

CONTENTS

	<i>Abbreviations</i>	ix
	<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
	<i>Preface: In fondo, una serietà terribile</i>	xix
PART I	Preliminary Considerations	
Chapter 1	Historical Considerations	3
	♦ Florence between the Guelphs and Ghibellines (1215–79)	3
	♦ Florence between the Blacks and the Whites (1279–1302)	9
	♦ The Descent and Demise of Henry VII (1302–13)	21
Chapter 2	Biographical Considerations	27
	♦ Susceptibility and the Significant Encounter (1265–93)	27
	♦ Care, Conflict and Catastrophe (1293–1302)	46
	♦ Far-Wandering and the Agony of Exile (1302–21)	55
PART II	The Early Years: From Dante da Maiano to the <i>Vita nova</i>	
Chapter 1	Preliminary Remarks: Love and Love-Intelligence	75
Chapter 2	Literary Hinterland: From Provençal to the <i>stilo de la loda</i>	82
Chapter 3	Literary Apprenticeship and a Coming of Age	114
	♦ Dante guittoniano	114
	♦ Dante cavalcantiano	121
	♦ Dante and the <i>Rose</i> : The <i>Fiore</i> and the <i>Detto d'amore</i>	133
	♦ Dante guinizzelliano	159
Chapter 4	The <i>Vita nova</i>	173
	♦ Preliminary Remarks: Antecedent Utterance and an Essay in Authoring	173
	♦ Love Seeking and Seeking Not Its Own	184
	♦ Conclusion: New Life and a <i>Commedia a minore</i>	201

VIII CONTENTS

PART III	The Middle Years: The Moral and Allegorical <i>Rime</i> , the <i>Convivio</i> , the <i>De vulgari eloquentia</i> and the Post-Exilic <i>Rime</i>	
Chapter 1	Compassionate Lady of the Casement and a Woman of Stone: The Pre-Exilic <i>Rime</i>	209
Chapter 2	The <i>Convivio</i>	235
	♦ Preliminary Remarks: Magnanimity, Possibility and Impossibility	235
	♦ Course of the Argument	236
	♦ Axes of Concern in the <i>Convivio</i>	264
	♦ Language, Form and Function: An Essay in Beauty, Being and Becoming	277
	♦ Conclusion: Being and Becoming as Yet in Waiting	285
Chapter 3	<i>The De vulgari eloquentia</i> : Language, Literature and the Ontologization of Art	287
Chapter 4	The Post-Exilic <i>Rime</i>	313
PART IV	The Final Years: The <i>Commedia</i> , the Political Letters and the <i>Monarchia</i> , the <i>Questio</i> , Cangrande and the <i>Eclogues</i>	
Chapter 1	The <i>Commedia</i>	323
	♦ Standing Alone in Respect of That Which Matters Alone: Dante, Cino and the Solitary Way	323
	♦ The <i>Commedia à la lettre</i>	327
	♦ An Anthropology and Ethic: Love and Love-Harvesting	377
	♦ The Dialectics of Being: A Difficult Dimensionality	384
	♦ A Phenomenology of Existence: The Mood as Mediator	414
	♦ Dante and Significant Journeying	436
	♦ Immanent Eschatology and the Triumph of the Image	459
Chapter 2	The <i>Monarchia</i> and the Political Letters	479
Chapter 3	The <i>Questio de situ aque et terre</i> , the Letter to Cangrande della Scala and the <i>Eclogues</i>	523
	<i>Afterword: A Coruscation of Delight</i>	542
	<i>Select Bibliography</i>	547
	<i>Index of Names</i>	569

CHAPTER 1

Historical Considerations

FLORENCE BETWEEN THE GUELPHS AND GHIBELLINES (1215–79)

Exemplary in respect of just about everything coming next on the banks of the Arno over the next few decades was the case of Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti on the threshold of the thirteenth century. Buondelmonte, a knight as comely as any in his day, had promised himself in marriage to a young woman of the Amadei. Sporting his skills as a horseman, he was one day hailed by a certain Aldruda of the Donati, who, losing no time in confronting him with the mistake he was about to make by marrying into the Amadei, took the opportunity of showing off one of her own daughters, a young woman sufficiently beautiful to turn Buondelmonte's head and to dispel any thoughts of his looking elsewhere. Without ado, then, he took her to wife, whereupon the Amadei at once swore vengeance, duly redeeming their promise on the morning of the Feast of the Resurrection in 1215, when, espying Buondelmonte richly caparisoned on a white stallion, they confronted him at the foot of the statue of Mars on the city side of the Ponte Vecchio, unhorsed him, and ran him through. Here, then, were Florence's woes in a nutshell: the rise of any number of dominant and mutually antagonistic power blocs, partisanship in plenty, dynastic struggle, endless alignment and realignment, and a steady hovering on the brink of social and civic chaos—everything, in fact, serving within the context of a genuine gift for political creativity to betray that gift at a stroke.¹

Taking, then, as our point of departure the episode of Buondelmonte in all its at once exemplary and prophetic substance we may begin by distinguishing the two main moments of Florentine history over Dante's lifetime, the first of them, through to about 1290, marked by the to-and-fro ascendancy of Guelph

¹ Giovanni Villani, *Cronica* (hereafter Villani) 5.38; Dino Compagni, *Cronica* (hereafter Compagni) 1.2. Editions: *Croniche storiche di Giovanni, Matteo e Filippo Villani a miglior lezione ridotte coll'aiuto dei testi a penna*, ed. Michele Sartorio (Milan: Borroni e Scotti, 1848) and *Dino Compagni: La cronica*, ed. Isidoro del Lungo (Florence: Le Monnier, 1939). Translations and digests: *Dino Compagni's Chronicle of Florence*, trans. Daniel Bornstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), and in Temple Classics, *The Chronicle of Dino Compagni*, trans. E.C.M. Benecke and A. G. Ferrers Howell (London: Dent, 1906). For Villani (and with special reference to Florence together with an indication of parallel texts in Dante), *Selections from the First Nine Books of the 'Croniche Fiorentine' of Giovanni Villani*, trans. Rose E. Selfe and ed. Philip H. Wicksteed (Westminster: Constable, 1896).

and Ghibelline power and the second of them by a now triumphant Guelphism busy about its own undoing.² With the death, then, of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in December 1250, the Guelphs who had taken refuge in the upper Val d'Arno were recalled to Florence with a view to inaugurating alongside their erstwhile Ghibelline opponents a new era of peace and reconciliation, in honour of which a fresh set of governmental and administrative arrangements were put in place together with, for good measure, two officials appointed from outside: a Captain of the People to protect the interests of the middle and merchant classes over against those of a potentially and for much of the time actually unruly nobility and a *podestà* or senior magistrate to preside over both civil and criminal cases. Further provisions on the home front included the setting up of a peace-keeping force operative both within and beyond the city, together with a regulation height for any towers erected by the magnates for the purposes of retreat in troubled times, such masonry as was retrieved from their modification to be used for more properly civic projects. On the military front, a war carriage drawn by two oxen complete with insignia was commissioned for the purposes of bolstering a sense of public pride, and arrangements were made for a bell to be rung (the Martinella) warning the populace of imminent hostilities. Meanwhile, on the fiscal front, a twenty-four-carat gold florin was minted in 1252 with a lily on one side and an image of John the Baptist on the other, a gesture designed to confirm once and for all Florence's might as a trading presence not only at home but in and beyond Christendom as a whole. Free passage of goods to the sea was agreed with—or, nearer the mark, imposed upon—Pisa, which, again as a sign of the times, settled accordingly for a system of Florentine weights and measures. And on the foreign and diplomatic front, alliances were formed with Siena, Pistoia and

2 On the origin of Guelphism and Ghibellinism (the former, nominally at any rate, looking to the Church and the latter to the emperor as the guarantor of its rights, privileges and immunities), Villani 5.38, ult.: 'I maladetti nomi di parte guelfa e ghibellina si dice che ssi crearono prima in Alamagna, per cagione che due grandi baroni di là aveano guerra insieme, e aveano ciascuno uno forte castello l'uno incontro all'altro, che l'uno avea nome Guelfo e l'altro Ghibellino, e durò tanto la guerra, che tutti gli Alamanni se ne partiro, e l'uno tenea l'una parte, e l'altro l'altra; e eziandio infino in corte di Roma ne venne la questione, e tutta la corte ne prese parte, e l'una parte si chiamava quella di Guelfo, e l'altra quella di Ghibellino: e così rimasero in Italia i detti nomi' (The accursed names of the Guelf and Ghibelline parties are said to have arisen first in Germany by reason that two great barons of that country were at war together, and each had a strong castle, the one over against the other, and the one had the name of Guelf and the other of Ghibelline, and the war lasted so long that all the Germans were divided, one holding to one side and the other to the other side; and the strife came even as far as the court of Rome, all the court taking part in it. And the one side was called Guelf and the other called Ghibelline, the said names thus continuing in Italy). John Kenneth Hyde, 'Contemporary Views on Faction and Civil Strife in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Italy', in *Violence and Civil Disorder in the Italian Cities, 1200–1500*, ed. Lauro Martines (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 273–307; Sergio Raveggi, *Ghibellini, guelfi e popolo grasso: I detentori del potere politico a Firenze nella seconda metà del Dugento* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978); Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Arezzo, with cities further afield—Volterra, for example—likewise being drawn into the ambit of Florentine influence. All in all, then, this was a period of vigorous social, political and juridical creativity. Rarely, it is true, was life in Florence untouched by the restiveness now of Guelph now of Ghibelline ambition, but the fear of losing out either to the Church or, more especially, to the Empire, each alike making for an undermining of the status quo, was enough to ensure for the time being a modicum of civic stability.

For all its courage and resourcefulness, however, the Guelph-Ghibelline reconciliation in the wake of Frederick's demise was a fragile affair, and with the ascendancy of Manfred, natural son to Frederick, as king of Sicily and Puglia in 1258, and with all this meant by way of a weakening of the Church as a foil to imperial ambition in the peninsula, the Florentine Ghibellines spotted their chance. When, then, secret talks between the Uberti as especially prominent among the Ghibelline families in the city and Manfred were uncovered by the Guelphs reprisals were as swift as they were severe, for not only were the offenders expelled (the greater part of them taking refuge in Siena), but their towers were razed to the ground, their property confiscated and pillaged, and the abbot of Vallombrosa, suspected of Ghibelline sympathies, tortured and beheaded. The *fuorusciti*, with Farinata degli Uberti at their head and armed with plenary powers of negotiation, at once made representation to Manfred, who by way of a preliminary gesture made available to them one hundred horse, subsequently upped to eight hundred, for the purpose of assisting their return to Florence, the same reaching Siena in July 1260. The Florentines for their part, having rung the Martinella for a month and mustered a huge force from home and abroad (a force including a good number of trusted Ghibellines from their own ranks), set off, *carroccio* and all, to do battle in August of that year, pitching camp five miles or so from Siena on the west bank of the river Arbia with the hills of Montaperti in the background. Signs and portents everywhere abounded and spirits were high, but disaster struck almost immediately. Expecting the gates of the city to be opened to them by Guelph dissidents and other malcontents within, the Florentine army was straightaway wrong-footed by a huge amassing of Siennese forces and their transalpine allies, a situation further aggravated by a nicely timed defection of the trusted Ghibellines to the other side. Battle commenced and the Florentine standard was felled by a Bocca degli Abati among the Ghibelline turn-coats. The ensuing slaughter was monstrous, the waters of Arbia running red with the blood of the slain.³ True, a large part of the Florentine infantry fled and sought

3 *Inferno* 10.82–87 (Dante to Farinata degli Uberti in the circle of the heretics): 'E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge, / dimmi: perché quel popolo è sì empio / incontr' a' miei in ciascuna sua legge?' / Ond' io a lui: 'Lo strazio e 'l grande scempio / che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso, / tal oration fa far nel nostro tempio' ('Were, then, you to return to the sweet world above, tell me why, in all its legislating, those people are so pitiless with regard to me and mine'); whence I to him: 'The rout and the slaughter

refuge in the castle of Montaperti, but even so the death toll was colossal with 2,500 Florentine fatalities and a further 1,500 taken prisoner, many of them systematically humiliated. At a stroke, Florence was deprived of some of the best and most promising of her young men, even the *carroccio* and the Martinella falling to the enemy.

Quite as drastic as the event itself, however, was the aftermath of Montaperti. Predictably (for this was generally the way of it in defeat) there was a mass exodus of such Guelphs as were left in Florence, there being every possibility now of a reign of terror. Florence, it is true, was well walled, well provisioned and, on the face of it, equal to hostilities waged from without, but no one, either among the populace or the nobility, was about to take a chance, flight being the better option. As a result, the victorious forces—Sienese, German and their assorted supporters and allies—entered the city on 16 September 1260, a fortnight or so after the rout proper on the fourth of that month. Oaths of loyalty were sworn to Manfred, and there was a general annulment in Florence of all the institutions, magistracies and mechanisms of government set up by the Guelph regime. Guelph property was subject to confiscation and Guelph houses pulled down stone by stone, the settling of old scores being in this as in every other sense more than ordinarily thorough. Worse still, however, was to come, for it was not long before a council was convened at Empoli under the auspices of Count Guido Novello of Casentino to consider the apportioning of costs and liabilities in Florence and, as a final solution, the possibility of destroying the city altogether as a way of settling the Guelph issue once and for all. In the event—and now famously in consequence of what in the *Commedia* he himself has to say in his defence⁴—there was a dissenting voice, that of Farinata degli Uberti, who, at the risk of antagonising his Ghibelline confederates, succeeded in winning them over and staving off the city's final demise. But for the Guelphs the situation was nonethe-

that stained the Arbia blood-red are the cause of such devotions in our temple'). Villani on Montaperti, 6.79. Robert Davidsohn, *Montaperti: La battaglia del 1260 tra Firenze e Siena e il castello ritrovato* (Florence: Aska, 2005); Federico Canaccini, *Ghibellini e ghibellinismo in Toscana da Montaperti a Campaldino (1260–1289)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2009). For Bocca degli Abati, Villani 6.79 and *Inferno* 32.73–111.

4 *Inferno* 10.91–93: 'Ma fu' io solo, là dove sofferto / fu per ciascun di tòrre via Fiorenza, / colui che la difesi a viso aperto' (but it was I alone, where it was agreed by everyone to destroy Florence, who defended her with open face). Villani 6.82: 'Veggendo ciò il conte Giordano, e l'uomo, e della autoritate ch'era messer Farinata, e il suo gran seguito, e come parte ghibellina se ne potea partire e avere discordia, si ssi rimase, e intesono ad altro; sicché per uno buono uomo cittadino scampò la nostra città di Firenze da tanta furia, distruggimento, ruina' (Count Giordano [among those at Empoli in favour of razing Florence to the ground] perceiving this, and what manner of man and of what authority was Messer Farinata, and his great following, and how the Ghibelline party might be broken up and come to discord, abandoned the idea and took other counsel, so that by one good man and citizen our city of Florence was saved from so great fury, destruction and ruin). John A. Scott, '*Inferno* X: Farinata *magnanimo*', in *Dante magnanimo: Studi sulla 'Commedia'* (Florence: Olschki, 1977), 9–45.

less dire, even Lucca, hitherto a safe haven for Florentine refugees, agreeing to their expulsion on pain of decapitation. What followed, then, in the early part of the 1260s in the wake of Montaperti was a species of Guelph diaspora, the dispossessed taking cover wherever they could, either this side of the Apennines or else beyond them in Bologna.

But diaspora has a way of concentrating the mind, and from this moment on there was a slow but discernible improvement in Guelph prospects in and beyond Tuscany. Those seeking and finding refuge in Bologna not only mounted a successful campaign against the Ghibellines of Parma but were encouraged first by Urban IV and then by Clement IV (both of them Frenchmen of Angevin inclination) to square up to Manfred and the imperial idea. True, a good number of cities remained faithful to him (Verona, Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza, Pavia), but others, including Milan, came down on the side of the pope, expressions of everlasting allegiance flowing full and free. Fresh conflict, then, was inevitable, culminating this time on the planes of Grandella near Benevento where, in 1266, and by way of a spectacular combination of treachery and military miscalculation, the Hohenstaufen cause was just about totally eclipsed, Manfred, according to Dante's account of it in the *Purgatorio*, surviving his wounds just long enough to make peace with his maker.⁵ As far, then, as Florence was concerned the result was predictable, Benevento fermenting a fresh set of Guelph hopes and aspirations, a bringing home of the Guelphs to their former honours, offices and privileges. Yet again, therefore—for this, always, was the Florentine way—a further round of executive and judicial provisions was approved and implemented, with increased representation for the minor arts at the highest level, each having a magistrate of its own for the administration of local affairs, a banner of its own,

5 *Purgatorio* 3.118–29: 'Poscia ch'io ebbi rotta la persona / di due punte mortali, io mi rendei, / piangendo, a quei che volontier perdona. / Orribil furon li peccati miei; / ma la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia, / che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei. / Se 'l pastor di Cosenza, che a la caccia / di me fu messo per Clemente allora, / avesse in Dio ben letta questa faccia, / l'ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora / in co del ponte presso a Benevento, / sotto la guardia de la grave mora' (With my body broken by two mortal stabs, I rendered myself, weeping, to him who pardons willingly. My sins were horrible, but the infinite goodness has such wide arms that it takes whatever turns to it. If the pastor of Cosenza, who was set to hunt me down by Clement, had then rightly read this page in God, the bones of my body would still be at the head of the bridge near Benevento under the protection of the heavy cairn). Villani 7.9. Mark Balfour, 'Orribil furon li peccati miei: Manfred's Wounds in *Purgatorio* III', *ItSt* 48 (1993), 4–17 (and in *Dante: The Critical Complex*, vol. 7, ed. Richard Lansing [New York: Routledge, 2003], 264–77); John A. Scott, 'Manfred and Bonconte', in *Dante's Political Purgatory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 85–95; Costanza Geddes da Filicaia, 'Purgatorio III.103–45: La battaglia di Benevento tra scrittura storica e riscrittura poetica', in *La letteratura e la storia. Atti del IX Congresso nazionale dell'Adi, Bologna and Rimini, 21–24 settembre 2005*, vol. 1 (Bologna: Gedit, 2007), 307–14; Orazio Antonio Bologna, 'Il luogo della battaglia e delle sepolture di Manfredi', in *Manfredi di Svevia: Impero e Papato nella concezione di Dante* (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 2013), 153–72. On the battle itself, Paolo Grillo, *L'aquila e lo giglio: 1266, la battaglia di Benevento* (Rome: Salerno editrice, 2015).

and the right as and when to take up arms. But as ever the peace was precarious, few if any of these provisions in the area of lawmaking and enforcement touching upon, still less resolving, the underlying rhythm of tension and resentment. Compromise was all well and good, but everywhere stirring in the minds of Guelph and Ghibelline alike was the dream of total triumph, the triumph of the Guelphs under the auspices of the Church and the House of Anjou, and the triumph of the Ghibellines under the auspices of Conradin as the final flickering of Swabian power in the peninsula.

With Benevento, then, we are on the threshold of a fresh period of Guelph ascendancy. True, the customary gestures had been made, most obviously by way of a dual Guelph-Ghibelline appointment to the *podesteria* in 1266 of a pair of Bolognese Knights of the Order of St Mary, notable in the event, however, less for their efficiency than for their easy living and hypocrisy.⁶ But what with the seizure and redistribution of Ghibelline assets in the city, and, more provocatively still, the installation of Charles of Anjou as imperial vicar of the province as a whole, the tide was flowing in a Guelph direction. The Ghibellines, therefore, were on edge, theirs from this point on being a commitment to reinforcing as far as may be the Ghibelline axis in Tuscany generally (Pisa, Siena, Arezzo, Pistoia and Prato), and, at home, to a steady programme of civic disruption. The Guelphs for their part replied by strengthening still further the democratic institutions in the city by way of a now endless multiplication of executive and consultative mechanisms, and, in a further expression if not of Angevin allegiance then of Angevin accommodation, of bestowing upon Charles a decade's worth of *merum et mixtum imperium*, a comprehensive blend of sovereign and civil authority. These things between them, especially when combined with a continuing programme of Guelph reparation within the city and with a sustained suppression of Ghibelline interest both within and beyond it (the best part of a thousand

6 *Inferno* 23,91–108: 'Poi disser me: "O Tosco, ch'al collegio / de l'ipocriti tristi se' venuto, / dir chi tu se' non avere in dispregio". / E io a loro: "I' fui nato e cresciuto / sovra 'l bel fiume d'Arno a la gran villa, / e son col corpo ch'i' ho sempre avuto. / Ma voi chi siete, a cui tanto distilla / quant' i' veggio dolor giù per le guance? / e che pena è in voi che sì sfavilla?" / E l'un rispuose a me: "Le cappe rance / son di piombo sì grosse, che li pesi / fan così cigolar le lor bilance. / Frati godenti fummo, e bolognesi; / io Catalano e questi Loderingo / nomati, e da tua terra insieme presi / come suole esser tolto un uom solingo, / per conservar sua pace; e fummo tali, / ch'ancor si pare intorno dal Gardingo"' (Then they said to me: 'O Tuscan who are come to the college of forlorn hypocrites, disdain not to tell us who you are.' And I to them: 'I was born and grew up in that great city on the fair stream of Arno, and am with the body I have always had. But who are you down whose cheek, as I discern, stream tears distilled from pain, and what penalty is it that glistens so upon you?' And one of them answered me: 'These golden cloaks are of lead, and weighty such as to make creak any balance. Jovial Friars were we and Bolognese, I Catalano and he Loderingo by name, and we were chosen together by that city of yours where customarily but one is taken to keep the peace, and what we were may still be seen there hard by the Gardingo'). Villani 7.13. Catherine Keen, 'Father of Lies: (Mis)readings of Clerical and Civic Duty in *Inferno* XXIII', in *Dante and the Church: Literary and Historical Essays*, ed. Paolo Acquaviva and Jennifer Petrie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 173–207.

Ghibellines were either slaughtered or taken prisoner in the castle of Sant'Ellero, including members of the Uberti family),⁷ were enough, the Guelphs thought, to rule out the nightmare possibility of Ghibelline resurgence in Florence, the grim spectre of neo-Fredericianism.

FLORENCE BETWEEN THE BLACKS AND THE WHITES (1279–1302)

The next distinctive phase of Florentine history begins in or around the year 1290, for it is in this period that we begin to see the tensions at work within Guelphism making both for the collective catastrophe of Florence and, as far as Dante himself was concerned, for the personal catastrophe of exile. But that, for the moment, is on the horizon, the years 1270 to 1290 being notable above all for their various attempts—as flamboyant as they were ill-fated—to resolve the Guelph-Ghibelline issue left over from the Frederician and post-Frederician era. So, for example, as more than ordinarily colourful among them, there was Gregory X's decree in July 1273 to the effect that the warring factions should under pain of excommunication foregather by the Rubaconte bridge with a view to exchanging a kiss of peace, all this to coincide with the founding of yet another church (San Gregorio) to mark the dawning of a new age—all promising enough were it not for a threat on the part of the Guelph contingent forthwith to dismember any representatives of the Ghibelline cause should they not at once vacate the city.⁸ Gesturing on a grand scale was again everywhere to the fore a little further down the line when in the course of 1279 Nicholas III despatched yet another peacemaker, his cardinal legate Latino di Malabranca, O.P. (a nephew of his on his sister's side) with three hundred horsemen to help quell dissension in the city. As ever, the pageantry was superb, all parties to the unrest (including on the Ghibelline side the Adimari, the Tosinghi, the Donati, the Pazzi, the Buondelmonti and the Uberti) yet again assembling for the purposes of offering a kiss of peace and of laying the first stone this time for the church of Santa Maria Novella.⁹ It is, however, amid the theatricality of it all that we witness once more the paradox of Florentine civic life in these middle and later years of the thirteenth century, namely its capacity, pantomime notwithstanding, for genuine political creativity, for in view of the continuing antagonism of Guelph and Ghibelline despite the peace of 1280 thought was given to a fresh structure more properly equal to the complexities of an expanding and ever more sophisticated urban economy

⁷ Villani 7.19.

⁸ Villani 7.42.

⁹ Villani 7.56. Mario Sanfilippo, 'Guelfi e ghibellini a Firenze: La "pace" del Cardinale Latino (1280)', *Nuova rivista storica* 64.1 (1980), 1–24.

and demography. Mindful, therefore, of the need as far as may be to combine orderliness and freedom as the twin properties of civic maturity, the Guelph regime—or, more exactly, a committee consisting of half a dozen Guelph *popolani* of whom one was the chronicler Dino Compagni—set up in 1282 a new system of priors or civic officials with the aim of preserving both the representative character of the government and its impartiality.¹⁰ In the first instance there were just three priors, Bartolo de' Bardi (a nobleman) for the Oltrarno, Rosso Bacherelli (from the guild of moneychangers) for the *sesto* of San Piero Schieraggio and Salvi del Chiaro Girolami (of the wool guild) for the *sesto* of San Brancazio, all of whom would live at the expense of the commune, enjoy a team of servants and messengers, and reside in a state of semi-seclusion in houses alongside the Badia. Their remit would be to oversee the complex mechanisms of government, not least by checking their now unruly multiplication. With the success of the first magistracy, the number of priors was raised from three to six (one for each *sesto*), with—provided only that they were men of good standing and that they had subscribed to one or other of the arts—both noblemen and guildsmen being eligible for election, election being by way of secret ballot in the church of San Piero Schieraggio. There was also to be a strict electoral procedure both for the *capitano del popolo* or official representative of the by now thriving merchant classes, and for the *podestà*, each to be proposed by the councils of the commune in the aggregate. All the arts were furnished with a militia for the purpose of keeping good order in their jurisdiction, and they each had their own *gonfalone* or banner. The smaller arts, less flushed and correspondingly less formidable, were taken under the wing of those with a higher social and professional profile, this too helping to ensure proper representation for the people as a whole and to manage the conflicting forces of entrepreneurialism and free creativity on the one hand and power, partisanship and oppression on the other. Here, then, in the context of a social and political restiveness never far beneath the surface, is the supreme instance in these years of Florentine political nous, of a refinement and resilience of spirit if not equal to the matter in hand then by the same token lacking neither in imagination nor in goodwill.

Goodwill and a sense of purpose within, however, was in the selfsame moment met by a nasty configuration of forces without, the capture and imprisonment of Charles II of Naples in 1284 by the Aragonese once again serving to fire up Ghibelline hopes and aspirations in Tuscany. Home to the Ghibellines in this period was Arezzo, where without difficulty they had overthrown a relatively neutral administration and were now looking belligerently towards Florence, whose response was immediately to rearm, Florentine conscription, envisaging

¹⁰ Villani 7.79; Compagni 1.4–5. Nicola Ottokar, 'L'istituzione del priorato a Firenze', *ASI* 82.1 (1924), 5–71.

as it did anyone and everyone between the ages of fifteen and seventy as eligible for military service, being reinforced from Lucca, Siena, Prato, Volterra, San Miniato and Colle Val d'Elsa. Given their potential for treachery, Ghibellines in the city were excluded, but were nonetheless expected to provide cavalry and the associated accoutrements of war. Following, then, upon a series of minor skirmishes near Campaldino in 1289 preparations for battle began in earnest, the Ghibellines assembling at Bibbiena with eight hundred horse and ten times that number of infantry both from this side of the Apennines and from the Marches, Spoleto and Romagna on the other side, and the Guelphs engineering a massive movement of their own and allied troops into the Casentino in anticipation of further assistance from Bologna. Massive, indeed, is the word, for on the Florentine side there were a hundred and fifty light cavalry with Vieri de' Cerchi of the White Guelphs in Florence as one of their captains, together with any number of shield bearers, bowmen and lancers under the command of Corso Donati of the Black Guelphs (though for the moment on secondment to Pistoia as *podestà*). Their strategy was clear. The Aretines would be encouraged to advance towards the main body of the Florentine army, whereupon the flanks would close in upon them by way of a pincer movement designed to cut off any room either for manoeuvre or for retreat. And that is what happened. The Aretine advance guard surged forward, with Corso Donati—contrary, it seems, to every order but entirely in character—coming in from either side to complete the operation. The battle was bloody beyond words, fatalities on both sides—not least among those scrambling beneath the horses to disembowel them—being huge. Aretine deaths numbered more than seventeen hundred, with another two thousand made captive with a view to being ransomed for a good profit. Unusually, and indeed inexplicably, the victors held back from entering Arezzo, the Florentines contenting themselves with the seizure of Bibbiena, with the devastation of the Aretine *contado*, and, as an insult to the Bishop of Arezzo laid low in the battle, the ritual slaughtering of mitred asses. At home, the Florentines, no expense spared (thirty-six thousand gold florins was the total bill), celebrated for the best part of three weeks, seeing to it, however, that the popular militia was up and running lest the victorious nobility, as was their way, got out of hand.¹¹

Considerations of a more properly economic kind apart, it was largely the unruliness of the nobility in Florence that, around the turn of the 1280s and into the 1290s, saw a shift of power towards the people generally, for this is the moment of the Ordinances of Justice, of a set of measures not without precedent either in Florence or elsewhere both in and beyond Tuscany but proclaimed now more than ever energetically. It is the moment too in which the tension between

11 Villani 7.131; Compagni 1.10. Herbert L. Oerter, 'Campaldino', *Spec* 43.3 (1968), 429–50; Federico Canaccini, *Gli eroi di Campaldino: 11 giugno 1289* (Poppi: Scramasax, 2002).

Guelph and Ghibelline hitherto decisive for the course of Florentine history in the second part of the thirteenth century begins to give way as a cause for concern to tension within the Guelph order itself, between the White Guelphs as, for all their misgiving with regard to the empire, no less circumspect when it came to the Church and to all this might mean by way of a loss of independence, and the Black Guelphs as more willing to court the papacy as the guarantor of their power and privileges in the community. For as long, then, as the menace of Ghibellinism subsisted, so also, without as yet too much trouble, did these diverse strands of Guelph consciousness. With its passing, however, they began seriously to unravel, with, by the turn of the century, disastrous consequences for the city as a whole.

To take first, then, the Ordinances, we may begin by saying this, that with the eclipse of their ancient power and prestige, the Ghibelline aristocracy was confronted by a new challenge, by the rise of the mercantile classes and of a nouveau riche together with all this meant by way of their claim to the exercise of power in the city.¹² With the continuing and indeed increasing ferocity of Guelph resentment, the Ghibelline nobility itself grew steadily more restive and undisciplined in its conduct, the prehistory of the Ordinances thus being a sense on the part of the injured party—both of the Guelph bourgeoisie and of its dependents down the social scale—of incessant scandal, insolence and outrage at the expense of those powerless to do much about it. In 1293, therefore, a group of guildsmen and merchants headed by Giano della Bella (himself of noble stock) and by the priors taking office on 15 February that year met to review and to address the situation. Authorized as they were by the rights and privileges of office, they drew up a fresh set of legal provisions, doubling the penalty for any outrage committed by the nobility on the people and involving not merely the perpetrator but kith and kin in the redemption thereof. Just two witnesses would be enough for conviction, or, failing that, the sworn oath of the injured party. Moreover, there could be no proceeding by a member of the nobility against an ordinary citizen without the consent of the priors, no street presence of the nobility in times of disturbance, and no bearing of arms by the nobility on family occasions, not to mention any number of further provisions in the area of civil and electoral law touching on securities, acquisitions, transactions, civic status and eligibility for office. Fur-

12 On the Ordinances, Villani at 8.1 and Compagni at 1.11. For the text, *Ordinamenti di giustizia, 1293–1993*, (Florence: SP44, 1993), the text itself being a reprint of Francesco Bonaini, *Gli ordinamenti di giustizia del comune e popolo di Firenze compilati nel 1293*, ASI 1 (1855) and of Gaetano Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295* (Florence: Carnesecchi, 1899); Teresa Pugh Rupp, 'If You Want Peace, Work for Justice: Dino Compagni's *Cronica* and the Ordinances of Justice', in *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy (Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy)*, ed. David S. Peterson with Daniel E. Bornstein (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 323–37.

ther adjustment too was made in the area of public order and peacekeeping. Henceforth, therefore, there was to be a *Gonfaloniere di giustizia* or chief civil magistrate electable every two months and furnished in turn by each of the *sesti* or six districts of the city, complete with insignia, a phalanx of armed enforcers (one thousand to begin with and then two thousand and four thousand) together with an army of labourers skilled in the work of demolition as the preferred means of bringing grandees to their senses. All this, moreover, was to apply both *intra* and *extra urbem*, the civic solution looking in this sense to be complete. And for a time, with business appearing to flourish and the city gates remaining unlocked even by night, it all seemed to be working. But among those most affected by all this the underlying mood was scarcely less than seething, particularly in light of what the nobility was inclined to see as the regular abuse of the law as an instrument of tyranny and the not entirely unambiguous character of Giano della Bella as tireless, to be sure, in his dedication to civic order but himself not wholly unmoved by partisanship and a spirit of reprisal.

In the event, Giano della Bella's fall was as spectacular as his rise. In fact, for all his strength of personality and his apparent grip on things, his situation in Florence was fragile, the problem for him being that there was no clear dividing line between the nobility and, at any rate in its more aspirational aspect, the now wealthy mercantile constituency, all of which meant that while for those entrepreneurial souls doing well for themselves Giano was indeed their man, for those lower down the social and economic scale, and especially for the more bull-headed of the people, he could quite as well be seen—and in the event was seen—as in league with the nobility. The term 'bullheaded' is, in fact, more than ordinarily appropriate here in that the leading fomentor of discontent among the people was Pecora the butcher, he, unlike the more socially ambitious stratum of the merchant and middle classes, having much to gain from a freewheeling aristocracy with plenty to spend. In the early part, then, of 1295, Giano della Bella, rarely in fact caught unawares or wrong-footed by the shifting sands of Florentine sentiment, was alerted by the prominent White Guelph chronicler Dino Compagni as to the now near impossibility of his situation, the whole thing coming to a head by way of an incident involving Corso Donati, who, arraigned in connection with the death of a commoner in the course of a scuffle, was abruptly acquitted. The people, suspecting collusion between him and the powers that be, including Giano della Bella, straightaway launched a frenzied attack on the *podestà* and his wife, she for her part taking refuge in the houses of the Cerchi and Corso himself making good his escape over the roof. In fact, the *podestà*, his office ravaged and his files in tatters, was duly paid off the next day and straightaway departed the city, but for Giano della Bella the situation was precarious, his friends and supporters, of whom there was still a good number, advising him and his family to be off at once, which they were on 5 March 1295. With this, he was

formally banished and condemned in person and property, the sentence being intensified by Pope Boniface's extension of his excommunication to the whole city should anyone come to his aid. Not only that, but his friends and supporters were fined between five hundred and a thousand lire depending on the extent of their association with him. So it was that a genuinely significant moment of Florentine history came to an end, 'genuinely significant', if not in resolving then at least in confronting a set of issues wholly transcending in their complexity—in their crisscrossing the customary boundaries of socioeconomic and political concern—the relatively straightforward Guelph/Ghibelline antagonisms of yesteryear.¹³

If, then, with Giano della Bella the nightmare prospect of Ghibelline resurgence had in some degree been allayed, a fresh set of tensions—tensions long since simmering in the depths—surfaced to disturb the peace, the tension not now between Guelph and Ghibelline but between Guelph and Guelph, between the ancient and the aspirational, between old and new money. On the one hand, then, and taking first the latter, there were the *nouveau riche* and the *parvenus*, those who by dint of their entrepreneurialism at home and abroad had fashioned for themselves a conspicuous presence in a conspicuous city, a city everywhere renowned for its business acumen and indeed for its having established something of a commercial empire in and beyond the peninsula. Into this category fell the Cerchi as to the fore among the up and coming bourgeoisie, among those

13 Compagni 1.12–16 for an account of the entire episode with reference to the substance of, and the tensions generated by, the Ordinances, to the riots of 23 January 1295, and to Giano della Bella's departure from Florence. On Giano della Bella himself, Compagni 1.11: 'savio, valente e buono uomo . . . assai animoso e di buona stirpe' (a wise, good, and worthy man . . . of high spirit and good stock) and Villani 8.8: 'ch'egli era il più leale e diritto popolano e amatore del bene comune che uomo di Firenze, e quegli che mettea in Comune e non ne traeva. Era presuntuoso e voleva le sue vendette fare, e fecene alcuna contra gli Abati suoi vicini col braccio del Comune, e forse per gli detti peccati fu, per le sue medesime leggi fatte, a torto e senza colpa da' non giusti giudicato. E nota che questo è grande esempio a que' cittadini che sono a venire, di guardarsi di non volere essere signori di loro cittadini né troppo presuntuosi, ma istare contenti a la comune cittadinanza' (a most loyal and upright man of the people and lover of both the common good and of every man in Florence, and one who gave all to the commonwealth taking nothing for himself therefrom. He was, however, arrogant and eager to avenge his wrongs, causing him on occasion to proceed with the arm of the law against the Abati, his neighbours, for which misdemeanours he was perhaps, by dint of the very laws he himself had fashioned, judged by the unjust and wrongly condemned. Let this, then, be an example to those down the line desirous of lording it over their fellow countrymen or simply too ambitious, that they should settle instead for common citizenship). Likewise Dante in the *Paradiso* at 16.127–32: 'Ciascun che de la bella insegna porta / del gran barone il cui nome e 'l cui pregio / la festa di Tommaso riconforta, / da esso ebbe milizia e privilegio; / avvegna che con popol si rauni / oggi colui che la fascia col fregio' (Everyone bearing the noble arms of the great baron [Hugh, Marquis of Tuscany, d. 1001], whose name and praise the feast of Thomas renews, had from him knighthood and privilege, though he who decks it with a border [Giano della Bella] sides today with the people), and Leonardo Bruni in the *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII* at 8.8: 'Ita civis bene meritus, a populo ipso cuius auctoritatem contra potentiores asseruerat, ingrata desertus, in exilio diem obiit' (So it was that this most worthy citizen, ungratefully abandoned by the very people whose rights he asserted over against the more powerful, died in exile).

who, in a society sufficiently fluid to blur the lines between the merchant and the magnate, sought to cut a figure in the city by way of their money, their manners, their household, their horse, their dress, their display and of every other material appurtenance, all this amounting to a statement of political intent. On the other hand, there were the older, longer established families, those tracing their ancestry to one or other of the feudal and ecclesiastical regimes predating the rise of the commune, and indeed themselves feudatory figures with their ample estates, their castles and their loyal retinue both within and beyond the city—with, in short, their birth and their breeding. Into this category fell the Donati, men of noble and warrior descent more or less vociferously impatient of the boorish and unrefined ways of the newly arrived by whom they felt challenged and as often as not outdone in terms of wealth, purchasing power and sheer social presence.¹⁴ Guelphism, then, even in its triumph and indeed especially in its triumph under Giano della Bella, was by no means an undifferentiated phenomenon, the Ordinances, never in truth equal to the now complex sociology and shifting allegiances of Florentine society, tending to separate out and to polarise those of Guelph persuasion jealous in respect of their independence and room for manoeuvre as free citizens of a free republic (the White Guelphs under Vieri de' Cerchi) and those not averse to enlisting the help of whomsoever—Angevin or apostolic—when it came to asserting their ancient rights and privileges (the Black Guelphs spearheaded by Corso Donati).

Here, then, was a nothing if not complex pattern of alignment and realignment containing within itself the seeds of catastrophe, three episodes in particular

14 Exact in this sense Villani's account of the situation at 8.39: 'Della casa de' Cerchi era capo messer Vieri de' Cerchi, e egli e quegli di sua casa erano di grande affare, e possenti, e di grandi parentadi, ricchissimi mercatanti, che la loro compagnia era delle maggiori del mondo; uomini erano morbidi e innocenti, salvatichi e ingrati, siccome genti venuti di piccolo tempo in grande stato e podere. Della casa de' Donati era capo messer Corso Donati, e egli e quelli di sua casa erano gentili uomini e guerrieri, e di non soperchia ricchezza, ma per motto erano chiamati *Malefami*. Vicini erano in Firenze e in contado, e per la conversazione de la loro invidia colla bizzarra salvatichessa nacque il superbio isdegno tra loro' (The head of the Cerchi family was one M. Vieri de' Cerchi, he and his house generally being prominent in city affairs, powerful, close-knit and influential as a family, and wealthy merchants one and all, his company being one of the largest in the world. These were an indulgent, naive, raucous and unrefined race after the manner of folk who in a short space of time had come to great wealth and power. The head of the Donati family was M. Corso Donati, he and his house being gentlemen and warriors, not especially wealthy but dubbed the infamous. Neighbours were they all both in Florence and in the country, but what with one relating to the other by way of boorish ostentation and envy respectively, it was all a matter between them of supreme disdain). Cf. Compagni 1.20: 'Cominciò per questo l'odio a moltiplicare. E messer Corso molto sparlava di messer Vieri, chiamandolo l'asino di Porta, perché era uomo bellissimo, ma di poca malizia, né di bel parlare; e però spesso dicea: "Ha raghiato oggi l'asino di Porta?"; e molto lo spregiava' (By reason of this, hatred between them increased, Messer Corso greatly slandering Messer Vieri by calling him the 'Ass of Porta' [i.e. of Porta san Piero as the *sesto* in which they all lived], because, though a very comely man, he, Vieri, was small of wit and rude of speech, wherefore Corso, so complete was his scorn, would often say: 'Has the Ass of Porta been braying today?'). Enrico Pispisa, 'Lotte sociali e concetto di nobiltà a Firenze nella seconda metà del Duecento', *SM* 38.1 (1997), 439–63.

heralding the storm to come. First, there was the May Day scuffle of 1300 when the Cerchi, out riding in the city, jostled and were in turn jostled by some of the Donati, the Pazzi and the Spini in Piazza Santa Trinità, one of the Cerchi having his nose sliced off during the affray.¹⁵ Then there was the affair of the Frescobaldi funeral, notable for the involvement of Guido Cavalcanti, in his own way a spirit as theatrical as any in Florence. With the commoners seated on bales of straw at the feet of the nobility on their benches, one of the former gestured in such a way as to offend the nobles ranged opposite him, whereupon Cavalcanti, clashing in person with Corso Donati and in turn being stoned by his retinue, suffered an injury to the hand. And then finally there was the Neri Abati prison episode involving the harassment of members of the Cerchi family near Remole as they were returning to Florence across Donati territory. Conflict, complete with casualties, once again broke out, with representatives from each side being fined and imprisoned, four of the Cerchi, however, dying in custody. Upon interrogation, the prison superintendent, Neri Abati, claimed that he had been put up to it by Corso, a claim, however, as was generally the way with Corso, not somehow substantiated. Substantial or not, however, the situation engendering and in turn engendered by these and similar incidents was perilous in the extreme, the Blacks, adept as ever at playing the game, appealing to the pope as an antidote to what they saw as the crypto-Ghibellinism of the Whites, as in effect their treating with the enemy. Boniface, banking as he was with the Spini of Florence, duly obliged by sending in Cardinal Matthew of Acquasparta in June of that year (1300) as overseer and peacemaker, his attempt to calm the situation by adjusting the shape of the government, however, not only meeting with resistance from the Whites as by instinct opposed to clerical meddling in civic affairs but once again being overtaken by events on the ground—by, this time, the manhandling of senior members of the guilds on their way to church on the eve of the festival of St John, the Blacks taking the opportunity to remind both them and the people generally who it was who had brought home victory at Campaldino and who, in consequence, deserved more recognition in the corridors of power than they currently seemed to be enjoying.¹⁶ Chaos ensued, in the course of which an attempt was

15 Compagni 1.22. For the Frescobaldi funeral, Compagni 1.20 and for the Neri Abati episode and the Remole incident, Villani 8.41.

16 Compagni 1.21. N.P.J. Gordon, 'Plotting in Florence 1300', *RS* 24.5 (2010), 621–37. For Matthew of Acquasparta, Compagni 1.21 and Villani 8.40. *Paradiso* 12.121–26 (Bonaventure on the fortunes of Francis and of Franciscan spirituality): 'Ben dico, chi cercasse a foglio a foglio / nostro volume, ancor troveria carta / u' leggerebbe "I' mi son quel ch'i' soglio"; / ma non fia da Casal né d'Acquasparta, / là onde vegnon tali a la scrittura, / ch'uno la fugge e altro la coarta' (I allow indeed that he, searching our volume leaf by leaf, would still find a page where he might read: 'I am what I always was', but it will not be from Casale or from Acquasparta, where such come to the rule that one flees it and the other constrains it). Ovidio Capitani, 'L'allusione dantesca a Matteo d'Acquasparta', in *Da Dante a Bonifacio VIII* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2007), 45–59; Leonardo Cappelletti, 'Dante e Matteo

made upon the life of the cardinal legate, who, despite being handsomely compensated by the powers that be, upped and left the city, taking care as he did so to place it once again under an interdict. Meanwhile, the priors, discomfited now to a man, took it upon themselves to banish an equal number of Black and White Guelphs, among whom was Cavalcanti. Corso, however, ever one for playing by his own rules, at once broke the terms of his banishment and made either for Rome or for Anagni—the details are uncertain—with a view to encouraging Boniface in something more resolute in Florence's regard, an initiative for which he was once more condemned by the White administration both in person and in property. What with this, then, and with news both of an imminent assault on the city by Guido da Battifolle and of conflict brewing in Pistoia and Lucca, the situation in Florence was once again critical, the city looking fair to fall either way. Had Vieri de' Cerchi been a greater man than he was, maybe he and the Whites could have held it. But with a now invincible alliance of the Blacks, the papacy and the House of Anjou, their fortunes were on the wane, Florence's descent into something close to civil war, not to mention civil atrocity, looking now all but inevitable.

The Angevin element in all this is fundamental, for had it not been for that and for the pope's espousal of the Angevin cause as a remedy for any resurgence of old-style imperialism it may have been possible for the White Guelphs to hold the line in Florence. But as Corso Donati straightaway opined, the alliance was invincible, and it was at this point that the Whites began to panic, despatching in September 1301 an embassy to the pope from whom, sensitive as he was to his own interest in this matter, they got short shrift. Meanwhile, Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Fair of France and in Italy to assist Charles II of Naples in his struggle for Sicily, made his way to Bologna, where he too received deputations from both the White and the Black Guelphs of Florence, the Blacks, however, prevailing in his affections. At home, the White Guelphs set about making the best of it. Anxious to preserve the civic proprieties, they convened a general council of the Guelph and guild leaders with a view to deciding the best way forward, the general view (that of the bakers apart, who saw in all this nothing but the imminent annihilation of Florence) being that, provided he neither arrogated full jurisdiction nor abrogated any existing office in the city, nor sought in any other way to modify her laws and customs, then the Angevin prince would be welcome there as peacemaker. Now, therefore, it was a matter merely of fixing a time for Charles's reception in Florence (preferably not, it was felt, All Saints Day with its ample winebibbing and potential for public scandal) and, as far as maybe, persuading the populace generally that it was all a good idea, whereupon

d'Acquasparta', *SD* 74 (2009), 149–78; Dabney G. Park, 'The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: What Dante Says about Bonaventure, Matthew of Acquasparta and Ubertino da Casale', *DS* 132 (2014), 267–312.

Dino Compagni, the mild-mannered chronicler of these events and himself one of the city priors, summoned the people generally to a meeting in St John's urging upon them a spirit of peace and goodwill, oaths to this effect being duly sworn upon the good book. But the Black Guelphs knew themselves now to be in the ascendant and their agenda was firm. With Boniface on their side and Charles well satisfied both on the political and on the pecuniary front (an advance of seventy thousand gold florins had already been made by the Blacks to defray his military expenses), all they had to do was to sit back and wait for events to take their course. On 1 November 1301, then, Charles entered Florence with the best part of a thousand French cavalry together with another four hundred from Lucca, Siena and, farther afield, Perugia and Romagna. From the outset it was an uneasy manoeuvre, the royal retinue taking up lodgings in the houses of the Frescobaldi on the far side of the Arno out of harm's way. On *this* side of the Arno, however, barricades were going up and there was a general call to arms. The priors for their part were now manifestly desperate, everything conspiring to bring them down. Invited by Charles to dine with him, even this posed problems, for not only was theirs a commitment to a life of seclusion for the period of their office but even to step out meant risking life and limb at the hands of the now hopelessly divided citizenry. Instead, then, of obliging him, the Guelph administration convened yet a further gathering of the general populace, this time in Santa Maria Novella and in the presence of Charles himself, with a view to confirming his status as peacemaker and thus forestalling any further descent into the abyss. But the abyss was now yawning, and with the wounding of a commoner by a member of the Medici family (the first stirring in Florence of an illustrious name) and the aforesaid breaching of his banishment by Corso Donati, the descent began, Corso and company straightaway setting about the business of sacking and setting on fire the houses of the priors who had expelled him and opening up the prisons.¹⁷ Charles, it is true, took into custody the leading offenders on both

17 Villani 8.49: 'ed egli [Corso Donati] veggendosi crescere forza e séguito, la prima cosa che fece, andòe a le carcere del Comune, ch'erano nelle case de' Bastari nella ruga del palagio, e quelle per forza aperse e diliberò i pregionii; e ciò fatto, il simile fece al palazzo de la podestà, e poi a' priori, faccendogli per paura lasciare la signoria e tornarsi a'lloro case. E con tutto questo stracciamento di cittade, messer Carlo di Valos né sua gente non mise consiglio né riparo, né atenne saramento o cosa promessa per lui. Per la qual cosa i tiranni e malfattori e isbanditi ch'erano nella cittade, presa baldanza, e essendo la città sciolta e senza signoria, cominciarono a rubare i fondachi e botteghe, e le case a chi era di parte bianca, o chi avea poco podere, con molti micidii, e fedite faccendo ne le persone di più buoni uomini di parte bianca. E durò questa pestilenza in città per V di continui con grande ruina della terra. E poi seguì in contado, andando le gualdane rubando e ardendo le case per più di VIII dì, onde in grande numero di belle e ricche possessioni furono guaste e arse' (and he [Corso Donati], seeing the increase in his forces and followers, straightaway made off to the city prisons in the Bastari houses hard by the *podestà's* palace, forced them open and set the prisoners free, whereupon he did as much at the palace itself, and then on to the Priors, causing them to lay down the reins of government out of fear and make for home. And with all this havoc being wrought in the city, Charles of Valois and his retinue offered neither

sides, but whereas the Black contingent was at once allowed to go free, the Whites were unceremoniously detained overnight. The bell summoning the citizens to take up arms in the interests of public order was rung, but while some dutifully patrolled the streets the majority merely turned tail and fled. The free-for-all, with its characteristic blend of considered and unconsidered violence, had begun. The city malefactors, pouring out of prison, began their programme not merely of looting and burning but of wounding and slaughtering the White population ad libitum, the Blacks for their part refining their campaign of bullying, extortion and rapine, with many a young woman, as Compagni puts it, being wedded against her will. With Charles looking on much after the manner of a spectator and Corso and his companions busy about plundering every kind of White Guelph asset, the violence continued for more than a week, the installation of a Black priorate inaugurating a succession of arbitrary arrests, false and disingenuous accusations and sordid plea bargaining. Charles, it is true, eventually stirred himself for the purposes of curbing the worst excesses of Black frenzy, and even the pope's cardinal legate Matthew of Acquasparta turned up once more to see what could be done, but neither initiative amounted to much, the mortal wounding of Niccola de' Cerchi among the Whites and of Simone Donati (son of Corso) among the Blacks ensuring a further spilling of blood over the Christmas season.

But that was not the end of it, for even with the triumph of Corso and company and the expulsion of hundreds of White Guelphs from the city, over the next weeks and months there remained any number of issues—including not least the rift now opening up among the Blacks themselves and the continuing problematics of Corso Donati's own personality—yet to address and to resolve. As far as the second of these things is concerned—the problematics of Corso's own personality—the fact is that, for all his loud proclamation of the Black Guelph cause, Corso was not in truth a party man. He was far too ambitious for this, far too impulsive, unpredictable and self-seeking, all of which nourished a now steady

counsel nor assistance, nor kept to the sworn oath he had made. Wherefore the tyrants, malefactors and banished roaming the city took courage, and, the town being without either guards or government, they set about pillaging the shops and storehouses together with everything belonging to the Whites, and, as regards anyone not being in a position to resist, slaughtering and maiming the good men and true of their party. And much to the detriment of the city, this pestilence went on unabated for five days, and thereafter in the *contado*, the militia continuing their robbery and arson for a further eight days, as a result of which many beautiful and valuable goods were either devastated or incinerated). Likewise Compagni 2.18–19 and 21: 'Molti disonesti peccati si feciono: di femmine vergini; rubare i pupilli; e uomini impotenti, spogliati de' loro beni; e cacciavanli della loro città' (Many shameful things were done. Maidens were outraged, entire wards pillaged and helpless souls deprived of their property and driven out of the city), with, at 2.19, the 'wedded against their will' motif (maritavansi fanciulle a forza). On the Niccola and Simone episode, Villani 8.49 (and cf. Compagni 3.41). On the Angevin aspect of all this, Edouard Jordan, *Les Origines de la domination angevine en Italie* (Paris: Picard, 1909).

sense on his part of greater deserving in the corridors of power.¹⁸ His overall effect, therefore, was to deepen still further the already deep instability of the city, so much so that at one point in 1304 help was requested from Lucca for the purposes of keeping order there, the Lucchesi, in fact, holding the reins for more than a fortnight. And that was not all, for with the death of Boniface VIII in consequence of the fiasco—for Dante, of the blasphemy¹⁹—of Anagni and the appointment in January 1304 of a fresh peacemaker in the form of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato with all power made over to him for a year, there was every prospect of the Whites exiled after the coup d'état of 1301 flooding back in their hundreds. Straightaway, in fact, the cardinal set about reorganizing the city militia and negotiating with the White Guelph outcasts, an initiative waylaid, however, by the Black Guelphs, who, well aware of the feelings this would stir up in the neighbouring communes, diverted his energies into a campaign against Pistoia. Once again, then, nothing came of nothing as, despairing of the whole situation, yet another papal emissary shook the dust of the city from his shoes, placing it as he did so under yet another interdict.²⁰ The Blacks meanwhile, fearful for their hard-won hegemony, were once more on the rampage, vast tracts of the city being devoured by a massive fire started on 10 June that year by Neri Abati (a relative of the Bocca degli Abati responsible for the treacherous felling of the Florentine

18 Compagni 2.20, with a nicely judged account of Corso's person and presence in Florence: 'Uno cavaliere della somiglianza di Catellina romano, ma più crudele di lui, gentile di sangue, bello del corpo, piacevole parlatore, addorno di belli costumi, sottile d'ingegno, con l'animo sempre intento a malfare, col quale molti masnadieri si raunavano e gran sèguito avea, molte arsoni e molte ruberie fece fare, e gran dannaggio a' Cerchi e a' loro amici; molto avere guadagnò, e in grande alteza sali. Costui fu messer Corso Donati, che per sua superbia fu chiamato il Barone; che quando passava per la terra, molti gridavano: "Viva il Barone!"; e pareva la terra sua. La vanagloria il guidava, e molti servigi facea' (A knight after the manner of Catiline the Roman, but more pitiless than he, of noble blood and handsome person, pleasant of speech, comely in manner, a man of subtle wit but with a mind forever intent on evil doing, with a considerable retinue and many a follower, he caused many acts of arson and robbery to be committed, wreaking great damage upon the Cerchi and their friends. Much wealth did he gain and to great height did he rise. This, then, was Messer Corso Donati, who on account of his pride was called the baron. When he passed through the city, many would cry out 'Long live the baron!' almost as though the city belonged to him. Moved only by vainglory he rendered many his services).

19 Qualifying an otherwise steady rhythm of indictment (*Inferno* 15.110–14, 19.55–57, 27.85–111 and *Paradiso* 27.22–26), *Purgatorio* 20.82–90: 'O avarizia, che puoi tu più farne, / poscia c'ha' il mio sangue a te sì tratto, / che non si cura de la propria carne? / Perché men paia il mal futuro e 'l fatto, / veggio in Alagna intrar lo fiordaliso, / e nel vicario suo Cristo esser catto. / Veggliolo un'altra volta esser deriso; / veggio rinovellar l'aceto e 'l fiele, / e tra vivi ladroni esser anciso' (O avarice, what more can you do to us, for to yourself you have so drawn my blood that it has no care for its own flesh? That past and future ill may seem no less, I see the fleur-de-lis enter Anagni and, in his vicar, Christ himself made captive. I see him mocked a second time. I see renewed the vinegar and the gall and him slain between living thieves). George Holmes, 'Dante and the Popes', in *The World of Dante: Essays on Dante and His Times*, ed. Cecil Grayson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 18–43; Jennifer Petrie, "'O papa Bonifazio': Dante, Boniface VIII and Jacopone da Todi', in *Dante and the Church: Literary and Historical Essays*, ed. Paolo Acquaviva and Jennifer Petrie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 39–59.

20 Compagni 3.1 and 4–7 and Villani 8.69.

standard at Montaperti) reaching all the way down from the Mercato Nuovo where the Cavalcanti had their houses to the Ponte Vecchio. Yet again, then, Florence was ablaze, houses, livelihoods, artworks and other treasures all falling victim to the wantonness of the moment. With the destruction of the best part of two thousand properties as but the surface manifestation of something infinitely more tragic, both the super- and the substructure of a great city appeared once more to be disintegrating. Florence, in short, was doing what Florence was so good at, namely delivering herself despite herself to her undoing.

THE DESCENT AND DEMISE OF HENRY VII (1302–13)

In the degree to which these things were not already under way—the ascendancy, that is to say, of the signorial over the communal in the area of civic concern, of the conciliar over the hierocratic in the area of ecclesiastical concern, and of the humanist over the high-scholastic in the area of literary and philological concern—we witness in these early years of the fourteenth century the dawn of a new era, a fresh way of seeing and understanding the human predicament both in its sociopolitical and in its cultural aspect. But just for the moment, and certainly as far as Florence was concerned, it was business as usual, two events in particular—namely the siege of Pistoia in 1305 and 1306 and the death of Corso Donati in 1308—bearing witness to a long since inveterate state of mind, to the tragic as distinct from the triumphant side of communal civilization.

Pistoia, if anything more lawless than Florence, had for some time been in the hands of White Guelphs and Ghibellines with close connections in Arezzo and Lucca. But the time had come, the Florentines thought, to put paid to this situation and to bring the city to heel, easier said than done in that Pistoia was particularly well fortified. With the arrival, then, in April 1305 of Robert Duke of Calabria, the firstborn son of Charles II of Anjou, together with a formidable array of Aragonese and Catalan cavalry, the siege—notable only for its ferocity—was set up. ‘Ferocity’, in fact, hardly covers it, for not only was the state of the besieged in Pistoia more than ordinarily appalling, but the vengeance visited on those who ventured out was barbaric in the extreme: feet were cut off and noses slit regardless of gender or age, men, women and children alike being subject to the most merciless kind of mutilation. Clement V, catching wind of this, despatched a messenger in September of that year with orders to halt the carnage at once under pain of excommunication, whereupon the duke opted out, leaving the Florentines to make good by way of a fresh round of taxation at home and, in the *contado*, a fresh call up to the army with penalties awaiting those who failed to present themselves within twenty days. Thus the agony of it all persisted until well into the following year when another cardinal legate arrived in Florence, this time

Cardinal Napoleone degli Orsini, with a fresh injunction to treat with Pistoia in the hope of its surrender. And this, indeed, was what happened, the Pistoians giving way on 10 April only to witness as a reward the pulling down of their walls and the putting in place of a power-sharing scheme between Florence and Lucca as the victors in all this (the Florentines, it was agreed, would provide the *podestà* and the Lucchesi the *capitano*). With this, it only remained for Florence to put down whatever remained of White Guelph and Ghibelline resistance in the Mugello and the Apennines and the job was done.²¹

No less violent, however, and thus no less transparent to the times, was the demise of Corso Donati as the embodiment both of the psychology and of the psychopathology of the communal era, of its twofold brilliance and brutality. Corso, then, ever anxious on his own behalf, was notably restive in these early years of the new century in respect of his power, prestige and presence in the city, of his reaping his reward as man of the moment. With his standing in Florence much enhanced by his marriage to the daughter of Uguccone della Faggiuola as prominent among the Tuscan Ghibellines, and—more to the point—sensitive to the fact that this might be his last throw of the dice, he set about campaigning for a watering down of the Ordinances going back to Giano della Bella's time but more recently strengthened by Cardinal Napoleone as part of his remit as peacemaker. In this, though, he overplayed his hand, for what with his high-risk marriage alliance (for the said Uguccone was in the event busy amassing an expeditionary force against Florence) and the general unrest he had caused at home, he was arraigned and declared a traitor to the republic, whereupon he barricaded himself in his houses in anticipation of Uguccone's imminent arrival. Once more, then, the city descended into chaos, bodies everywhere and buildings ablaze. But for Corso, still worse was to come, for Uguccone, under the impression that he (Corso) had fallen and been injured, had turned tail, whereupon Corso, abandoned now by the greater part of his supporters (one of whom, a member of the Adimari family, had had his hand cut off by way of a warning to his clan generally), made good his escape. Captured, however, in October 1308 by a band of Catalan soldiers who, having been bribed by him not to do so nonetheless deemed it worth their while taking him back to Florence, he threw himself from

21 Compagni, more than ordinarily eloquent in respect of the savagery of it all, at 3.14–15: 'Molta migliore condizione ebbe Soddoma e Gomorra, e l'altre terre, che profondarono in un punto e morirono gli uomini, che non ebbono i Pistoiesi morendo in così aspre pene. Quanto gli assali l'ira d'Iddio! Quanti e quali peccati poteano avere a così repente giudicio?' (Sodom and Gomorrah and every other city overwhelmed in an instant with the citizenry slain fared better than the Pistoians dying as they did amid such suffering. How did the wrath of God assail them! What sins, and how many could they have committed to merit such sudden judgement? [3.14]). Giancarlo Savino, *Lo strazio di Pistoia: L'assedio del 1305–1306* (Pistoia: [unspecified], 1989); Giampaolo Francesconi, '11 aprile 1306: Pistoia apre le porte a Firenze dopo un anno di assedio; Cronaca, costruzione e trasmissione di un evento', *RMR* 8 (2007), <http://www.retimedievali.it>.

his horse, whereupon one of his captors ran him through and left him for dead. In the event a number of brothers from San Salvi, coming across him, conveyed him to a monastery, where some said that he repented in extremis of his sins, others, however, that he remained obdurate to the end. Fashioned afresh or not, however, he was, it seems, disinterred some two or three years later with a view to a more honourable despatch closer to home.²²

It takes a leap of imagination to recover and to appreciate the mood generated by the removal of the papacy to Avignon under Clement V and the implications of this for the shape and substance of European politics generally and of Italian and Tuscan politics in particular, for over and beyond the humiliation of it all there was uncertainty now as to the pope's actually making any difference any more either in or beyond the peninsula.²³ It was in these circumstances, then, that, sensitive to his status as captive to a nothing if not ambitious French monarch and to all this meant by way of a fundamental reconfiguration of power in Europe, Clement committed himself to the imperial idea, to the election of an imperial candidate, and thus of an imperial power, standing over against the House of Anjou and ushering in a new age of papal-imperial cooperation. Both politically and in principle the idea was a radiant one, for not only would it

22 Nicely equilibrated in respect of the *bête noire* of White Guelphism, Compagni 3.21: 'La gente cominciò a riposarsi, e molto si parlò della sua mala morte in varii modi, secondo l'amicizia e inimicizia: ma parlando il vero, la sua vita fu pericolosa, e la morte reprehensibile. Fu cavaliere di grande animo e nome, gentile di sangue e di costumi, di corpo bellissimo fino alla sua vecchieza, di bella forma con delicate fattezze, di pelo bianco; piacevole, savio e ornato parlatore, e a gran cose sempre attendea; pratico e domestico di gran signori e di nobili uomini, e di grande amistà, e famoso per tutta Italia. Nimico fu de' popoli e de' popolani, amato da' masnadieri, pieno di maliziosi pensieri, reo e astuto' (People eventually found some calm and spoke of his grievous death in various ways according to their disposition—friendly or hostile—towards him. But truth to tell, his life was as turbulent as his death was reprehensible. He was a knight of great ambition and renown, an aristocrat by birth and behaviour and of very great personal beauty even into his old age. He had a fine figure, delicate features and a fair complexion. He was pleasing, clever and an accomplished speaker, forever busying himself about great matters, familiar and indeed intimate with the lords and noblemen of the land, in possession of powerful friends and renowned throughout all Italy. He was the enemy of democracy and of the *popolani*, but beloved by his retainers. Full of wicked designs, he was unprincipled and astute). Villani 8.96. In Dante, and on the lips of his brother Forese, *Purgatorio* 24.82–87: "Or va", diss' el, "che quei che più n'ha colpa, / vegg' 'io a coda d'una bestia tratto / inver' la valle ove mai non si scolpa. / La bestia ad ogni passo va più ratto, / crescendo sempre, fin ch'ella il percuote, / e lascia il corpo vilmente disfatto"' ('Now rest assured', said he, 'that the one most to blame for it I see dragged at the tail of a beast towards the valley where there is no absolution. With each step that same beast goes ever faster and faster till it dashes him down, leaving his body vilely disfigured').

23 Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378* (London: T. Nelson, 1963); Yves Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403* (London: Faber, 1970); Thomas Renna, *Conflict between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire during the Early Avignon Era* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2013); Joelle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and Its Papacy, 1309–1417: Popes, Institutions and Society* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015). For Clement V in particular, Georges Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris: Hachette, 1910); Sophia Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Claude Mossé, *Clément V: Premier pape d'Avignon, 1265–1314* (Paris: Stock, 1998).

remedy a now manifestly unsatisfactory situation on the ground, but at an at once deeper and more sublime level of consciousness it would revitalize the old Gelasian ideal, a dual order of government with each party to it living out its own proper reasons and responsibilities. Such, at any rate, combining as it did an element both of piety and of practicality, was the vision fermenting in the mind of a Dino Compagni, a Giovanni Villani and a Dante. Feelings at home, however, and especially in Tuscany, were mixed; for if, say, Pisa was more than ever eager in its espousal of the project, putting up in advance sixty thousand golden florins with more to come upon delivery, Florence, already perturbed by the appearance in the city of an imperial envoy charged with bringing her round, was in two minds, her reluctance manifesting itself by way both of a refusal to send a goodwill delegation to Lausanne as a stopping-off point for the emperor-elect on his way to Italy and of the setting up of a Tuscan and Lombard league designed to frustrate the whole thing. Nothing deterred, however, Henry of Luxembourg, having been elected to the imperial throne in November 1308, crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in January 1309 and blessed by the pope later that same year, crossed into Italy by way of Mont Cenis towards the end of September 1310, staying first in Asti and then in Milan, where on 6 January the following year he assumed the iron crown of Lombardy.²⁴ The occasion was nothing if not fulsome, Henry's mission, he said, being one of peace and plenty, an exercise in shared sovereignty and universal concord. Straightaway, however, the implausibility of it all—a matter of both the underfunded and the underequipped character of the whole enterprise, but, more than this, of a transalpine prince hopelessly inexperienced when it came to the niceties of Italian political consciousness—was discernible, a constantly shifting pattern of allegiance in the peninsula serving to destabilize the imperial project before it had hardly begun. But for all his innocence and naïveté, Henry's difficulties were real enough, for as always there was Florence with her commitment to seeing off the imperial initiative by every conceivable means—by strengthening her defences, by promoting and financing the same strategy in the Guelph league generally, and even by putting up roadblocks across the Apennine passes. Exemplary in this sense was her high-handed treatment of the imperial legates, or, more exactly, of the papal legates acting on behalf of the emperor, Bishop Nicholas of Butranto and Pandolfo Savelli. Having already been detained against their will in Bologna, their misery and sense of the futility of it all were doubled when, once in Florence, the Florentines, having yet again denounced in general council the German tyrant and everything he stood for, took

24 Compagni 3.23–36 on the election and descent of Henry VII of Luxembourg through to his coronation on 1 August 1312 at St John Lateran in Rome; Villani 9.7–53. William M. Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State, 1310–1313* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960); Mauro Tosti-Croce (ed.), *Il viaggio di Enrico VII in Italia* (Città di Castello: Edimond, 1993).

it upon themselves to lay siege to them in their quarters and to strip them of everything save the clothes they stood up in, their humiliation being in this sense just about complete. Turning their backs, therefore, on this den of incivility, they made their way to Arezzo to curry support for the cause on pain of excommunication, the Florentines for their part, in a now well-nigh orgasmic fit of Guelph purism, tearing down any sign or symbol of the imperial idea in the city and inaugurating a purge of anyone in the least suspect when it came to straying from the party line.

Florence it was, then, that, if not quite then almost single-handedly saw off the imperial idea. Henry, exasperated by the intractability of the situation in Tuscany and—what is more to the point—frustrated by his lacking the wherewithal swiftly and efficiently to deal with it, decided for the moment to give Florence a miss and to set off instead for Rome and the imperial crown proper. With this, however, the situation only got worse, for a massive influx of Angevin troops under King Robert's brother John had taken over and occupied whole swathes of the city from the old forum right across to Trastevere. Unable, therefore, to get across to St Peter's for his coronation, Henry had to settle instead for John Lateran and for the good offices, not of the pope as master of ceremonies, but of a stand-in delegation of three cardinal legates, whereupon, more than ever anxious to make his mark as master of the civilized world, he took himself and his troops first of all to Tivoli and then on to Perugia and Cortona, making a point as he did so of laying waste just about everything in his way. True, there was a glimmer of light when a Florentine deputation turned up in Cortona with a view to treating with the emperor, but again nothing came of it, Henry being more than ever determined now to deal with Florence in the way she deserved. Further conquests were made at Monteverchi and Figline, but as he approached Florence the situation deteriorated, for not only had the city made an excellent job of barring the Appenine crossing but at home had mustered some four thousand horse plus infantry, Henry, then, having perforce to content himself with a programme of mere local despoliation. But there was, in fact, more to it than that, for it had been evident for some time not only that Henry's health was not all it might be, but that his troops, many of them far from home, were not entirely with him in spirit, a state of affairs not lost on the Florentines, whose gates remained brazenly unlocked by night and whose city remained open for business as usual. Neither, however, was it lost on the emperor, who, weighing up the pros and cons, decided to step back from the brink, withdrawing instead over the Arno, lingering for a while in one of the Bardi castles and retiring for two months to San Casciano. Scuffles, at times not insignificant, marked the rhythm of his now desultory campaign and of his surviving long enough to reach Pisa in March 1313, where once again he fulminated against all those daring to slow his imperial progress. True, everything was eventually battle-ready, but Henry in the meantime—down, it

was rumoured, to poisoning—was growing weaker by the day and died on 14 June that year in Buonconvento, his final and official resting place being the Camposanto in Pisa.²⁵

²⁵ Villani 9.52 on the emperor's passing. Compagni 3.42 in anticipation (he hoped) of his ultimate triumph and on the well-nigh apocalyptic intensity of it all: 'O iniqui cittadini, che tutto il mondo avete corrotto e viziato di mali costumi e falsi guadagni! Voi siete quelli che nel mondo avete messo ogni malo uso. Ora vi si ricomincia il mondo a rivolgere addosso; lo Imperadore con le sue forze vi farà prendere e rubare per mare e per terra' (Oh unrighteous citizens, you who have corrupted and defiled all the world with your evil customs and false gains! You it is who have breathed every evil into the world. But the world now turns against you, and the emperor ever mighty will by land and sea lay hold of you and strip you of your every ill-gotten gain). Achille Tartaro, 'Delusione e moralismo del Compagni', in *Il manifesto di Guittone e altri studi fra Due e Quattrocento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), 103–9. For Compagni as at once chronicler and commentator, Louis Green, 'Historical Interpretation in Fourteenth-Century Florentine Chronicles', *JHI* 28.2 (1967), 161–78; Andrea Zorzi, 'Rileggendo la Cronica di Dino Compagni: Comuni, signori, tiranni', in *Roma e il Papato nel Medioevo: Studi in onore di Massimo Miglio* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012), 37–48. On Dante and the chroniclers, Giovanni Aquilecchia, 'Dante and the Florentine Chroniclers', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1965), 30–55; Charles T. Davis, 'Il Buon Tempo Antico', in *Dante's Italy and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 71–93.

INDEX OF NAMES

- Accardo, Salvatore: 196n28, 365n50
Aegidius Romanus: 509
Aelred of Rievaulx: 76, 77n, 153, 190n22
Ahern, John: 184n13, 457n163
Albert the Great: 36
Albonico, Simone: 339n19
Alcorn, John: 415n
Alessio, Gian Carlo: 213n, 288n
Alfie, Fabian: 206, 234n29
Alinei, Mario: 259n, 342n22, 452n156
Alisova, Tatiana: 280n48
Allan, Mowbray: 330n9, 364n47
Allavena, Oreste: 472n197
Allegretti, Paola: 539n20
Allen, Alice Maude: 528n7
Allevi, Febo: 365n49
Ambrosini, Riccardo: 60n50, 360n42
Andreotti, Giulio: 213n4
Angiolillo, Giuliana: 510n41
Antonelli, Roberto: 87, 196n28, 197n29, 299n16
Apollonio, Mario: 256n23, 332n13, 333n14, 418n11, 419n112, 423n117
Aquilecchia, Giovanni: 26n25
Arbery, Glen C.: 291n4
Ardissino, Erminia: 346n26, 452n156
Ardizzone, Maria Luisa: 100n21, 122n10, 187–88n18, 211n2, 273n41
Arduini, Beatrice: 257n25
Ariani, Marco: 457n163, 473n198
Aristotle: 41, 76n2, 153, 190, 238n3, 245n11, 254, 260n28, 270–71, 275–76, 285–86, 380, 397n87, 398n88, 402n92, 415, 416n109, 489, 499n25, 502n30, 504n32, 507n36, 514n46
Armour, Peter: 32n8, 55n45, 134n24, 332n13, 348n28, 385n72, 437n139, 449n153, 481n3
Arqués, Rossend: 296n11
Artale, Elena: 318n4
Ascoli, Albert Russell: 184, 278n45
Asperti, Stefano: 82n1, 98n19
Auerbach, Erich: 373n58
Augustine of Hippo: 41–43, 152–53, 347n27, 352n34, 400n89, 421–22, 424–26, 432, 434, 488n14, 507, 512–13
Aurigemma, Marcello: 332n13
Austin, Herbert Douglas: 472n198
Avalle, D'Arco Silvio: 428n123, 430n125, 461n173, 465n180
Averroes: 273, 274n42, 494n19, 495, 496n22
Baika, Gabriella I.: 446n151
Balbiano d'Aramengo, Maria Teresa: 58n48, 315n2
Baldassarro, Lawrence: 437n139, 543n2
Baldelli, Ignazio: 161n71, 205n38, 228n22, 288n1, 301n17, 315n2, 428n123, 430n125, 461n173, 467n186
Baldi, Agnello: 35n11, 92n12, 445–46n151
Baldwin, Charles Sears: 312
Balfour, Mark: 7n5, 338n18, 452n155
Ballarini, Marco: 368–69n54, 371n56, 451–52n155
Balogh, Joseph: 506n35
Balthasar, Hans Urs von: 451n155
Barański, Zygmunt G.: 28n2, 46n32, 122n10, 134n24, 140n34, 177n5, 220n15, 260n28, 303n20, 314n21, 319n5, 410n101, 417n110, 467–68n187, 524n1, 527n7, 539n20
Barber, Joseph A.: 133–34n
Bàrberi Squarotti, Giorgio: 188n19, 319n5, 400n89, 426n121, 430–31n126, 433n147, 445–46n151, 460n168
Barbi, Michele: 28, 48, 315n2, 430n125, 490n16
Barbieri, Aroldo: 430n125
Barblan, Giovanni: 186n15
Bardazzi, Giovanni: 331n10, 418n11

- Barletti, Raffaele: 246
- Barnes, John C.: 43n28, 64n56, 161n71, 232n27, 234n29, 260n28, 319n5, 410n101, 433n130, 443n147, 497n23
- Barolini, Teodolinda: 64n56, 114n1, 121–22n10, 126n16, 132n23, 260n28, 330n9, 364n47, 385n72, 433n130, 467–68n187
- Barthes, Roland: xxn3
- Bartoli, Vittorio: 434–35n135, 483n7
- Bartuschat, Johannes: 31–32n8, 54–55n45, 56n46, 213n4, 216n7, 228n22, 237–38n3, 357–58n40, 429n124
- Barucci, Guglielmo: 226n21
- Basile, Bruno: 20n33, 245n11, 345n25, 430n125, 437n139
- Basile, Paola: 200, 245, 245n11, 345n25, 430n125, 437n139
- Battaglia Ricci, Lucia: 441n145, 529–30n9
- Battaglia, Salvatore: 231n26
- Battesti, Isabelle: 219n14
- Battestini, Andrea: 364n47
- Battisti, Carlo: 538–39n20
- Battistini, Andrea: 228n22, 364n47, 368–69n54
- Bausi, Francesco: 317–18n4, 353n35
- Bec, Pierre: 84n3, 340n20, 467–68n187
- Beccaria, Gian Luigi: 464n179, 467n186
- Beck, Friedrich: 472n198
- Beer, Jeanette: 133–34n24
- Belliotti, Raymond Angelo: 418n111
- Bellomo, Saverio: 288n1, 525n4, 538–39n20
- Belloni, Antonio: 538–39n20
- Beltrami, Pietro G.: 305n23, 463n177, 465n179
- Bemrose, Stephen: 28n2, 234n30, 260n28, 380n68, 397n87, 434–35n135
- Benedetto, Luigi Foscolo: 133n24, 151n55
- Benedict Pope: 62, 342n22, 364–65, 395n86, 482
- Benfell, V. Stanley: 35n11
- Benvenuti, Anna: 482n5
- Berényi, Márk: 495n21
- Berger, Harry, Jr.: 471n196
- Bernard of Clairvaux: 41, 190, 341, 342n2, 371–72, 434, 456
- Bernardo, Aldo S.: 243n9, 352n33, 390n79, 463n177
- Bertelli, Italo: 95n16
- Bertin, Emiliano: 54–55n45, 336n15, 494–95n19, 517–18n50
- Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Valeria: 442n146
- Bertoni, Giulio: 86n4
- Bertran de Born: 82, 301n18, 325n3
- Berube, Camille: 392n81
- Bettarini, Rosanna: 114n1
- Bezzola, Reto R.: 460–61n169
- Biagi, Vincenzo: 482n5
- Bianchi, Bruna: 64n56
- Bianchi, Dante: 467n186
- Bianchi, Luca: 270–71n38, 273n41
- Biffi, Inos: 352n35, 373n58, 454n159
- Bigi, Emilio: 113n39
- Bigongiari, Dino: 307–8n26, 331–32n12, 331–33n14, 336n15, 338n18, 382n69, 391–92n81, 401n90, 430–31n126, 451–52n155
- Billanovich, Giuseppe: 275–76n43
- Billy, Dominique: 230n26
- Biondo, Furio: 218n12
- Biondolillo, Francesco: 95n16
- Bisceglia, Antonio Alessandro: 481n3
- Blackmur, Richard P.: 531n11
- Blanco Jiménez, José: 518n51
- Blasucci, Luigi: 228n22, 451n155
- Bodei, Remo: 390n79
- Boethius: 34n10, 152–53, 190, 212, 212–13n4, 248, 249n14, 255n23, 274n42, 275–76n43, 536
- Boggione, Valter: 408n98
- Bognini, Filippo: 187–88n18, 481n3
- Boitani, Piero: 233–34n29, 360n42, 430nn125–26
- Boler, John F.: 391–92n81
- Bologna, Orazio Antonio: 7n5
- Bolognesi, Davide: 36n11
- Bonagiunta da Lucca: 90–91, 108, 112, 113n4
- Bonaini, Francesco: 12
- Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio: 16n16, 34–36, 353
- Bondanella, Peter E.: 228n22
- Borsa, Paolo: 95–96n16, 108n33, 132n23, 216n7, 226n21, 257n25
- Borsellino, Nino: 348n28, 481n3
- Borst, Arno: 292n6
- Borzi, Italo: 331n12, 429n124, 447–48n152
- Botterill, Steven: 180n9, 373n58
- Boucher, Holly Wallace: 471n196

- Bowra, Maurice: 230–31n26
Bowsky, William M.: 24n24, 65n57, 510n41
Boyde, Patrick: 36n13, 114n1, 133–34n24, 140n34, 214n5, 255–56n23, 293–94n7, 318–19n4, 391–92n81, 408n98, 417n110, 418n111, 422n115, 430n125, 443n147
Bozzola, Sergio: 307–8n26
Brambilla Ageno, Franca: 279–80n48, 462n176
Branca, Vittore: 86n4
Brandeis, Irma: 173n1, 522n55
Bregoli-Russo, Mauda: 538–39n20
Brestolino, Lucia: 233–34n29
Brezzi, Paolo: 348n28
Brilli, Elisa: 54–55n45, 357–58n40, 360n42, 472–73n198, 484n8
Brown, Eric: 331n12
Brugnoli, Giorgio: 401n90, 527n7
Brugnolo, Furio: 160n70, 219n14, 277–78n45
Brundage, James A.: 352n33
Brunetti, Giuseppina: 35n11, 155
Brunetto Latini: 31–32, 43, 46, 47, 50, 212–13n4, 311–12n29, 332n13
Bruni, Francesco: 92, 211n2, 243n9, 437n139
Bruni, Leonardo: 14n13, 28n2, 44, 45, 48n35, 53, 60n51, 63
Buck, August: 300n17, 484n8, 508n38
Bufano, Antonietta: 383n17, 445–46n151
Burckhardt, Jacob: 275–76n43
Burr, David: 35n11, 354–55n36
Busnelli, Giovanni: 254n20, 361n43, 375n61

Cacciaglia, Norberto: 330n9, 363n46
Cacciaguida: 28–29, 50, 56, 58, 357–60, 389–90, 412
Cacciari, Massimo: 430n125
Cachey, Theodore J.: 270–71n39, 524n1
Calenda, Corrado: 198n31
Camboni, Maria Clotilde: 218n12, 307–8n26, 340n20
Campana, Augusto: 70n63
Campanelli, Maurizio: 54–55n45
Canaccini, Federico: 5–6n3, 11n11
Canettieri, Paolo: 156n65
Cangrande della Scala: *xxii*, 69, 242, 243n9, 267n36, 395n86, 527, 529–30n9, 531n11, 532n12, 534–37
Cannavò Giuseppe: 363n46

Capéran, Louis: 330n9, 363n46
Capitani, Ovidio: 16n16, 42–43n28, 479n1
Cappelletti, Leonardo: 16n16
Caputo, Rino: 339n19
Carapezza, Sandra: 338n18, 367n52
Cardellino, Lodovico: 29n4, 331n11, 430–31n126
Carducci, Giosue: 315n2
Carletti, Gabriele: 511n42
Carpi, Umberto: 301–2n18, 315n2, 318n2, 319n5, 422n116
Carrai, Stefano: 195n27, 228n22, 428n123
Carugati, Giuliana: 433n130
Casadei, Alberto: 174n2, 201n34
Casagrande, Carla: 233–34n29, 418n111, 543n2
Casagrande, Gino: 374n59, 419n112, 457n163
Casciani, Santa: 35n11, 354n36
Casella, Mario: 97–98n18, 100n21, 297n12
Casini, Tommaso: 463n177
Cassata, Letterio: 133–34n24, 279n47, 417n110
Cassell, Anthony K.: 335–36n15, 438n142, 494n19, 511n42
Castellani Pollidori, Ornella: 296
Castelnuovo, Guido: 259n27
Castets, Ferdinand: 133n24
Catellari, Alessandro: 474–75n202
Catenazzi, Flavio: 82n1
Cattani, Giovanni: 365n49
Cavalcanti, Guido: 16–17, 32–33, 43, 46, 49, 99–100, 103–10, 121–30, 132n23, 133, 166, 176, 187n18, 192, 193n25, 199n32, 296–97, 318, 324
Cavedoni, Celestino: 373n58
Caverni, Raffaello: 461n170
Cecchini, Leonardo: 442n146
Cecco Angiolieri: 233
Cella, Roberta: 460–61n169
Celli, Andrea: 444n148, 452n156
Cerbo, Anna: 408n98
Chambers, Frank M.: 84n3
Chaytor, Henry John: 82n1
Cheneval, Francis: 495n19
Cherchi, Paolo: 82n1, 173n1, 437n139, 454n159
Chersoni, Emmanuele: 306n24
Chiampi, James T.: 32–33n8, 437n139, 454n159
Chiappelli, Fredi: 233–34n29, 483n7

- Chiappelli, Luigi: 324–25n2
Chiarenza, Marguerite Mills: 354n36, 390n79
Chiari, Alberto: 347n27, 365–66n50
Chiarini, Eugenio: 541n23
Chiaro Davanzati: 95
Chivacci Leonardi, Anna Maria: 339n19,
363n46, 410n101
Ciacci, Otello: 344–45n24, 514n46
Ciccia, Carmelo: 442–43n146
Ciccuto, Marcello: 100n21, 109n34
Cicero: 31, 34n10, 41, 76, 76–77n1, 190, 212–
13n4, 248, 249n14, 263n32, 264n33
Cino da Pistoia: 111, 112n38, 121–22n10, 295,
324–25n2, 514n46
Cioffi, Caron Ann: 42–43n28, 331n11
Clark, Albert Curtis: 306n24, 489n15
Classen, Albert: 442n146
Clavorella, Giuseppe: 342n22
Coda, Piero: 376n62
Coffari, Elda: 91n10
Cogan, Marc: 338n18, 438n142
Coglievina, Leonella: 243n9, 369n55,
494–95n19
Cognasso, Francesco: 65n57
Colish, Marcia L.: 243n9, 328n6, 330n9,
361n43, 392n81, 423n117
Colombo, Gherardo: 438n142
Colombo, Manuela: 164n75
Comens, Bruce: 228n22
Comollo, Adriano: 482n4
Conrieri, Davide: 369n55
Consoli, Andrea: 353n35
Conte, Silvia: 348n28
Contini, Gianfranco: *xix*n1, 86n4, 91n10,
92n12, 96n17, 100n21, 121–22n10, 133n24,
135n26, 151n55, 164n75, 230n26
Contrada, Deborah L.: 332n13
Copeland, Rita: 311–12n29
Copleston, S.J., Frederick C.: 267n36
Corbett, George: 329n7, 331–32n12
Corrado, Massimiliano: 291n4
Corsaro, Antonio: 161n71
Corsi, Sergio: 531n11
Corso Donati: 11, 13, 15–22, 62
Cortezo, Carlos López: 219–20n14, 401n90,
442n146
Corti, Maria: 100n, 100n21, 121–22n10, 252b,
252n, 252n18, 259n, 259n27, 270–71n39,
292n, 292n6, 324–25n2, 461n173, 461n 173,
462n174, 462n 174, 495n21
Cosmo, Umberto: 354n36
Cossutta, Fabio: 428n123
Costantini, Aldo M.: 211n2, 506n35
Cotter, James Finn: 437n139
Cottignoli, Alfredo: 418n111, 463n177
Courcelle, Pierre: 212–13n4
Cremona, Joseph: 293–94n7
Crescini, Vincenzo: 180n9
Crespo, Roberto: 311–12n29
Crouse, Robert D.: 270–71n39
Cuboni, Giovanni: 54–55n45
Cudini, Piero: 230–31n26
Cursietti, Mauro: 233–34n29
Curtius, Ernst Robert: 275–76n43, 470n190
Curto, Carlo: 242n8
D'Agostino, Alfonso: 446n
D'Alfonso, Rossella: 532n12
D'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse: 250n15, 252n18
D'Amico, Juan Carlos: 348n28
D'Andrea, Antonio: 197n29, 243n9
D'Andria, Michele: 331n10
D'Angelo, Edoardo: 213n
D'Elia, Antonio: 517n
D'Onofrio, Giulio: 262n31
D'Ovidio, Francesco: 118n5, 288n, 308n, 426n,
527n7
D'Urso, Daniele: 196n11
Dahlberg, Charles: 153n63
Dales, Richard C.: 390n79
Damon, Philip: 243n, 291n4
Daniel, Arnaut: 82, 84, 228n22, 231n26, 235n3
Dante da Maiano: 114–16, 542
Dauphiné, James: 438n142
Davidsohn, Robert: 5–6n3
Davidson, F. J. A.: 230n26
Davie, Mark: 140n
Davis, Charles T.: 262n5, 29n4, 30n7, 31–32n,
36n13, 40n21, 348n28, 354–55n36, 357–
58n40, 377n63, 497n23, 507n36, 508n38,
514n46
De Bartholomaeis, Vincenzo: 86n4
De Blasi, Nicola: 242n8
De Bonfils Templer, Margherita: 173n1,
252n18, 254n20
De Lubac, Henri: 530n9

- De Marco, Giuseppe: 313–14n
De Matteis, Maria Consiglia: 40n21, 42–43n28
De Monticelli, Roberta: 418n111
De Mottoni, Barbara Faes: 386n73
De Robertis, Domenico: 100n, 112n, 113n, 173n, 174n, 184n, 187n, 189n, 215n, 233–34n29, 243n, 324–25n2
De Salvio, Alfonso: 467n186
De Sanctis, Francesco: 428n, 429n124, 444n148
Decaria, Alessio: 226n
Del Lungo, Isidoro: 3n, 357–58n40, 357n
Delcorno Branca, Daniela: 442n
Dell’Aquila, Michele: 442
Della Terza, Dante: 339n19, 365–66n50
Della Torre, Arnaldo: 490n
Delle Donne, Fulvio: 254n21
Deneffe, August: 375–76n61
Di Capua, Francesco: 300n, 306n, 484n, 488n, 506n
Di Giammarino, Gabriele: 212–13n
Di Giannatale, Giovanni: 353n35
Di Giovanni, Alberto: 250n16, 382n
Di Gregorio, Francesco: 368–69n54
Di Paola Dollorenzo, Gabriella: 368–69n54
Di Pretoro, Piero A.: 460n167
Di Scipio, Giuseppe: 36n, 185–86n15, 426n, 484n
Di Somma, Paolo: 517n50
Dieckmann, Sandra: 468n189
Dillon, Emma: 467–68n187
Dino Compagni: 3n, 10, 12n, 13, 17–18, 24, 26n, 121
Diomedes, Adriana: 254n21, 262n31
Dod, Bernard G.: 270–71n39
Doglio, Maria Luisa: 331n10
Doherty, A. J.: 478n209
Dolcini, Carlo: 479n
Dominic (Saint): 353, 355, 405n
Donà, Massimo: 475
Dorigatti, Marco: 419n
Dragonetti, Roger: 292n, 300–301n17, 307–8n26
Dronke, Peter: 82n, 210n, 212–13n4, 214n5, 244n, 495n21, 527n
Duhem, Pierre: 385n
Dupré Theseider, Eugenio: 487n, 506n
Durigetto, Roberto: 154n
Durling, Robert M.: 187n, 228
Eco, Umberto: *xx–xxin*3, 472–73n198, 474–75n202
Edwards, Robert: 96n17
Egidi, Francesco: 96n17
Eliot, Thomas Stearns: *xix, xix–xx, xxii*
Elwert, Wilhelm Theodor: 188n5, 472n197
Enright, Nancy: 482n4
Ernst, O.P., Cornelius: 455n, 455n160, 478n209
Esposito, Enzo: 233–34n29, 364n48, 377n63, 411n103
Ewert, Alfred: 288n1
Fallani, Giovanni: 36–37n13, 64n56, 370–71n56, 375n61, 452n156
Falzone, Paolo: 237–38n3, 257n25, 259n27, 260n28, 268–69n37, 409n99, 410n101
Fasani, Remo: 133–34n24, 305n23, 464–65n180
Fasolani, Diego: 411n105
Favaro, Francesco: 351–52n32
Favati, Guido: 100n21, 109n34, 113n39, 324–25n2, 367n52
Federzoni, Giovanni: 97–98n18
Fenzi, Enrico: 100n21, 132n23, 154n64, 211n2, 215–16n7, 226n21, 243n9, 315n2, 319n5, 422n116, 479n1
Fergusson, Francis: 449n153
Ferrante, Joan: 461n172
Ferrara, Sabrina: 286n56, 310n28, 524n1
Ferrari, Attilio: 245–46n11
Ferrario, Edoardo: 293–94n7
Ferrers Howell, Alan George: 3n1, 82n1
Ferrucci, Franco: 260n28
Figurelli, Fernando: 357–58n40
Filosa, Carlo: 507n36
Finazzi, Silvia: 472–73n198
Fineo, Saverio: 440–41n144
Fioravanti, Gianfranco: 36–37n13, 237–38n3, 273n41
Fioretti, Francesco: 121–22n10
Fiorilla, Maurizio: 189n7
Fleming, John V.: 153n63
Flood, David: 35n11
Föking, Marc: 434–35n135

- Folena, Gianfranco: 82n1, 86n4, 161n71, 489n15
Fontanella, Francesca: 484–85n8
Fontes Baratto, Anna: 360n42, 484n8
Fordyce, Cristiana: 383n71
Formisano, Luciano: 230–31n26
Forni, Alberto: 35n11, 233–34n29, 460–61n169, 506n35, 517–18n50
Forti, Fiorenzo: 418n111, 472n198
Fosca, Nicola: 260–61n28, 340n20, 364n48, 522n55
Foster, O.P., Kenelm: 36–37n13, 114n1, 214n5, 255–56n38, 257n25, 286n56, 293–94n7, 315n2, 329n7, 361n43, 377n63, 382n69, 443n147, 455n160
Francesca da Rimini: 428n123, 442n146
Francesconi, Giampaolo: 22n21
Francis of Assisi: 35–36, 353–55, 447n152
Frank, Maria Esposito: 411n103
Frappier, Jean: 153n63
Frasca, Gabriella: 230–31n26
Fraser, Jennifer: 260n28, 380n68, 397n87
Frasso, Giuseppe: 370–71n56, 482n4
Fratlicelli, Pietro: 48n36
Fratta, Aniello: 133–34n24
Freccero, John: 42–43n28, 437n139, 463n177, 524n1
Frezza, Mario: 330n9, 363n46
Friedman, Lionel J.: 153n63
Frugoni, Arsenio: 488n14
Fubini, Mario: 230n26
Fumagalli, Edoardo: 364n47, 365n49, 373n58

Gagliardi, Antonio: 92–93n12, 100n21, 262n31, 286n, 430n125, 486n10, 495n21
Gagliardi, Federico: 65n, 486n10
Gaimari, Giulia: 454n158, 543n2
Galanti, Livio: 64n
Galfrè, Claudia: 331n11, 418n111
Gallarino, Marco: 259n, 415n
Gallo, Ernest: 311n
Gambale, Giacomo: 291n4
Gardiner, Frank Cook: 200n
Gardner, Edmund Garratt: 71n, 354n, 527–28n7, 538–39n
Gardner, Patrick M.: 518n51
Gargan, Luciano: 36n13, 275–76n43, 538–39
Gasparov, Mikhail Leonovich: 230–31n26

Gaunt, Simon: 82n
Gavazzeni, Franco: 463n
Gavric, Anton: 463n
Geddes da Filicaia, Costanza: 7n
Gentili, Sonia: 35n11, 155, 237–38n3, 247, 270–71n38, 443n147
Geoffrey of Vinsauf: 311–12
George-Tvrtkovic, Rita: 40n21
Gessani, Alberto: 121–22n10, 124–25n14, 124n13, 193n, 370n
Getto, Giovanni: 368–69n54
Ghetti, Noemi: 109n, 121–22n10, 124–25n14, 195n, 215–16n7
Ghinassi, Ghino: 462n176
Ghisalberti, Alessandro: 349–50n29, 383n71, 524n1
Giacalone, Giuseppe: 331–32n12, 390n79, 452n156
Giacomino Pugliese: 85
Giacomo da Lentini: 85, 87, 89, 96–97
Giano della Bella: 12–15, 22
Gibbons, David: 472–73n198
Gigante, Claudio: 349–50n29
Gilbert, Allan H.: 402n, 467n186, 499n26
Gilson, Étienne: 36n13, 173n, 201n34, 214n5, 244n10, 267n, 270–71n39, 270n38, 373n, 493n, 495n21
Gilson, Simon A.: 36–37n13, 270–71n39
Giotto: 64
Giovanni Boccaccio: 28n2, 53, 69–70, 121, 279–80n48, 306n
Giovanni del Virgilio: 70–71, 527, 527–28n 7, 537–41
Giovanni Villani: 3n, 4n, 5–6n3, 6n4, 7n5, 9n7–9, 10n, 11n, 12n, 14n, 14n13, 15n, 16n15–16, 18–19n, 20n20, 23n22, 24, 26n, 27n, 28n3, 29n4, 30, 30n7, 31–32n8, 49n37, 53, 61n52, 62–63n54, 65–66n57, 121
Giovanni, Alberto di: 250n16, 382n
Girardi, Enzo Noè: 383n71
Giraut de Bornelh: 82–83, 325n3
Giunta, Claudio: 108n33, 226n21
Givone, Sergio: 439–40n143
Gmelin, Hermann: 243n, 460n168, 529–30n9
Godbarge, Clément: 31–32n
Godenzi, Giuseppe: 336n16
Gordon, N.P.J.: 16n16
Gorni, Guglielmo: 95n16, 108n33, 121–22n10,

- 124n14, 135n25, 156n65, 173n, 180n, 302n19,
307–8n26, 319n, 324–25n2, 339n19, 428n,
463n177
Gosselin, Christine: 197n
Goudet, Jacques: 358–59n41
Grabmann, Martin: 270–71n39
Graf, Arturo: 506n
Gragnotati, Manuele: 114n, 260n, 410n101,
439–40n143
Grayson, Cecil: 20n19, 201n34, 270–71n39,
279–80n48, 290n3, 402n, 508n38
Green, Louis: 26n, 194n
Grillo, Paolo: 5n
Grimaldi, Marco: 315n
Grossvogel, Steven: 348n
Gualdo Rosa, Lucia: 275–76n43
Gualtieri, Angelo: 212–13n4
Guardini, Romano: 171n84
Guérin, Philippe: 231–32n27
Guéri, Domenico: 293–94n7
Guglielminetti, Marziano: 196n, 452n156
Guiberteau, Philippe: 132n
Guido Cavalcanti: 16, 32, 43, 46, 49n, 99,
100n, 109n, 121–22n10, 124–25n14, 124n13,
187n18, 199n, 295–96
Guido da Montefeltro: 44, 445–46, 447–48n
Guido delle Colonne: 85–86, 96
Guido Guinizelli: 91, 95–99, 108, 110–11,
159–62, 172, 223
Guido Orlandi: 109
Guido Vernani, O.P.: 493, 494n, 508, 518n51
Guittone d'Arezzo: 90–96, 99, 108–9, 113, 117,
161, 163n72, 461n173
Guzzardo, John J.: 181–82n11

Hagman, Edward: 35n, 377n
Hainsworth, Peter: 187n
Hardie, Colin: 201n34, 290n, 319n, 489n,
527n7
Harrison, Robert Pogue: 140n
Havely, Nick: 35n, 354n
Hawkins, Peter S.: 42–43n28, 365–66n50,
430–31n126, 481n3, 543n
Heidegger, Martin: 284n, 414, 415n
Heidemann, Malte: 65n
Heinimann, Siegfried: 307n26
Henry VII of Luxembourg: *xxii*, 21–26, 24n,
65n, 479, 482, 486n10, 487n13, 537–38

Herzman, Ronald: 35n, 354n
Higgins, Anne: 385n
Hirdt, Willi: 243n, 387n75
Hollander, Robert: 28n2, 42–43n28, 71n, 82n,
112n, 185n14, 270–71n39, 286n, 324–25n2,
428n, 527n7
Holloway, Julia Bolton: 31–32n, 212–13n4,
237–38n3
Holmes, George: 20n18, 35n, 64n
Holmes, Olivia: 92n
Honest, Claire E.: 19n4, 36–37n13, 42–43n28,
58n, 65n, 270–71n39, 301n18, 313–14n,
341n21, 357–58n40, 434–35n135, 484–85n8,
486n10, 513n45, 517–18n50
Howard, Lloyd: 193n
Huck, Oliver: 468n189
Hurley, Michael D.: 463n
Hyde, John Kenneth: 4n

Iannucci, Amilcare A.: 132n, 275–76n43, 329n,
361n
Iglesias Rondina, María Carla: 419n
Iliescu, Nicolae: 330n9, 364n47
Imbach, Ruedi: 291n4, 292n
Indizio, Giuseppe: 30n6
Inglese, Giorgio: 339n, 363n46, 443n147
Irmscher, Cristoph: 442n

Jacoff, Rachel: 42–43n28, 348n, 352–53n34,
401n90, 426n, 449n, 461n172
Jacomuzzi, Angelo: 218n, 228n, 340n, 357–
58n40, 460n168, 484n
Jacomuzzi, Vincenzo: 461n172
Jacopo Mostacci: 87
James (the Apostle): 368–69
James of Viterbo: 509
Jeanroy, Alfred: 82n
Jennaro-MacLennan, Luis: 532n12
Jensen, Frede: 86n4
Johnson, Ryan: 431n127
Jordan, Edouard: 18–19n

Kabnitz, Andreas: 36–37n13
Kaske, Robert: 331–32n12, 481n3
Kastner, Leon Emile: 230n26
Kay, Richard: 31–32n, 332n13
Kay, Sarah: 82n
Kay, Tristan: 218n12, 340n

- Keen, Catherine: 8n, 58n, 313–14n, 324–25n2, 360n
Kelly, Craig: 348n
Kelly, Douglas: 311–12n29
Kempshall, Matthew S.: 40n21, 497n
Kittay, Eva Feder: 474n202
Kleinhenz, Christopher: 65n, 87n6, 100n, 112n, 324–25n2
Klinkert, Thomas: 442n
Kolsen, Adolf: 83–84n2
Kranz, Walther: 212–13n4
Kuen, Heinrich: 461n170
- La Favia, Louis Marcello: 350n30
Ladner, Gerhart B.: 200n
Lambert, Malcolm D.: 354b
Lambertini, Roberto: 494n
Lampugnani, Raffaele: 484n
Landoni, Elena: 373n
Langeli, Attilio Bartoli: 483n
Langley, Ernest F.: 87n6
Lannutti, Maria Sofia: 46–461n169, 307n26
Lansing, Carol: 4n, 259n
Lansing, Richard H.: 7n, 40n21, 42–43n28, 184n, 228n, 237–38n3, 243n9, 319n, 329n7, 332n13, 437n139, 438n142, 451–52n155, 472n197, 497n
Lanza, Adriano: 330n9, 332n13, 351n32, 360n, 363n, 423n
Lanza, Antonio: 124n14, 156n65, 233–34n29, 293–94n7, 301n18, 319n, 352n33, 442n
Lanza, Franco: 338n
Laqué, Stephan: 408n
Lazzerini, Lucia: 231–32n27
Le Goff, Jacques: 449n
Leclercq, Jean: 373n
Ledda, Giuseppe: 210n, 326n4, 353n35, 360n, 365n49, 369n55, 373n, 439–40n143, 472n198, 484–85n8
Lenkeith, Nancy: 348n, 506n
Lentzen, Manfred: 243n, 529–30n9
Lenzi, Eugenio: 27n
Leo, Ulrich: 286n
Leonardo Bruni: 14n, 28n2, 44, 48n, 53, 60n51, 63
Leoncini, Letizia: 279–80n48
Leporatti, Roberto: 224n
Leuker, Tobias: 410n101
- Levers, Toby: 184n
Levy, Bernard S.: 181n10
Lewis, Clive Staples: 472n197
Ley, Klaus: 254n21, 524n1
Lia, Pierluigi: 370–71n56, 374n, 400n, 457n
Libaude, Christophe: 439–40n143
Lidònnici, Giovanni: 538–39n
Lisio, Giuseppe: 279n48, 462n174
Livi, François: 340n
Livorni, Ernesto: 205n38
Livraghi, Leyla M. G.: 324–25n2, 326n4
Lizerand, Georges: 23n23
Lluch-Baixaui, Miguel: 212–13n4
Lombardi, Elena: 42–43n28, 132n, 428–29n123, 442n
Lombardo, Luca: 212–13n4
Loneran, Bernard J. F.: 355–56n38, 455n
Longo, Nicola: 470n190
López Cortezo, Carlos: 219–20n14, 401n90, 442n
Lorinczi, Marinella: 296n10
Luzzi, Joseph: 461n172
- Maccarrone, Michele: 510n
Macquarrie, John: 415n
Maffei, Domenico: 324–25n2, 514–15n46, 514n
Maffia Scariati, Irene: 140n, 228n
Maggini, Francesco: 319n
Maia, Andrea: 336n16, 408n
Maierù, Alfonso: 391–92n81
Majuri, Vincenzo Massimo: 370–71n56
Malato, Enrico: 28n2, 121–22n10, 174n, 193n, 199n, 330n8, 331n10, 345n25, 349–50n29, 353n35, 383n71, 417n110, 428n, 430–31n126, 482n4
Maldina, Nicolò: 237–38n3
Malinar, Smiljka: 461n173
Mallette, Karla: 86n
Manescalchi, Romano: 454n158
Manfred (of Hohenstaufen): 5–7, 337–38, 451, 451–52n155
Manni, Paola: 296n10
Manselli, Raoul: 35n, 354n, 517n
Marani, Giuseppe: 129n
Marazzi, Martino: 442n
Marazzini, Claudio: 297n12
Marcenaro, Simone: 88n
Marchesi, Concetto: 237–38n3

- Marchesi, Simone: 212–13n4, 297n12, 512–13n44, 522n
Marchi, Gian Paolo: 331n10, 483n6
Marconi, Paola: 439–40n143
Marcozzi, Luca: 417n
Marenbon, John: 329n, 330n9, 495n21
Margueron, Claude: 92n
Marigo, Aristide: 306n
Marrocco, W. Th.: 307–8n26
Marshall, John Henry: 180n
Marti, Mario: 92n, 114n, 124n13, 161n
Martinelli, Bortolo: 181–82n11, 195n, 267n, 363n, 373n, 376n62, 482n4, 522n, 534n15
Martinez, Ronald L.: 113n, 228n, 229–30n24, 431n127
Marzo, Antonio: 332b13
Mascetta-Caracci, Lorenzo: 489n
Masciandaro, Franco: 385n
Masini, Andrea: 229n23
Mason, H. A.: 361n
Masseron, Alexandre: 373n
Mastrobuono, Antonio C.: 36–37n13, 173n, 368–69n54, 437n139, 454n159, 508n38
Matsuda, Takami: 449n
Matthews, William: 153n63
May, Rollo: 415n
Mazzaro, Jerome: 173n
Mazzeo, Felice: 70n
Mazzeo, Joseph Anthony: 426n
Mazzocco, Angelo: 293n7, 297n12
Mazzoleni, Marco: 462n176
Mazzoni, Francesco: 64n, 243n, 319n5, 484n8, 524n1, 527n7
Mazzoni, Guido: 538–39n
Mazzotta, Giuseppe: 35n, 173n, 332n13
McCormick, Colin A.: 333n
McInerny, Ralph M.: 478n209
McMenamin, James F.: 28n3
McNair, Philip: 377n
Medici, Mario: 462n175, 470n192–93
Meersseman, Gilles Gerard: 451n
Meier, Franziska: 237–38n3
Mellone, O.F.M., Attilio: 345n25, 354n, 514n
Menache, Sophia: 23n23, 510n
Mengaldo, Pier Vincenzo: 196n28, 288n, 293–94n7, 306n, 443n147
Menichetti, Aldo: 91n10, 129n, 305n, 464–65n180
Mercuri, Roberto: 328n6
Mérigoux, Jean Marie: 40n21
Midkiff, Gerald R.: 382n
Miethke, Jürgen: 514–15n46
Milani, Giuliano: 54–55n45
Miles, Thomas: 431n127
Milizia, Umberto Maria: 64n
Miller, Edward G.: 391–92n81
Milonia, Stefano: 415n
Mineo, Nicolò: 197n, 201n34, 340n
Minio Paluello, Lorenzo: 40n21, 270–71n39, 402n
Mocan, Mira: 195n, 337n, 409n99
Modesto, Filippa: 237–38n3
Moevs, Christian: 345n25, 385n, 390n80
Moleta, Vincent: 92n, 97–98n18, 160n, 173n, 174n, 180n, 181–82n11, 194n, 354n
Molinari, Carla: 219–20n14
Mölk, Ulrich: 89–90n9
Mollat, Guillaume: 23n23, 487n13
Momigliano, Attilio: 357–58n40
Mongiello, Emilia: 479n
Montanari, Fausto: 226n, 319n
Montemaggi, Vittorio: 433n130, 517n, 543n
Monterosso, Raffaello: 307n26
Monti, Gennaro Maria: 324–25n2
Monticelli, Daniele: 417n, 418n
Moore, Edward: 212–13n4, 245n, 270–71n39, 339n, 524n1, 527n7
Morettini Bura, Maria Antonietta: 338n
Morghen, Raffaello: 330n9, 363n, 488n, 495n21
Moroldo, Arnaldo: 133–34n
Morris, Colin: 510n
Morvidi, Leto: 447–48n
Mossé, Claude: 23n23
Mozzillo-Howell, Elizabeth: 511n
Mulchahey, Marian Michèle: 36n13, 40n21
Münchberg, Katharina: 442n
Murari, Rocco: 212–13n4, 373n
Muresu, Gabriele: 350n30, 363n, 364n48, 409m99, 443n147, 445–46n151
Murray, Alexander: 332n13
Mussio, Thomas E.: 28n3
Nagy, József: 500n27
Najemy, John M.: 31–32n
Nardi, Bruno: 36n, 100n, 121–22n10, 244n,

- Nardi, Bruno (*cont.*)
254n20, 260n, 262n31, 270–71n39, 286n,
288n, 293–94n7, 345n25, 387n75, 391–
92n81, 430n125, 451–52n155, 494–95n19,
494n, 495n21, 514n46, 524n1, 527n7
- Nasti, Paola: 513n45, 517n
- Nencioni, Giovanni: 300–301n17
- Nichols, Stephen G.: 297n12
- Nicolau, Mathieu G.: 306n
- Nohrnberg, James C.: 333n
- Novikoff, Alex: 65n, 486n10
- Nuzzi, Nicola: 91n10
- O’Connell Baur, Christine: 330n9
- O’H. Hahn, Thomas: 362n44
- Oerter, Herbert L.: 11n
- Olson, Kristina: 357–58n40
- Ombres, O.P., Robert: 449n
- Onesto da Bologna: 95
- Orlando, Sandro: 82n
- Orr, Mary Acworth: 245n
- Ortony, Andrew: 474n202
- Orvieto, Paolo: 233–34n29
- Ossola, Carlo: 340n, 430n125
- Ott, Christine: 541n
- Ottokar, Nicola: 10n
- Pacifico, Roberto: 425n119
- Padoan, Giorgio: 329n, 361n, 430n125, 506n,
524n1, 527n7
- Pagani, Ileana: 288n
- Pagliaro, Antonino: 124n13, 203n, 426n
- Pagliaro, Antonio: 284n55
- Palgen, Rudolf: 472n198
- Palmieri, Pantaleo: 365n49
- Panella, O.P., Emilio: 36n13, 40n21
- Panvini, Bruno: 83–84n2, 86n4, 299n16
- Paolazzi, Carlo: 532n12
- Paolini, Shirley J.: 42–43n28
- Paolucci, Anne: 335–36n15, 358–59n41, 382n,
391–92n81, 401n90, 430–31n126
- Paparelli, Gioacchino: 277n, 428n
- Pappalardo, Fernando: 100n
- Paradisi, Enrico: 239n
- Paradisi, Gioia: 457n163
- Paratore, Ettore: 444–45n149
- Park, Dabney G.: 16–17n16, 514n
- Parodi, Ernesto Giacomo: 467n186, 489n
- Pasero, Nicolò: 109n
- Pasi, Romano: 70n
- Pasquazi, Silvio: 383n71, 408n, 525n4
- Pasquini, Emilio: 28n3, 70n, 86n4, 151–52n55,
228n, 319n, 369n55, 418n, 472n198
- Pasquini, Laura: 335–336n15
- Pastore Stocchi, Manlio: 329n
- Paterson, Linda: 82n
- Paul (the Apostle): 190, 400n89, 425–26,
484n, 497, 497n23, 505n33, 510n
- Payton, Rodney J.: 332n13
- Pazzaglia, Mario: 118n5, 219n14, 307–8n26
- Pecoraro, Paolo: 245–46n11
- Peirone, Luigi: 133–34n, 156n65, 259n, 288n,
307n25, 329n, 364n47
- Pellegrini, Silvio: 82n, 177n
- Pellizzari, Achille: 92n
- Pelosi, Pietro: 95–96n16, 231–32n27
- Pépin, Jean: 243n
- Pequigney, Joseph: 332n13
- Pernicone, Vincenzo: 112n
- Peron, Gianfelice: 160n
- Perotti, Pier Angelo: 373n, 430–31n126,
441–42n144
- Perrus, Claude: 233–34n29
- Pertile, Lino: 28n2, 113n, 377n, 410n101,
430n125, 481n, 524n1, 531n, 538–39n
- Peter (the Apostle): 54n45, 480n
- Peter Damian: 164–65, 393–94n84
- Peter of Blois: 76, 76–77n2, 153
- Peterman, Larry: 402n
- Petrie, Jennifer: 8n, 201n9, 35n11, 42–43n28,
161n71, 260n, 410n101, 517n
- Petrocchi, Giorgio: 28n2, 45n32, 61–62n53,
185–86n15, 197n, 332n13, 339n19, 354n
- Petrucci, Armando: 483n7
- Pézard, André: 29n4, 332n13
- Pflaum, Hiram: 531n
- Phillimore, Catherine Mary: 70n
- Phillips-Robins, Helena: 403n93
- Piattoli, Renato: 30n6, 47n34, 52n42, 54n
- Pica, Maria: 112n, 325n3
- Picone, Michelangelo: 60n50, 82n, 83–84n2,
88n, 92, 112n, 133–34n, 156n65, 173n,
188n19, 200n, 229n23, 230–31n26, 243n,
270–71n39, 275–76n43, 301–2n18, 319n,
333n, 352n33, 363n, 442n, 529n530n9
- Pier delle Vigne: 87–89, 332n13, 443, 444n148,
445
- Pierantozzi, Decio: 91n10

- Pietro di Giovanni Olivi: 34–36
Pietrobono, Luigi: 527n7
Pinto, Raffaele: 277–78n45, 326–27n5
Pipa, Arshi: 194n
Pirastu, Annalisa: 335–36n15
Piroot, François: 82n
Pirovano, Donato: 95n16, 100n, 112n, 199n,
245–46n11, 351n32, 370n
Pispisa, Enrico: 15n
Placella, Vincenzo: 408n, 529–30n9
Poirier, Jean-Louis: 430n125
Polara, Giovanni: 212–13n4, 538–39n
Pollack, Tamara: 435–36n135
Poole, Gordon: 315n
Porena, Manfredi: 532n12
Porro, Pasquale: 76–77n2, 364n48, 383n71
Pound, Ezra: 100n
Praloran, Marco: 307–8n26, 464–65n180
Puccetti, Valter Leonardo: 119n
Pulega, Andrea: 230–31n26
Punzi, Arianna: 467n186
Purcell, William: 472–73n198
- Quaglio, Antonio Enzo: 86n4, 113n,
233–34n29
Quaglioni, Diego: 551n
Quartieri, Franco: 64n
Quilici, Brunetto: 330n9, 363n
- Rabuse, Georg: 249–50n15
Raczyńska, Alicja: 275–76n43
Raffa, Guy P.: 58n, 538–39n
Raffi, Alessandro: 290n
Raimondi, Ezio: 472n198
Rajna, Pio: 306n, 532n12
Ramacciotti, Mary Dominic: 133–34n
Rati, Giancarlo: 383n71
Ratzinger, Joseph: 449n
Ravasi, Gianfranco: 368–69n54
Ravaggi, Sergio: 4n
Rea, Roberto: 95n16, 161n71, 331n10, 417n,
418n
Reade, William Henry Vincent: 508n38
Rebuffat, Enrico: 333–34n, 417n
Reeves, Marjorie: 508n38
Reggio, Giovanni: 538–39n
Remigio de' Girolami: 36n13, 40–41, 497n
Renaudet, Augustin: 275–76n43
Renna, Thomas: 23n23
- Renouard, Yves: 23n23
Renucci, Paul: 275–76n43
Renzi, Lorenzo: 462n176, 470n191
Ricci, Corrado: 70n
Ricci, Pier Giorgio: 479n
Ricciardelli, Fabrizio: 54–55n
Richard of St. Victor: 432n, 433–34
Richards, Earl Jeffrey: 133–34n
Rigo, Paola: 484n
Rinaldi, Michele: 331n10
Rinaldo d'Aquino: 85–86
Ringger, Kurt: 439–40n143
Rivière, Jean: 510n
Rizzo, Gino: 361n
Robertson, Durant Waite, Jr.: 153n63
Robey, David: 464n179, 467n186
Robiglio, Andrea A.: 31–32n, 212–13n4, 215–
16n7, 236–38n, 259n27
Rohlf, Gerhard: 467n186
Rollo-Koster, Joelle: 23n23
Romano, Andrea: 379n66, 395n85
Roncaglia, Aurelio: 113n, 230n26
Ronconi, Alessandro: 212–13n4
Rosier-Catach, Irène: 292n
Rossi, Giuliano: 260n, 380n68, 397n, 410n101
Rossi, Luca Carlo: 133n, 330n8
Rossi, Luciano: 160n, 229n23
Rossini, Antonio: 374n
Rotundo, Emmanuele: 517n
Rubinstein, Nicolai: 259n
Ruffini, Francesco: 330n9, 363n
Rupp, Teresa Pugh: 12n
Russell, Anthony Presti: 205n38
Russell, Jeffrey Burton: 335–36n15
Russo, Florence: 65n, 423n, 486n10
Russo, Vittorio: 36n, 113n, 215n, 313–14n,
332n13, 391–92n81, 400n
Rustico di Filippo: 95, 233
Ruzicka, David Edward: 542n
Ryan, Christopher J.: 36–37n13, 368–69n54,
383n71, 410n
Ryan, Lawrence V.: 439–40n143
Ryden, Edmund: 478n209
- Sabbatino, Pasquale: 340n, 452n156
Salerno, Franco: 428n
Salsano, Fernando: 277n, 437n139
Salvemini, Gaetano: 12n
Sanfilippo, Mario: 9n9

- Sangirardi, Giuseppe: 118n5
Sanguinetti, Edoardo: 96n17
Santagata, Marco: 65n, 173, 181n10, 317–18n,
360n, 484n
Santangelo, Giorgio: 331n12, 390n79
Santangelo, Salvatore: 82n, 86n4, 88n
Sarteschi, Selene: 42–43n28, 160n, 219n, 360n,
447–48n, 461n171
Sasso, Gennaro: 197n, 239n, 244n, 270–71n39,
290n, 292n, 297n12, 427n7, 447–48n,
527n7
Savarese, Gennaro: 233–34n29
Savino, Giancarlo: 21n
Sbacchi, Diego: 188n19, 344–45n24
Scafi, Alessandro: 524n1
Scariati, Irene Maffia: 140n, 228n
Schiaffini, Alfredo: 279n48, 288n, 300–301n17,
306n, 461n170
Schildgen, Brenda Deen: 362n44, 461n172
Schnapp, Jeffrey T.: 449n
Scholz, Richard: 510n
Schwertsik, Peter: 31–32n
Sciuto, Italo: 390n79, 495n21
Scott, John A.: 6n4, 7n, 173n, 243n9, 286n,
338n, 341n, 423n, 429n14, 430n125, 451–
52n155, 497n, 529–30n9
Scott, Stan: 391–92n81
Scrimieri, Rosario: 224n, 301–2n18
Scrivano, Riccardo: 351n32, 482n4
Sears, Elizabeth: 387n75
Sebastio, Leonardo: 124–25n14, 133–34n
Segre, Cesare: 254n21, 279–80n48
Seitschek, Gisela: 154n, 243n
Semola, Mariangela: 439–40n143
Seriacopi, Massimo: 447–48n, 482n4
Sertillanges, Antonin Gilbert: 355–56n38
Sesini, Ugo: 305n, 307–8n26, 464–65n180
Shapiro, Marianne: 288n
Shaw, James Eustace: 100n, 173n, 249–50n15
Sheehan, David: 249–50n15, 444–45n149
Shogimen, Takashi: 497n
Silverstein, Theodore: 486n10, 506n
Silvestrini, Flavio: 511n
Simonelli, Maria Picchio: 108n33, 196n,
230–31n26, 237–38n3
Singleton, Charles S.: 173n, 196n, 243n
Skinner, Quentin: 31–32n
Sluiter, Ineke: 311–12n29
Smith, James Robinson: 28n2
Solerti, Angelo: 28n2
Somelli, Lorenzo: 307–8n26
Sorabji, Richard: 385n
Soskice, Janet Martin: 472–73n198
Sowell, Madison U.: 472n197
Spagnolo, Luigi: 310n
Speer, Andreas: 252n18
Spera, Francesco: 338n, 340n, 367n52,
445–46n151
Spitzer, Leo: 444–45n149
Spongano, Raffaele: 95n16
Squillaciotti, Paolo: 352n33
Stanghellini, Menotti: 233–34n29
Starn, Randolph: 54–55n
Stefanini, Ruggiero: 233–34n29
Steinberg, Justin: 177n
Stepanova, Larissa G.: 197n12
Stephany, William A.: 426n
Stierle, Karlheinz: 360n
Stramara, Daniel F.: 375–76n61
Sturm-Maddox, Sara: 228n
Tambling, Jeremy: 420n113, 423n
Tanturli, Giuliano: 229n21
Tartaro, Achille: 26n, 65n57, 161n71, 369n55,
452–53n156
Tateo, Francesco: 189n, 344–45n24, 438n142,
470n190, 472n198
Tavoni, Mirko: 196n, 239n, 306n,
445–46n151
Taylor, Robert Longley: 464n179
Terni, Clemente: 307–8n26
Terracini, Aron Benvenuto: 291n4
Terracini, Benvenuto: 181n10, 291n4
Tesi, Riccardo: 291n5, 296n10
Teske, Roland J.: 512–13n44
Tholemy of Lucca: 509
Thomas Aquinas: 36, 267n, 274n, 355, 405n,
410n101, 449n, 478
Thompson, David: 361n, 506n, 507n36
Thorp, John: 419n
Tierney, Brian: 510n41
Tillich, Paul: *xix*
Todorović, Jelena: 180n, 184n, 212–13n4
Toja, Gianluigi: 84n3
Tomazzoli, Gaia: 472–73n198
Tonelli, Natascia: 195n, 211n2, 220n15, 319n

- Took, John: 42–43n28, 112n, 133n, 231–32n27,
255–56n22, 326–27n15, 351n31, 362n,
454n159, 503n
- Topsfield, Leslie T.: 82n
- Torraca, Francesco: 97–98n18
- Toscano, Tobia R.: 357–58n40
- Tosti-Croce, Mauro: 24n, 65n
- Toynbee, Paget Jackson: 28n2, 71n, 483n7,
489n
- Traina, Maria Rita: 210n
- Trottmann, Christian: 518n51
- Trovato, Mario: 259n27
- Turner, Denys: 267n
- Turner, Ralph V.: 330n9, 363n
- Tuve, Rosemond: 153n63
- Ubertino da Casale: 16–17n16, 34–35, 34–36,
354–55n36
- Ugolini, Francesco: 86n4
- Ullmann, Walter: 510n
- Ureni, Paola: 461n173
- Utley, Francis L.: 153n63
- Valency, Maurice: 82n
- Valesio, Paolo: 464n179
- Vallone, Aldo: 133–34n24, 183n, 229n23, 279–
80n48, 367n52, 373n, 510n, 538–39n20
- Valterza, Lorenzo: 119n, 324–25n2, 348n
- Vanasco, Rocco R.: 230–31n26
- Vanossi, Luigi: 133–34n, 151–52n55, 156n65
- Varanini, Gian Maria: 527–28n7
- Varanini, Giorgio: 64n, 329n
- Varela-Portas de Orduña, Juan: 58n, 315n2,
360n, 472n197
- Vasina, Augusto: 70n
- Vasoli, Cesare: 36n13, 245–46n11, 259n27
- Vattimo, Gianni: 283–84n54
- Vazzana, Steno: 328n, 423n, 444–45n149,
472n197
- Vecce, Carlo: 181–82n11
- Vecchi Galli, Paola: 463n
- Venturi, Luigi: 472n197
- Vescovini, Graziella Federici: 245–46n11
- Veselovskij, Aleksandr N.: 423n
- Vilella, Eduard: 219–20n14
- Villa, Claudia: 538–39n
- Villa, Marianna: 451–52n155
- Vinay, Gustavo: 288n, 479n, 488n
- Vincent, Eric R.: 460n167
- Virgil: 275–76n43, 304n, 330n9, 336–37,
364n47, 388, 399, 408, 443, 470n190, 489,
505, 538
- Vitto, Cindy L.: 330n9, 361n
- Watt, John A.: 510n, 513n45
- Watt, Mary Alexandra: 242n
- Wawrykow, Joseph P.: 455n
- Wei Wei, Yeo: 360n
- Weiss, Roberto: 275–76n43
- Werge, Thomas: 388n77
- West, Simon: 100n, 124–25n14
- Whatley, Gordon: 364n47
- Wheelock, James: 464n179
- White, Hugh: 352
- Whitman, Jon: 529–30n9
- Wicksteed, Philip H.: 3n, 28n2, 36–37n13, 71n,
449n, 527–28n7, 538–39n
- Wieruszowski, Helene: 31–32n, 249–50n15
- Wilhelm, James J.: 84n3
- Wilkins, Ernest Hatch: 87n6, 97–98n18
- Wilks, Michael J.: 510n
- Williams, Pamela: 351n32, 410n101
- Wilson, Robert: 481n
- Wlassics, Tibor: 463n177
- Wolfzettel, Friedrich: 197n
- Wood, Charles: 510n
- Zaccarello, Michelangelo: 119n, 231–32n27,
234–35n29
- Zambon, Francesco: 196n28, 370–71n56
- Zampese, Cristina: 187–88n18
- Zanni, Raffaella: 36n13, 298n14
- Ziegler, Joseph: 260n
- Zingarelli, Nicola: 460n167
- Zini, Alfredo: 365n49
- Zorzi, Andrea: 26n