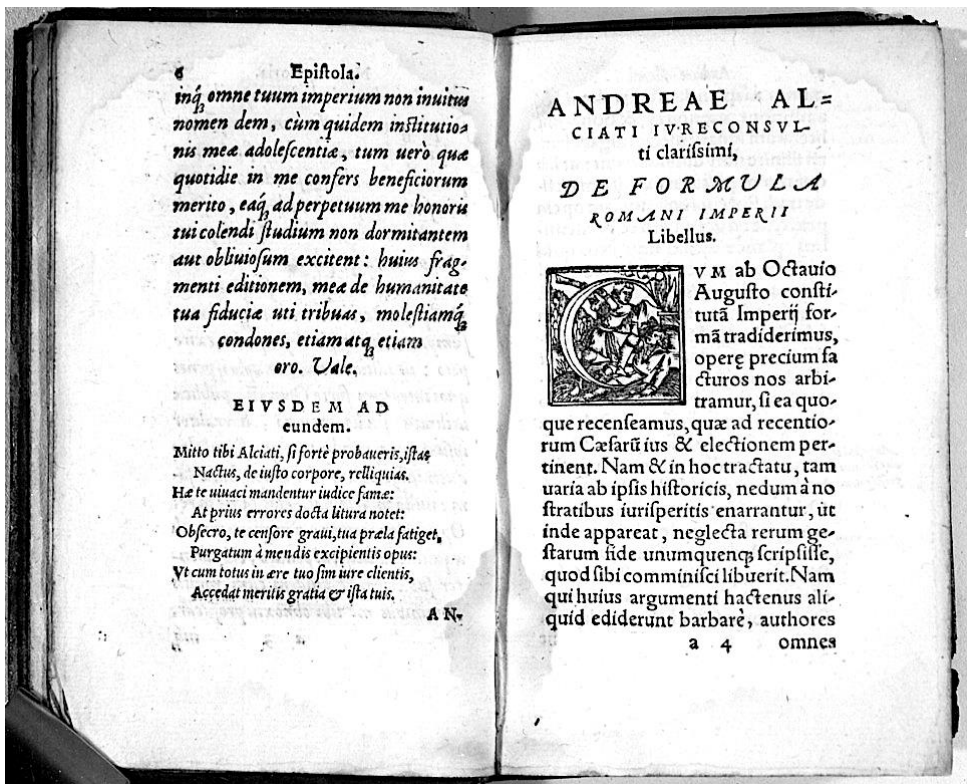
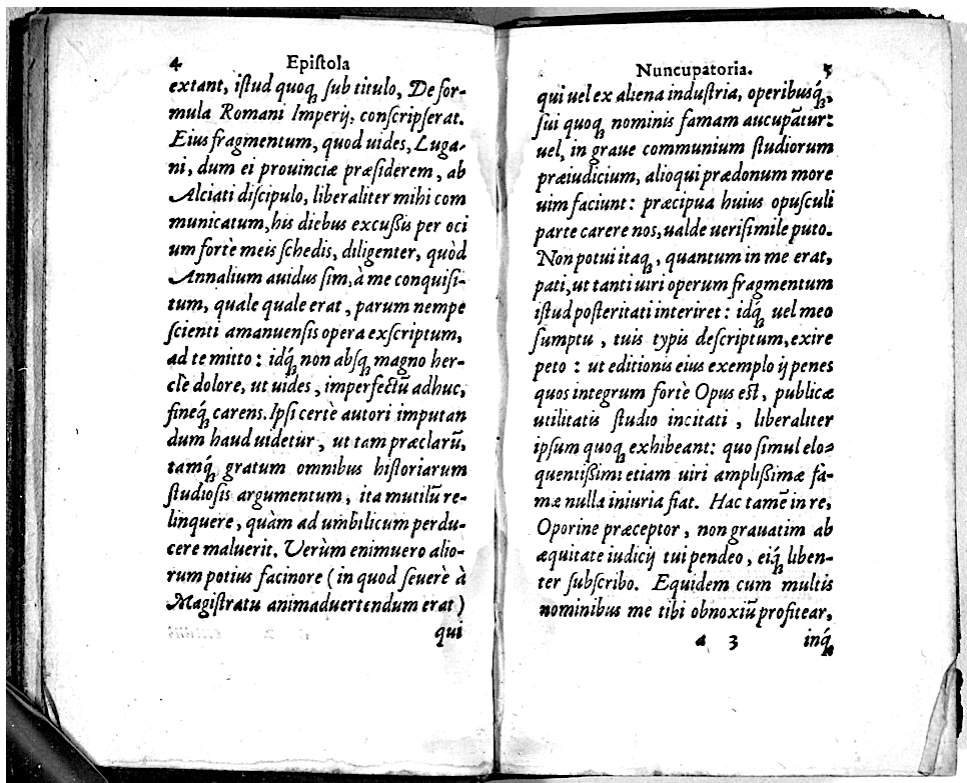


p. 49; pp. 50-51; p. 52.

The preface to the volume takes the form of an *Epistola Nuncupatoria* (pp. 2-6), which can be viewed here:







p. 3; pp. 4-5; p. 6.

The *editio princeps* is described by Ricci (EN, p. 19) and Cheneval (*op. cit.*, pp. 385-389). Ricci says ‘Dell’editio princeps si fecero tre ristampe’

(*EN*, p. 19-20, n. 2), but in fact the first two ‘ristampe’ he lists (1566 and 1609) are new editions, as Witte recognised (*op. cit.*, pp. lxii-lxiii), and as I have demonstrated elsewhere (for a full account see ‘Le correzioni di copista’, p. 292, n. 21). In each case the text has been completely reset, thus fulfilling the fundamental criterion for a new edition. The 1566 edition is a folio volume; the 1609 edition is again in folio format, but the text is set in two columns. (In the 1609 edition, interestingly, Dante’s treatise is dated 1320.) See Conor Fahy, ‘Edizione, impressione, emissione, stato’, in *Saggi di bibliografia testuale*, Padova 1988, pp. 65-88: ‘Un’edizione può essere definita come tutti gli esemplari di un libro prodotti dall’uso sostanzialmente della stessa composizione tipografica ...’ The terminology derives from the classic study by Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, Princeton, New Jersey 1949. The third ‘ristampa’ mentioned by Ricci, dated 1618, appears to be a reprint of the 1609 edition.

On the historical background to the publishing of the *princeps* in Basle, see also Leonardo Sebastio, ‘Capitoli sulla *Monarchia* di Dante nel protestantesimo (1550-1560)’, in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 15, Bari (1972), pp. 339-384 and Cheneval, *op. cit.*.

The images which appear on this electronic edition were made from the copy of the *princeps* in the Biblioteca Carolina Rediviva in Uppsala. They have been checked against copies of the *princeps* held in the British Library and the Cambridge University Library. No differences were found between the three copies.

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## **L: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, LXXVIII 1**

Described in A.M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, Florentiae, 1774-77, III, pp. 151-153; Avena, Antonio. *Il “Bucolicum Carmen” e i suoi commenti inediti*, Padova 1906, p. 37; Francesco Petrarca, *L’Africa*. Edizione critica per cura di Nicola Festa, Firenze 1926, p. xv; G. Billanovich, ‘Giovanni del Virgilio, Pietro da Moglio, Francesco da Fiano’. *Italia medioevale e umanistica* VI (1963), pp. 203-234 (p. 210) [henceforth *IMU*]; Ricci, *EN*, pp. 12-13; Cheneval,

*Rezeption*, pp. 38-40. For an analysis of the significance of the corrections to ms. L in terms of manuscript affiliations, see Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista', pp. 292-94.

This sumptuous codex belonged to the Medici, whose coat of arms is on 3r; it was prepared in the workshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci. Folio 2v is a magnificent title page to the collection of works by Petrarch and Dante contained in the manuscript.



Parchment; second half of the fourteenth century; ff. 262; cm. 33.5 x 23; humanistic script, a single hand (the marginal corrections, though clearly executed at a later stage, all appear to be by the hand of the original copyist, *pace Ricci*); red leather binding with metal bosses.

3r-108v Petrarch, *Africa*.

108v-112v Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*.

113r-142v Petrarch, *Bucolicum Carmen*.

142v-151v Petrarch, *Contra ignavos atque invidios reprehensores obiectorum stilo criminum purgatio ad insignem virum Johannem Boccaccium de Certaldo*.

152r-230v Petrarch, *Epistolae Metriche*.

231r-262r *Monarchia*.

231r Clarissimi poete Florentini Dantis Alingherii summa monarchia incipit Feliciter. Omnium hominum

262r omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator. Finis. Clarissimi Poete Dantis Alingheri Florentini summa Monarchia explicit.

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## **M: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, XXX 239**

Described in Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, pp. 6-7; Ricci, *EN*, 13-14; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 40-41.

Paper; last quarter of the fifteenth century; ff. 88, numbered in the top right hand margin; cm. 20.5 x 14.5; modest eighteenth century binding. There is no title, no author, and no initial rubric. The copyist is Antonio Sinibaldi, as a note on f. 87r informs us: ‘Antonius sinibaldus Florentinus fideliter transcripsit ad instantiam Neri de Capponis Negotiatore Clarissimo’. Ricci dated this manuscript sixteenth century and speaks of the copyist in unflattering terms: ‘mediocre letterato fiorentino, vissuto a cavallo fra il Quattro e Cinquecento’ (*EN*, p. 13). In fact Antonio Sinibaldi was one of the most famous copyists of his age. He worked in the second half and especially the last quarter of the fifteenth century (no work copied by him is dated later than 1499). On Sinibaldi and his activity as copyist see B.L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*, Rome 1960, pp. 118-123, 126-128, 133, and plates 64-68. Plate 68 shows the version of his hand used in M (‘velox calamus’),

and M is to be added to the list supplied by Ullman of manuscripts certainly copied by him. See also G. Cencetti, *Lineamenti di storia della scrittura latina*, Bologna 1954, pp. 273-74, 279-81; J.J.G. Alexander and A.C. De La Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J.R. Abbey*, London 1969, pp. xxvi n. 3, xxiii n. 1, xxviii n. 1 and 161-62; A.C. De La Mare, 'New research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence', pp. 460, 484-487; and J.W. Bradley, *A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers and Copyists*, Vol. III, London 1889, pp. 244-48. A contemporary description of Sinibaldi by Botticelli's brother, Simone Filipepi, is to be found in P. Villari and E. Casanova, *Scelte di prediche e scritti di fra Gerolamo Savonarola*, Firenze 1898, p. 495: 'e la fece scrivere ad Antonio Sinibaldi, che morì poi in grandissima calamità et miseria, et era maggiore ribaldo di tutti i sopra nominati.'

1r-86v *Monarchia*.

1r [O]mnium hominum

86v Explicit: omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator. DEO GRATIAS

A modern hand has added the title on the first of the blank guard pages.

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## **N: London, British Library, Add. 28804**

Described in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLIV-MDCCCLXXV*, London 1877, p. 556 (where it is said to be early fifteenth century); Ricci, *EN*, p. 14; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 25-26.

Parchment; last quarter of the fourteenth century; ff. 49; cm. 21 x 14; copied by a single hand, described by Ricci as 'una mano assai pesante'; coloured initials. There is an owner's note in the bottom margin of 1r: Geo. Fred. Nott, DD, Winchester.<sup>230</sup>

1r-49v *Monarchia*.

1r Liber monarchia dantis aldigerii christiani de florentia. C. 16 Omnium hominum

49v omnium spiritualium et temporalium \est/ gubernator. Deo gratias. Explicit monarchia dantis Aldigerii christiani de florentia. (The words after gubernator are struck through.)

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**P: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1729**

Described in *Dantis Alagherii Monarchiae liber et Epistolae ex codice Vaticano Palatino latino 1729 phototypice expressa*, Praefatus est F. Schneider, Romae 1930 (where there is an ample bibliography of earlier descriptions of this famous manuscript); Ricci, *EN*, pp. 14-15; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 26-29. For an analysis of the significance of the corrections to ms. P in terms of manuscript affiliations, see Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista', pp. 288-91.

Parchment; end of the fourteenth century; ff. 64, numbered in the top right hand corner; cm. 29.5-9 x 21.2-9; seventeenth-century parchment binding.

1r-29v Petrarch, *Bucolicum Carmen*.

A note at the end of the text of the *Bucolicum Carmen* (f. 29v) famously gives a very precise date: Francisci de Montepolitiano. Explevi corrigere 20 Julii Perusii 1394. deo gratias. AMEN.

31r-55v *Monarchia*.

31r Dantis Aldigerii florentini Monarchie liber incipit. Omnium hominum

55v omnium spiritualium et temporalium et temporalium gubernatore. Dantis Allegerii florentini Monarchie liber explicit.

58v-62v Dante, nine Epistole (VII, VI, VIII, IX, X, II, IV, I, V), most of them preserved only in this manuscript.

On Francesco Piendibeni, the copyist of the *Monarchia*, see O. Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, 1984<sup>2</sup>, pp. 372-97; G. Billanovich, *IMU*, pp. 212-214; A. Avena, *Il "Bucolicum Carmen" e i suoi commenti inediti*, Padova 1906, pp. 27-28, 247-286; F. Mazzoni, 'Le epistole di Dante', in *Conferenze Aretine* 1965, Arezzo-Bibbiena 1966, pp. 47-100.

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## Ph: Milan, private collection

Described in Franca Brambilla Ageno, 'Il codice già Phillipps della *Monarchia*', *SD* LIII (1981): 291-334;<sup>231</sup> see also Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 52-53.

Parchment; end of fourteenth/beginning of fifteenth century; cm. 22 x 14.5, 66 pages, numbered by a modern hand in the upper right hand margin of each recto and the upper left of the verso. Nineteenth-century binding in cardboard imitating leather.

1r-33r Iacopo da Cèssole, *Ludus scaccorum*.

1r Incipit prologus in librum super ludum scaccorum quem composuit frater Jacobus de cessulis.

33ra deo igitur sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit liber de moribus hominum et offitiis nobilium ac popularium super ludo scacchorum. Deo gratias. Amen.

33r-54v Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*.

33rb Incipit liber monarchia dantis alagherii de florentia. Omnium hominum

54vb omnium spiritualium et temporalium cubernator. Deo gratias. Amen. Amen.

55r-61r *Liber faceti*.

55r Incipit liber faceti. Moribus et vita quisquis vult esse facetus

61r Explicit liber faceti. Deo gratias.

61v blank.

62r-65v *De opere Astrolabii.*

Incipit: Nomina instrumentorum astrolabii hec sunt: primum est armilla.

65v Explicit liber de opere astrolabii.

66r-66v blank.

The present whereabouts of the Phillipps manuscript is unknown. The digitised images which appear in this publication were made from photographs in the possession of the Società Dantesca Italiana.

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## **Q: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, XXX 187**

Mentioned by Witte, *ed. cit.*, p. xx and Bertalot, *ed. cit.*, p. 6, both of whom dismissed its testimony as worthless. Described by Ricci, *EN*, pp. 15-16, who asserted its importance; and Shaw, 'Il manoscritto Q della *Monarchia*', where it is shown that Q is, as Bertalot, maintained, a copy of L. The significance of the marginal notes to the text is analysed in the same article.

Paper; unbound; first half of the eighteenth century; ff. 16, numbered in the bottom left hand corner, plus a guard page at the beginning. The text is incomplete and stops shortly after the beginning of I, xiv, 1. It was copied by A.M. Biscioni, the librarian of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.<sup>232</sup>

2r Incipit: Clarissimi Poetae Florentini Dantis Alingherii Summa Monarchia Incipit feliciter. Omnium hominum



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**R: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4775**

Listed in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Parisius, 1744, III, p. 631; described in Ricci, *EN*, p. 16; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 41-42.

Paper; second half of the fourteenth century; ff. 38, numbered in the top right hand corner; cm. 22 x 14; parchment binding. There is no title, author, or opening rubric. The last part of the text is missing (from III, x, 8 on), and a folio has been lost between the last two folios (the text from III, ix, 7 to III, ix, 18 is thus also missing). These last two folios have been bound into the manuscript in the wrong order, so that the folio currently numbered 38 is in fact 37 and the folio numbered 37 is 38 (and would originally have been 39, allowing for the missing folio). The last folio is damaged.

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**S: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 9363**

Described in Ricci, *EN*, pp. 16-17; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 29-31.

Paper; end of the fourteenth century; ff. 64, with modern numbering in the bottom right hand corner; cm. 28 x 21 (with some slight variation due to the irregular trimming of the folios); modest binding.

1r-45r M. Anneus Seneca, *Declamationes*.

45v-46v blank.

47r-63r *Monarchia*.

47r *Monarchia Illustrissimi poete dantis Aldigherii liber Incipit In nomine domini Amen. Omium hominum*

63r *omnium spiritualium et tenporalium Gubernator. explicit dantis Aldigherii Monarchie liber. deo gratias Amen. Scriptus in sancto gen° in 1395 de mense maii.*

(A similarly precise explicit concludes the *Declamationes*. The location of S. Genesio has not been established by scholars; the possibilities are discussed by Ricci and Cheneval, *op. cit.*.)

63v-64v *Seneca de Quatuor Virtutibus* (an excerpt from Martino da Braga's *Formulae honestae vitae*).

There are three watermarks: a letter P, a bell, and a circle over a cross. A P watermark identical to the one in ms. S is registered in Briquet, *Les filigranes*, II, 8459;<sup>233</sup> a bell, identical to the one in ms. S is registered in Briquet, *Les filigranes*, II, 4033. See also A. and A. Zonghi, *Zonghi's Watermarks*, Hilversum 1953, Tavola 39, nos. 498 and 499 (Bell) and Tavola 119, nos. 1661 and 1663 (letter P).

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## **T: Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 642**

Described in G. Porro, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana*, Torino 1884, pp. 268-69; Ricci, *EN*, p. 17; *I Codici medievali della Biblioteca Trivulziana*. Catalogo a cura di Caterina Santoro, Milano 1965, pp. 135-36; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 42-46. For an analysis of the significance of the corrections to ms. T in terms of manuscript affiliations, see Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista', pp. 294-302; see also P. Chiesa-R. Guglielmetti, 'Il codice trivulziano della *Monarchia*. Il valore di una copia intelligente.' *Libri & Documenti*, XL-XLI (2014-2015): 121-31.

The codex contains a rich miscellany of humanistic texts, listed on the first (guard) page by a later hand. The full list of some twenty titles, including works by Leonardo Bruni and Angelo Poliziano, is given in Santoro and discussed by Cheneval.

Paper; early sixteenth century; ff. 174, numbered by a modern hand in pencil in the top right hand margin (but ff. 1 and 174 are guard pages added at the time of binding); cm. 14.6 x 20.2; three hands; nineteenth century binding in brown leather. The dating of the manuscript has been a matter of debate. Bertalot had considered it 'scriptam circa a. 1600', i.e. late sixteenth century at the earliest; Ricci initially described

it as ‘della fine del ’400 o primi del ’500’,<sup>234</sup> but in the *EN* this has become ‘fine del Quattrocento’ *tout court*. But the evidence he cites (‘il tipo della scrittura, le abbreviature usate, le grafie che dal copista sono preferite’) does not preclude an early sixteenth-century dating. Such a dating is supported by the watermarks on the pages of the manuscript which contains the *Monarchia*: a serpent, in a form very close to Briquet’s 13699 (Milano 1507). This is the date (XVI *in.*) suggested by P.O. Kristeller in the first volume of *Iter Italicum*, London-Leiden 1963, p. 362.

134r-172r *Monarchia*.

134r Incipit: Omnium hominum

172r omnium spiritualium et temporalium Largitor.

A later hand has added the title ‘Libellus Dantis Aldigerii florentini de Monarchia’ on the first page, and a few marginal notes throughout, in red.<sup>235</sup>

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## **U: Uppsala, Biblioteca Carolina Rediviva, P 133**

Described in Shaw, ‘Il codice Uppsalense’, pp. 293-331; a fuller account, based on first-hand examination of the codex, is given in Shaw, ‘Le correzioni di copista’, pp. 282-283, n. 5.

Paper; cm. 20 × 15.2; sixteenth century; 32 pages numbered on recto and verso in a modern hand in the outer corner of the upper margin.

1 Incipit Liber monarchiae Dantis Alagherii de Florentia.

Prologus. Omnium hominum

63 omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator.

Explicit Monarchia Dantis Alegerii. Deo Gratias Amen.

Copied by a single hand, which is responsible for all corrections to the text. The manuscript has suffered damage due to damp in the bottom

outside corner of each page, making some letters and words illegible. The damaged pages were repaired and the manuscript was rebound in March 1966, as recorded in the library's Bindnungs Bok. The watermarks suggest a North Italian provenance for the paper, probably Padova between 1515 and 1550: see Shaw (1991).

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## **V: Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, 4534**

N. Barozzi, *I codici di Dante Alighieri in Venezia*, Venezia 1865, pp. 108-11; J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta S. Marci Venetiarum*, Venezia 1868-72, III, pp. 46-47; Ricci, *EN*, pp. 17-18; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 31. For an analysis of the significance of the corrections to ms. V in terms of manuscript affiliations, see Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista', pp. 304-12.

Parchment; second half of the fourteenth century; ff. 12, numbered in the top right hand margin; cm. 36 x 27; a single hand copies the text in two columns; a different hand, clearly differentiated from the first, has corrected the text over its whole length, scraping away and over-writing many readings. The codex came to the Marciana in 1787 from the Consiglio dei Dieci. Nineteenth century binding.

1r In nomine domini nostri dulcissimi ihesu christi qui est lux doctrina et vita nostra. Amen. Verum a quocumque dicatur a spiritu sancto est. Incipit liber monarchie dantis alicherii florentini. Incipit prologus. [o]mnium hominum

11r omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator.  
Explicit monarchia dantis alicherii de florentia.

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## **Y: London, British Library, Add. 6891**

A. Rossi, *Da Dante a Leonardo. Un percorso di originali*, Firenze, 1999; P. Trovato, 'La doppia *Monarchia* di Prue Shaw (con una postilla sulla *Commedia*)'. *Ecdotica*, 7 (2010): 25-39; P. Shaw, 'Un secondo manoscritto

londinese della *Monarchia*.' *SD*, LXXVI (2011): 223-64; D. Quaglioni, 'Un nuovo testimone per l'edizione della *Monarchia* di Dante: il ms. Add. 6891 della British Library.' *Laboratoire italien*, 11 (2011): 231-79; G. P. Renello, 'L'Edizione critica della *Monarchia*.' *Italianistica*, 40/1 (2011): 141-80; Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, a cura di Paolo Chiesa e Andrea Tabarroni, Roma 2013; G. P. Renello, 'A proposito della *Monarchia*. Note in margine al ritrovamento del ms. Additional 6891.' *L'Alighieri*, 41 (2013): 115-56; Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, a cura di Diego Quaglioni, in Dante Alighieri, *Opere*, ed. diretta da M. Santagata, II, *Convivio, Monarchia, Epistole, Egloge*, a c. di G. Fioravanti, C. Giunta, D. Quaglioni, C. Villa, G. Albanese, Milano 2014, pp. 807-1415; A. Belloni-D. Quaglioni, 'Un restauro dantesco: *Monarchia* I xii 6.' *Aevum*, 88 (2014): 493-501; N. Havely, *Dante's British Public*, Oxford 2014; P. Pellegrini, 'Il testo critico della *Monarchia* e le ragioni della filologia. Ancora su «sicut in Paradiso Comedie iam dixi» (i xii 6).' *Filologia Italiana*, 12 (2015): 61-78; Società Dantesca Italiana. Edizione Nazionale. Strumenti 1. *Il ms. London, British Library Add. 6891 della 'Monarchia'*. Edizione diplomatica a cura di Prue Shaw, Firenze, Le Lettere, 2018.

Parchment; mid 14<sup>th</sup> century; ff. 21, modern numbering in pencil in the top right-hand margin; cm. 26 x 18.5; variable number of lines per page (from 32 [f.1v] to 45 [f. 4r]); 4 paper guard pages. Quires: 6+6 (of which the first page is blank and unnumbered); 5+5 (of which the last page is blank and numbered 21); the first and last pages evidently served as an untitled cover to the small volume before it was bound. Initials in blue with red decoration and red with blue decoration. Usually, but not always, the first line or lines of a new chapter stop short of the end of the line, presumably leaving space for the addition of rubrics. Two hands: the first, which copies the *Monarchia*, is a *gotico librario* very similar to the hand which transcribes the Berlin ms. B; the second, which copies the Bull, is a *corsiva cancelleresca*.

1r-17v Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*

Incipit: Omnium hominum quos ad amorem

Explicit: qui est omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator. Explicit Monarchia Dantis Aldigerii de Florentia cuius anima requiescat in pace. Amen.

18r-20v Bull of Pope Clement VI dated Avignone 15 September 1349 to the Archbishop of Salzburg, Ortulfus de Weißenek, on the jubilee of the following year.

Incipit: Clemens episcopus

21r-21v blank

Italian binding in parchment, with decoration in gold; remnants of brown silk ties. There is an owner's note in the bottom margin of f. 1r and f. 20v: Francisci Amadi of Venice († 1566). Acquired by the British Library from the London bookseller Baynes in December 1825.

The manuscript is modest, the quality of the parchment poor. Several pages are irregular in shape (eg. f. 14); one page has a hole more than a centimetre in diameter in the middle of the page (f. 7), another has a hole of similar size in the lower margin (f. 14); there are two mends of tears in the parchment in the lower margin of f. 9; the hair side of the parchment is sometimes very dark. Scattered marginal notes. The manuscript is a palimpsest: there are clear signs of an erased underlying text in many margins, below and alongside the text (for example, in the lower margin of ff. 7r, 8r, 8v and 9r and in the left margin of 16v). The erased text sometimes runs in a vertical direction, sometimes horizontal; none of it is legible. There is erased text also on the recto of the first blank guard page which served as a cover. For a fuller description of ms. Y see Shaw 2018.

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## **Z: Znojmo, Archiv, ms. AMZ-II 306**

Described by F. M. Bartoš in 'Dantova Monarchie, Cola di Rienzo, Petrarka a počátky reformace a humanismu u nás'. *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk. Třída filosoficko – historicko – filologická V* (1951): 1-23; A. Fialová in 'Znojemský rukopis Dantovy Monarchie'. *Listy Filologické III*

(1955): 52-56; Frantisek Čáda in 'Znojenské rukopisy'. *Jižní Morava*, 1975-II, pp. 49-52; Ricci, *EN*, 18-19; and, most recently, Cheneval, *Rezeption*, pp. 47-51. My own description is based on direct examination of the manuscript in May 1990, and again in July 2002.

Paper; early 15th century; ff. 247, numbered in pencil in a modern hand in the top right hand margin, but with traces of older numbering systems still visible (see below); cm. 30 x 21.5.<sup>236</sup>

The manuscript is a miscellany, and contains a selection of texts, many of them by Albertano da Brescia (a full list is appended at the end of this description).

1r is the title page of the manuscript, in red; it is badly rubbed in places. Albertanus causidicus. Item Lumen ani[.] etc Item Herbarius Macer. Perhaps significantly, the *Monarchia* is not mentioned on the title page, even though it is the first text in the collection.

Provenance is indicated by a note in the upper margin of f. 2r: Iste liber est fratris petri de Monasterio Willemowiensi. The Benedictine monastery of Willemow (or Willimov) in Bohemia was destroyed in the Hussite wars in 1421; see Cheneval, *op. cit.*, p. 50; L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, II, p. 3455.

2r-31r Dante: *Monarchia*.

There is no title, but it is odd that Ricci describes the text as anonymous, for the opening rubric clearly names and identifies the author.<sup>237</sup>

2r Hic dans Theologus magnus fuit phylosophus clarus Poeta quidem eximius Ciuis plebeio genere Florentinus ex plaga ytalica provincia Tuscia Claruit autem tempore felicis memorie domini henrici quidem Romanorum Augusti et Bohemie regis hic disertissimus fuit orator adeo quod librum vulgari lingua ytalica condidit quem comediam vocant verbi [ms. H: ubi] virgilianum stilum potissime sequens de inferni purgatorii et paradisi penis et premiis tam elloquenti et gravi stilo disseruit ut sentenciarum gravitas animos pascat et sermonis lepos

linguam poliat adiscentis carmina vero vulgaria et orationes dictare [ms. H: dictitarie] per eum tam seculares homines quam et predicatorum fratres addiscunt que vero sit eius intencio in hoc libro satis in prohemio et narrativo principio manifestat.

A second rubric follows immediately below the first:

Iste liber scismaticus videtur michi ad instanciam quondam lodowici Bavari compilatus quem magister reverende comitto diffinicioni vestre utrum videlicet sit Inquisitori hereticorum assignandus vel potius totaliter delendus.

This statement is not ‘sul margine superiore della medesima carta’, as Ricci states, but is (remarkably) incorporated as a second opening rubric which precedes the text. It is not present in the Budapest copy of the commentary. A similar anxiety about the orthodoxy of the text is reflected later in another marginal comment at the beginning of III, ii (f. 20v), likewise not in H: Notanda sunt hec non tamen omnia credenda.

2r Incipit: Omnium quos

31r Explicit: qui est omnium spiritualium et temporalium gubernator.

The text of the *Monarchia* is accompanied by the Cola di Rienzo commentary: some of the commentary is incorporated into the text in the form of lengthy rubrics between chapters; the remainder appears as marginal annotations.

31v-33v blank.

34r-37v Alphabetical index.

The editorial title supplied by Čáda, and repeated by Cheneval – *Registrum ad partes sequentes posterius adscriptum* – does not give an entirely accurate picture of the content of these pages. In fact they contain an index to the various themes touched on in the works in the miscellany. The eight pages have been divided up alphabetically into two columns so that topics could be added under the appropriate letter. Thus under the letter A there are headings such as *Accessus ad deum*,



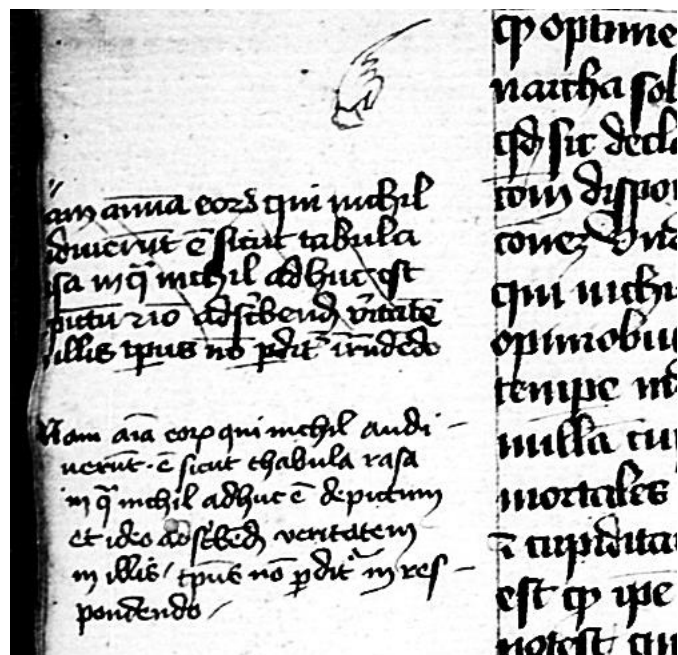
Adulatio, Adventus christi, Amor celestis gratie. Not all the space has been filled under any given letter. References to the *Monarchia* include, among others, under B: Bellum 12 . 16; Beatitudinis fines 29; under C: Concordia 8; Conclusio veri ex falso 13; under I: Iusticia 4 . 7 . 12; Iudicium dei occultum 17; Imperii impugnatores 16; Invehit contra prelatos 20; and many more. The numbers which follow the entries cited in these examples are page references. They refer back to the pages of the *Monarchia* in the old (original) numbering of the text, which, as explained below, is to be found on the upper margin of the verso of each folio. References to the pages of the following texts are likewise to the old numbering, which continues until f. 121v of the codex. The index – a useful working tool, and the only one of its kind in the manuscript tradition of the treatise – fills the last pages of the final quire which contains the text of the *Monarchia*, and looks both backwards to Dante’s text and forward to the texts of Albertano da Brescia, containing numerous references to both.

The section of the manuscript containing the *Monarchia* is copied by one hand throughout for text and rubrics. The text is in dark brown ink; the extended rubrics between chapters – one of them runs to well over half a page in length – are in red. (These rubrics, as noted, contain a substantial part of the Cola di Rienzo commentary: in the Budapest manuscript (H), which also contains the commentary, all this material is in the margins.)

A second hand – or possibly the same hand using a finer pen, and writing at a later time in a more confined space – adds the marginal commentary. This hand, the ‘commentary hand’, makes a few small corrections to the text, and is identified in the Notes to the transcription as hand 2.

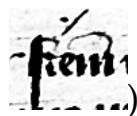
A different hand, much smaller and clearly distinguished from the hand of the text (by paler ink and slightly different letter formation), adds some marginal notes, variants and corrections, and on one occasion (f. 8v) recopies a whole passage where letters on the outside edge of the folio have been cut off by the trimming of the page. This hand, the ‘correcting hand’, is identified in the Notes to the transcription as

hand 3. The distinction between hand 2 and hand 3 is clearly visible here (f. 8v), where the cancelled note is in hand 2 and the recopied note is in hand 3:



Where no copyist is specified in the transcription the correction is by the original hand, or it is impossible to determine which hand is responsible.

The interventions of copyist 3 seem to reflect a systematic check carried out after binding or trimming: at many points a marker is added to a word in the text, evidently signalling that checking or explanation is required, but more often than not the matching sign in the margin has not had a note added to it. (These signs are extremely discreet and easy to miss at first glance: they are clearly visible, for example, at the top of f. 6v:



It is probably this copyist who draws the various pointing hands in the margin which highlight moments of particular interest in the text, and the capital I added three times at the beginning of chapters where the scribe has omitted it (f. 21r, f. 22r, f. 24v). This correcting hand also occasionally rewrites a word in the marginal commentary if a letter or

two has been trimmed, or indeed corrects a word in the commentary itself (eg. at f. 17r *statuit*).

To summarise, then, we can identify three stages in the preparation of the manuscript of the *Monarchia*: the copying of the text and rubrics (written apparently as a continuous text, even though different coloured inks are used for text and rubrics); the adding of the commentary in the margins; and finally a thorough checking of both text and commentary, with the adding of corrections, queries and scattered glosses. For an analysis of the significance of the corrections to the Znojmo manuscript in terms of manuscript affiliations, see Shaw, 'Le correzioni di copista', pp. 286-88.

The folios are numbered by a modern hand in pencil in the top right hand corner, from 1 to 247 (though not every page is numbered). This modern numbering overrides the original numbering: thus the text of the *Monarchia* starts on f. 2r according to the modern numbering (but 1r in the original numbering) and finishes on 31r (modern numbering). The *Monarchia* is numbered 1-30 by the original hand on the verso of all folios, in the top margin, and on the recto of the first page as well. There are traces of even older numbering systems on the upper margins of some folios (eg. 18 in the top left hand corner of 2r, i.e. the first page of the *Monarchia*; 89 in the top right hand corner of the same folio), which suggests the texts in the manuscript may have been bound differently at some earlier stage of their history. There are running titles, partly trimmed, in books 2 and 3, which take the form *liber secundus*, or *l. 2'* or simply *2'*, and *l. 3'* or *3'*.

The section of the manuscript containing the *Monarchia* is made up of quires arranged thus: 6 + 6 [ff. 2r-13v]; 6 + 6 [ff. 14r-25v]; [f. 26 is missing; see below] 5 + 6 [ff. 27r-37v]. There are traces of an older manuscript used to strengthen the binding in the inner margin at the centre of each quire (eg. between 7v/8r and 19v/20r): this has been preserved though new twine has been used as part of the recent restoration of the manuscript.

I first examined the manuscript in Znojmo in May 1990. My notes made at the time read: The covers are made of parchment; the upper portion (roughly one third) of the back cover is missing; the spine is brown leather sewn through. The manuscript has suffered some damage to the edges and corners of the pages, especially at the beginning and the end of the text; the outside edge is so worn as to make parts of the text of the commentary illegible in places. The microfilm I had made at this time shows this damage clearly, and it is clearly visible on the digitised images in this electronic edition, which have been made from that microfilm (see eg. ff. 2r, 14r, 15r).

In June 1991 the manuscript was restored and rebound in Brno. The damaged edges and corners of the pages were mended with paper (the bottom corners of almost all folios, the top corners of some, and the entire outer edge of those most badly worn and damaged). The new binding is paper, with a protective outer layer printed to look like parchment. (The original parchment cover is preserved in the cardboard box which now protects the manuscript.) The original leather stitched spine has been incorporated into the restored manuscript. The restoration has been sensitively and expertly done, but it is sad to report that folio 26 (of which I noted in 1990 ‘folio 26 has been reglued in but it seems to be a very old mend’) has gone missing. I was therefore unable to check the readings of the long rubric and the commentary on this folio on my return visit to Znojmo in July 2002. The digitised image of ff. 26r-26v may be the only surviving record we have of it.

There is a very clear watermark on f. 31v: an ox’s head, with 2 eyes, 2 horns, 2 ears, and a flower on a stalk sticking straight up out of the top of the animal’s head (height 73mm, width 42mm at its widest point). Cf. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, II, 716f.: Tête de boeuf (‘Dans les 14.708 à 14.886 la tête du boeuf est sommée d’une fleur portée par un trait ou par une tige,’ p. 731.) Of the examples which are closest in shape to the Znojmo watermark (14.708, 14.710, 14.711, 14.712, 14.713, 14.714), all dated between 1402 and 1419, the closest in size is 14.710, Würzburg (1407-13). Similar watermarks are clearly visible on other folios of the manuscript (220v, 195v, 196r, 188r, 182r): all represent an ox’s head,

but sometimes with a large X or a three-leaf clover instead of a flower on the stick, and with measurements which vary slightly.

The contents of the remaining part of the manuscript are set out below. (Cheneval, *Rezeption*, discusses the particular combination of texts in this codex, and gives ample bibliographical information on editions of them.) The different texts are copied in a variety of hands.

38r-44r Albertano da Brescia, *Liber de doctrina dicendi et tacendi*.

44r-72v Albertano da Brescia, *Liber consolationis et consilii*.

72v-117r Albertano da Brescia, *De amore et dilectione dei et proximi*.

117v-120v Albertano da Brescia, *Sermo super confirmatione vite Causidicorum*.

121r-121v blank.

(At this point the original numbering of the folios ceases.)

122r-133v [attribution debated]

122r Incipit: Quia plurimi ob nimiam quandoque accurtacionem et magnam scriptorum sentenciam canones utilitates astrolabii declarantes intelligere et memorie commendare non valuerunt.

133v Explicit: tunc operato ut superius est ostensum etc Expliciunt utilitates.

134r-181v [attribution debated]

134r Incipit: Ad sequentes itaque capitulum infra scripta reducuntur capitula videlicet de celsitudine de mundi gloria de sublimitate item de elacione de superbia et timore.

181v Explicit: fabrorum manibus igneam.

182r blank.

182v-220r Macer Floridus, *Herbarius sive de viribus herbarum*, with marginal commentary by Iohannes Schindel.

(This section of the manuscript has original numbering which starts at 1 and continues to 37. An index on f. 182v lists the names of plants and serves as a preface to the text.)

220r-220v Incipit: Sequitur regimen tocius sanitatis. Si vis incolumen si vis te reddere sanum.

Explicit: fine brevi faciunt hominem consumere vitam.

221r-245r Johannes Vallensis, *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum*.

245v-247v: blank.

The makeup of the lengthy section of the manuscript which follows the *Monarchia* can be briefly described. Different hands copy the different texts. The same format as the *Monarchia* (a single column of text) and continuous numbering on the verso of the pages continues until f. 121v, which is the last page of a quire, and completes the collection of works by Albertano da Brescia. (This first half of the manuscript may originally have been a self-contained entity.) From f. 122r to f. 181v (again the end of a quire) the text is in double columns and there is no old numbering. From f. 182r until 220v, again the end of a quire, there is a single narrow central column of text with notes in the margins, and, as noted, a different old numbering system from 1 to 37. Finally, from 221r on, for the last 2 quires of the codex, there is a single column of text, as with the *Monarchia*, but with less generous margins.

## Notes

226. Traces of an older system of sequencing the pages with letters are visible in the bottom right hand corner of some pages: thus *m* on f. 3r, *n* on 4r, and so on.
227. Cheneval mistakenly states that the codex is still in Tübingen; see below.
228. Where these numbers are missing because of the trimming of the page, the folios are numbered in pencil in a modern hand; they are also numbered in pencil in the bottom right hand corner.
229. See *ED*, II, pp. 710-713 and V, pp. 51-53.
230. On Nott's interest in Dante, see P. Toynbee, *Britain's Tribute to Dante in Literature and Art*, London 1921, p. 95.
231. Ageno was able to examine the manuscript in person; its current whereabouts is unknown. Witte had known of this manuscript indirectly and referred to it with the sigil C (=Cheltenham), not to be confused with C above now used for manuscript 401 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.
232. On Biscioni see the *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani*, ed. C. Frati, Florence 1934, pp. 102-103, and ed. M. Parenti, Florence 1952, vol. I, p. 142.
233. Briquet comments: 'Lettre P ... Tous ces types ... sont originaires d'Italie'.
234. *SD*, XXXII (1954), p. 53.
235. There are no 'titoli dei capitoli' added by this hand, *pace* Ricci.
236. Ricci's cm. 23 x 18 seems to be a guesstimate based on the photographs of the manuscript held in the Società Dantesca Italiana.
237. The author's identity is confirmed by the marginal comment on the *Commedia* at I, xii (f. 7v): *Comedia est quidam liber in vulgari quem a[u]ctor iste de inferni purgatorii et paradisi condicione composuit subtiliter et diserte.*

# X. Bibliography

Editions, books and articles which have been published since 2006 are listed in a supplement at the end of each section of the original bibliography. A new section containing Conference Acts and Miscellanies, arranged chronologically, has been added at the end.

## *Editions of the Monarchia*

The following is not an exhaustive list of editions of the treatise, but includes all works cited and referred to in the editorial material on this web site.

*Andreæ Alciati iure consulti clariss. De formula Romani Imperii Libellus. Accesserunt non dissimilis argumenti, Dantis Florentini "De Monarchia" libri tres. Radulphi Carnotensis De translatione Imperii libellus. Chronica M. Iordanis, Qualiter Romanum Imperium translatum sit ad Germanos. Omnia nunc primùm in lucem edita. Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum [1559]. (The Monarchia is on pp. 53-179.)*

*De Iurisdictione, autoritate, et praeeminentia imperiali, ac potestate ecclesiastica, deque Iuribus regni & Imperii, variorum Authorum, qui ante hæc tempora vixerunt, scripta. Basileae, 1566. (The Monarchia is on pp. 237-284.)*

*Syntagma tractatum De imperiali iurisdictione, autoritate et præeminentia, ac potestate ecclesiastica: deque Iuribus Regni et Imperii; Authorum variorum, qui ante nostram ætatem vixerunt: quorum nomina et temporis quo scripserunt notationem, Catalogus, ante Dedicatoriam Epistolam positus, recenset.... Argentorati, Sumptibus Lazari Zetzneri Bibliopol. Anno M. DC. IX. (The Monarchia is on pp. 80-104.)*

*Aligherii, Dantis. De Monarchia, Libri III, cum italica interpretatione Marsilii Ficini nunc primum in lucem edita, Florentiae, Typis Allegrini et Mazzoni, 1839 (Opere minori di Dante Alighieri, a cura di P. I. Fraticelli, vol. III).*

*Alighieri, Dante. Le Egloghe Latine, I Trattati del Volgar Eloquio e della Monarchia, e le Epistole, con dissertazioni e note a tutte le opere minori. Firenze 1841 (Le opere minori di Dante, vol. VI, a cura di P. I. Fraticelli).*

*Alighieri, Dante. La Monarchia [...] col volgarizzamento di Marsilio Ficino, tratto da codice inedito della Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze con illustrazioni e note di diversi, per cura del dottore Alessandro Torri veronese. Livorno 1844 (Delle prose e*



- poesie liriche di Dante Alighieri. Prima edizione illustrata con note di diversi*, vol. III *La Monarchia*).
- Alighieri, Dante. *La Monarchia, tradotta in volgare da Marsilio Ficino*, Volume unico. Torino 1853 (Società Editrice della Biblioteca dei Comuni Italiani).
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