tur Carolo et Arrigo hispano, qui proximi fuerant senatores. Quo-
que\textsuperscript{52} romana sedes minus operta indigere regis, Bertuldum Ursi-
num propinquum suum turnas equitum alere iussit sub praetextu
urbium recuperandarum, quae per id tempus a Guidone Feretano
princeps diversarum partium in Umbria occupabantur. Discordias
quoque et simultates Etruriae civitatum, per quas fautores partium
et infinitam pecuniarum materiae et captura solebat, tollendas
sopiendasque curavit per Latinum legatum, virum religiosum ac
praecipue auctoritatis.

Igitur tertio anno pontificatus Nicolai Latinus Florentiam ve-
niens magno honore a civitate receptus est. Mittebat illum pon-
tifex gratia imiciicirum publice privatimque tollendarum. Prae-
ter industrium legati, quae in prensandis hominibus hortandisque
plurima fuit, illa quoque res non mediocriter suffragata creditur ad
pacem, quod nobilitas per id tempus acerbis inter se inimicitis
conflictabant armataeque familiae per urbem longis agminibus in-
cedebant pungeaque et vulnera crebro committerebant, non sine
tristitiatione tumultuque civitatis. Iaque hae deformitate rerum
fastidii cives ac plane fatigati a desiderio reductionem exulm
non penitus abhorrebat, nec porro nobilitas resistere poterat;
cum integra non esset, et quod alteri renuerent, id alteri sequen-
dum vel de industria suaderent.

\textsuperscript{53} His de causis factum est ut longe faciorem viae ad res compo-
nendanas Latin\textsuperscript{53} haberet quam dudum eadem in causa atque re
Gregorius habuisse. Exhortatus ergo homines, cum auctoritatem
pontificis publice privatimque interponerat, tandem civitatem pacem
ac reductionem exulum fieri obvintit. Quo autem maior firmitas
paci inesse, advocata concionae, cum multitudine omnia complex-
set, ipse sublimi de loco profatus longa oratione commoda pacis
explicitam cumque velit suatum acceptandum servandumque sua-

So that the Roman see would have less need of the king's help, he
commanded his kinsman Bertoldo Orsini to raise a force of cav-
alty under the pretext of recovering the Umbrian cities that the
Ghibelline leader Guido of Montefeltro had occupied at that
time.\textsuperscript{54} The feuds and quarrels of the Tuscan cities, which
were wont to supply the king with supporters and great sums of
money, the pope took steps to calm through his legate, Latino, a holy man
of great authority.\textsuperscript{55}

Thus it was that in the third year of Nicholas' pontificate, La-
tino came to Florence and was received in the city with great
honor. His mandate was to eliminate public and private causes of
hostility. In addition to the legate's great industry in canvassing
and persuading people, it is believed that he was helped in no
small degree by the circumstances that the nobility at that time
were at each other's throats. Families marched in long, armed
cavalry columns through the streets and families were involved in bloody
battles, causing fear and disturbance throughout the city. The citi-
zens had thus become disgusted and weary of this wretched state of
affairs and so were not entirely averse to the desire to bring back
the exiles. And the nobility was unable to resist, divided as it was:
if one party refused to do something, that was reason enough for
the other party to endorse it as a sound course of action.

For these reasons Latino had a much easier time settling local
affairs than Gregory had a little while before in regard to the
very same issues. He exhorted the people, therefore, interposing
pontifical authority in matters public and private, and at last suc-
cceeded in bringing about a civil truce and the return of the exiles.
In order to strengthen the truce he called a meeting, and when the
crowd had filled the area he himself addressed them from a lofty
place, explaining to them at great length the advantages of the
peace, and persuading them that they would be more secure if
they accepted and preserved it. The terms of the arbitration were
then announced, and he bade the representatives of the exiles to
situs. Conditionibus deinde ex arbitrio pronunciatis, syndicos eum assurere iussit publicaque inspectante populo in mutuos amplexus civium devenire. Ad tollendas vero suspiciones multos utrinque todes ultro sitro quo dari iussit. Forma quoque rei publicae gubernandae ab eo noviter instituta est, creato magistratu quattuordecim virum mixtorum ex utrique factione, qui pro tempore praesesset civitati.

Publicis compositis negotiis privatas subinde inimicitias tollendas curavit, pacatis familiis tam eiusdem factionis inter se quam diversarum, ubicumque privata odiat aut vulnera sustent. Ea quo magis totum, affinitatis ulterio sitro contractiis homines censuit obligandos. Monumenta vero damnationum in publicis archivis contra exules per superiorem tempora reposita non cancellanda modo, verum etiam una cum libris tollenda providit, quo petitus carum rerum deleretur memoria. Bona quoque eum, quae vel a fisco ex publicatione vel a privatis per potentiam tenebantur, illius quorum fuerant uti restituentur effect. Ex hoc iam tempore diversa factio magna multitudine in urbem redit praeter quosdam principes, quibus concordiae gratia reditus est ad tempus aliquod dilatant. Fuerunt autem hic circiter sexaginta ex praecipuis familiis diversae factionis quibus circa urbem Romam exili locus pro voluntate pontificis destinatus est. Illud praeterea additum, ut castella quaeadam circa urbem in pontificis custodiae essent quoque magistratus Florentiae pontifex ad biennium ex arbitrio daret. Ea cum perfectissim legatus, ingenti prudentialia fama non immerito parta abit, relictic civitate pacata et concordi quam impactam discordemque susciperat.

rise and publicly embrace their fellow citizens in full view of the populace. To remove suspicion, he ordered the parties to exchange a number of persons to stand surety for both sides. He also established the constitution of the commonwealth in a new form, creating a magistracy of Fourteen Men, representing both factions, who would temporarily rule the city.

Having settled public business, he then saw to the removal of private hostilities. He made peace among families of the same faction as well as between families of different factions, wherever private hatreds were festering as a result of murders or bloodshed. To strengthen these acts of reconciliation, he decreed that the people concerned should bind themselves reciprocally by ties of marriage. He saw to it that records from earlier times condemning the exiles which had been placed in public archives were not only crossed out but that the books containing them were removed, so that the memory of those events should be entirely blotted out. The exiles' goods and property that had been confiscated by the public fisc or usurped by private individuals he caused to be restored to their former owners. It was from this moment that the Ghibellines now began to return to the city in great numbers, aside from certain leaders whose return had been put off for a fixed period for the sake of preserving concord. The latter constituted about sixty men from the leading Ghibelline families, for whom a place of exile near Rome was designated in accordance with the will of the pope. In addition, certain castles near Florence were to be placed in the custody of the pontiff, and the pope was to appoint the magistrates of the city at his pleasure for a period of two years. After he had accomplished these things the legate departed, having won, not undeservedly, a great reputation for practical wisdom. The city he had taken in hand when it had been disturbed and inharmonious he left behind him in a state of peace and concord.
Ceterum ex hac providentia legati et simul ex revocatione vicariatus, de quo supra mentionem fecimus, rex dominatum Florentiae omnis dimisit, liberaque iam civitas et sui iuris facta a quattuordecim viris gubernabatur. Hic rerum status fere biamnium duravit. Nec dubitatur, si is pontifex viisset diutius, quin longe magis ea forma rei publicae fuerit duratura. Igitur quattuordecim viris ex utraque factione rem publicam gubernavitibus primo quidem annoiqua omnia domi forisque fuerunt, nec quiquam memoria dignum per id tempus accidit. Secundo quoque anno quies domi vixit; foris autem multa, exu nubila in sereno coorta, futurae tempestatis formidinem incussere. Causae vero turbationum hae suberant.

Nicolaus, de cuius animo erga regem supra diximus, proximo autumno apud Suriani arcem septem millibus passuum a Viterbio, cum reficiendae sua gratia eo successisset, subito apoplexiae morbo correptus et officio linguae desiratus paucos post dies migravit et vita. Quo sublato, cum de successore deligendo inter patres agiatur, assumpti nuper a Nicolao cardinalibus italiciis; altera vero factio et ipsa per se potens et ab rege sublevata atque impulta calix cumcupiebat. Aliquot mensis cum eo modo concertasset: neque de pontifici convenire possent, Viterbienses infensi Ursino generi ex superiori dominatu seditione facta ad arma iurunt novosque sibi magistratus pulsit veteribus creaverunt. Inde caeco amenticque futore conclave quo patres inclusi erant irruentes, duos Ursinos cardinales per vim detractos non sine contumelia abduxerunt. Abductus est etiam cum his Latinius ille quem legatum nuper florentinae pacis auctorem fuisse supra monstravimus. Sed hic postmodum conclavi redditus est; duo autem Ursini privato car-

Now, thanks to the legate's foresight and to the revocation of the royal vicariate (which we mentioned earlier) the king had lost entirely any signorial powers in Florence, and the city was free and under its own jurisdiction, governed by the Fourteen Men. This state of affairs lasted almost two years, and that constitutional form would undoubtedly have lasted much longer had the pontiff lived. With the commonwealth ruled by the Fourteen Men chosen from both factions, all was quiet at home and abroad for the first year, and nothing worthy of record happened during that time. In the second year, too, domestic tranquillity flourished, but abroad a number of clouds appeared in the clear sky, causing fear about storms to come. The underlying causes of the disturbance were as follows.

Pope Nicholas, whose attitude to the king we have described above, withdrew for a rest the following autumn to Soriano, a castle seven miles outside Viterbo. There he was suddenly seized with apoplexy and lost the use of his tongue; he died a few days later. With him gone, the prelates began to discuss the choice of his successor. The cardinals Nicholas had recently created wanted an Italian, while the opposing faction, which was both powerful in itself and also supported and manipulated by the king, wanted a Frenchman. When they had argued in this way for several months without agreeing on a pontiff, the people of Viterbo, who were hostile to the rule of the Orsini clan, rose in arms, expelled their old magistrates and appointed new ones. Then in blind and senseless fury they broke into the conclave where the prelates were immured and seized violently two Orsini cardinals whom they then abducted in an insulting way. Abducted along with them was the same Cardinal Latino who (as we showed above) had been responsible for the recent pacification of Florence. He was later returned to the conclave, but the two Orsini were held in the dungeon of a private individual. As a result, the French faction among the cardinals...
nals acquired the upper hand and triumphantly elected the pontiff they wanted.\footnote{38}

Thus did Martin IV, a Frenchman, become pope.\footnote{39} He was extremely close to the king and was obviously his creature. So thanks to this alliance and to the presence of the king, who shortly thereafter hastened to the pope to congratulate him, the cities of Tuscany that had long been the king's partisans began once again to lean in his direction and to follow his lead in everything. That was why the Florentines and the Lucchesi were no longer willing to obey the lieutenant whom the Emperor Rudolf had sent into Tuscany after Charles had been removed as vicar. (Rudolf had done this with the pope's\footnote{40} approval, as though the region were being turned over to the Empire.) The lieutenant first began issuing threats, then fines. When he realized he was being ignored, he collected a force of German knights stationed in the town of San Miniato (which he had chosen as his citadel and base when he had come to Tuscany) and started a war against the Florentines and Lucchesi. This caused partisan passions, which had seemingly died out, to burst into flame once more. Thus, shortly thereafter, their suspicions aroused, the Florentines and Lucchesi joined forces and besieged the town of Pescia in Lucchese territory whose inhabitants seemed to favor the Ghibellines. When the besieged began discussing terms, the Florentines embraced the morepliant party and persuaded them to accept terms, but the Florentines were then upbraided by the Lucchesi for having lost, through contact with Ghibellines, their old zeal for protecting partisan interests. Thus all hope of reconciliation was lost. Pescia was besieged, captured, and razed to the ground.\footnote{41}

During this very period all Sicily rebelled against the king and at the same time Guido of Montefeltro, the leader of the Ghibellines, was reported to be planning a number of adventures in Umbria and the Marche. For all these reasons, and since now a renewal of partisanship was plainly visible and the city was awash
with distrust and suspicion, the Florentines decided to get rid of the power-sharing arrangement with the Ghibellines who had previously taken part in the government of the commonwealth. Thus the magistracy of the Fourteen—the representatives of the two parties who had been ruling the city—was done away with, and the Priors of the Guilds were appointed. At first, as is known, three were appointed, then six, then twelve, and after that eight: this will all be shown in the appropriate place. Then was not the first time a magistracy of this name had existed in the commonwealth. According to the annals there were evidently Priors of the Guilds in the commonwealth some eighty years before this time, but the office afterwards fell into disuse and was nearly forgotten. After a long interval the magistracy was resumed with broader powers in the period under discussion.

This form of administration was populist to the highest degree, as can be seen from its very name. Because there were certain powerful individuals who seemed inordinately given to civil discord, the government of the city was handed over to a quiet and peace-loving sort of person who was more inclined to carrying on business in peacetime than to engaging in war and strife. That is why they were called Priors of the Guilds; they enjoyed popular approval and preference because they were neither predatory nor seditious, but frugal and peace-loving persons each exercising his own métier (for the lazy have to feed off the goods of others). That this magistracy under the same name has lasted in the city up to the present day, one hundred and thirty-eight years later, is a sign that it was excellently designed. Even when human beings cannot do so, time and Experience, the mistress of nature, show harmful things to be wrong-headed and do not allow them to enjoy long life. At that time, the very first Priors of the Guilds to be created were Bartolo di messer Jacopo de’Bardi, from a noble and extremely rich family, Rosso Bacherelli, and Salvi del Chiaro Girioni. These men were immured in the palazzo of the commune,
HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE

Rossus Bacarelli, Salvus Clari Fieronymi. Hi publicis aedibus inclusi nec alius quicquam quam de re publica cogitaretius sunt et sumptus ex publico eis praebiti, cum ceteri omnes ante id tempus magistratus donum suam redire post negotia consueuissent. Duodecim apparitores illis a populo dat, sex viatores ad convalandas cives, totidem a cetera obeunda ministeria. Tempus autem huius magistratus bimestre constitutum est quod hodie quoque servatur. Post hos duplicatus est numerus et sex pro tribus suffragio civium suffecti; in sex enim regiones divisa civitate singulos ex singulis ad prioratum sumi placuit.

60 Eodem anno imbris assidui circiter Idus decembris copulatus dies noctesque continuati omnia paene urbis loca inundarunt: Ab his cum sementes diluare ac solo abrasae interiissent, confestim ademptra spe futurarum messium annuas caritas est consecuta.

61 Per idem tempus Caroli regis filius, novis rebus Siciliae excitui, ad patrem ex Gallia properans cum quadam manu equitum Florentiam venit, nec minori applausu recepust quam si parer urbi dominaretur. Eodem quoque anno Caroli auxilio missi equites urbani sexcenti apparata insigni, qui regi in Siciliam traiicere festinanti circa Regnum Calabriae oppidum sese coniunxerunt et in obсидione Messanae alisque subinde locis fideliter simul strenueque suam operam navarunt.

62 Res postulare videtur ut de rebellioni Siciliae ac de ceteris quaie idem acciderunt regi, discursu brevissimo referamus, praeertim cum eius res adeo sint cum civitates rebus connexae ut magnopere interest illas cognoscere, et auxilia eo missa quibus ex causis evoca, quibusve locis obsecuta fuerint, non alter quan per eorum explicationem quaeat intelligi.

63 Post victum Corradinum recuperatamque Siciliam, cum civitates quae dudum Capitii et Federici dux duellaverant in regis forbidden to deliberate about anything except public business, and maintained at public expense; previous officials had all been allowed to return to their own homes after work. The people gave them twelve clerks, six runners to assemble the citizens, and six servants to take care of their other needs. The term of the magistracy was established at two months, just as it is today. After the first priorate the number was doubled and by a vote of the citizens six priori were appointed instead of three. The city being divided into six regions, it was agreed that each region would choose one person for the priorate.

In the same year, around the Ides of December, there were many days of continuous heavy rain which flooded nearly the whole city. As a result the crops were washed away and destroyed, immediately removing all hope of future harvests, and in consequence there was famine and want.

At this time the son of King Charles, disturbed by the rebellions in Sicily, hastened from France to join his father and came to Florence with a troop of cavalry. He was received with no less applause than if his father had been lord of the city. Also in that year the city sent six hundred well-equipped knights to help Charles. They joined the king near the town of Reggio Calabria as he was making haste to cross over into Sicily. They acquitted themselves with great energy as well as loyalty at the siege of Messina and thereafter in other places.

It seems appropriate to give a brief account here of the rebellion in Sicily and the other events relating to the king, especially as these matters are so interconnected with the affairs of our city that an explanation of the former contributes greatly to the comprehension of the latter. Indeed, one cannot otherwise understand why the expeditionary force was summoned there or why they served in the places they did.

After the defeat of Conrado and the recovery of Sicily, those cities that had previously rebelled under the leadership of Capizio
and Federico became loyal once more to the power of the king. The Frenchmen sent out to govern them, who were by nature fierce and proud, caused innumerable sufferings among the Sicilians. In their insolence they treated the Sicilians like slaves rather than like the free men they had once been. The latter were subjected to the cruelest punishments for the lightest of causes—often for a word spoken a little too freely. The cities were full of informers, and the noose and the executioner’s axe replaced lighter punishments. Moreover, the inexhaustible avarice of the French and their insatiable lust for gold embraced the innocent as well as the guilty, and their acts of plunder were beyond measure. To be rich was to be guilty of treason, and the larger one’s patrimony, the keener the danger one invited. It was the rich man who was accused of having fomented rebellion, of having cursed the king, of keeping images of Conrad in his house. The loss of one’s fortune now became commonplace; indeed it became desirable so long as it brought a stop to punishments and torture. To these crimes were added acts of lust—not only on the part of the great men, but even of their ministers—perpetrated arbitrarily, without respect or shame, against the wives and daughters of the Sicilians.

The cities endured this hard slavery for several years, but at last, the magnitude of their sufferings overcame their patience and was transformed into rage. The rebellion started in Palermo. The Palermitans were holding a festival outside the city when the French came up to check them for weapons, and on that pretext began flogging the breasts of their women. The repulsive nature of this act started a riot, and the French were attacked first with rocks, then weapons, and every one of them was killed. The tale then spread from Palermo to the other cities, and stirred up the peoples there to arms and slaughter. Thus the French were cut to pieces throughout Sicily. By the time the furious anger at their insolence had drunk its fill of their blood, the French had given up
HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE

Rex per id tempus in Etruria erat, qui audita Siculorum defectione magnis itineribus in regnum contendit. Eo cum pervenisset, copias undique contrahit; Florentinos ac ceteras amicas civitates auxilia rogar. Ipse apud Regium, qua proxima est transmissio in Siciliam, constitit. Ibi copias venientes excipit, quaerque opportuna sunt ad transitum parat. Ex arat perdifficilis transmissio, propertia quod omnes ferme regis naves in Sicilias portus navalibusque servabantur, quae tunc belles cuncta tenebant. Iraque, contractis ex omnibus maritima Italiae oea navibus, Messanam (quae proxima erat) traductis copiis obsidere incepit. Vehemens eius urbis oppugnatio fuit, nec remissor sane eorum qui obsidebantur in resistendo audacia. Nam et rex in hac una urbe, quam primo circumstiterat, judicium de se fieri apud alios Sicilias populos haur falso existimabant, utique res ea successisset, ita ab alis quoque aux formidari se ait contendit. Et Mamertini contra victoris iram pertimesebant; Gallorum superbia crudelitasque ante oculos versaerat, cui foedissimi honestam profecto mortem cenabant praefendam. Rege circa Messanam habente castra bellicumque terorem Siculi ossentante, civitates crebris legationibus ad Petrum Aragonum regem missis sibi ut subveniret precabantur. Regnum Sicilias ad illum pertinere docebat, quoniam uxor eius Constantia Manfredi quondam Sicilias regis filia esset, ad quam quamvis viri prole haur dubie regni pertinere successor; possessionem vero civitates unanimitatem cupientissime offere. Tam vero Manfredi mortem ulci, ad quem magis quam ad generum nepoteque spectare? Praesertim cum idem sit interfector, idem occupator re-
to the Sicilians not only their ill-gotten riches, but their lives as well.45

The king was at that moment in Tuscany. When he heard of the Sicilian revolt, he marched quickly to the Kingdom and upon his arrival assembled forces from every quarter. The Florentines and other friendly cities were asked to help. The king himself stayed in Reggio, where one crosses over to Sicily, and welcomed the troops there as they arrived while making suitable preparations for the crossing. The crossing to Sicily was particularly difficult because almost all the king’s ships were docked in Sicilian ports and naval facilities, which were all controlled by the rebels. So, after scouring the coasts of Italy for ships, he began the siege of Messina, on the shore opposite, with the forces he had assembled. His attack on that city was vigorous, and the resistance of the besieged was no less brave. For the king rightly believed that the other Sicilian peoples would form their judgment of him from his performance at this one city, the first he had besieged, and that they would fear or despise him to the extent he succeeded there. The inhabitants of Messina, on the other hand, were terrified of the victor’s wrath; they had witnessed with their own eyes the arrogance and cruelty of the French, and they believed an honorable death preferable to such infamous treatment. The king ringed Messina with encampments to impress the Sicilians with the ter-
ors of war, while the cities sent a string of ambassadors to King Peter of Aragon46 to beg for his aid. They informed him that the Kingdom of Sicily belonged to him, since his wife Constance was the daughter of Manfred, the late king of Sicily; the male line having died out, the succession of the kingdom undoubtedly had fallen to her; the cities with one accord and with the greatest eagerness offered him possession of the kingdom. And indeed, whose duty was it to avenge Manfred if not that of his son-in-law and grandsons? This was even more the case as it was the same man who had killed Manfred, occupied his kingdom and perse-
cuted his cities. It was contrary to his royal honor that they should become objects of regii nominis.

The king was strongly moved by these arguments, and he decided to set out for Sicily. His enterprise was all the more swiftly undertaken in that he had a little while before set up a fleet, crossed to Africa, and inflicted great slaughter on Barbary; and having taken a town on the coast he possessed a victorious army and fleet not far from Sicily. So he set out from the coast of Africa and on his arrival in Palermo was received with great joy by the populace and hailed as king of Sicily. He then assembled a fleet and set sail for Messina. Charles, recognizing the superiority of the enemy fleet and thinking it risky, with all Sicily against him, to be trapped there and beset by lack of provisions, decided to abandon the siege and turn back to Italy. When the king's decision became known in the camps, there was such a sudden rush down to the sea (for nobody wanted to be the last to cross) that the operation was hardly distinguishable from a hopeless rout. The tents and siege-engines and all the equipment were left behind in the camps, and scarcely had the army withdrawn when the enemy fleet arrived. Charles, however, having decided not to fight at that moment but to wage war in another way, dissolved his forces and sent his friends' auxiliaries home. But when he was on the point of leaving, his fleet was discovered by enemy scouts and attacked by the Aragonese. Several of his ships were captured and brought to Messina, including four Pisan triremes that had recently been sent to Charles in accordance with the treaty. The Florentine knights dismissed by the king came home unharmed, although in their flight they lost the city's great field-pavilion, which had in accordance with custom been entrusted to their leader. It was captured by the men of Messina and long preserved among their spoils. 67

The next year was tranquil domestically, and the Florentines neither made war nor had war made against them. The lieutenant Rudolf had recently sent to Tuscany, the one who had begun to
sus qui Miniatet ex oppido bellum coeperat inferre, non consequentibus viribus ab incepto desisterat, et missi ad Carolum equites domum remerant. Iraque ad laetiam conversis animis ludi quidam insignis eo anno per urbem dat et apparatus magnifici vicinam prope exhibitur; viri unum in morem vestes pelique albas induit, mulieres quoque omni sumptuositate ornatis Comitalia exercuere.

68 Sequitur post hunc annus insignis multos rebus. Eo anno faciebat dictum est con Genuensibus. Superaverant enim ille paulo ante Pisanos navali proelio et reliquis bellis persecuerebantur. Quamobrem credebatur Pisanorum nomen omne posse deleri, si Genuenses quidem mari, Florentini autem et socii terra adorirentur. Et profecto causa suberant legitimae ad bellum, quod illi post pacem non sis pacato in Lucenses finitimos se habuisse, Rodulphique praefecto bellum nuper inferrenti cohors esse arguebantur. Ad hoc igitur icto foedere, Florentini et Lucenses certi et socii constituto tempore profecti ad ipsa prope Pisarnu moenia possessa castra; Genuenses autem mari aderant quadrangula longos navibus. Hae terrestres maritima inque copiae cuncta igne ferroque popolatae sunt. Post multiplices illatas clades exercitus disceressere eo proposito, ut proxima debere autem apparatu marique terraque rursus coirent ad Pisas obsidendas.

69 Cum itaque salus nulla Pisanis superesse videtur. Ugolinus comes, qui florentina ex pace nuper redieserat Pisas, locum adversario criminandi nactus, quod obstinata quadam perversitate Florentinos Lucensesque sibi iminicos infestosque reddidissent, quisquis amicitia erat vivendam. "Quid," inquit, "profuit haec

make war from the town of San Miniateto, abandoned his enterprise from lack of resources. The knights that had been sent to help Charles returned home. So the citizens turned their minds to festivity, and gave some famous shows in that year throughout the city, with magnificent displays in nearly every neighborhood. Many men, dressed up in white clothing of a uniform cut, and women too, sumptuously arrayed, celebrated street-festivals.68

The year that followed was distinguished by numerous events. In that year a treaty was signed with the Genoese. They had recently beaten the Pisans in a naval battle and were hunting down the remnants of their fleet. On this account it was believed that the Pisans could be entirely wiped out if the Genoese attacked by sea and the Florentines and their allies by land. There were, to be sure, legitimate grounds for the war, as the Pisans were accused of not treating their neighbors, the Lucchese, in a peaceful manner after the truce, and of having aligned themselves with Rudolf’s lieutenant in the lately-threatened war. Having formed a league on this account, the Florentines, the Lucchese and other allies set out at the appointed time and pitched camp by the very walls of Pisa, while the Genoese brought up forty galleys by sea. These land and sea forces laid waste to everything with fire and sword. After they had inflicted great damage, the armies departed with the intention of coming again by land and sea to besiege Pisa the following summer with still more apparatus of war.

Thus the Pisans seemed to be in a hopeless situation, and this gave Count Ugolino, who had recently returned to Pisa after the Florentine peace, the opportunity to denounce his opponents. Thanks to an obstinate perversity, he charged, they had made enemies of the Florentines and Lucchese, with whom they ought to be living on a friendly basis. “What profit is there,” said he, “in this stubborn desire to take sides against nearly all our neighbors? In my view, the empire of the Pisan people should be extended by sea, while on land we should embrace our neighboring cities in
pervicacia, ut prope omnium finitiorum diversas tam cupide ar-
riperemus partes? Ego quidem ut mari propagandum populi pi-
sani imperium, sic terra vicina civitate benevolentia et caritate 
putabam continendas. Id profecto maioribus nostris sapientissimis 
viris placuisse video, qui Corsicam, qui Sardiniam, qui Balearis in-
sulas procul situas imperio subiectiores suos, Lucam in vestibu-
lo paene urbis nostrae positam intactam reliquerunt. Hi vero contra 
praecleri gubernatores nostri molestissimas simulatae domi par-
entes nulla probabilis ratione perpetuos nobis hostes a terra imminere 
procurarunt. Et nunc quoque mea sententia est Florentinos esse 
pacandos. Nec sane id videtur difficile, si eius rei naturam penitus 
discriminamus. Etenim quibus de rebus nobis atque illis contentio 
est? De Sardiniae dominatu, an de insularum aliarum posses-
sione? At id ne in cogitationem quidem eorum unquam venit. An 
certare nobiscum volunt de rerum maritimarum potentia? At id 
quidem curae illis nunquam fuit. An quod agro nos indigent 
quam colant ex quove alantur? Satis ipsis quidem superque habent 
agri, neque nostrum requirunt neque exsuscunt. Quid est ergo 
quod nos cum illis in contentionem deduxerit, praeter inane quod-
dam partium studium leviter corrigendum, si paulorum rabiem, 
qui hac inimicitia nos superflu tocerarunt, comprimamur?

70 Haec ab illo haud falsa iactata metus imminere comprobabat. 
Septuaginta quidem naves longas parare Genueses ferentur; a 
terra vero magnos dilectus equitum pedemque habet, ut proxima 
aestate Pisas obsiderent. Id formidantes Pisani, cum una salus vi-
deretur si Florentini a societate Genuesium averterentur. Ugolino 
comiti, quod is Florentinorum sociorumque amicus et studio par-
tium similis habebatur, adhaeruerunt. Ille ubi mentes civium ad se 
charity and good will. This, I see, is certainly what our ancestors, 
those wisest of men, decided to do when they subjected far-off 
Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands to their empire, while 
leaving Lucca untouched, though the latter was situated practically 
on the doorstep of our own city. Our present distinguished gover-
nors, on the contrary, have kept us supplied with ominous domes-
tic quarrels while seeing to it, for no good reason, that we are per-
petually threatened by enemies on land. I am now, still, of the 
opinion that we should make peace with the Florentines. It will 
not seem difficult once we grasp fully the nature of the situation. 
After all, what is it that our two cities are fighting over? The con-
rol of Sardinia or the possession of the other islands? Such a 
thing has never entered their heads. Is it their desire to fight with 
us for control of the sea? That is something they have never cared 
about. Do they need our land to cultivate or to support their popu-
lation? They have land enough and more; they neither need nor 
seek our own. What is it, then, that has brought us into conten-
tion with them, aside from this inane partisanship—a partisap-
ship that could easily be neutralized if we would suppress the ra-
bid passion of a few men who burden the rest of us with this 
needless hostility?"

These words, uttered by Ugolino forcefully and with no little 
truth, were rendered persuasive by the imminence of the danger. 
The Genoese were reported to be readying seventy galleys; on land 
there were large numbers of horse and foot being levied to besiege 
Pisa the next summer. This put fear into the hearts of the Pisans, 
whose only salvation seemed to lie in detaching the Florentines 
from their alliance with the Genoese. Thus they aligned them-
selves with Count Ugolino because, being of their same party, he 
was considered a friend of the Florentines and their allies. When 
he saw that he had won his fellow-citizens over to his way of 
thinking, Ugolino toppled the leaders of the Ghibelline party and 
now began governing the city in his own name; to do this, he im-
HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE

The history of the Florentine People. This political change altered the Florentine attitude. Thus they took no part in the rest of the war which was fought in Pisa the following summer, as they were happy with the political changes and the governance of the city by a friendly rather than an unfriendly faction. So after that date the war was prosecuted by the Genoese alone, who had brought their seventy galleys at the appointed time, and by the Lucchesi, who had remained in the league. There is no doubt that if the Florentines had continued as members of the alliance, the Pisans would have been totally exterminated.

In the same year the city limits were enlarged and new walls of much greater extent were laid out, with gates placed prominently on the most famous roads, those to the Casentino, to Bologna, to Prato and to Pistoia. I cannot say with certainty whether this was the second or the third time the walls had been extended. Many think it was the second time, since the first walls ran from the temple of Mars to the public baths and the ancient theater. The next circuit was evidently expanded from the south side to the bank of the river and from the north beyond the church of San Lorenzo. The third circuit went far beyond that (as we have already said) to the place where the walls and gates now stand. In Oltr'arno the first building took place around the PonteVecchio, consisting of suburban structures and villas with gardens. Soon thereafter three districts were formed, two along the Arno east and west from the bridge, and the third on the road running directly south from the bridge. These districts existed for a long time without any public defenses, and for this reason numerous private towers were erected in these places to protect the inhabitants. At length these districts too were surrounded by walls, and the hills above them covered with defense works. These places too soon filled up with inhabitants and dwellings. The circuit was expanded to a far greater extent than formerly, and three magnificent gates were constructed.
prius, portaeque magnifici operis tres factae celeberrimis trans
Arnum vias: Pisana, Senensi, Arretina.

72 Eodem anno Carolus rex moritur, vir procul dubio egregius,
longe tam belli aribus quam pacis insignior. Res siquidem a se
praeclaras armis gestas impunita suorum licentia in pace fecavit
ac nimio despectu ad rebellionem coegit. Dubius praecipuus in Ita-
lia victoriae acutus: altera qua Manfredum, altera qua Corradinum
superavit. Sed utrasque secutae rebelliones minus esse laetas per-
misserunt. Ad extremum capro filio Siciliaque amissa in medio tur-
bationum maximarum interit apud Foggiam, Calabriae oppidum.

73 Altero deinde anno Guilielmus Arretinorum praevel castrum
Ceciliae, admodum natura munitum, in finibus arretini aegri Se-
nas versus occupavit, praesidioque militum imposito novis rebus
Senenses contraevis. Itaque contractae eo propere Senantium
copiae et a Florentinis missi equites pedisque castrum circum-
sedere. Variis deincep oppugnatio et usque in mensem quinum
protracta obstido, quae tam valida fuit afluxibus undique auxi-
liariibus turmis ut praesul Arretinorum, et le coeptas ipse
quoque ostentat copias, tam dein apparatus magnitudine abstritit ferre
suis auxiliis non sit ausus. Fane tandem expugnatius qui hunc
erant, deserto per noctem castro fuga sibi consulerunt, sed ea
coignit per hostes, magna pars intercipitur. Ipsum vero castrum, ne
quando propter egregiam eius loci opportunatatem similia tena-
rentur, ad solum usque Senenses evererunt.

74 Per hoc ipsum tempus Princivallis Tuscanus ab Rodolpho in
Etruriam missus parere sibi civitates postulabat. Consensisse eius
missioni Honorium pontificem romanum, qui nuper Martinum suc-

\[\text{BOOK III}\]

on the three most famous streets of Oltr'arno, the Via Pisana, the
Via Senese and the Via Arethina.59

In the same year King Charles died. He was unquestionably a
distinguished man, but far more able in the arts of war than in
those of peace. Indeed, the unrestrained license of his followers in
peace-time marred his famous feats of arms and caused men to de-
spire and rebel against him. He won glory especially with his two
victories in Italy: the one in which he beat Manfred, and the other
in which he overcame Corradini. But the rebellions which followed
both victories made them less felicitous. In the end, with his son
in captivity and Sicily lost, he died near Foggia, a town of Cala-
bria, in the midst of extreme turmoil.51

The following year, Guglielmino, the bishop of Arezzo, occu-
pied the castle of Cecilia, a naturally fortified place in Aretei ter-
rity near the border of Siena. He established a garrison there
and frightened the Sienese with threats of rebellion. So the Sien-
ese hastened to assemble their troops there and the Florentines
sent troops of foot and horse to surround the castle. Various at-
tacks followed and the siege lasted as long as five months. The cas-
tle was held in so tight a grip, with auxiliary troops flooding in
from all sides, that the bishop of Arezzo, although he too could
boast a concentration of forces, nevertheless was deterred by the
size of the war machine arrayed against him and dared not rein-
force his troops. At length the garrison was overcome by hunger
and fled, abandoning the castle by night, every man for himself.
But the enemy found this out, and a large number of them were
intercepted. The castle itself was razed to the ground by the
Sienese lest it ever be employed for similar purposes thanks to its
strategic position.

It was at this time, too, that Princivalle dal Fiesco was sent by
the Emperor Rudolf to Tuscany to demand the submission of the
cities in the emperor's name. It was widely reported that Pope
Honorius, who had recently succeeded Martin, had consented to

310

311
cesserat; vulgo ferebatur, et dedita opera quo minus abhorreant animi, ut Italus genere et studio partium non alienus legaretur. Is cum Florentiam intrasset et pece magis quam auctoritate nitetur, plus valuit respectus causae publicae quam privati generis. Itaque, ut alis, ita et huic parere civitas soluit. Quare post paucos dies Florentia egressus Arretium petit. Ibi quoque cum eadem postulasset, neque alteram factionem trahere in sententiam ponuit, quod a nomine imperii abhorrebat, neque alteram, quoniam nomi familiae Fliscanae ex qua ipse ortum ducebat, suspicium partibus habebat. Ita ab utraque spatius tandem abivit.

Proximo post hunc anno semina gravissimarum turbationum Arretii coorta finitimis civitatis in suspicicionem primo, mox in apertum bellum compulere. Haud mullo quidem ante id tempus Arretini exemplo Florentinorum pernoti, priorem artium sibi creaverant, virum quemam popularem ac nobilitati maxime infestum. Guelfo huic nomen fuit. Is armata multitudine castella quaedam Arretinorum per nobilitatem prius occupata repertere; mox quia dicto non parebatur, obsidere coepit. Nonnulla vero ex his pertinacius resistentia, tandem vi capta expugnataque ad solum aequavit. Praecipue tamen Pactiorum et Ubertinorum potentiae infestus, quorum castella pluribus locis cum evertisset, tandem Civitellam obsedidit in qua Guilielminus praesul, homo diversarum partium et arretini populi inimicus, resedebat. Et in loco dum exercitus esset, principes nobilitatis, qui primo ob studia partium varie inter se dissiduebant, veriti ne, si id oppidum duxerat auspicioque prioris expugnaretur, in nimiam plebs evaderet potentiam.

his mission. Principalle had been chosen on purpose since he was an Italian and a Guelph sympathizer and as such his ambassadorship would cause less resentment. Having entered Florence he attempted to compass his end through entreaty rather than command; but respect for the common cause outweighed respect for the house of a private individual. Thus the city would no more submit to him than to the others who had demanded her obedience. So a few days later he left Florence and went to Arezzo, where he made the same demand. But he could bring neither faction over to his way of thinking, the one because the imperial name was repugnant to it, the other because it harbored a partisan suspicion of the house of the Fieschi from which he sprang. He was thus spurned by both parties and finally left. 55.

The following year the seeds of very serious tumults began to germinate in Arezzo, driving the nearby cities first to distrust her, then to open war against her. Not long before this time the Aretines, inspired by the Florentine example, had created as Prior of the Guilds a man of popolano status who was extremely hostile to the nobility. His name was Guelfo. 55 Having armed the multitude, he tried to recover certain Aretine castles that had been occupied earlier by the nobility. Soon, since the nobility would not obey his orders, he began to lay siege to their castles, and the few that resisted more tenaciously he stormed and captured by force, then razed to the ground. He was particularly hostile to the power of the Pazzi and Uberti families, many of whose castles he destroyed. Finally he besieged Civitella, where dwelt Bishop Guglielmino, a Ghibelline and a man hostile to the Aretine people. While the Aretine army was there, the leaders of the nobility, who had at first been divided amongst themselves by partisan feeling, grew fearful lest the town be captured under the leadership and auspices of the Prior, causing the commons to become overmighy and to demand back what they, the nobility, had usurped. Stimulated by anxious fear and at the same time by hatred of the common peo-
ac se quoque usurpata reposceret, eo metu anxii et simul invidia plebis commoti, reconciliatis inter se animis ac seditione in exercitu facta, duce Rainaldo Bostoli, ad hostes9 transfugerunt. Ob eam rem obsidio statim soluta est ac exercitus domini reductus.

Nec multo post omnis nobiles una cum praesule contractis undique suis amicorumque viribus Arretium intravit, impetusque in priorem artium facto, cum illum fracta ac depulsa plebe corripuisse, avulsa per contumeliam ac cultum foedum spectaculum suis civibus dimiserit. Urbeb vero ac publicarium rerum curam inter se partiti gubernabant; bonos et graves et plebe viros urbe deiecerant. Nec tamen hic status rerum diuturnus fuit. Nam pecuniare nobiles malum, superbia et ambitio, conflictare dominantis44 coepit. Iraque suspicionibus coortis Guiglielmus praevalua una cum Ubertini et Pactiis, ex quibus ipsae eius erat, ceterisque Arretinorum familiae eius factionis, impigerapti praeveritiens armis nobilitatem ceteram urbe detarbat. Ipse per gentium agnatorumque favorem sublevatus tyranniem invasit.

Erant duae factiones Areteae pulsae: una ac plebeis, qui priorem artium secuti fuerant; altera ex nobilitate, per fraudem postmodum eicta. Hi omnes in unum concinere castella Rondine, Sabinum et alia quaedam circa urbe munita loca occuparunt belloque ex his Arretio intulerunt. Mox, quia non satis per sece existimabant posse, ad Florentinos legatione missa, cuius principes fuit Domitianus qui fama e familia vetera, oppere supplevis preclari sunt. Addiderunt et orationem precibus ex veritate amicitia et simili studiio partium collectam: nullam esse florentino populo, si antiqua repetantur, neque veristiorem neque diuturniorem

- BOOK III -

plebe, they were reconciled to each other and, having begun a rebellion in the army, fled under the leadership of Rinaldo Bostoli to the enemy. For this reason the siege was immediately abandoned and the army returned home.

Shortly thereafter the whole of the nobility, together with the bishop, collected their forces and those of their friends everywhere and entered Arezzo. They attacked the Prior of the Guilds and seized him, having shoved their way through the common people. To humiliate him they plucked out his eyes, leaving behind a revolting spectacle for their fellow-citizens. They then divided up the city and the administration of public affairs among themselves and took control of the government, ejecting from the city good and wealthy citizens who sprang from the common people. Yet this state of affairs did not last long; the characteristic vices of the nobility, arrogance and ambition, began to create conflicts among the rulers. Thus mistrust arose, and Bishop Guglielmo, together with the Ubertini and the Pazzi (to whose families he himself belonged) and the other Aretean clans of Ghibelline sympathies, preemptively seized arms and with great vigor expelled the rest of the nobility from the city. With the assistance of his relatives and blood-relations the bishop then made himself tyrant.14

There were two factions that had been expelled from Arezzo, a plebeian one that had followed the Prior of the Guilds, and a noble faction that had later been expelled through deceit. They joined together and occupied the castles at Rondine, Monte San Savino, and certain other fortified places around the city, making war from them against Arezzo.55 Soon, realizing their own power was not sufficient, they sent a legation to the Florentines led by a certain Dominiano, from an old family, to beg for aid. To supplement their pleas they made a speech whose topics were the antiquity of their friendship and their common political sympathies. If one went back to ancient times (they said) the Florentine People had had no older nor more long-lasting alliance than the one they

314

315
enjoyed with that very party of Aretines who had now been expelled by their common enemies and who, as suppliants, were seeking refuge in Florentine protection and loyalty. The Florentines, asserting their liberty for the first time after long slavery, had entered into a league and alliance with this party after the death of Frederick; this party had been in control of the Aretine government in the very year the battle of the Arbia was fought, and twice had the Aretine foot and horse entered Sienese territory with the Florentines; in that same battle of the Arbia masses of Aretine troops had been slaughtered, more than any other allied city; then, after a long exile and the destruction of their resources, King Charles was sent by heaven to aid their party, and the Aretines had been almost the first to welcome him to Tuscany; their forces had thereafter also opposed the coming of Conradin despite the universal terror when they had seen him slaughter the king's army practically before their eyes; yet they had persevered with great constancy in their loyalty to the Florentines, and neither at the siege of Poggibonsi nor anywhere else that partisan zeal had been called for had their presence or efforts been lacking. Now these same men had been expelled from Arezzo by the violence of a Ghibelline faction consisting less of citizens than of foreigners; Guglielmino had acquired all his power from clients and nearby tyrants of the Ghibelline faction; he had expelled the Guelfs, partly by force and partly by betrayal, when they had been struggling against domestic rebellions of the common people and the nobility. They were pleading, in the name of their old friendship and long association, that the Florentines should not suffer them to seek aid in vain. They had no need to explain the argument from utility since they were addressing men of great prudence, who well understood the difference between a friendly and a hostile faction ruling that city, especially since it was the Pazzi and Ubertini and men of that sort, enemies of tranquillity and liberty, who were ruling it and could be counted on eventually to make...
HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE

...tandem florentino populo esse futurum; ceterum referre, 78
urum nunc tenentibus amicis circa urbem castra et opportunita-
tem maximam praestare valentibus, an postea illis iam perditis bel-
sume sit susciendum.

Movit oratio mentes, quippe vera esse constabat quae ab legatis
dicebantur. Iaque responsionis illis datum est: populum quidem
florentinum bono esse animo, verum et sociorum sententiam illis
esse expectandum, quos ad hoc ipsum i vestigio convocarent.
Accitis deinde sociorum legatis reque in consilio discussa, consti-
tuerunt Aretonum exules, urpore vetustos amicos, in communem
societatem suscipere isque opem ferre quoad in urbem atque in
sua restituerentur. Ad hoc ipsum renovato foedere octingentes
equites illis decreverunt, horum quingentis i vestigio traditis, reli-
quos sese, cum res exigeret, missuros polliciti. Recepto igitur so-
ciorum equitatu aretini exules, cum ipsi quoque equitem pedi-
temque satis magno numero armassent, per singulos fuerint
usque ad Aretonis moenia crebris incursionibus infestabant. Quare
et hi qui urbem tenebant diversarum item partium auxilia postu-
lare coacti sunt. Ob eam causam omnes florentini exules qui abi-
cunque terrarum erant eo concurrentur; praeter hos quoque ex
Umbria et Picentibus studio partium insignes complurimi. Ita cer-
tamen atque bellum ex integro nascitur.

Boedem anno bis incendia Florentiae coorta:66 primum in Cerret-
tanorum aedibus, deinde aliud longe maius quo Circulorum do-
mus crematae sunt ingenti cum iactura praedivitis familiae. Hono-
rius quoque pontifex romanus per hoc ipsum tempus decessit, bi-
ennio fere postquam sedere inceperat.

Proximo decimo anno cura in arretinum versa bellum. Nam
auxilia diversae factionis eo contracta florentinum ac senensem
agrum subitis incursionibus reddibant infestum. Tandem pro-

BOOK III

war on the Florentine People; but they would raise the question
whether the war should be undertaken now, when their friends
held encampments around the city and were able to offer them
great advantages, or later, when these advantages had been lost.

The oration was effective since what the ambassadors were say-
ing was obviously true. So they received this response: the Floren-
tine People were well disposed to them but they would have to
wait upon the views of their allies, whom they would meet with
immediately for this purpose. Representatives of the allies were
then summoned and the matter was discussed in council. It was
decided to accept the Arethine exiles as old friends into their com-
mon alliance and to help them until such time as they should be
restored to their city and their property. The league was renewed
for this purpose. They were allotted eight hundred knights, of
whom five hundred were turned over to them immediately, while
the rest they promised to send when circumstances should require
them. When they had received the allied cavalry, therefore, the
Arethine exiles—who themselves had armed a considerable num-
ber of horse and foot—began almost every day making frequent raids
up to the walls of Arezzo. Hence those who controlled the city
were compelled in their turn to request aid from the Ghibellines.
So all the Florentine exiles everywhere in the world hastened
there, as well as many famous partisans from Umbria and the
Marches. Thus did the battle and the war begin anew.66

In the same year fires broke out twice in Florence, the first in
the dwellings of the Cerretani, then a much bigger one in which
the Palazzo Cerchi was consumed with great loss to that excep-
tionally rich family. Pope Honorius also died around that time,
about two years after he had begun his pontificate.67

In the following year attention turned to the Arethine war. The
Ghibelline auxiliaries who had assembled there were making Flo-
rentine and Sienese territory unsafe with their sudden incursions.
Finally the Florentines decided to set out with all their forces to