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**UNNOTICED FRAGMENTS OF DANTE'S 'MONARCHIA'
WITH THE COMMENTARY ATTRIBUTED
TO COLA DI RIENZO**

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This note draws attention to and briefly describes fragments in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which preserve a previously unknown copy of Dante's *Monarchia* with the commentary on that text attributed to Cola di Rienzo. The fragments survive in fifteenth-century bindings from Erfurt but seem to have been written in Central Europe around the middle of the fourteenth century by a combination of Central European and Italian scribes. In their layout, decoration, text, corrections and annotations the fragments provide significant new evidence for the circulation both of the *Monarchia* and of the commentary. They are also important for the possibility that they originated in the milieu of mid-fourteenth-century Bohemia where Rienzo's commentary is believed to have been composed.

Keywords: Dante, *Monarchia*, Cola di Rienzo

A digitization project at the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, has brought to light new fragments of Dante's *Monarchia*, with the marginal commentary attributed to Cola di Rienzo.¹ A new witness to the *Monarchia*, which is known only in twenty medieval copies, is significant in itself.² The commentary is otherwise known only in two manuscripts (H: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 212, and Z: Znojmo, Archiv, ms. AMZ-II 306). A new witness is therefore still more significant; and this copy, as we shall see, is very probably the earliest.³ Features of the fragments' script, layout and

¹ Dante, *Monarchia: A Digital Edition*, ed. Prue Shaw, second edition (Florence: Società Dantesca Italiana, 2019), www.danteonline.it/monarchia; introductory material, <https://media.dantesca.it/media/monarchiaeditoriali/Monarchia-DE2019.pdf>; last consulted October 2020. Shaw's sigla for *Monarchia* manuscripts are used here.

² The manuscripts are listed by Shaw; there are in addition three manuscripts copied from the editio princeps, and a fragment in the National Library of Prague (Shaw, p. 30 n. 1).

³ Cola di Rienzo, *In Monarchiam Dantis commentarium = Commento alla Monarchia di Dante*, ed. Paolo D'Alessandro (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 2015); Paolo D'Alessandro, "In Monarchiam Dantis Commentarium: Per l'edizione critica delle glosse alla Monarchia attribuite a Cola di

decoration are untypical of both *Monarchia* and commentary manuscripts, raising new questions about the circulation and readership of both texts. Furthermore, the manuscript testifies to close cooperation between Italian and Central European scribes: it seems to bring us tantalizingly close to the circumstances in which the commentary is believed to have been written, in mid-fourteenth-century Bohemia. The fragments therefore deserve wide attention, and the purpose of this note is summarize the current state of knowledge and to stimulate further research.

The fragments survive as binding waste in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Hamilton 13 and 37 (Summary Catalogue 24443 and 24467).⁴ MS. Hamilton 13 preserves two folios which were originally used as pastedowns on the upper and lower boards but were later lifted and are now endleaves foliated i and 369. The 'host' manuscript, a copy of the *secunda secundae* of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologica*, is dated 1445. It may well have been written in Erfurt: the scribe was admitted to the Erfurt Carthusians in the year the book was finished, and the manuscript later belonged to the library of that house.⁵ MS. Hamilton 37, a collection of sermons from the first half of the fifteenth century, is of unknown origin but also belonged to the Erfurt Carthusians.⁶ It preserves only narrow strips from the *Monarchia* attached to the upper board, and fragmentary offsets on the upper board, lower board and on an endleaf (fol. 260).

Both manuscripts were almost certainly bound in Erfurt in the middle of the fifteenth century. The bindings are very similar, with stamps which can be associated with the 'Conradus' workshop

Rienzo," *Humanistica* 9 (2014), 85-142, with text and Italian translation at 100-141; previously edited by Pier Giorgio Ricci, "Il commento di Cola di Rienzo alla *Monarchia* di Dante," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 6, no. 2 (1965): 665-708.

⁴ Falconer Madan et al., *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ...*, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1953), V.17 and 29; revised online descriptions *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries* https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_5973 and https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_5999. Digital images of MS. Hamilton 13 are available via Digital Bodleian: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/641872ca-263b-41f6-b844-69ff6281bdf8>.

⁵ Colophon, fol. 360v ("Finita est hec pars 2a2e. beati thome. :1445: in vigilia Benedicte Trinitas. Hoc anno Ego .N. huius uoluminis scriptor. fui receptus et indutus habitu carthusiensi in domo Carthusie prope Erffodiam in die sancti Jeronimi"); ex libris, 17th century (?), fol. 1r; perhaps identifiable as L 89 or L 90 in the late-fifteenth-century library catalogue (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge. Deutschland und die Schweiz II. Bistum Mainz. Erfurt*, ed. Paul J. G. Lehmann (Munich: O. Beck, 1928) 465). The pressmark on the binding is II or T followed by 6 or G.

⁶ Pressmark O.21 on the binding; O.21 in the catalogue (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, ed. Lehmann, 494).

active in Erfurt around the second quarter of the fifteenth century.⁷ After the secularization of the Erfurt Carthusians in 1803 both manuscripts were acquired by the collector Friedrich Gottlieb Julius von Bülow; his collection was in turn dispersed by sale in 1836.⁸ Around 1841 they were acquired on behalf of William Hamilton (d. 1856) by John Broad, one of his former students.⁹ After Hamilton's death his collection was given to the Bodleian Library by his sons in 1857 and is currently among a series of manuscripts being digitized with funding from the Polonsky Foundation.¹⁰ Both manuscripts were catalogued by the Bodleian Library in 1897 but the endleaves in MS. Hamilton 13 were described only as “fragments of a 14th century theological ms.”; later descriptions also failed to identify the text, and consequently the leaves have escaped scholarly attention.¹¹ The fragments in MS. Hamilton 37 have not previously been described.

We can be confident that the copy of the *Monarchia* from which these fragments derive was in Erfurt in the middle of the fifteenth century, where it came into the possession of a binding workshop and was dismantled for binding ‘waste’. This in itself is new evidence for the circulation of the *Monarchia*.¹² No copy was previously known to have circulated in Germany.¹³ Equally, the dismemberment of the manuscript is also significant, suggesting that it could not be resold and thus that there was no demand for the text. Our manuscript did not, however, originate in Erfurt or

⁷ Ilse Schunke, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Einband-durchreibungen*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1979–1996), II.78; Einband Datenbank (<https://www.hist-einband.de>, accessed July 2020), workshop w002418; stamps s016515, s016519, s016518, s016517; similar binding on MS. Hamilton 44.

⁸ Georg. H. Schaeffer, *Bibliotheca Bueloviana ... Dritter Theil ... 10. October 1836* (Sangerhausen: Heinrich Weichelt, 1836), manuscripts 56a and 101.

⁹ Madan, *Summary catalogue*, V.11–12

¹⁰ The project website is <https://hab.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>

¹¹ Hyacinthe F. Dondaine, Hugues V. Shooner, *Codices manuscripti operum Thomae de Aquino III: Bibliothecae Namur - Paris* (Rome: Commissio Leonina, 1985), no. 2051 (“particulas praebent tractatus de Romano pontifice et Romano principe,” “fragments of a treatise on the pope and the Holy Roman emperor”); the endleaves are not mentioned in the description in Andrew G. Watson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), no. 496.

¹² Francis Cheneval, *Die Rezeption der Monarchia Dantes bis zur Editio Princeps im Jahre 1559. Metamorphosen eines philosophischen Werkes* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1995); idem, “Dante's *Monarchia*: Aspects of its History of Reception in the 14th Century,” in *Les philosophies morales et politiques au Moyen Âge = Moral and Political Philosophies in the Middle Ages: actes du XIe Congrès international de Philosophie Médiévale, Ottawa, 17 au 22 août, 1992*, eds. Bernardo C. Bazán, Eduardo Andujar and Leonard O. Sbrocchi, 3 vols. (New York: Legas, 1995), III.1474–85; idem, “La réception de la *Monarchie* de Dante ou les métamorphoses d'une œuvre philosophique,” *Vivarium* 34 (1997): 254–67.

¹³ Cheneval, *Die Rezeption der Monarchia*, 65–6.

Germany. The circumstances of its original production are best considered by treating the text and commentary separately.

The Monarchia

The fragments are henceforward given the siglum O. The strip and offsets in MS. Hamilton 37 preserve text from 1.13 (commentary on 1.13.4 and 1.13.6 is identifiable). (The offsets on the lower board and endleaf are too fragmentary to allow identification of the text, but it was almost certainly from the same manuscript.) The more substantial fragments in MS. Hamilton 13 begin at *Monarchia* 3.1.3 '[m]endacem de palestra' and end at 3.3.11 'non dubitat et[']'. The text begins on fol. 369v (detail, fig. 2) and continues in the order 369r (fig. 1), i verso, i recto.¹⁴ The leaves currently measure approximately 315 × 220 mm.; originally they were evidently larger, since a few words of marginal text have been lost. The ruled space measures 200 × 145 mm. with the text arranged in two columns of 25 lines, ruled in ink. The script is *textura* (*textualis formata*); and there are painted initials at the beginning of 3.2 and 3.3, that for 3.2 incorporating gold. To judge from what remains the script and layout of the fragments in MS. Hamilton 37 was identical.

This seems, therefore, to have been a notably high-grade copy of the *Monarchia*.¹⁵ Its size is not unusual; it is one of the larger copies, but not the largest. There are others of similar page and written dimensions, with decoration, and written in formal script, for example manuscripts A, C, D, and L.¹⁶ Yet even the more lavish of these were written in smaller script, with more lines to the page. If painted initials are present (as in C, D, and L), they are restricted to the opening initial (D, L) or the beginning of books (C), with other divisions marked instead only by penwork initials (C, D) or by plain coloured initials (L). In its spacious layout,

¹⁴ The following conventions are used in transcriptions from the manuscript. <...> enclose text which due to damage or correction is only partly legible. ? indicates an uncertain transcription.] indicates text incomplete at the beginning of a line; [indicates text incomplete at the end of a line; / indicates a line break; () enclose expanded abbreviations.

¹⁵ The manuscripts of the *Monarchia* have never been described in detail; the remarks here are based on the descriptions in *Monarchia*, ed. Shaw, in Cheneval, *Rezeption*, and in *Dante: Monarchia*, ed. Pier Giorgio Ricci (Milan: Mondadori, 1965), and on the digital images available via the digital edition.

¹⁶ A: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 119 inf.; C: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 401; D: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4683; L: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, LXXVIII 1.

extensive decoration, and script, O may well represent the most expensively-executed copy of the *Monarchia* that survives.

O was probably written and decorated in Central Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century. The zig-zig form of the ‘-bus’, ‘-que’, and ‘-orum’ abbreviations, and of final *m*, and the proliferation of decorative hairlines, including a hairline on the horizontal stroke of the ‘per’ abbreviation, are all characteristic of this region and period. The painted initials use a palette of rose, orange and green that is typical of Bohemian manuscript decoration in the middle of the fourteenth century; while no close parallels have been found for the design of the initials and simple foliage patterns, broad comparisons can be drawn with manuscripts from the 1340s to the 1360s.¹⁷

The scribe was very likely working from an exemplar written in Italy or by an Italian. Difficulty with the script of the exemplar may explain some of the more egregious errors, such as ‘quod dei velle’ for ‘quod dicitur velle’ (3.2.5).¹⁸ The scribe was certainly unfamiliar with the Italian practice of writing c-cedilla for the character *z*, and on three occasions (3.3.7) writes ‘celo’ for ‘zelo’. On each occasion a corrector has added a cedilla by way of correction; this corrector was presumably Italian, and several other corrections are similarly made by a contemporary Italian hand. These were made both by erasure and overwriting in the text, and by marginal corrections using *signes de renvoie*. Several are simply corrections of scribal errors, many of which illustrate the poor quality of the original text, and need not provide evidence of comparison with another manuscript:

3.1.1 <i>patri successorem</i>	to	<i>petri successorem</i>
3.3.3 <i>hunc</i>	to	<i>habet</i>

¹⁷ The assessment of script and decoration is based primarily on the comparanda in Pavel Brodsky, *Katalog iluminovaných rukopisů Knihovny Národního muzea v Praze = Catalogue of the illuminated manuscripts of the Library of the National Museum, Prague* (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 2000); Josef Krása, *České iluminované rukopisy 13./16. století* (Prague: Odeon, 1990); and *Die Illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Mitteleuropäischen Schulen*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997–2014). On the Central European characteristics of the script see also Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 91, 97–8; Karin Schneider, “Buchstabenverzierungen als Datierungshilfen im späteren 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhundert,” *Scriptorium* 54 (2000), 35–9, esp. 38–9.

¹⁸ Although we cannot exclude the possibility that the errors had been introduced at an earlier stage in transmission, this seems less likely in view of the early date of O.

In another instance a probable case of eyeskip has been corrected; it may be significant that the error before correction is shared with manuscript Z.

3.2.7 *si finis nature inpediri potest* to *si finis nature inpediri potest quod potest*

More interestingly, other corrections were concerned with improving the text and illustrate collation against another copy. Several correct a reading otherwise attested in manuscript Ph (formerly Phillipps ms. 16281, now in a private collection):

3.3.9 *cuilibet* to *cuiuslibet*
 3.3.9 *profect<us?>* [also in C] to *profecto*
 3.3.10 *fact<u?>s* to *factos*
 3.3.7 *gre<c?>um* [also C P V] to *gregum*

In one case a reading found in manuscripts L and U is corrected:

3.3.8 *sanctissimi* to *sacratissimi*

And in a final case an error common to most manuscripts (except H T U Z) has probably been corrected:

3.3.9 *<per>* to *qui*

O therefore belongs to the interesting group of manuscripts where the text of the *Monarchia* has been corrected against another copy.¹⁹ Its text before correction can be associated with both the beta4 group (C, D, H, M, S, Z) and the beta3 group (V, G, E, R, A2, Ph), with the corrections bringing it closer to beta4.²⁰ The correcting copy seems to have been related to the other Central European manuscripts H and Z: this is suggested in particular by the insertion of ‘Nam’ in 3.3.10 (‘Nam qui ante tradiciones’), only found elsewhere in those manuscripts.²¹ In other respects O before

¹⁹ Prue Shaw, “Le correzioni di copista nei manoscritti della *Monarchia*,” *Studi danteschi* 63 (1991): 281–312

²⁰ Beta4 readings include 3.3.7 “contradient” (for “contradicunt”), shared with DHMZ; at 3.2.7 “sic prius” (for “sic sequitur quod prius”), shared with CDHMZ.

²¹ For the provenance of Z see below, p. 79. H is a 15th-century composite volume, of which the *Monarchia* comprises the first part: its origin and early provenance are not apparent from the published descriptions. Verses on fol. 23r (printed most recently

correction already resembled HZ, notably in the omission of ‘negarent’ at the end of 3.3.8; on the other hand O does not have the distinctive HZ reading ‘aliena’ for ‘alia’ in 3.3.5, nor was this corrected. O was not, therefore, an ancestor of H or Z.

In addition to these contemporary corrections, O is also notable for its other annotations. It is one of the most heavily-annotated copies of the *Monarchia*, even in the few extant folios that survive. The text of 3.3 is accompanied by marginalia ‘nota brocard.’ (near the beginning of 3.3.6, identifying a legal maxim or brocard), and ‘hic nota bur<da?> contra p(o)p(ulu)m’; at 3.3.9 we have ‘contra decretalistas’ alongside ‘Nota’ and in addition a manicule; and there are several other manicules and another remark, at 3.2, ‘nota sed non omnibus cred<e>’²² Unfortunately these are difficult to date more precisely than later fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and still more difficult to localize. But whoever they were, the readers of O left ample evidence of their engagement, sometimes sceptical, with Dante’s text.

The Commentary

The most significant annotation, however, comprised the marginal commentary now attributed to Cola di Rienzo. This was added in the margins of the *Monarchia* text, as in H; in Z the commentary is partly in the margins and partly presented as rubrics between chapters. In contrast to both the other copies, however, the commentary was not copied by the main scribe and was probably not part of the original mise-en-page.²³ Due to the ample margins, there was sufficient space for the commentary, but it was fitted in somewhat awkwardly around the original decoration and ruling (figs. 1, 2). As far as can be judged from the surviving fragments the commentary was added by a single hand.

The script of this hand is clearly Italian in aspect and marked by several Italian characteristics including the ‘qui’ abbreviation and the use of c-cedilla for z. It combines features of cursive and textualis or semi-textualis: ascenders (*b*, *h*, *l*) do not have loops; *f* and long-*s* sometimes, but not always descend below the line; *a* usually

in *Monarchia*, ed. Shaw, 300) might offer a clue to its origin, but their interpretation is disputed: see Ricci, “Commento,” 666–68; Cheneval, *Rezeption*, 34–7.

²² See further below, p. 79.

²³ I believe that the commentary in Z is the work of the main scribe writing a smaller script, cf. Shaw, “Le correzioni di copista,” 286, and *Monarchia*, ed. Shaw, 321; on both occasions Shaw also notes the possibility that the commentary is by a different scribe.

has a single-compartment form; *g* has a cursive form; both the long and short forms of *s* are used at the beginning of a word; the final minim of word-final *j*, *m*, *n* or may curve downwards in a flourish. The 'straight' form of *r* usually has a pronounced 'foot' at the bottom. The hand is difficult to date with precision but can be assigned broadly to the second half of the fourteenth century.

Only a small amount of the commentary is preserved, but what survives presents a text that is independent of H and Z (which are themselves independent of one another) and generally superior to both (appendix 1). Not only does it avoid the errors found in Z and to a lesser extent in H but in contrast to both those manuscripts it is punctuated with some care to clarify the sense, which is not always transparent. This is most clearly seen in the commentary on 3.2, which is preserved in full in O. In addition, O may offer in 3.3 a new reading in the phrase (as it reads in HZ) 'in adulterio scripturarum ab ipsis temere intemptat[o]', which is difficult to parse as it stands: *intemptato*, which ought to mean 'unattempted', is Ricci's conjecture for H *intemptate* and Z *intemptata*.²⁴ O reads *imteptato*, or perhaps *imceptato* – *c* and *t* cannot always be distinguished with complete confidence in this hand – with the last letter apparently showing signs of correction. This is not satisfactory in itself but perhaps points to an earlier *inceptato* (from *incepto*) which would give better sense: 'adulteration of the scriptures rashly begun by themselves'.

A further point is that the commentary in O may have been copied in more than one stage. Most of the text is in a light brown ink, but this has been corrected or over-written in places with a darker brown. The comment 'fundamentum disputationis' on 3.2 is perhaps also in this darker ink (fig. 2). It is also significant that this comment is accompanied by brace marks which indicate exactly the phrase to which it applies. This is 'quod illud quod nature intencioni repugnat deus nolit', which is indeed what Ricci had conjectured, but Ricci's interpretation is not obvious from H or Z, where the marginal comment appears slightly earlier or later respectively in relation to that phrase. The brace-marks may of course be a scribe's intervention, but more plausibly we are dealing with an earlier state of the text, one that seems closer to an authorial working copy. This raises the further question of how far the

²⁴ Cola di Rienzo, *In Monarchiam Dantis commentarium*, ed. D'Alessandro, 127 (= "In Monarchiam Dantis Commentarium," 135), translates into Italian as "intento" from *intendere* "commence proceedings against;" but even if the Latin represents *intensus* (from *intendo*) rather than *intemptatus*, this is not the usual sense of that word.

commentary as we have it comprises a single unified work composed at one time. Alessandro has already pointed out that in H and Z the commentary attributable to Rienzo is combined with other notes probably added on different occasions, although the identification of these additions is not always obvious.²⁵ But the layer of text attributable to Rienzo may itself have been the result of several stages of composition.



To summarize so far, then, the text of the *Monarchia* was written by a Central European scribe from an Italian exemplar and corrected by an Italian scribe; the commentary was added by an Italian scribe. The circumstances in which this occurred remain conjectural and there are a number of possibilities which might include, for example, the papal court at Avignon.

Nevertheless we should not dismiss the possibility, overly neat though it may seem, that the Italo-Bohemian characteristics of the fragment relate to the circumstances in which the commentary itself was apparently composed, that is, in Prague between 1350 and 1352. The attribution to Cola de Rienzo was proposed by Bartoš and elaborated by Ricci on several grounds.²⁶ The commentary's prologue suggests that it was not directed at an Italian audience; the commentary refers to Clement VI as alive, but to Lewis of Bavaria as deceased, and therefore dates between 11 Oct. 1347 and 6 Dec. 1352. The author of the commentary states that they were present at the papal court in Avignon on 11 April 1343, and Rienzo was ambassador at the papal court 1343-4.²⁷ Ricci furthermore argued that other internal evidence - notably the author's knowledge of Rome, style and political ideas - confirmed the attribution, and that the commentary was written during the period between 1350 and 1352 when Rienzo was a guest and subsequently

²⁵ Cola di Rienzo, *In Monarchiam Dantis commentarium*, ed. D'Alessandro, 31-4 (D'Alessandro, "In Monarchiam Dantis Commentarium," 96-9).

²⁶ Ricci, 665-70.

²⁷ For a biography of Rienzo, see Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); for an up-to-date bibliography, idem., "Cola Di Rienzo," *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (accessed 22 Jul. 2020) <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0122.xml>.

prisoner of Charles IV at Prague and later prisoner at Raudnitz.²⁸ The argument has been almost universally accepted in scholarly literature.

The combination of Bohemian and Italian features in O could, perhaps, be explained if it was made in Prague, from an Italian exemplar, and corrected and annotated by one or more Italians, who also added the commentary: presumably not Rienzo himself, but perhaps one or more associates or admirers, perhaps working slightly later.²⁹ The manuscript's journey to Germany could be plausibly explained if it travelled with a German student moving from Prague to Erfurt after the withdrawal of German students from Prague University in 1409.³⁰ This is, of course, entirely hypothetical, and there are other possibilities. The later annotations to the fragment are difficult to localize with confidence and give few hints as to the manuscript's location before its arrival in Erfurt. Nevertheless the annotation 'nota sed non omnibus cred<e>' placed above the beginning of 3.2 is suggestive. The only other manuscript with a similar comment is Z (fol. 20v): 'Notanda sunt hec non tam omnia credenda'. Z is an early fifteenth century copy of the *Monarchia* and commentary that belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Willemow or Willimov in Bohemia before that monastery was destroyed in 1421 during the Hussite wars; the comment is in the same hand as Rienzo's commentary and was perhaps understood as part of that commentary. Manuscript Z does not derive directly from O, but some connection in their transmission is perhaps implied by this shared note. This may provide further support for placing O in Bohemia.

In conclusion I will attempt to summarize the significance of these fragments and to distinguish between more firmly based conclusions and those which are more speculative and need further research. The *Monarchia* in O was copied in Central Europe in the mid-fourteenth century, and thus confirms and extends our knowledge of the circulation of the *Monarchia* in that region. It later travelled to Erfurt, a region where the text was not previously known to circulate; but its use for binding waste would seem to confirm that the *Monarchia* was not in demand in Germany. The history of O between its creation and dismemberment is unclear. We have seen that it was corrected by an Italian, and that the

²⁸ For Rienzo's time in Bohemia see Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, ch. 12, with further detail in Paul Piur, *Cola di Rienzo, Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes* (Vienna: L.W. Seidel & Sohn, 1931), 156-77,

²⁹ For a sample of Rienzo's handwriting, see Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, pl. 14.

³⁰ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, eds. Frederick M. Powicke and Alfred B. Emden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), II.228, 249.

commentary was added by an Italian, but it is uncertain where and when this took place. It is a plausible hypothesis, but currently no more, that the manuscript was corrected and annotated in Bohemia and remained there until taken to Erfurt. This tends to confirm our understanding of the circulation both of the *Monarchia* and of the commentary, but further discoveries may modify that picture. It is to be hoped that further research on the script and decoration of the fragment, or the identification of further leaves from the parent manuscript in other Erfurt bindings, will shed further light on these questions.³¹

³¹ No further leaves or fragments from the manuscript have been identified in the Bodleian Library, although it should be noted that some endleaves were removed from the Hamilton manuscripts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their current whereabouts are not known in every case.

APPENDIX: The text of the commentary in MS. Hamilton 13

The capitalization and spelling of the original are retained. Abbreviations, including the tironian et, are silently expanded. Punctuation by point and virgule is represented by a point. C-cedilla is transcribed as z; / represents a line-break. Readings from H and Z are based on the digital images in Shaw's edition, checked against the editions of Ricci and Alessandro.

Fol. 369 verso

3.2

Capitulum primum libri tercii in [³²
 probare quod monarcha mu[
 ate³³ dependeat a deo [³⁴
 omnes omnium refragati³⁵
 atque reprobans et in hoc c[
 mento³⁶ totius disputationis [³⁷
 hanc veritatem <videlicet quod> [³⁸
 nature intencioni rep[³⁹
 deus nolit⁴⁰ sicut in secundo pre[⁴¹
 quod id quod iustum sit deus uelit [⁴²

3.2.1

Sic placet philosoph[⁴³
 datur ait unumq[⁴⁴
 cum causas cognos[⁴⁵
 principia et Boeth[⁴⁶
 est ut cognito principio [⁴⁷

³² HZ quo intendit

³³ H mundi immediate Z mundi in mediate

³⁴ HZ et non ab alio

³⁵ H Nam omnes omnium refragaciones interimens Z omnium refragaciones interimens **Ricci** omnes omnium refragaciones interimens

³⁶ H capitulo profundamento Z capitulo profunda mente

³⁷ HZ assumit

³⁸ HZ id quod

³⁹ HZ repugnat

⁴⁰ Z uelit

⁴¹ HZ preassumpsit

⁴² Z etc.

⁴³ HZ philosopho Tunc

⁴⁴ H unumquodque cognoscere Z unumquemque cognoscere

⁴⁵ HZ cognoscimus et

⁴⁶ HZ boetius Impossibile

⁴⁷ HZ quis sit

rerum finis ignor<es>⁴⁸

3.2.2

Fundamentum disputatio<nis>

Fol. 369 recto

3.3

In hoc capitulo auctor facit⁴⁹ sicut bonus miles . / qui . ut expedito
dyametro . cum aduersario / ad certamen concurrat . remouet . arun-
dines / spinas et tribulos omnes⁵⁰ e stadio scilicet garulatores / ignaros .
qui cupidine et ignorancia ceci . et / sacras adulterantes scripturas impe-
rio / legitimo contradicunt . et cum summo pontifice / et ceteris qui
zelo⁵¹ sancte matris ecclesie . nescientes / attamen⁵² legitimacionem im-
perii ipsi / imperio derogant⁵³ . dicentes ab ecclesia⁵⁴ / vel pastore⁵⁵
ecclesie deriuare / Monarcham . congregitur ad certamen.

Fol. i verso

3.3.3

Nam contradictores Imperii ign[⁵⁶
Legitimationem Imperii . ideo [⁵⁷
hac ignorantia et cupiditate [⁵⁸
ceci litigium mouent . confident[⁵⁹
in adulterio scripturarum . ab ip[⁶⁰
temere imteptato⁶¹

⁴⁸ H ignores Z ignoret

⁴⁹ H fecit

⁵⁰ Z et omnes

⁵¹ H zelum

⁵² HZ ac tamen

⁵³ Z derogat

⁵⁴ Z episcopo

⁵⁵ H Christe [*final letter unclear*] pastore; *D'Alessandro reads Christi and suggests the word has been deleted*

⁵⁶ HZ ignorant

⁵⁷ HZ ex

⁵⁸ HZ eorum

⁵⁹ HZ confidentes

⁶⁰ HZ ipsis

⁶¹ *Sic: lege inceptato? The final letter has been corrected. H intemptate [*final letter unclear*], Z intemptata Ricci intemptato*

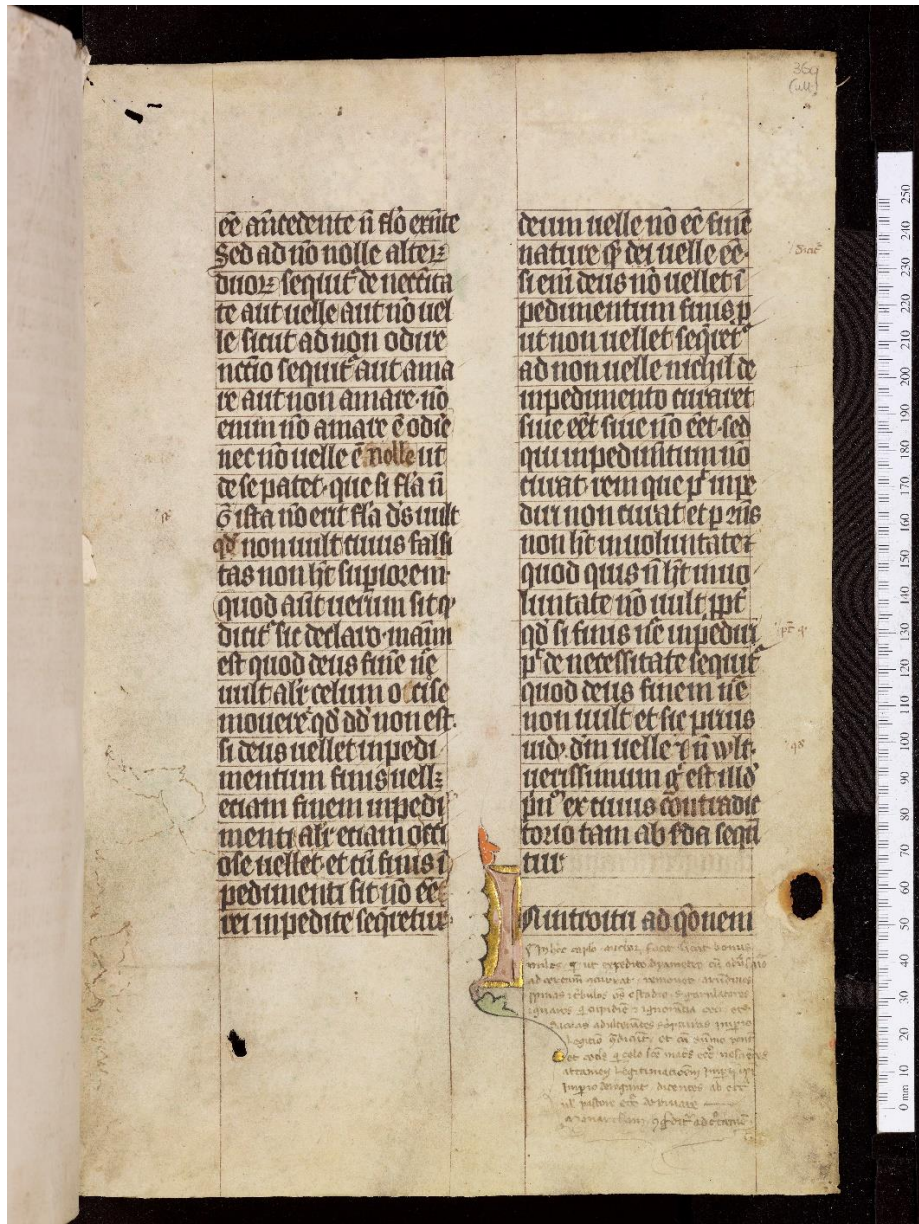


Fig. 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hamilton 13, fol. 369r: the lower right corner is the beginning of 3.3.

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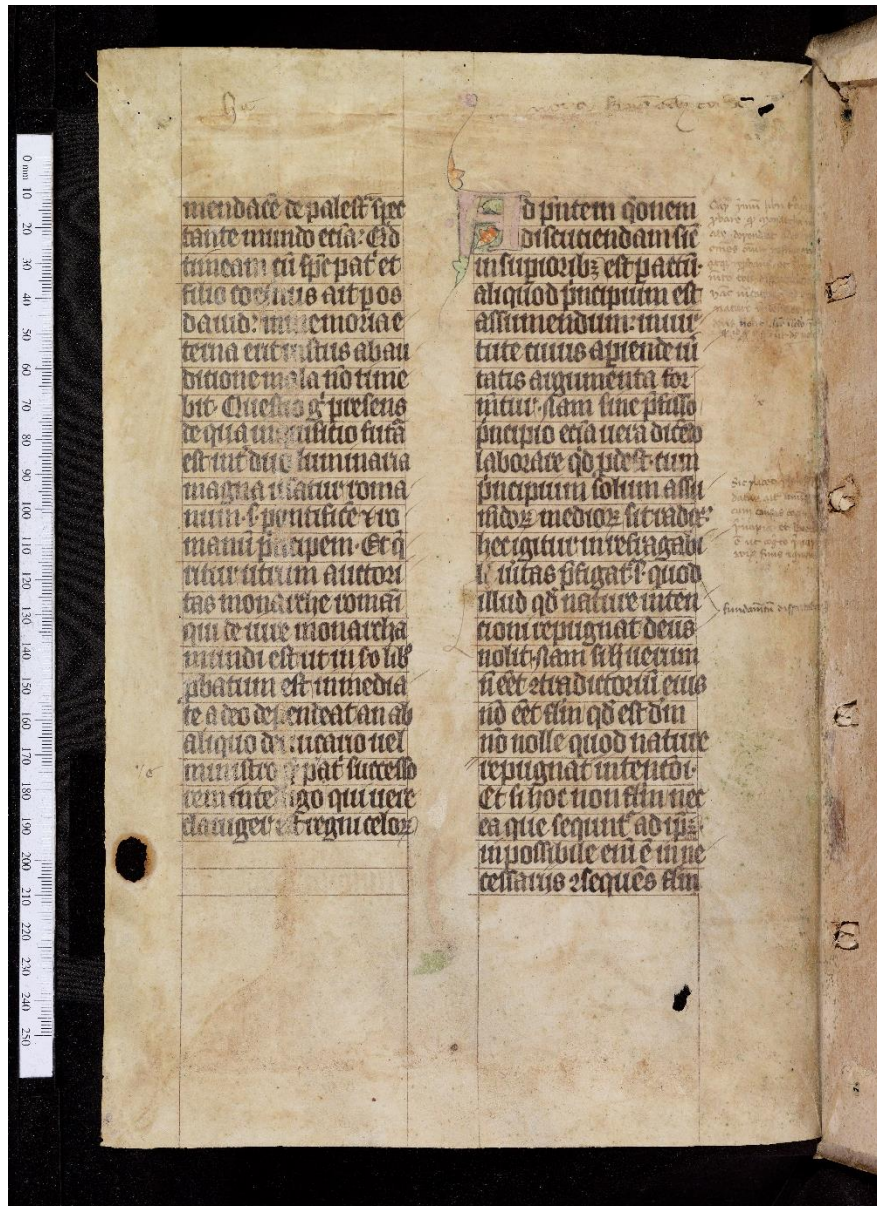


Fig 2. MS. Hamilton 13, fol. 369v (detail of column b): text of *Monarchia* 3.2. with commentary; later marginal note 'nota sed non omnibus crede'. Image: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/44a3d854-802d-41ad-9bb8-edab6b386eb2> ©Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC-BY-NC 4.0