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Exile as evidence of civic identity in Florence in the time of Dante: some examples*

by Fabrizio Ricciardelli

1. The sense of civic identity

«Now tell me, would man on earth be in a worse condition if he were not a citizen? Yes, I replied, and here I seek no proof»¹. Dante answers Carlo Martello in the *Divina Commedia* without a shadow of hesitation, revealing, by the importance that he attaches to citizenship, his view of the city as the fundamental and typical form of human association. Civic consciousness, indeed, pervaded the whole literary oeuvre of the Florentine poet, and its relevance in the most important Italian literary source of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is no accident; it shows just how strongly rooted in the mentality of people the idea of the city was². The word *città*, in fact, is a keyword not only in the *Divina Commedia*, but in the entire period in which Central and Northern Italian cities were at their apogee³, when Florence was one of the largest and most powerful ones⁴.

In Florence, as elsewhere, the cosmopolitan outlook of merchants, ready to cross borders to reach unknown destinations, contrasted with the close feeling of municipal belonging. Being a citizen of a Central and Northern Italian city-state meant combining a strong involvement in the life of the *consorteria* or clan to which one belonged with an open mentality keen to investigate the world's curiosities. A fundamental element which was at the basis of the collective identity of the Italian communes was the shared awareness of their inhabitants of belonging to the same urban reality in which reciprocal ties and interests bound the citizens together, for better or worse. In the development of this awareness an important role was played by the chroniclers⁵, whose narratives stressed the relationship between the new *civitas* and the memory of the past, favouring the growth of a municipal spirit which in the course of the fourteenth century would beget the myth of *Florentina libertas*⁶.

The *civitas*, in fact, was associated with the idea of freedom, of which the city-republic of Florence was, according to the myth, first the originator, and later the jealous protector⁷. And this civic awareness was reinforced by the fact that the city had undergone in the span of little more than a century, from

the beginning of the thirteenth century to the first decades of the fourteenth, an economic and demographic expansion that permitted it to become the dominant power in Tuscany⁸.

Nevertheless, persistent internal political conflicts within the ruling class, in which the prize sought by opposing parties was the lion's share of political power, became part of this otherwise dazzling general context. A conspicuous and enduring feature of life in Florence in this period was the violent struggle for political supremacy between wealthy families, which accompanied the extraordinary economic growth and the equally extraordinary achievements in literature and the arts. Although in theory these struggles should have destroyed the common civic identity, they did not succeed in eradicating the civic passion and love for freedom to which literary records bear witness. Observing the Florentine political scene in the time of Dante, it is possible to perceive continuous divisions between social classes, caused by contrasting political programmes and courses of action, but it is also possible to register the strong sense of belonging that emerged when a citizen was banned by the society of which he was a member. In fact, although these internal conflicts led to the systematic exclusion of the defeated political party⁹, paradoxically this exclusion did not destroy the spirit of civic identity in those subjected to it, because the hope of every exile was to return home, to come back to a world of shared values, and this hope, which was generally disappointed, is evidence of a common identity upon which the city was founded¹⁰.

In a commune a citizen could be excluded when he took sides, but if he stayed out of the fray, it generally meant that he was not a citizen in the fullest sense. The history of the Italian communes is articulated around the awareness that the destiny of each individual was indissolubly linked to that of his household, with a cascade effect that as a consequence each member of the family was involved, even if he did not take part actively in the political struggle¹¹. Internal strife in the political sphere, as remarked above, did not destroy the strong sense of belonging of those who were part of the city, because a defining feature of these divisions was the recognition by every citizen that thanks to its communal form of government Florence was a free city. These bonds, already existent in the consular period, were strengthened during the period of the *podestà* and then during the period of the government of the *popolo*, in whose name the collective interest survived despite lacerating internal conflicts. Every city could be divided into opposing factions, just as easily as it could be united when fighting against a common external enemy. This is because within these struggles lurks the virus of antagonism between lineages, which were at the same time united by strong ties of solidarity and divided by the contingencies of politics¹². The contradictions inherent in these struggles are exemplified by the conflict between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines (1215-1269)¹³, the magnates and the *popolo* (1282-1295)¹⁴, and the Whites and the Blacks (1295-1313)¹⁵.

According to Florentine public law, in fact, civil rights were not innate to men, because men acquired them by becoming citizens of a state. Thus, the

loss of membership of a civic community, mostly caused by internal conflicts between two political groups, was generally regarded as a matter of extreme gravity. In the language of factional strife, concepts of friendship and enmity played a fundamental role, and observing these conflicts and the political exclusion to which they gave rise (in the case of the Guelfs and Ghibellines and Whites and Blacks it was complete. In the case of the magnates and the *popolo* it involved a ban on holding public office) we see clear evidence that at the root of these conflicts lay both the desire of individual citizens to defend their identity and that of lineages to defend their honour within a political society¹⁶.

2. Violence and exclusion

Even though this is not the place to engage in a detailed analysis of the principal events which dictated the course of politics in Dante's Florence, it will be enough to point out that following factional strife the first and second exclusion of the Guelfs took place in 1240 and 1248, followed by that of the Ghibellines in 1251 and 1258, by that of the Guelfs again in 1260, and by that of the Ghibellines again in the period between 1268 and 1269¹⁷. The events which culminated in the exclusions of 1302 and 1313 have numerous important features, but what is important to underline in this discussion is the crisis of personal identity caused by these exclusions, which obliterated the essential traits of the individual citizen who, once banned, was compelled to search for another place in which to live, a new world in which to insert himself¹⁸.

During the thirteenth century Florence was scarred by a series of political exclusions which illustrate the devastating impact that the political use of the ban could have on a losing faction, forced by public decree to abandon the urban community that was their home, but whose political life was now dominated by their victorious opponents. To speak of exclusion during the communal period, therefore, is to speak of the penalty of the ban, because through the political use of the ban the dominant parties in the city-republics struck at their political opponents in moments of particular tension¹⁹. To speak of the ban, which could be revoked in particular moments²⁰, is to speak of that political instrument by means of which the political élite were vanquished and removed from their own city, of that political instrument by means of which the public vendetta was consummated, once the street fighting was over²¹.

The ban gave the victorious faction the legal power to remove the losing one, and it is probably for this reason that at the end of the thirteenth century the governors of the Florentine republic paid much attention to the matter. On 24 October 1286, for instance, the commune established the *sindacato* for the sale of the goods of exiles²² – this law was reaffirmed on 4 January 1287²³ –, and the very fact that such a magistracy was created to sell the confiscated goods of those who suffered political exclusion shows that these properties were considerable, and that it was necessary to rationalize their administration²⁴. With a similar purpose in mind, the commune, with a law of 3 August 1294,

instituted a register in which the names of all those who had been banished by Florence had to be recorded²⁵, and it is obvious that within it not merely the names of those who had committed minor offences, but also the names of those condemned for political reasons would have been inscribed²⁶. On the other hand, the rationalization of public order went hand in hand with the need to regulate the exclusion of those whom the government considered to be undesirable persons, because these last, like those who suffered political ban, were condemned on the basis of criminal charges²⁷.

Political exclusion was one of the peculiar aspects of Florentine public life, and the frequency of this practice at the time of Dante can help us to discern the existence of a common identity, linked to strong values and reinforced when people were overtaken by such a fate²⁸. The condition of those who suffered political exclusion, deprived of their native country, produced extraordinary echoes in literature, and the connection between this evidence and the political context, permits one to analyse the social repercussions on popular mentality as a perfect mirror in which the existence of a common civic identity can be detected²⁹. Exclusion from the community was more than a judgement passed on the political importance of the individuals who suffered it, because it was precisely a damning verdict on the identity of the families from which they came. Exile as a historical condition of exclusion from a particular local context for political reasons was a far from uncommon feature of the lives of citizens in the communes in the second half of the thirteenth century³⁰.

3. *Voices from outside*

Notaries, for instance, are a particularly good case of this, because from the second half of the thirteenth century these professional figures, thanks to their mastery of language, became the symbol and the cornerstone of communal identity³¹, and they became the mouthpiece of social hierarchies, regulating with their work, economic, ethical and political relationships in the cities in which they lived³². The example *par excellence* of this phenomenon in the Florentine environment is certainly that of Brunetto Latini, son of a notary and a notary himself, a man who dedicated the majority of his literary works to the defence of his city, the city that had excluded him. At the end of the 1250's, the city government, seriously threatened by imperial troops and Ghibellines, had sent Brunetto as representative of the commune to ask the King of Castile for help, but news of the Guelf defeat at Montaperti (1260), which reached him *en route*, deprived him and his political associates of the possibility of returning to the city. Brunetto was expelled from his city for six years in France, where he continued to practise his profession as a notary between Paris, Bar-sur-Aube and Arras³³. He survived by drawing up loan agreements entered into by his fellow exiles, but he also began working, during his period of exclusion, on the three books of the *Tresor*, from which one learns that the citizen's love for his own city has to be understood by politicians as fundamental to the stability of government³⁴. We know from the

chronicler Giovanni Villani how much Brunetto contributed to the education of Florentines, teaching them to guide and to rule their republic «according to policy»³⁵, because according to him love of the city, guaranteed by politicians, had to be based on the fundamental values of civic culture, and it had to be renewed, in the name of the common identity, by the interaction between power and the citizens³⁶. The primary task of every governor, wrote the Florentine notary, was the maintenance of consensus among the citizens, to whom politicians had to guarantee that common customs would be respected; and the preservation of this equilibrium would be the best way to ensure that respect³⁷. Back in Florence after the victory of Carlo d'Angiò at Benevento in 1266, Brunetto was appointed to a series of important offices by the Guelf commune such as *expromissor* and *malleador*, prior of Porta del Duomo and city chancellor, and even if the experience of exclusion had deeply marked him, he did not disregard his city's expectations, accepting these offices and continuing to sustain the view that belonging to a city-republic, «a union of people made to live according to reason»³⁸, was an unqualified good³⁹.

Even in the so-called minor literature we can trace some useful evidence relevant to the argument, such as the case of Monte di Andrea da Firenze, expelled from Florence in 1268, whose name appears on the list of those who lived in the parish of Santa Maria sopr'Arno⁴⁰. He wrote some *tenzoni* in memory of Florence, some verses, inspired by a deep love of his own city, written following the Ghibelline defeat which forced him to live in Bologna, where he remained until 1274⁴¹. It is here that he presumably composed some of his poems, and in one of them there is a dialogue between five defenders of different views about the war waged by Carlo d'Angiò, in the course of which the author refers to his circumstances as an exile, unjustly excluded from his own civic environment⁴². Behind his elegant writing, quite academic and similar to a literary exercise, is hidden the regret at having had to abandon his own native land and his own identity as a citizen⁴³. Another testimony is that of the Ghibelline poet Schiatta di messer Albizzo Pallavillani⁴⁴, a Florentine from the *sesto* (sixth) of San Piero Gattolino, expelled, like Monte di Andrea, following the publication of the list of proscribed Florentines that was drawn up on the orders of Carlo d'Angiò in 1268⁴⁵. He wrote some sonnets, two of them focusing on the privilege of citizenship as a supreme good which even any sort of exclusion is unable to nullify⁴⁶.

Following the exclusions of the 1260's, the *popolo* reinforced its political position within the commune, and in addition to the conflict between the Guelf and the Ghibelline nobility, the struggle between magnates and *popolani* broke out⁴⁷. At first, the contest between *milites* and *populus* had the characteristics of a social and economic conflict of interests, and of a violent confrontation between two sides which had chosen to have recourse to arms to achieve their political objectives; these were struggles between social groups of different formation and composition, even though they were complicated by family rivalries and party divisions⁴⁸. The progressive rise of popular families into the ruling class of the Florentine commune – a phenomenon which culminated in

the establishment of the priorate of the guilds in 1282⁴⁹ – represented a social change in the city's political equilibrium, because the political class was now composed not merely of members of the old consular families (represented by Guelfs and Ghibellines), but of representatives of a new galaxy of families, composite and heterogeneous, of mercantile origin⁵⁰. Following the decline of the social predominance of the *milites*, *nobiles* and *domini*, represented by the Guelfs and Ghibellines, representatives of the *popolo* began to regularly hold positions of power and responsibility in government; now the conflict took on a new meaning, of which the first laws against the magnates provide eloquent testimony⁵¹. The conflict became less of a class struggle, more of a contest between individuals, because the knightly nobility, on the whole, was no longer seen as a formidable social group, even though individual nobles or noble families could still pose a dangerous threat⁵².

The first Florentine measures against magnates, which were intended to control urban violence – violence produced by factional divisions and armed struggles between groups contending for power –, were an essential element in the *popolo's* political strategy of definitively establishing its supremacy within the commune⁵³. This was achieved by obliging the magnates to pledge security with the commune, but the violent behaviour that distinguished the magnates was nothing less than an element that served to distinguish them socially and to classify their identity⁵⁴. In any case, the criteria used to define the magnates were not all that precise, because among the families compelled to pledge security were some who were part of the commercial oligarchy that dominated the priorate of the guilds during the first decade of its existence⁵⁵. The *Ordinamenti di giustizia*, in other words, called into question the very identity of communal experience as a political laboratory in which social discipline had to be combined with the preservation of an open criticism of institutions⁵⁶.

Remigio de' Girolami's analyses of the city's discords, used by him as a starting-point of his work, are an example of this⁵⁷. The Florentine Dominican theologian argued, especially in *De bono communi*⁵⁸, that the principal goal of peace was to preserve the common identity of the citizens, because every individual, born to live with his fellow men, cannot be considered a man if he is separated from his city⁵⁹. To be a citizen, in other words, was for Remigio not only good, but necessary, because man was considered, according to Aristotle, a civil animal by nature, an animal who could find the good life only in the *polis*, for there alone could he realize his potential⁶⁰. Remigio's sermons, nevertheless, did not have any political impact; on the contrary, they were followed by the beginning of the conflict between the Whites and the Blacks, an internal fight within the victorious Guelf party, which complicated still further a political scene hitherto dominated by the struggle between magnates and *popolo*⁶¹. With the division of the pro-papal party, it became clear that Remigio's idea of a citizen as a patriot filled with a love derived from a sense of belonging to an urban community, had failed to convince his listeners and his readers⁶².

Before its denouement, which occurred in 1302, the conflict between Whites and Blacks had produced numerous moments of tension⁶³, one of which was certainly Guido Cavalcanti's confinement to Sarzana, located between Tuscany and Liguria. Guido was a member of a blazoned Florentine family which belonged to the old feudal nobility, and which was at that point, like so many others, in open conflict with the *popolo*⁶⁴. The new communal ruling class, in fact, was composed both of the old feudal nobility, of which Guido was a member, and the so-called new *bourgeoisie*, which had its roots in representatives of the guilds. The personal story of Guido Cavalcanti, who was at the same time a poet and a politician, helps us to understand how important factional alignments were in Florentine political life at the end of the thirteenth century, and how membership of a party could influence the relationship between the identity of an individual citizen and the wider community to which he belonged⁶⁵.

Cavalcanti's lineage was allied with the White Guelfs, namely with the Cerchi family, so that Guido played an active part in Florence's turbulent political life until the *Ordinamenti di giustizia*, promoted by Giano della Bella in 1293, which excluded from public office the representatives of the old nobility⁶⁶. The movement against the magnates was followed by internal strife within the Guelf élite, strife that in 1300 provoked the reaction of the communal government, which impartially excluded the representatives of both political factions⁶⁷. Among those who suffered exclusion from their city was Guido Cavalcanti, who, as a politician, could testify to the sufferings about which his imagination had only been able to speculate, and as a poet could bear eloquent witness to the wounds inflicted by the condition of exile⁶⁸. Guido Cavalcanti's misfortune, in other words, helps to bring into focus the frame of mind of someone forced to undergo separation from his birthplace, whose private life was badly damaged, and who had to exchange the security of his civic life for fear and precariousness⁶⁹.

While the internal strife between nobility and *popolo* continued to spread, Carlo di Valois entered Florence, tipping the balance of power in favour of the Blacks, whose attempt to win a dominant position in the city was heavily supported by Boniface VIII⁷⁰. Between January and October 1302 the representatives of the Florentine nobility who were Whites or Ghibellines were expelled from the city, and while the more radical Guelf elements also condemned a very considerable number of *popolani*, who had embraced the «wrong cause», serious attempts were made to define the new civic identity in terms of the new political order⁷¹. The charges of «*fraudem, falsitatem, dolum vel malitiam, baracteriam vel illicitum extorsionum*» or «*maleficia*» included all crimes associated with the holding of public office and with intrigues and sedition against the commune and the Guelf Party⁷².

«Many wicked sins», wrote the chronicler Dino Compagni, «were committed against virgin women; children were robbed; helpless men were despoiled of their goods and driven from their city. The victors passed many ordinances, as many as they wanted and of whatever sort and in whatever form.

Many men were accused, and it was in their interest to confess to conspiracy, even though they had done nothing, and they were fined a thousand florins each. Those who did not come to defend themselves were charged nonetheless, and were condemned in their persons and their goods for contumacy. Those who obeyed the summons, paid the fine; and then, accused of new crimes, were expelled from Florence without the slightest compassion»⁷³.

The penalties were written in the language of violence, with the defamatory tones of blame and condemnation, because the wretched men, «desperati et masnaderii et homines male conditionis et fame», who were purged from Florence, lived in closer proximity – as the historian Isidoro del Lungo wrote – to the «thorns» than to the «flower», persecuted as they were for the rest of their days⁷⁴. Those who tried to oppose this wave of persecution with legal arguments were overcome and defeated, as happened, for instance, to Dino Compagni, sentenced to confinement but not expelled from the city because he claimed immunity as an ex-prior⁷⁵. The chronicler often returned to the subject of the civic values of the common good and peace as essential elements of a common civic identity, and even if he acknowledged that those ingredients had been dangerously put at risk by party interests, when discussing the government of the *popolo* and his own love of the city he asserted that «those who spoke badly of them were lying», and he added that they had acted for «the common good and the well-being of the republic»⁷⁶.

The course of Dante Alighieri's life, a man with a partisan spirit who was deeply involved in the city's factional struggles, is connected, as is well known, with these events, events in which a conspicuous number of Florentine citizens experienced, as Dante did, the violation of their civic identity, the confiscation of their goods, the demolition of their houses and expulsion from their community⁷⁷. The condition of exile was for Dante a source of literary inspiration, but it was also testimony to a mentality based on the common values of the *civitas*⁷⁸. The condition of the «exul inmeritus», as Dante often described himself in the *Epistole*, entirely conditioned his literary production, but despite the bitter grief the expulsion from his city caused him, he never sought to denigrate his own identity as a citizen, as emerges clearly from the letter, rich in advice, that he addressed to the «scelleratissimis Florentinis intrinsecis»⁷⁹. The sense of belonging to a well-defined and comforting community was one of the key elements in Dante's literary work⁸⁰. Before the rift between Guelfs and Ghibellines, «Florence, within her ancient ring of walls [...] lived in tranquillity»⁸¹, and even when he was in exile, the poet continued to think of Florence as a model city robbed of her civic unity by internal strife and factions based on blood ties⁸². His ancestor Cacciaguida's description of Florence in the *Paradiso* is an idealized picture of the city, through which the poet emphasises, in a nostalgic tone, that man has to live subject to the precepts of city life and citizenship, in order to participate fully in a common civic identity, that implied, however, common civic obligations⁸³. The old Florentine who could be a good citizen, as well as a good Christian, was lucky, and the hope of returning «to a citizen's life so peaceful and so fair, to

a community so loyal, to so sweet a dwelling-place» was for Dante associated with the conviction that the good city, with its ancient identity, was the only place for a man to live⁸⁴. Exile, with its catastrophic effects on a man's life, was not able to erase the positive value of the city-state, and the recognition of Dante as a witness to the city's political identity is found in Giovanni Villani's words, who wrote in his chronicle that in 1321 there died in Ravenna «in exile from the commune of Florence, at about LVI years, [a] great writer excelling in almost every branch of knowledge, even though he was a layman [...], to whom it is right to give an everlasting memorial in this chronicle, although his noble works, which are left to us in written form, bear true witness to him, and confer honourable fame on our city»⁸⁵.

Note

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¹ «Or di: sarebbe il peggio per l'uomo in terra, se non fosse cive? Sì rispuos'io; e qui ragion non cheggio»: Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*, ed. by F. Chiappelli, Milano 1965, *Paradiso*, VIII, lines 115-117.

² J. Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300-1450*, London–New York 1996, pp. 148-161.

³ This concept has been developed by G. Cherubini, *Le città italiane dell'età di Dante*, Pisa 1991, especially pp. 22-26. In the same perspective, cf. S. A. Epstein, *Urban society*, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, V, ed. by D. Abulafia, Cambridge 1999, pp. 26-37. For a well-documented study on the matter, cf. M. Ginatempo–L. Sandri, *L'Italia delle città. Il popolamento urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento (secoli XIII-XVI)*, Firenze 1990.

⁴ G. Cherubini, *Firenze nell'età di Dante*, in *Pistoia e la Toscana nel Medioevo*, ed. by E. Vannucchi, Pistoia 1997, pp. 167-180. For a general outline on Florence at the time of Dante, cf., among the others, E. Sestan, *Dante e Firenze*, in Id., *Italia medievale*, Napoli 1966, pp. 270-291; G. Cherubini, *La Firenze di Dante e di Giovanni Villani*, in Id., *Scritti toscani. L'urbanesimo medievale e la mezzadria*, Firenze 1991, pp. 35-51; and J. M. Najemy, *Dante and Florence*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, ed. by R. Jacoff, Cambridge 1993, pp. 80-99.

⁵ A. Zorzi, *Politica e giustizia a Firenze al tempo degli Ordinamenti antimagnatizi*, in *Ordinamenti di giustizia fiorentini. Studi in occasione del VII centenario*, ed. by V. Arrighi, Firenze 1995, pp. 136-138.

⁶ The analysis of which is in A. Brown, *The Language of Empire*, in *Florentine Tuscany. Structure and Practices of Power*, ed. by W. J. Connell–A. Zorzi, Cambridge 2000, pp. 32-47 [Italian edition *Il linguaggio dell'impero*, in *Lo stato territoriale fiorentino (secoli XIV-XV). Ricerche, linguaggi, confronti*, ed. by A. Zorzi–W. Connell, Pisa 2001, pp. 255-270]. On the same matter, cf. A. Brown, *Smascherare il repubblicanesimo rinascimentale*, in *Politica e cultura nelle repubbliche italiane dal Medioevo all'età moderna*. Firenze, Genova, Lucca, Siena, Venezia, ed. by S. Adorni Braccesi–M. Ascheri, Roma 2001, pp. 109-133.

⁷ This concept has been analysed in F. Ricciardelli, *La città comunale italiana: forme, demografia, organizzazione politica*, in "Annali aretini", VIII-IX (2000-2001), pp. 323-348, especially pp. 323-327.

⁸ Cf. M. Luzzati, *Firenze e la Toscana nel Medioevo. Seicento anni per la costituzione di uno Stato*, Torino 1986, pp. 103-164; L. Green, *Florence*, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, V, ed. by D. Abulafia, Cambridge 1999, pp. 479-496; and Id., *Florence and the Republican Tradition*, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, VI, ed. by M. Jones, Cambridge 2000, pp. 469-487. A recent analysis of Florentine communal period has been written by S. Raveggi, *La lotta politica e sociale*, in *Storia della Civiltà toscana. 1. Comuni e Signorie*, Firenze 2000, pp. 117-136, while the evolution towards the *Principato* has been developed by A. Zorzi, *Politica e istituzioni in Toscana tra fine Trecento e primo Cinquecento*, in *Storia della Civiltà toscana. 2. Il Rinascimento*, Firenze 2001, pp. 3-48.

⁹ F. Ricciardelli, *Notes on the causes and consequences of political exclusion in late medieval Italy*, in "Italian History and Culture", 8 (2002), pp. 35-50.

¹⁰ On the fashioning of city memory, cf. N. Rubinstein, *The beginning of Political Thought in Florence. A Study in Medieval Historiography*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes" (1942), pp. 198-227; D. Weinstein, *The Myth of Florence*, in *Florentine Studies. Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by N. Rubinstein, London 1968, pp. 15-44; S. Raveggi, *Tracce carolingie a Firenze*, in *Sulle orme di Orlando. Leggende e luoghi carolingi in Italia*, ed. by A. I. Galletti–R. Roda, Padova 1987, pp. 167-177; A. Benvenuti, «Secondo che raccontano le storie»: *il mito delle origini cittadine nella Firenze comunale*, in *Il senso della storia nella cultura medievale italiana (1100-1350)*, Pistoia 1995, pp. 205-252; Id., *Introduzione e Orientamenti bibliografici*, in H. C. Peyer, *Città e santi patroni nell'Italia medievale* [1955], Firenze 1998, pp. 7-27 and 29-37; J.P. Leguay, *Urban life*, in *The New Cambridge*, VI, ed. by M. Jones, Cambridge 2000, pp. 102-123; P. Pirillo, *Firenze: il vescovo e la città nell'Alto Medioevo*, in *Vescovo e città nell'alto Medioevo: quadri generali e realtà toscane*, ed. by G. Francesconi, Pistoia 2001, pp. 179-201.

¹¹ There has been extended discussion on this problem, on which cf. J. Heers, *Il clan familiare nel Medioevo* [1974], Napoli 1976; Id., *Partiti e vita politica nell'Occidente medievale* [1977], Milano 1983; O. Raggio, *La politica nella parentela. Conflitti locali e commissari in Liguria orientale (secoli XVI-XVII)*, in "Quaderni storici", 63 (1986), pp. 721-757; Id., *Faide e parentele. Lo stato genovese visto dalla Fontanabuona*, Torino 1990; A. Zorzi, *Conflits et pratiques infrajudiciaires dans les formations politiques italiennes du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, in *L'infrajudiciaire du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, ed. by B. Garnot, Dijon 1996, pp. 19-36; E. Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance*, Baltimore-London 1998², pp. 38-49. For a comparison, cf. A. Gamberini, *La faida e la costruzione della parentela. Qualche nota sulle famiglie signorili reggiane alla fine del Medioevo*, in "Società e Storia", XXIV, 94 (2001), pp. 659-677.

¹² On magnates as a social group addicted to private violence and as a threat to public order, cf. Heers, *Il clan familiare nel Medioevo*, pp. 175-226. For the assertion of the importance of the role of the family for an analysis of Italian factional conflict, cf. P. Cammarosano, *Aspetti delle strutture familiari nelle città dell'Italia comunale (secoli XII-XIV)*, in "Studi medievali", XVI (1975), pp. 417-435; G. Ortalli, *La famiglia tra la realtà dei gruppi inferiori e la mentalità dei gruppi dominanti a Bologna nel XIII secolo*, in *Famiglia e parentela nell'Italia medievale*, ed. by G. Duby-J. Le Goff, Bologna 1981, pp. 125-143; D. Barthélemy, *La parentela*, in *La vita privata dal feudalesimo al Rinascimento*, ed. by P. Ariès-G. Duby, Bari 1987, pp. 71-129; G. Delille, *Marriage, faction and conflict in sixteenth-century Italy: an example and a few questions*, in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650*, ed. by T. Dean-K. J. P. Lowe, Cambridge 1998, pp. 155-173; and the recent E. Igor Moneo, *Nobiltà di Stato. Famiglie e identità aristocratiche nel tardo medioevo*, Roma 2001. For the case of Florence, cf. E. Pispisa, *Lotte sociali e concetto di nobiltà a Firenze nella seconda metà del Duecento*, in "Studi medievali", XXXVIII (1997), pp. 439-463.

¹³ On this period, cf. S. Raveggi, *Il regime ghibellino*, in S. Raveggi, M. Tarassi, D. Medici, P. Parenti, *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso. I detentori del potere politico nella seconda metà del Duecento*, Firenze 1978, pp. 13-68.

¹⁴ On this period, cf. D. Medici, *I primi dieci anni del priorato*, in Raveggi [et alii], *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, pp. 167-237 and C. Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates. Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune*, Princeton, New Jersey 1991, pp. 192-211.

¹⁵ On the division between the Whites and the Blacks, cf. I. Del Lungo, *I Bianchi e i Neri. Pagine di storia fiorentina da Bonifacio VIII ad Arrigo VII per la vita di Dante*, Milano 1921, pp. 5-11 and A. Zorzi, *La faida Cerchi-Donati*, in Id., *La trasformazione di un quadro politico. Ricerche su politica e giustizia a Firenze dal comune allo Stato territoriale*, Firenze 1995, pp. 60-86. On the descent into Italy of Henry VII of Luxemburg, cf. W. B. Bowsky, *Florence and Henry of Luxemburg, King of Romans, the Rebirth of Guelfism*, in "Speculum", XXXIII, 2 (1958), pp. 177-203 and Id., *Henry VII in Italy. The Conflict of Empire and City-State, 1310-1313*, Lincoln, Nebraska 1960, especially Chapter I, *Planning an Expedition* (pp. 17-53). More in general, cf. *Il viaggio di Enrico VII in Italia*, ed. by M. Tosti-Croce, Città di Castello 1993.

¹⁶ On these aspects, cf. A. Zorzi, *Giustizia e società a Firenze in età comunale: spunti per una prima riflessione*, in "Ricerche storiche" (1988), pp. 449-495. On this issue, cf. also S. Raveggi, *Gli aristocratici in città: considerazioni sul caso di Firenze (secc. XIII-XV)*, in *D'une ville à l'autre: structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (XIII^e-XVI^e siècle)*, Roma 1989, pp. 69-86; and Id., *Appunti sulle forme di propaganda nel conflitto tra magnati e popolani*, in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, ed. by P. Cammarosano, Roma 1994, pp. 469-489.

¹⁷ F. Ricciardelli, *The Politics of Exclusion in Florence (1215-1434)*, PhD diss., University of Warwick (2003), pp. 58-106.

¹⁸ G. Di Pino, *Esilio e letteratura*, in *Dante e le città dell'esilio*, Ravenna 1989, pp. 207-223.

¹⁹ For a general overview, cf. A. Pertile, *Storia del diritto penale*, in Id., *Storia del diritto italiano*, Torino 1892, vol. V, pp. 309-341; C. Calisse, *Svolgimento storico del diritto penale in Italia dalle invasioni barbariche alle riforme del sec. XVIII*, in *Enciclopedia del diritto penale italiano*, II, Milano 1906, pp. 360-365; *Enciclopedia giuridica italiana*, ed. by P. S. Mancini, vol. II/1, Milano 1911, pp. 180-183; *Nuovo digesto italiano*, ed. by M. D'Amelio, vol. II, Torino 1937, pp. 242-243; G. Rezasco, *Dizionario del linguaggio italiano* [1881], Bologna 1982, pp. 90-92; P. R. Pazzagli, *The criminal Ban of the Siennese Commune. 1325-1310*, Milan 1979, pp. 6-10 and 100-106; G. Milani, *Prime note su disciplina e pratica del bando a Bologna attorno alla metà del XIII secolo*, in "Mélanges de l'École française de Rome" (1997), pp. 501-523.

²⁰ For the cancellation of the ban, cf., as examples, Archivio di Stato di Firenze [henceforth ASF], *Provvisioni, Registri*, 2, f. 89v, 25 April 1290 (messer Rubeo dei Gabrielli from Gubbio, *podestà*, cancels the ban to which some men from Fucecchio had been subjected), ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 3, f. 46v, 10 April 1292 (Scello di messer Bartoletto from Spoleto, *podestà*, grants Nardo, Manfredo and Nandolino di messer Orlando degli Squarcialupi to re-enter the city from exile); ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 3, f. 116r-117r, 29 October 1292 (Catalano dei Malavolti from Bologna, *podestà*, cancels the ban on those who were sentenced to exile in May 1292). The matter of the cancellation of this kind of sentence was regulated some years later in the statutes of the *podestà* in 1325 (*Statuti della Repubblica fiorentina*, ed. by R. Caggese, II, *Statuto del Podestà dell'anno 1325*, New Edition by G. Pinto–F. Salvestrini–A. Zorzi, Firenze 1999, r. LXXXIV, pp. 224-227).

²¹ On the differences between political ban and exile, cf. U. Dorini, *Il diritto penale e la delinquenza in Firenze nel sec. XIV*, Lucca 1923, pp. 173-175; C. Ghisalberti, *La condanna al bando nel diritto comune*, in "Archivio giuridico" (1960), pp. 3-75; D. Cavalca, *Il bando nella prassi e nella dottrina giuridica medievale*, Milano 1978, pp. 47-58; C. Guimbar, *Exile et institution du comune à Florence dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle*, in *Exile et civilisation*, pp. 21-31.

²² ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 1, ff. 35r-35v, 24 January 1286.

²³ ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 1, ff. 69v-70r, 4 January 1287.

²⁴ ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 2, f. 73v, 26 July 1290, where there is an allocation of money for the magistrate appointed to this office. On these aspects, cf. V. Mazzoni, *Il patrimonio fondiario e le strategie insediative della Parte guelfa di Firenze nel primo Trecento*, in "Archivio storico italiano", CLIV (1996), pp. 3-32.

²⁵ «[...] Item quod omina nomina et prenomina exbannitorum et condempnatorum communis Florentie pro mallefitio [...] et ponantur in quodam liber sive registro qui stare debeat publice in palatio communis Florentie in assidibus et catena ut alius similis liber in camera communis Florentie fiant et habeant describendo in ipsis libris et quolibet eorum omnes exbannitos et condempnatos dicti communis cuiuslibet potestatis et culibet [...]»: ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 4, f. 59r, 3 August 1294.

²⁶ For the analysis of lists of names of those who were condemned for political reasons, cf. the example of Bologna in G. Milani, *Il governo delle liste nel comune di Bologna. Premesse e genesi di un libro di proscrizione duecentesco*, in "Rivista storica italiana" (1996), pp. 149-229; and in Id., *Dalla ritorsione al controllo. Elaborazione e applicazione del programma antighibellino a Bologna alla fine del Duecento*, in "Quaderni storici" (1997), pp. 43-74.

²⁷ ASF, *Provvisioni, Registri*, 5, ff. 74v-77v, 31 March 1295. On this matter, cf. M. E. Wolfgang, *Political Crimes and Punishments in Renaissance Florence*, in "Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science" (1954), pp. 555-581; Id., *Socio-Economic Factors Related to Crime and Punishment in Renaissance Florence*, in "Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science" (1956), pp. 311-330; A. Zorzi, *Contrôle social, ordre public et répression judiciaire à Florence à l'époque communale: éléments et prolèmes*, in "Annales ESC", XLV (1990), pp. 1169-1188; M. Sbriccoli, «Vidi communiter observari». *L'emersione di un ordine penale pubblico nelle città italiane del secolo XIII*, in "Quaderni fiorentini", XXVII (1998), pp. 231-268. On the same topic, cf. also the recent A. Zorzi, *La giustizia, le pene, la pace*, in *Storia della civiltà toscana. 1. Comuni e Signorie*, pp. 189-209.

²⁸ L. Sozzi, *Privazione e promessa: l'esilio in alcuni testi antichi e cristiani*, in *L'exil et l'exclusion dans la culture italienne: actes du colloque franco-italien*, ed. by G. Ulysse, Aix-en-Provence 1991, pp. 3-13. For an example, cf. C. M. Keen, *Images of Exile: Distance and Memory in the Poetry of Cino da Pistoia*, in "Italian Studies", LV (2000), pp. 21-36.

²⁹ Cf. A. Bartlett Giamatti, *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature*, New Haven–London 1984, pp. 1-11. On the same issue, cf. G. De Marco, *Mitografia dell'esule. Da Dante al Novecento*, Napoli 1996, pp. 17-33.

³⁰ J. K. Laurent, *The Exile and the Signory: the Case of Ferrara*, in "The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies" (1981), pp. 281-297; S. R. Blanshei, *Crime and Law Enforcement in Medieval Bologna*, in "Journal of Social History", 16 (1982), pp. 121-138; R. Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth. The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1982; *Exile et civilisation en Italie (XII^e-XVI^e siècle)*, Etudes réunies par J. Heers et Chr. Bec, Nancy 1990; J. Heers, *L'esilio, la vita politica, la società nel Medioevo* [1995], Napoli 1997.

³¹ In that regard, cf. A. Bartoli Langeli, *A proposito di storia del notariato italiano. Appunti sull'istituto, il ceto e l'ideologia notarile*, in "Il pensiero politico", X (1977), pp. 101-107; and Id.,

Il notaio, in *Ceti, modelli, comportamenti nella società medievale (secoli XIII-metà XIV)*, Pistoia 2001, pp. 23-42.

³² On notaries as professional figures, cf. A. Petrucci, *Tabelloni, scrivani e notai nella Roma del Medioevo*, Milano 1960; and G. Arnaldi, *Il notaio cronista e le cronache cittadine in Italia*, in *La storia del diritto nel quadro delle scienze storiche*, Firenze 1964, pp. 293-309. On the uses of notarial records in historical research, cf. G. Ortalli, *Cronache e documentazione*, in *Civiltà comunale: libro, scrittura, documento*, Genova 1989, pp. 509-539; and M. Zabbia, *Notariato e memoria storica. Le scritture storiografiche notarili nelle città dell'Italia settentrionale (secc. XII-XIV)*, in "Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio muratoriano", 97 (1991), pp. 75-122. For the description of the importance of notaries as symbol and cornerstone of communal identity, cf. M. Zabbia, *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento*, Roma 1999.

³³ On Brunetto Latini and his political activity, cf. T. Sundby, *Della vita e delle opere di Brunetto Latini (1869)*, Firenze 1884, in which a rich bibliography is edited by Isidoro Del Lungo, pp. 200-277. For other information on the intellectual, cf. D. Marzi, *La cancelleria della Repubblica fiorentina* [1910], Firenze 1987, 1, pp. 35-48; J. Bolton Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales. Brunetto Latini and Dante Alighieri*, New York 1993; and the recent article I. Ventura, *L'iconografia letteraria di Brunetto Latini*, in "Studi medievali", 38 (1997), pp. 499-528.

³⁴ «Li plus covenable governemens ki soit en la vie de l'ome, et a mains de paine et de travail, est celui ke l'om consire de maintenir soi et sa mesnie et ses amis»: *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by F. J. Carmody [1948], Genève 1998, II, 49, p. 223.

³⁵ «ch'egli fue cominciatore e maestro in digrossare i Fiorentini, e farli scorti in bene parlare, e in sapere guidare e reggere la nostra repubblica secondo la Politica»: G. Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. by G. Porta, 3 vols., Parma 1990-1991, IX, 10 [henceforth Villani].

³⁶ C. T. Davis, *L'Italia di Dante*, Bologna 1988, pp. 167-200.

³⁷ E. Artifoni, *Retorica e organizzazione del linguaggio politico nel Duecento italiano*, in *Le forme della propaganda politica*, pp. 157-182, especially pp. 162-164.

³⁸ «uno raunamento di gente fatto per vivere a ragione; onde non sono detti cittadini d'uno medesimo comune perché siano insieme accolti dentro ad uno muro, ma quelli che insieme sono acolti (sic!) a vivere ad una ragione»: B. Latini, *La Rettorica*, ed. by F. Maggini, Florence, 1968, p. 13.

³⁹ Q. Skinner, *Le origini del pensiero politico moderno*, 1, *Il Rinascimento*, Bologna 1989, p. 108.

⁴⁰ *Il Libro del Chiodo*, ed. by F. Ricciardelli, Roma 1998, p. 212

⁴¹ On Monte Andrea, cf. *Letteratura italiana. Gli autori. Dizionario bio-bibliografico e Indici*, II, Torino 1991, p. 1217.

⁴² Monte Andrea da Fiorenza, *Le rime*, ed. by F. F. Minetti, Firenze 1979, pp. 219-224.

⁴³ «Non isperate, ghebelin', soccorso per l'alezion ch'è fatta ne la Magna!», Monte Andrea, *Le rime*, p. 219. See also A. F. Massera, *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli*, 2. vols., Bari 1940², 1, p. 40 and p. 77.

⁴⁴ On Schiatta Pallavillani, cf. *Letteratura italiana. Gli autori*, II, p. 1607.

⁴⁵ *Il Libro del Chiodo*, p. 208.

⁴⁶ Massera, *Sonetti burleschi*, 1, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁷ On the struggle between magnates and *popolani*, cf. the opposite positions in G. Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295*, Firenze 1899 and N. Ottokar, *Il comune di Firenze alla fine del Dugento* [1926], Torino 1974³.

⁴⁸ M. Tarassi, *Il regime guelfo*, in Raveggi [et alii], *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, pp. 74-164.

⁴⁹ Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani*, pp. 94-120. On the rise of priorate, cf. R. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* [1896-1927], 8 vols., Firenze 1956-1968, III, pp. 283-288. For the analysis of guild regime as a corporate organization of the *popolo*, cf. J. M. Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280-1400*, Chapel Hill 1982, pp. 17-78.

⁵⁰ D. Medici, *I primi dieci anni del priorato*, in Raveggi [et alii], *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, pp. 165-229. For a complete overview on this period, cf. G. Tabacco, *La storia politica e sociale. Dal tramonto dell'Impero alle prime formazioni di Stati regionali*, in *Storia d'Italia*, II, Torino 1974, pp. 227-236; O. Capitani, *Dal Comune alla Signoria*, in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. by G. Galasso, IV, *Comuni e signorie: istituzioni, società e lotte per l'egemonia*, Torino 1981, pp. 149-151; and E. Artifoni, *Tensioni sociali e istituzioni nel mondo comunale*, in *La storia. I grandi*

problemi dal medioevo all'età contemporanea, II/2, ed. by N. Tranfaglia–M. Firpo, *Il Medioevo. Popoli e strutture politiche*, Torino 1986, pp. 461-491; as well as Id., *Città e comuni*, in *Storia Medievale*, Roma 1998, pp. 363-386.

⁵¹ Raveggi, *Appunti sulle forme di propaganda*, in *Le forme della propaganda politica*, pp. 469-470.

⁵² Ottokar, *Il comune di Firenze*, pp. 187-198 and 199-215.

⁵³ E. Artifoni, *Sull'eloquenza politica nel Duecento italiano*, in "Quaderni medievali", 35 (1993), pp. 57-98; Id., *Retorica e organizzazione del linguaggio politico*, pp. 157-182; M. Viroli, *Dalla politica alla ragion di stato. La scienza del governo tra XIII e XVII secolo*, Roma 1994, pp. 3-47.

⁵⁴ «De magnatibus que condempnabuntur vel exbannientur pro offensis popularium, non rebanniendis»: F. Bonaini, *Gli Ordinamenti di Giustizia del Comune e Popolo di Firenze compilati nel 1293*, in "Archivio storico italiano" (1855), p. 60; «De Magnatibus qui condannabuntur vel exbannientur pro offensionibus Popularium non rebanniendibus»: *Gli Ordinamenti di Giustizia del 6 luglio 1295*, in Salvemini, *Magnati e Popolani*, p. 411.

⁵⁵ Ottokar, *Il Comune di Firenze*, pp. 159-168. On the insufficiency of the criteria of identification, cf. E. Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa. Dalle origini del podestariato alla signoria dei Donoratico*, Napoli 1962, p. 74; Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*, pp. 43-78.

⁵⁶ Artifoni, *Città e comuni*, p. 379.

⁵⁷ On the matter, cf. Skinner, *Le origini del pensiero politico moderno*, 1, *Il Rinascimento*, pp. 119-121 and Davis, *L'Italia di Dante*, pp. 201-229.

⁵⁸ The *De bono communi*, the *De bono pacis*, and the *Sermoni sulla pace* are readable in the Appendix in M. C. De Matteis, *La «teologia» di Remigio de' Girolami*, Bologna 1977, pp. 1-94.

⁵⁹ Davis, *L'Italia di Dante*, p. 211.

⁶⁰ «Si non est civis non est homo, quia "homo est naturaliter animal civile" secundum philosophum in VIII Ethic. et in I Politic.»: Remigio De' Girolami, *De bono communi*, in De Matteis, *La «teologia» di Remigio de' Girolami*, p. 18.

⁶¹ On their colours and Pistoian origins, cf. G. Masi, *Sull'origine dei Bianchi e dei Neri*, "Il giornale dantesco", XXX (1927), pp. 124-132; Id., *Il nome delle fazioni fiorentine de' Bianchi e de' Neri*, L'Aquila 1927; D. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: the Social History of an Italian Town, 1200-1430*, New Haven–London 1967, pp. 198-212 and 225-228; Heers, *Partiti e vita politica*, pp. 260-265; M. Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs. Étude sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales*, Paris 1986, pp. 13-57.

⁶² «Et ex hac natura civis preamat civitatem sibi, propter maiorem similitudinem quam habet pars ad totum, quam habet ad se ipsam, tum quia pars est ens in potentia tantum, ut dictum est, totum autem ut totum est ens in actu, tum etiam quia quantumcunque sit vicinitas partis ad se ipsam, tamen maior est partis ad totum, quia illa vicinitas dependet ab ista, sicut et entitas sine qua nulla vicinitas esse potest com ens sit comunissimum»: Remigio De' Girolami, *De bono communi*, in De Matteis, *La «teologia» di Remigio de' Girolami*, p. 30.

⁶³ I. Del Lungo, *Una vendetta in Firenze il giorno di San Giovanni del 1295*, in "Archivio storico italiano", XVIII (1886), pp. 355-409.

⁶⁴ On Guido Cavalcanti, cf., in particular, M. Barbi, *Guido Cavalcanti e Dante di fronte al governo popolare*, "Studi danteschi", I (1920), pp. 101-111; M. Marti, *Cavalcanti, Guido*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. XXIII, Roma 1979, pp. 628-636; M. Corti, *La felicità mentale: nuove prospettive per Cavalcanti e Dante*, Torino 1983; E. Malato, *Dante e Guido Cavalcanti: il dissidio per la Vita nuova e il disdegno di Guido*, Salerno 1997.

⁶⁵ A. Zorzi, «*Ius erat in armis*». *Faide e conflitti tra pratiche sociali e pratiche di governo*, in *Origini dello Stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by G. Chittolini–A. Molho–P. Schiera, Bologna 1994, pp. 609-629.

⁶⁶ Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani*, p. 376.

⁶⁷ Dino Compagni, *Cronica delle cose occorrenti ne' tempi suoi*, ed. by I. Del Lungo, «*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*», Città di Castello 1913, I, 21 [henceforth Compagni]; Villani, IX, 41; Marchionne Di Coppo Stefani, *Cronica fiorentina*, ed. by N. Rodolico, «*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*», XXX, 1, Città di Castello 1903, r. 222.

⁶⁸ M. R. Menocal, *Shards of Love. Exile and the Origins of the Lyric*, Durham–London 1994; p. 95.

⁶⁹ Cf. the poem «Perch'io non spero di tornar giammai», in which the author mixes political language with laments for frustrated love to a point where autobiography and metaphor become virtually indistinguishable: *Poeti del Dolce stil nuovo*, ed. by M. Marti, Firenze 1969, pp. 211-213.

⁷⁰ G. Levi, *Bonifazio VIII e le sue relazioni col Comune di Firenze*, in "Archivio della Società romana di storia patria", V (1882), pp. 365-474.

⁷¹ For an overview of the Florentine division between the White Guelphs and the Black Guelphs, cf. J. K. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy*, London 1973, pp. 172-177; and Ph. Jones, *The Italian City-State*, Oxford 1997, pp. 610-615.

⁷² On the events of 1302, cf. F. Ricciardelli, *Dal Libro del Chiodo: i registri delle condanne del 1302*, in "Argomenti storici", 5 (1998), pp. 7-30.

⁷³ «molti disonesti peccati si feciono: di femmine vergini; rubare i pupilli; e uomini impotenti, spogliati de' loro beni; e cacciavanli dalla loro città. E molti ordini feciono, quelli che voleano, e quanto e come. Molti furono accusati, e convenia loro confessare aveano fatta congiura, che non l'aveano fatta, e erano condannati in fiorini M per uno. E chi non si difendea, era accusato, e per contumace era condannato nell' avere e nella persona: e chi ubidia, pagava; e dipoi, accusati di nuove colpe, erano cacciati di Firenze senza nulla piatà»: Compagni, II, 21.

⁷⁴ I. Del Lungo, *Il Libro del Chiodo e le condannazioni fiorentine del 1302*, in "Archivio storico italiano" (1881), pp. 209-210. New forms of language are analysed in L. Martines, *Raging against Priests in Italian Renaissance Verse*, in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. by W. Connell, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2002, pp. 261-277.

⁷⁵ Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, IV, pp. 282-283.

⁷⁶ «chi disse male di loro mentirono: perché tutti furono disposti al bene comune e all'onore della repubblica»: Compagni, II, 21.

⁷⁷ R. Morghen, *Le lettere politiche di Dante. Testimonianza della sua vita in esilio*, in Id., *Dante profeta tra la storia e l'eterno*, Milano 1983, p. 97. An analysis of this issue had been conducted by R. Stella, *La problematique de la damnation comme exclusion dans la Divine Comedie*, in *L'exil et l'exclusion*, pp. 25-32.

⁷⁸ Cf., in this perspective, G. Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert*, Princeton (New Jersey) 1979, pp. 107-146. For the relationship between the intellectual and the politician, cf. P. Blanc, *Le discours de l'intellectuel comme parole d'exilé: psycho-poétique de l'exil chez Dante et chez Pétrarque*, in *Exile et civilisation*, pp. 51-54. On the perception of political exclusion at the time of Dante, cf. C. Calenda, "Esilio" ed "esclusione" tra biografismo e mentalità collettiva: Brunetto Latini, Guittone d'Arezzo, Guido Cavalcanti, in *L'exil et l'exclusion*, pp. 41-47; and V. Russo, *Dante exul inmeritus: variazioni compositive sul/dal tema*, in *L'exil et l'exclusion*, pp. 13-23.

⁷⁹ «Igitur tempus amarissime penitendi vos temere presumptorum, si dissimulare non vultis, adesse conspiciatis»: *Dante Alighieri, Epistole*, VI, in *Tutte le opere*, ed. by L. Blasucci, Firenze 1981, p. 330. For more details, cf. G. Mazzotta, *Theology and Exile*, in Id., *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge*, Princeton (New Jersey) 1993, pp. 174-196.

⁸⁰ Dante lamented, for instance, that the citizenship was being contaminated by new rustics from Campi, from Figline and from Certaldo who were responsible for the malignant growth of factionalism in Florence (Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia, Paradiso*, XV, lines 46-68).

⁸¹ «Fiorenza dentro da la cerchia antica [...] si stava in pace, sobria e pudica»: Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia, Paradiso*, XV, lines 97-99.

⁸² This thesis has been developed in R. Morghen, *Dante and Florence of the Old Days*, in *From Time to Eternity*, New Haven–London 1967, pp. 19-37; and developed in Ch. T. Davis, *Il buon tempo antico*, in *Florentine Studies*, pp. 45-69.

⁸³ Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought*, p. 149.

⁸⁴ «A così riposato, a così bello viver di cittadini, a così fida cittadinanza, a così dolce ostello»: Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia, Paradiso*, XV, lines 130-135.

⁸⁵ «in esilio del Comune di Firenze in età circa LVI anni [un] grande letterato quasi in ogni scienza, tutto fosse laico [...] che si convenga di dargli perpetua memoria in questa nostra cronica, con tutto che per le sue nobili opere lasciateci in iscritture facciamo di lui vero testimonio e onorabile fama a la nostra cittade»: Villani, X, 136.