HISTORY OF THE FLORENTINE PEOPLE

Etruriam, Flaminiam, Umbriam, Samnium reliquaque Italie regiones per suarum gentium duces gubernabant. Quatuardo supra ducentos annos in Italia dominatam Longobardorum gentem constat, ac multorum regum successionem per hoc tempus habuisse.

Tandem cum gravioris iniuriae populo romano pontificibusque inferret, Carolus Francorum rex, cui postea ex rebus gestis Magno fuit cognomen, in Italian precibus Adriani pontificis maximi evocatus, Desiderium Longobardorum regem post aliquot prospera proelia apud Papiam obsessorum, ad declinarem coegit: ipsumque cum uxor eae ac liberis in Galliam deportato atque reliquis Longobardorum ducibus varie profugitis, graven eius gentis dominatum a cervicibus Italorum dimoverit. Ob quae et alia subinde merita ab Adriano evocatorem multis ac maximis privilegiis ornatus, mox a Leone eius successore Augustus appellatus, imperatorium nomen dignitatemque suscepit. Hinc nata est, quae hodie quoque perdurat, imperii romani divisi, aliis in Graecia, aliis in Gallia Germaniaque romani principis nomen usurpabantibus. De quo non ab re fuerit pro cognitione rei pausa repetere.


Haec omnia per quadrincentos sexaginta quinque annos ab unitas urbis libero populo perfecta. Externis invictum bellis, inter-

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...that the Lombard race dominated Italy for more than two hundred and four years and had a long line of kings during that time.

Eventually, because the Lombards were inflicting grave harm on the Roman people and the popes, Charles, the king of the Franks, who was later for his deeds known as the Great, was called into Italy by the entreaties of Pope Hadrian. He fought several successful battles with Desiderius, the Lombard king, and finally forced him to surrender at Pavia after a siege. He deported him with his wife and children to France, whilst variously crushing the other Lombard leaders, and so finally lifted the heavy yoke of this race from the necks of the Italians. For this and other subsequent achievements, he was adorned with many privileges by Hadrian, who had summoned him, and afterwards he was named Augustus by Leo, Hadrian's successor, who crowned him with the imperial name and office. Hence was born the division of the Roman empire which still exists today, with some arrogating to themselves the title of Roman emperor in Greece, others in Gaul and Germany. For a clearer picture of this subject, it will not be amiss to say a few words.

The Roman Empire was founded and perfected by the Roman People. The early kings never attained such wide domains as to merit the name of empire. The reality and the name of empire emerged under the consuls and dictators and military tribunes, the magistrates of a free people. It was created by the armed conquest of almost all Africa and a great part of Asia to beyond the mountains of Armenia and the Caucasus. The parts of Europe subdued in war included Spain, Gaul, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and later other regions, and the Rhine and the Danube became the borders of the empire. The seas with their islands and their shores all obeyed Rome, from the Bosphorus to Britain.

All this was accomplished in four hundred and sixty-five years by the free people of a single city. Unconquered by external foes, this people was overwhelmed at last by internal discord and civil...
tinae civilesque discordiae oppressere. Imperatores hinc creati coepit, quod ante armorum castrorumque nomen fuit, id tamquam intestino vigente bello intra moenia indactum; verbo quidem legitima potestas, re autem vera dominatio erat. Strati armorum caterva, metu servire compellabat civis. Ab his imperatoribus Germania et quibusdam provinciis ad imperium adiunctis, foris quidem potentia non nihil extensa est; domi autem vires imperii assiduis paene caedibus immittae. Sed ab initio quidem singuli imperabant; Nerva autem, qui duodecimus ab Augusto successit, primus sibì consorsre delegit imperii. Quo postea exemplo duo interdum principes eodem tempore extiterunt. In partione tamen rerum usque ad Constantini tempora, praecipua Romae servabantur auctoritas; post Constantinum vero sedemque imperii Byzantium translatam, maxime factitatum est ut duobus imperatoribus institutis, alter Romam atque Italiam, alter Orientem susciperet gubernandum. Sed fere apud Constantinopolim summa rerum habebatur: qui illic imperaban, saepe alio sibi adiunxt Romam Italiæque solabant committere. Iamque ex consuetudine sequestratum, illud orientale, hoc occidentale vocabatur imperium. Occupantibus deinde Italiam barbaris occidentale cessavit imperium, nec post Augustulum illum, quem ab Odoacre dejectum ostendimus, quisquam, ne tyrannus quidem, per Italiam et Occidentem id nomen suscepit usque ad Carolum Magnus, quem a Leone pontifice imperatorem diximus appellatum.

Inter Augustulum vero et Carolum per trecentos annos imperium cessavit, quod hinc intelligi licet. Odoacer Torlingorum rex, deecito Augustulo, tredecim annos Roman Italiæque possedidit. Gothi, qui cum Theodorico rege Odoacre oppressere, sexa-

war. From that time forth, emperors began to be chosen, and the word imperator, which before had meant arms and forts, was brought, as it were, within the city walls as though to signal continuous civil war. The word still referred to a legitimate function, but in reality it signified lordship and dominion. Surrounded by armed troops, the citizens were cowed into subservience. Germany and certain provinces were added to the empire by the emperors, so the empire's external power was somewhat extended, but the strength of the empire at home was diminished by almost continual assassinations and slaughter. When they began the emperors reigned alone, but Nerva, the twelfth emperor after Augustus, was the first to choose a co-ruler. Thereafter two emperors from time to time ruled simultaneously as colleagues on this model. Until the time of Constantine, however, the division of business did not alter the primary authority of the city of Rome. After Constantine moved the capital to Byzantium, it became the habitual practice to have two emperors, one to rule Italy and Rome, the other to rule the east. The highest power was soon felt to belong to Constantinople, as those who ruled there often entrusted Rome and Italy to their co-ruler. Once the empires were divided in practice, moreover, they came to be called the eastern and western empires. When the barbarians then took over Italy, the western empire ceased to exist. After Augustulus was overthrown by Odoacer, as we have shown, no one, not even as an act of tyrannous usurpation, took up the name of emperor in Italy and the West until Charlemagne, to whom, as we have said, Pope Leo gave the title.

Between Augustulus and Charlemagne, then, the empire ceased to exist for almost three hundred years, and this may be calculated as follows. Odoacer, the king of the Torlingi, ruled Rome and Italy for thirteen years after dethroning Augustulus. The Goths, who defeated Odoacer under King Theodoric, ruled this region for almost sixty years. Narses took it away for a short time. Then the Lombards held Italy for two hundred and four years. After de-
ginta fere annos in his locis domini sunt. Nihilim temporis
Narsee intercepit. Mox Longobardi ducenos et quattuor annos te-
muerunt Italiam. Post Longobardos a se oppressos fugatosque vige-
simo quinto fere anno, Carolus imperator Romae creatus oblitera-
tum nomen imperii dignitatemque resumpsit. Enim vero pritus,
ersi bini imperatores rem publicam gubernabant, tamen alter ab al-
tero dependebat, consortesque ambo erant imperii. Post Carolum
vero neque consortium ullum, nec usque penitus remansit commun-
nio; divisi animi, divisa item signa. Nam ante Carolum, imperato-
res vexillo rubro, quod populi romani antiquum fuit insignie, a-
quilam auream addiderant; qui postea successerunt Carolo, fuscum
aquilam fulvo gestant vexillo, quo quidem insigni nullo unquam
tempore usus fuerat populus romanus.

72 Fuit praeterea disceptatio varia, cum aliis veterem imperatorum
seriem et antiquum succedendi morem servandum censerent; aliis,
esi alienum a iure, tamen qua expediret, novum electionis exem-
plum a pontifici introductum probarent. Nobis autem plurimum
viderur referre, populus romanus借口tut pontificiis et pontifex
ipse in iussu populi imperatorem creavit. Constat enim nullus ma-
gis quam populi romani id minus esse. Nam pontificatus per illa
tempora magis ab imperatoris auctoritate pendebat, nec quisquam
praesidebat, nisi quem post se natus, eleri et populi romani ele-
tionem imperatoria comprobasset auctoritas. Verum haec cen-
surae illorem, qui iuris pontifici peritiores habentur, subicimus.

73 Carolo certe ipsi, utrumque tandem electo, divina porro huma-
naque faverunt, et fuit profecto vir dignus imperatori culmine et
qui non solum rerum gestarum magnitudine, verum etiam pluri-
marum virtutum excellencia, Magnus meruerit appellari. Idem
fortissimus atque matissimus, summa iustitia nec minori sobrie-
feating and pursuing the Lombards for almost twenty-five years,
Charlemagne was crowned emperor in Rome and restored the for-
gotten name and office of the empire. While it is true that at an
earlier time there had been two emperors who governed the com-
monwealth, one depended on the other and they were associated
in the rule of a single empire. After Charlemagne there was no as-
ociation at all, and nothing remained in common between the
eastern and western empires; they were divided in spirit, divided
even in their emblems. Before Charlemagne, the emperors had
added a golden eagle to the old red banner of the Roman People.
The successors of Charlemagne, however, displayed a black eagle
on a tawny yellow banner, a symbol never used by the Roman
people.

There was also a complicated dispute about imperial elections.
Some thought that the old series of emperors and the old customs
of succession should be maintained while others approved, as an
expedient procedure, a new form of election introduced by the
pope, even though it lacked a legal basis. To us it seems highly de-
batable whether the Roman People creates the emperor on the
urging of the pope, or the pope himself, without instruction from
the Roman People, creates the emperor, since it is evident that this
office must properly belongs to the Roman People. In those times,
it was more the case that the papacy depended on the emperor,
and no one presided over the Church unless, after election by the
senate, the clergy, and the people of Rome, he had been approved
by imperial authority. But we submit these questions to the judg-
ment of those who are considered more learned in canon law.

Charlemagne himself, whatever the means of his election, cer-
tainly enjoyed both divine and human favor. He was truly worthy
of the high position of emperor. He deserved to be called “The
Great” not only for the greatness of his deeds but for excellence of
his many virtues. He was most strong and most merciful, just in
the highest degree and equally temperate in his habits. To the
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74 Huius successores quidam eam Italiam partem in qua Longobar- dorum regia fuit possidentes, se reges Italiam nuncuparunt, quo- rum e numero fuerunt Pipinus Caroli filius, item Bernardus et Lo- harius nepotes ac Ludovicus Lotharii filius. Quorum Lotharius et Ludovicus non solum Italiae reges, sed etiam imperatores Romanorum fuere. Sed et ali Caroli successores in Gallia primo, mox et in Germania romanum velut per manus traditum gubernarunt imperium usque ad Arnulfum Germaniae regem, qui septimus a Ca- rolo successor et ultimus eius sanguinis imperator fuit. Postquam ititur in Germaniam imperium abit ac patru ex iis in Italia statio continua, plurimum vero adventiciis, cum erat opus, exercitibus ad tempus morabatur, civitates Italiae paucitatem ad libertatem repulsae et imperium verbo magis quam facto confecerunt, Romanique ipsam et romanum nomen, veneratione potius antiquae potentiae, quam presenti metu recognosceire.

75 Deinde quocumque ex variis barbarorum diluvii superfue- rant ubres per Italiam, crescere arque florecre et in pristinam auctoritatem sese in dies attollere. Sed in Etruria quidem, a primis illis Romanorum bellis usque ad haec tempora, civitates multae oppidaque magna, quorum prae fuerat auctoritas, interierant. Nam et Caere et Tarquiniae et Populonia et Luna, quae ubres quondam magnae insulae litoris inferi maris positaee fuerunt, et per

great glory he had won in war, he added zeal for the liberal arts and literary learning. Thrice he came to Italy with his army. The first time he subdued Desiderius, king of the Lombards, near Pavia. The second time he marched down as far as Capua against Arausio, the duke of Benevento. The third time he restored to Rome Pope Leo, who had been unjustly expelled by the Romans. That was the occasion on which he earned the imperial title and office. In addition to all this, Charlemagne and his sons and generals waged many great wars with the utmost success against the Huns, the Saxons, the Aquitains, and certain other nations.

Some of his successors, who possessed that part of Italy where the royal court of the Lombards had been located, called themselves kings of Italy. Among them were Pepin, the son of Charle- magne, and Bernard and Lothair, his grandsons, and Louis, the son of Lothair. Lothair and Louis were not only kings of Italy, but also Roman emperors. But these and other successors of Charle- magne governed the Roman empire first from Gaul and later from Germany, until the time of Arnulf, the king of Germany, who was the seventh successor and heir of the last emperor of his line. After that, the empire was far away in Germany, and few of the emperors maintained a lasting presence in Italy, though many dwelt in it temporarily with foreign armies when the need arose. Little by little, the Italian cities began to pay heed to liberty and to acknowledge the empire's authority nominally rather than in practice. The city of Rome and the name of Rome were venerated for their ancient power but were no longer regarded as formidable.

At last those Italian cities that had survived the various floods of barbarians began to grow and flourish and gradually regained their ancient prestige. In Tuscany, however, many cities and large and important towns had perished between the time of the first Roman wars and this new era. For Caere, Tarquinii, Populonia, and Luna, which had once been great cities along the Tyrrhenian
mediterraneam regionem Vei, quam urbem decennio supra obsec-
sam a Romanis ostendimus, item Rusellae, Capena,69 Faleriae,70
omnino defecerant. Clusium et Faesulae parum ab interitu dista-
tabant.

Florentiam vero quidam ab Attila Hunnorum rege, aliis a Totila
eversam, inde longum post tempus a Carolo Magno restitutam,
prodidere. Nobis autem satis superque exploratum est: Attilam
Hunnorum regem nunquam Erruriam intrasse, sed nec circa Min-
cium annem, qui ex Benaco in Padum influit, unquam progress-
sum. Totilam vero Gothorum regem contra Etruriae civitates,
quae pos post victoriam Belisarii a Gothis defecerant, desaevisse ostend-
dimus. Eo adducor ut confuso nomine pro Totilae Attilam a qui
busdam acceptum per errorem credam. Incendisse autem Totilae
animum ad delendam hanc urbem, praeter novam deflectionem,
vetus quoque dolor existimatur; quod videbatur dum apud eam
tot Gothorum millia cum Radagaso duce occubuisse; itaque re-
fricato memoria animo Florentiam tolli voluaistes, qua stante ve-
lut trophaeum de sua gente in Etruria posuit extabat. Haec si ita
sunt, supra ducentos annos, qui Totilam inter Carolumque71 fuere,
eversam iacuisse hanc urbem necessarium est. Qua in re illud non
immerito quem movebit, si per tam longum tempus vacua popul
reliquia sit urbs, quibus interea locis cives fuerint adseravi? Nam
novos quidem ex Romanis habitatores a Carolo ductos crede re-
vissimum est, praesertim tot calamitatis involuta atque ita iam
pridem multis cladibus urbe Roma afflictat, ut supplemento habita-
torum ipsa potius indigeret quam aliis dare posset. Denique ad
Ostia urbem adeo Romanis necessarium per hae ipsa fere tempora
cum deficient incolae, propter vacuitatem romanae urbis col-
lonos et Sardinia positos memoriae proditum est.

coast; and in the central region Vei (which, as we have said, was
besieged for ten years by Rome), Rusellae, Capena and Faleri — all
these cities had become totally extinct. Clusium and Faesulae were
barely alive.

Florentia was razed (according to some) by Attila the Hun or
(according to others) by Totila and later restored by Charlemagne
after a long period. To us, however, it seems abundantly clear that
Attila the Hun was never in Tuscany at all, and that he never
crossed to this side of the river Mincio, which flows from Lake
Garda to the river Po. Totila, king of the Goths, did, as we have
shown, ravage the Tuscan cities which had rebelled against the
Goths after Belisarius' victory. I am convinced, therefore, that a
confusion of names has led some authors erroneously to mistake
Totila for Attila. It may plausibly be supposed that, quite apart
from Florentia's recent defection, an old rancor burned in Totila's
heart and made him want to destroy this city, for it was here that,
still earlier, so many thousands of Goths under Radagaisus had
been killed. The memory of it would have rubbed raw in his
mind, and he would have wished to destroy Florentia, a city that
stood like a monument to the defeat of his people in Etruria. If so,
Florenza must have lain in ruins for two hundred years, from
Totila to Charlemagne. Anyone will justly be struck by the ques-
tion of where the citizens lived in the meantime if the city lay
empty of its people for so long. It is completely useless to ima-
gine that Charlemagne brought new inhabitants in from
Rome, especially as that city had been recently involved in great ca-
lamities and had already been so much afflicted by earlier devast-
ation that it needed to gain new inhabitants itself and could not
possibly supply them. About that time, in fact, it is recorded that
Ostia, a city critical to the Roman state, needed inhabitants, and
that colonists were brought there from Sardinia because the city of
Rome itself was empty.
I think, therefore, that Totila had indeed done great harm to Florence, slaughtering many of her citizens and tearing down her walls, but I don’t believe that he destroyed the city altogether nor that it was entirely without inhabitants in the intervening period. I see standing yet the rich and extraordinary temple of Mars and other buildings from before the age of Totila, and when I consider these unharmed remains I cannot believe that the whole city was destroyed nor that it stood uninhabited for so long. More likely, I think, the walls were restored by Charlemagne and he recalled the nobility, which, lacking confidence in the city’s fortifications, would have defended the numerous castles on their estates. I think, therefore, that the city was put back together as a city after having been variously dismembered. Rather than refounded, in my opinion, it was essentially restored.\textsuperscript{53}

I have mentioned the Tuscan cities that perished. The main ones which finally re-emerged after being so long swamped by calamity were Pisa, Florence, Perugia, and Siena. The Pisans had a powerful fleet and enjoyed dominance at sea the more easily as theirs was the only Tuscan maritime city that remained after Tarquinii, Luna, and Populonia disappeared. The Florentines were the dominant land power thanks to their diligent activity. The Perugians prospered and acquired great power because of their fertile land and their strategic location. Siena became prominent for the splendor of her urban wealth and her excellent families, and the resources freed by the destruction of her near neighbors, Rusellae and Populonia, added to her power. Arezzo was next door, and nearly surpassed all other cities by the quality of her land and the size of her territory, but she lay between Florence and Perugia and the power of these two sturdy neighbors stood in her way. Cortona, for instance, had a long time before lost her status as an independent city-state and had become a dependency of Arezzo; she only recently reacquired her ancient autonomy. Next after these cities came Lucca, Volterra, Pistoia, Orvieto, and
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Viterbo; for Sutrium and Nepete and all of Tuscany in the vicinity of Rome had been badly hit, first by the good fortune of Rome and afterwards by her sufferings. These are the cities worth noting of those which survived the long period of storm and danger. But Perugia was the oldest power among the cities I have named. Even before the Roman empire it was referred to as one of the three capital cities of Etruria and to the end it always held the second or third place in terms of power. Neither Chiusi nor Arezzo, which too were once ancient capitals, continued as such to the end. Pisa was not a great power in ancient times and seems not to have had much standing in the eyes of the ancients. All her strength has developed since the time of Charlemagne, but far more prominently at sea than on land. And her oldest origins are not native but Greek. That is why, I believe, as long as the Etruscans flourished by sea and land, Pisa enjoyed no prestige. When our maritime cities were ruined, however, she was able to dominate. It is clear that Siena's status as a city-state is new, for the ancient territory of the Florentines and Aretines ran right up to her walls. Later she grew and flourished, with splendor and magnificence to rival any. Arezzo and Chiusi and Volterra are the oldest. They were evidently towns of Tyrrenia, which flourished in Italy even before the Trojan War, as we have remarked already. Cortona, according to certain writers, was founded by the Pelasgi even before the arrival of the Tyrrenians, but it was soon captured by them, and they expelled the Pelasgi. Viterbo was an offshoot of Arezzo's according to the ancient traditions of both towns.

In earlier times there were alliances among these towns, and Florence, Perugia, and Lucca were mutually very friendly. This was so, I think, because the territories of Pistoia and Arezzo separated these three cities, and there could be none of the border disputes which commonly bring trouble. Siena and Pisa, divided by the territory of Volterra, also enjoyed harmonious relations. But partisanship and factionalism often altered their mutual relation-
Sed haec vel studia partium vel factionum respectus saepenumero variabant. Eternim quod cuisque rationibus aptissimum est, id promptissime populi amplexatur. Atque ego puto per primum illa tempora post barbarorum cessationem inter civitates nostras concordiam viguisse; max vero, ut crescere coeperunt, vacuas ab externo metu, invidia et contentiones transversas egere.

Attulerunt autem his bellorum et discordiarum abundancissimum fomentum crebrarum inimicitiae inter pontifices romanos imperatorisque coortae. Nam imperium illud, quod in Carolo Magno maxime propter tutelam romanae ecclesiae fundatum ab initio fuit, in Germaniam ut supra ostendimus deletum, tales plerumque habitus successores ut ad nullam rem magis quam ad perseverandos evertendosque pontifices creati viderentur; adeo unde salus petita erat, scelus emersit. Causa fere inimicitiarum illa suberat, quod ecclesiastica quaedam iura hi ut sua retinere, illi antiquata licentia usurpare nitebantur. In eos itaque pontifices sententiis et censuriis, quae sola eorum tunc erant arma, ut severe poterant, animadver- bant, civitates et principes adversus illorum vesaniam concitatant, et ne quis eorum pariter edictis, sub gravissimarum denuntiatione poenarum deterrebat. Illi contra armis aedemabant. In re ambigua variae inclinationes animorum his vel illis faventium reperciperantur.

Haec itaque magnis saepe studiis per Italiam agitata, eo demum contentiosis processere ut non solo civitates singulae, verum etiam populi intra una moenia constituti, variar opprobrium dividere tur. Ita per Etruriam naturae sunt factiones duea: una furtix pontificum, imperatoribus adversa; altera imperatorio nominis omnino addicta. Sed ea, quam imperatoribus adversam supra ostendimus, ex iis fere hominibus conflata erat qui libertatem populum
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magis complexebantur; Germanos autem barbaros homines sub praetextu romani nominis dominari Iulii perindignum censebant. Alii vero factio ex ipsis erat qui imperatorio nominis addicri libertatis et gloriae maiorum immemores, obsequi externis quam suis dominari malebant. Hinc studia partium coorta, magnarum calamitatum initia fuere. Nam et publicae res contentione et cupiditate magis quam bono et honesto tractabantur, et privatim odia iniuriaeque in dies crescebant. Ita privatim et publice simul invaserat morbus, qui primo enutrius contentionibus, tandem exacerbatus odio ac letifer factus, ad arma et caedes ac vastitatem urbis ad extremum prorupit.

Maxime vero eius mortu morbi vis per Federici secundi tempora in Etruria exarit. Licet enim eius avus, qui item Federicus appellatus est, pulsis Urbe pontificibus contra eorum fautores plures locis intulerit arma ac Mediolanum diut obsessum ad solum everterit Parmanque et Placentiam longo afflexerit bello et quatuor falsos pontifices contra veros perferret, ac postea Herculius pater non minori acerbitate animi desvestrior, tamen quantum ad res et usurcas attinet, secundus Federicus principium et causam attulit civitatis externarumque calamitatum. Hic paterna quidem origine a Svevis ortus, materna autem a Siculis regibus, antequam ad imperium vocaretur, Siciliae regnum cum matre Constantina possidebat, maxime pontificium romanorum tutela in eo defensu. Sed postquam Ottone amato ad imperium assumpserat, confestim avi ac patris vestigia ingressus, per tres et triginta (tot enim regnavit annos maximis calamitatum sedem Romanam occupavit, tres per id tempus pontifices persecutus, Honorium, Gregorium, Innocentium. Privatus autem ad extremum fugiuntur concilio ac imperialis et regia potestate depositus, non quemadmodum avus eius, tandem post multa errata se ipsum humilians ad gremium reedit.

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Roman name. The other faction consisted of men who had bound
themselves to the imperial cause and had forgotten the liberty and
glory of their ancestors—men who preferred to serve foreigners
rather than be ruled by their own people. Hence partisanship
arose and this was the beginning of great calamities. For public af-

This fever reached its height in Tuscany during the time of
Frederick II. His grandfather, whose name was also Frederick,
had expelled the popes from Rome and had attacked their sup-
porters in numerous places; after a long siege he had razed Milan
to the ground and had done much harm to Parma and Piacenza
in the course of a long war, while setting up four anti-popes. Fre-
derick II's father, Henry, had been no less bitter a foe of the church.
But as far as Tuscany was concerned, it was Frederick II who was
chiefly responsible for the outbreak of civil and foreign calamities.
On his father's side, he was of Swabian origin, but on his mother's
he was Sicilian. Before being called to the empire, he had enjoyed
joint possession of the kingdom of Sicily with his mother Con-
stance, being protected in this position by the popes. But after
Ottone was removed from the scene and Frederick became emperor,
he immediately followed in his father's and grandfather's footsteps
and inflicted great calamities on the Holy See throughout the
thirty-three years of his reign. In this time he persecuted three
popes: Honorius, Gregory, and Innocent. When at last he was
deposed by the Council of Lyons and deprived of both his impe-
rival and royal powers, he did not, like his ancestor, humiliate him-
self after his many errors and return to the fold. Instead he
showed contempt for the council and its decrees. He tried not
sed et concilia et decreta contemnens, non solum ea quae tenebat restituere, sed insuper alia occupare perrecti. Siciliam igitur et Apulum ac proximas Italiae partes ex materna ut diximus haereditate possidens, ac ex propinquo magis adhaerens, civitates Etruriae curiosius observavit, illas denique nudare adversariis ac suarum partium facere instituit. Hoc ille non solum in praesentia, verum etiam in futurum existimavit conducere. Nam quoq? filius abundabat, ut est hominum mens sibi ipsi nimis assentatrix et credula, longam illis in Italia successio parum constituerat. Id ita deum contingere existimavit posse, si diversae factionis hominibus per Etruriam depulsis, amici et fautores eius haud ambigue civitibus praesiderent. Hac itaque mente Etruriam cum exercitu ingressus, per singulas urbes auxilia subministrando ac ipsas per se et filios adendo, monendo denique et irritando ut hi qui imperatiorias fovebant partes adversarios pellerent efficit. Nec id quidem persaucedere difficile fuit, tamenibus tam pridem animis et multitudine inimicitiae inter cives vigentibus.

83 Quo quidem tempore multa intestina proelia, multae caedes civium et domorum incendia atque alia quae civiles ira ferre solet, per singulas fere urbes perpetrata traduntur. Nec tamen hi qui pulsi erant quiuerunt, sed castella quaedam suarum civitatum invadentes ex illisque cientes bella, caedibus et rapinibus omnia infestabant. Adversus hos Federicus ipsi tantorum malorum auctor et rogatu civitatum et sua ipsa41 spone, quasi contra imperii turbatores et laesae maiestatis reos insurgens, pleraque rebellantia obsedat loca. Et si quibus ex oppidis adversa factio pelli non potuit, ea tota oppida pro hostibus habuit, ferroque et igne populosus est. Ita partium studia, quae prius civili modo et urbanis contentionibus ad id tempus per Etruriam agitata fuerant, per huius Federici rationi ad caedem et sanguinem ex expulsionem civium et vastationem urbium compulsa fuere. Ipse certe tanta immanitate in his rebus versatus est ut quosdam diversae factionis homines captos a se et in Apulum sub custodia missos, sive ut propriam satiaret iram only to reassert the prerogatives he was holding but even to usurp others. Since he ruled in Sicily and Apulia and neighboring regions of Italy, as we have said, through his mother’s hereditary rights, and spent time nearby, he watched the cities of Tuscany carefully, deciding finally to strip them of his adversaries and add them to his own party. He believed this would be of use to him not only in his present circumstances but also in the future. For he had plenty of sons, and since the human mind is all too self-flattering and credulous, he set on foot plans for them to acquire hereditary powers in Italy. He thought all he needed was to get rid of opposition in Tuscany and to make sure his friends and followers totally controlled those cities. For this purpose he entered Tuscany with an army, supplying aid to his party in each city, visiting the cities himself along with his sons, warning them and inciting his imperial supporters to expel the opposing faction. Nor was it difficult to persuade them, for their heads were hot enough, and lively enmities were ripening among the citizens already.

At this time, it is recorded, there were in almost every city great numbers of street battles, citizens assassinated, houses burned and other marks of urban passion. The exiles, moreover, did not go quietly away; rather they occupied certain castles belonging to their cities and from these spread war, slaughter, and plunder through the countryside. Frederick himself, the real author of the evils, would then, on the request of the cities or of his own will, mount sieges against the rebellious places as harboring insurgents against the empire and persons guilty of treason. And if there were any towns from which the opposing faction could not be expelled, he would declare the whole town his enemy and devastate it with fire and sword. Thus the factiousness which earlier had merely aroused civil and urban quarrels in Tuscany, now, through Frederick’s fury, issued in slaughter and bloodshed, expulsion of citizens, and utter devastation. He himself, certainly, practiced great cruelty in these matters. For instance, when certain
men of the other faction were captured and sent to him in Apulia under guard, whether to satisfy his own anger or to please his followers, he first put out their eyes and mutilated their limbs, then killed them with various tortures. The vengeance for such actions was not long in coming, for both he and his sons came to a bad end. And the very faction he had persecuted in Tuscany acquired powerful arms with the aim of overthrowing his family and, to its glory, exacted a penalty in blood for that family’s crimes."
1 Pervagatiorem nobis historiam superioris libri necessitas fecit. Nam neque tantum opus aggressos, originem urbis indicum illibatamque praeterire fas putavimus, neque post illam narratam, statim sine aliquo nexu rerum ad propriam fuit tempora siccis, ut ita dixerim, pedibus transseundum. Iliaque brevi discurso longa pervagati tempora, quae cumque ad notitiam dicendorum necessaria fuerunt, quasi argumentum praetextantes uno in libro collegimus, ut neque civitatem Etruscam initia atque progressus, neque imperii romani declinatio atque divisio, neque hae ipsa, quae max omnia quassarunt, studia partium factionesque, unde ortum augmentumque habuerint, ignota essent. Iam vero non cursu, sed incessu erit utendum.

2 Post Federici obitum, cuius de nefando scelere supra diximus, florentinum populum, iam pridem illorum qui rem publicam occupant superbiarum saevitiamque exsusc, capessere gubernacula rerum ac tueri libertatem perexit civitatemque totam omnesque eius statum populari arbitrio continuare. Ea de causa robuste insurgens domique et foris multa duxerat providendum. Domi quidem, reduxer nobilitatis ea parte quae duxam sub Federico exulatar, e beneficio sibi illam contionxit et partem huic adversam per huius reductionem reddidit imbecillum. Rei publicae vero gubernandae duodecim viros suffragio populi creatos praefectus, quos ab honoris antecedentia vulgari quidem nomine antianos dixere. Urbe autem tota in sex regiones divisa, eorum ex singulis magistratus suemaban tur ac cetera omnia rei publicae maneram. Multitudinem vero urba-
as a regular army in wartime. It is wonderful to relate how great
the strength of the People grew from these beginnings. The Peo-
ple was now itself a lord and a font of honor, and men who only a
short while before had been (frankly) servile towards princes and
their supporters, now having tasted the sweetness of liberty, bent
all their strength on raising themselves up and acquiring an honor-
able standing in their own community. Thus the People grew
strong in prudence and industry at home, in courage and arms
abroad.3

The first enterprise of this People once it had received its lib-
erty was undertaken against the Pistoiese. Its motive was neither
ambition nor a desire for domination but a prudent concern for
preserving its own liberty. The condition of the Pistoiese in the
previous period was similar to what the Florentine condition had
been until recently. Supporters of the Empire had expelled the en-
emies of that name, they themselves ruled, and the regime had not
changed as a result of Frederic's death. But the report was then
spreading that Conrad, Frederick's son, had assumed the imperial
title and was readiness vast forces in Germany with the aim, un-
doubtedly, of recovering Italy and his paternal kingdom. Roused
by this report, the Florentine People, believing it would be danger-
ous to itself for a neighboring city to remain factionalized, decided
to restore the Pistoiese exiles, who shortly before had been ex-
pelled in party strife, and to defend popular government and lib-
erty in that city as well. So the army was led out against the
Pistoiese, to the loud protests of that part of the citizenry which
favored the empire. But the People persisted in its purpose, stock-
piling arms and mustering its troops. Many leaders of the imperial
faction refused to follow, but this did nothing to slow down the
expedition. Having crossed into Pistoiese territory, they met and
engaged the enemy in battle. In this battle, the Florentine People
was so superior in strength and daring that it put the beaten
Pistoiese to flight, driving them with great slaughter back to the

3
rentinus fuit, ut profigatos Pistorienses magna cum strage urbem adusque praecipites aeger; moenia finem inequenti fecere. Ab hac victoria elatus populus, cum in urbem redisserit, cives qui sequi publica signa recussarant, verbis minisquae exagitatos abire in exilium compulsit. Hi ad Sennes Pisanoqse ob partium studia confugientes, illorum sublevati opibus, bellum Florentiae intrerunt. Ex hoc iam florentinus populus adversam imperio factionem palam adsciscere visus est et ad favorem eius plane respicere.


5 Post haec eodem anno bis exercitus educatus: primum in mugellanum agrum, cum exulium fuitores Acentum magnis copiis obsessoris adventassent; secundo ad Montaeram, quo ex castello nuper occupato exules bellum tumultuosius eiebant. Utrique in loco prospere gesta res, dispari tamen facilitate. Nam in mugellano quidem confestim fusae fugataeque sunt hostium copiae. Montaerea vero per mediam hiemem dura atque aspera obsidionem domita, frustra contumissi reliquis exulium obsessis auxilia ferre. Captum denique id castellum, ad solum diruitur.

Eodem anno societas inita est cum Languensibus adversarium Pisanos ac magno elatoque animo bellum undequeque suscipsum. Haece fere priori anno digna memoratior gesta.
7 Proxima dehinc aestate in Pistorienses exercitus reductus, cum hostes superiori proelio fracti sese moenibus continerent, vastato circa urbem agro ad Titianum consedit. Id castellum, quia munitissimum erat, aliquot dies obsidionem pertulit, nec prius quam vi machinarum domitum, in potestatem pervenit. Florentino ad Titianum sedente Pisani cum exercitu aduersum Lucenses congressit proelium non procul Tophorio commiserunt. In eo proelio fracti Lucenses fugatique sunt, magnaque eorum multitudo a victoribus capta trahebatur. Quod postquam in florentino exercitu auditum est, sociorum dolentem casum, movere illico signa ac succurrere perditis rebus statuerunt. Prefecti igitur rapto agmine victrices Pisanorum copias ad Heram fluvium consequerunt. Ibi sisteire hostem ac pugnare invitum compellunt. Raro unquam atrociam quam ea die pugnorum tradunt, cum et Pisanus recenti victoriam superbat fortiter dimicaret et Florentinus odio doloreque incensus obstinatissime niteretur. Post longum certamen superavit ad extremum Pisani terga verterrunt, quos profugatos palantesque secuti victores, magnam caedem edidero. Captivorum ad tria millia cum plerisque signis militariibus reliqua sunt, fuitque ingenti solato loco, quod Lucenses captivi, qui modo trahebatur, exempti vinculis multos Pisanorum ipsi ceperunt ac versa fortuna vincitos traxerunt.

8 Per haec ipsa fere tempora exiles florentini duce Guidone co-mite, cui Novello cognomentum fuit, Fighinum ingressi bellum bravery and high spirits. Such were the deeds most worthy of record from the foregoing year.

The following summer the army was marched out against the Pisaeese. Having been beaten in the previous battle, the enemy were staying behind their walls. The Florentines laid waste to the land around the city and encamped by Tizzano. This castle, being very well fortified, held out against the siege for several days, and came under the control of the Florentines only after it had been conquered by siege-machines. With the Florentine army encamped at Tizzano, the Pisans with their army engaged the Lucchesi and began a battle not far from Montopoli. In this battle the Lucchesi were broken and put to flight and a great number of them were taken captive by the victors. When this became known in the Florentine army, there was great grief at the plight of their allies, and it was decided on the spot to march out and assist them in their desperate situation. The Florentines set out in a flying column and pursued the victorious forces of the Pisans to the river Era, where they compelled the unwilling enemy to stop and fight. Rarely has there been more bitter fighting, it is said, than on that day. The Pisans in the pride of their recent victory strove bravely, while the Florentines fought with obstinate resolution, burning with hatred and grief. After a long contest the Pisans were finally overcome and turned tail. The victors followed the scattered and fleeing enemy, slaughtering large numbers of them. Up to three thousand prisoners were brought back as well as numerous battle-standards. It was a source of great comfort that the Lucchesi, who but a little while before were being dragged off as prisoners, were now freed of their chains, and reversed their ill fortune by themselves taking prisoner many Pisans, whom they bound and dragged away.

Around this same time the Florentine exiles under the leadership of Count Guido Novello entered Fighine and from there conducted irregular warfare. For this reason yet another expedition
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Inde tumultuosius inferebant. Quare paulo post reductas ex agro pisano copias, alia rursus expeditio\(^4\) indicatur, profectique equites peditesque urbani ad Figlinum castra posuerunt. In eo obsidendo, cum apparatus maiores fierent (erat enim id oppidum per ea temporae in primis nobile), orta pacis mentio est demumque recepta his ferme conditionibus: ut exilibus reditus in urbem esset, utque Novello abducere militem sine fraudae liceret. Eo fide servata sunt, receptum tamen oppidum a Florentinis, illico eversum oppida-nique ipsi magna ex parte Florentiam tradacti hisque locus in urbe ad inhabitandum\(^5\) datus, nec multo post in partem rei publicae aequa cum aliis civibus conditione recipi.

9 Confecito fighinensi bello, antequam reduceretur copiae, Alci-natibus operem ferre placuit. Hi enim socii iam pridem a Senensi-bus obsidione presi, extremo in discriminem versabantur. Itaque Figline profecti, per arretinum agrum ad hostes\(^6\) duxerent. Pugna ingens commissa est non longe ab oppido, superactae in ea pugna Senenses, magna numero clade targa dare ac obessionem solvere coacti sunt. Ita liberatis periculio sociis, exercitus praecarios rebus una aestate locis pluribus gestis in urbem rediit.

10 Hoc igitur victoriae successu elatus populus, ut primum ver aversit, magnis rursum copitis essus Pistorium circumcedit. Pistorienses vero, cum neque in se quicquam spei nec in amicis superesset, ne ad extremam dimicationem perducensur, cedere tandem Florentinorum voluntati statuerunt. Eius rei causa legatus cum potestate publica missus est: Ildebrandinus Otoboni filius, vir per ea tempora magna in re publica auctoritatissimus, cumque eo

BOOK II

was announced shortly after the troops had returned from Pisan territory. Urban horse and foot companies set out and pitched camp near Figline. In the course of the siege, while larger war-engines were being readied (for at that time Figline was among the noblest towns), talk of peace arose. It was at length agreed to on approximately these conditions: that the exiles should return to the city, and that Novello should withdraw his army without fraud. This engagement was observed, but the Florentines, having taken the town, immediately demolished it and removed the greater part of the townsman to Florence. There they were given a place to dwell and soon were accepted as part of the commonwealth on an equal footing with the other citizens.

Once the Figline war had been brought to a conclusion, it was decided to bring aid to Montalcino before marching the troops back. These allies had for some time been hard pressed by a Sienese siege and their affairs were now at a critical juncture. So the Florentines set out from Figline and marched towards the enemy through the Areteine territory. A great battle began not far from the town in which the Sienese were overcome and put to flight with great destruction to their forces. And so they were compelled to lift the siege. Having thus freed its allies from peril, the army returned to the City. It had performed famous deeds in many places in the space of a single summer.\(^6\)

The People were elated at this series of triumphs and as soon as spring came they went out in force once more and encamped around Pistoia. The Pistoies had no hope left either in themselves or in their friends and decided at length to give way to the will of the Florentine people rather than fight it out to the end. So the Florentines sent out to draw up an agreement an ambassador named Ildebrando di Otobono, who at that time was a man of great authority in the commonwealth, together with two judges. They allowed peace to the Pistoiese on the following conditions: that the league and friendship between the Florentine and
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Hi pacem Pistoriensibus his conditionibus permisere; ut foecus et amicitia posthaec Florentino Pistoriensique perpetua foret; exules omnes Pistorienses in urbem reciperent; bona restituerent; bellum inferrent omnibus qui florentini nominis hostes essent, praeterquam adversum Pisanos et Senenses; captivi omnes utrinque dimitterentur.

Post haec rursus Alcinum copiae recessit ac commetatus eo delatus, quo socii bello pressi assiduo sustentarentur. Haec commotu exposito cum expeditae redirent, aliquot hostium castellis in via expugnatis ditatae praedae in urbem redirent. Et iam ferventior animi maiora in dies capessere. Itaque scutae maximae, quanto numerum prius apparet in Senenses proficiscuntur. Cum omnia late vastarent castellaque urbani finitima expugnare adorirentur, conquerunt Senenses pacem quas rerunt, quae haud cunctanter illis data est. In ea ita convenit, ut Senenses posthaec Alcinati illum ne inferrent neve hostibus florentini populi sociorumque favorerent. Inde Bonitius copiae tradactae. Id oppidum sine uilla mora Florentinis deditur.

Post haec in Volterrano transitum est, quae civitas non satis pacata florentino nomine credebatur et favisse quondam Pisani ceterisque hostibus, ac diversarum partium homines in ea tune urbe praevalebant constabat. Eo igitur cum pervertent esset, quantum montis altitudine oppidique conspecta omnem expugnationis adimebat spem, ascendere tamen placuit et quam proxime urbi si-

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Pistoiese people should henceforth be perpetual; that the Pistoiese should take all exiles back into their city; that they should restore the possessions of the latter; that they should make war on all enemies of the Florentine name, with the exception of the Pisans and the Siene; and that all captives on both sides should be released.

After this the troops marched back once more to Montalcino, bringing provisions to support the allies, who were hard pressed by continuous warfare. Having delivered the provisions they immediately marched back, capturing several enemy castles along the way, and returned to the City enriched with plunder. Now their spirits yearned every day for still greater enterprises. So when summer came they marched out against the Siene with the greatest apparatus of war they had yet assembled. Laying waste all about them, they started to besiege the castles bordering on the city. The terrified Siene sued for peace, which was granted them without delay. In the peace it was agreed that the Siene should henceforth not make war on Montalcino, nor should they give aid to enemies of the Florentine People or its allies. Next the troops marched on Poggibonsi, which immediately surrendered to the Florentines.

After this they moved against Volterra, a city which was thought to be ill disposed to the Florentine name, having in times past brought aid to the Pisans and other enemies; and it was evident that men of the Ghibelline party had the upper hand at that time in the city. So when they arrived and saw the situation of the town, set high on a mountain, they lost all hope of storming it, but decided to march up anyway and show the standards as close to the city as possible. When this had been done, and the soldiery was spreading out to lay waste to the countryside, the Volterrans burst out of the town in a great mob and fell upon the Florentines with a sudden assault. The nature of the place itself added to the terror. The way down from the town was by a sheer cliff and it
Volaterrani magna multitudo in oppido irruentes repentiniter inpetu Florentinius invasere. Adiuvat terrerem natura ipsa loci. Declivis enim praecepsque ab oppido descensus est facilisque telorum de superiori parte coniectus, ut primo statim inpetu coacti sint Florentini pedem referre. Sed conscia virtutis mens insignisque victoriarum memoria adversissimis etiam locis superare hostem in animum induit. Iraque sese invicem cohortari, facto globo sursum versus signa intulerunt. Volaterrani, utpote qui neque duce certo neque ordine ullo, sed ut quemque tuletur casus in hostem descendebant, ubi contra quam rati fuerant, dirigiri in se aciem ac signa infere viderunt, paramper tolerantem prœedium, referre primo pedem, max effuso protinus cursu ad oppidum refugere, quois infecti victores usque ad portas ceciderunt terga. In ipsis vero portarum angustiis maxime tumultuatum est, consanguibus aliis super alos irrumpère. Tantaque fuit trepidatio, ut desertam omni praesidio portam mixti simul victi victoresque intrarent. Antesignani ad portam subsistentes grave agmen expectarunt, quod postquam adventi, signa illata sunt et intra urbem penetraturn.

Nulla post haec fuit dicatioc. Volaterrani enim, ubi captam viderunt urbem, abiectis supplices armis ad placandam victorias iram convertuntur. Matresfamilias passis crinium, sacredotes veneranda manibus sacra praeferebant misericordiam implorabant. Haberent, quando superi ita voluissent, urbis dominatum: civibus et innocenti parcerent turbae; culpa factum esse panorum, quod alienas ab utillate sua partes Volaterrani suscepissent; in auctores modo culpae recidere poenam oportere. Ea dicentibus haud difficile fuit veniam impetrare. Neque scelera enim neque aerebitatis quicquam Volaterrani admiserant; partium modo studia agebatur caque mens civitatis ab initio fuerat, ut reductos mallet quam

was easy to throw spears from the higher positions, so the Florentines were compelled to give way immediately under the brunt of the first attack. But the consciousness of their own bravery and the memory of their famous victories strengthened their resolve to overcome the enemy even amid the most adverse circumstances. So, exhorting each other, they formed themselves into a body and carried the standards back up the mountain. The Volterrans had come down against their enemy as chance directed each of them, with no established leader and no order of battle. Now, contrary to their expectation, they saw formed troops and standards being led in their direction. They bore up under the assault for a little while, then gave ground. Soon they were fleeing in a disorderly run straight for the town, pursued by the victors, till they reached the gates where they were cut down from behind. The greatest uproar took place at the narrow gates where the Volterrans trampled each other in the struggle to get back inside. So great was their fear that the gate was left unguarded and victors and vanquished entered it simultaneously. The skirmishers posted themselves by the gate and awaited the main body of troops; when it arrived the standards were brought forward and the army made its way inside the city.

After this there was no further fighting. Indeed, when they saw their city captured, the Volterrans threw down their arms and, becoming suppliants, turned to the task of placating the victors' anger. Mothers with flowing locks, priests bearing holy objects in their hands, pleaded for mercy. The Florentines (they said) had conquered the city by the will of the gods; they should spare the citizens and the innocent mob; it was the fault of a few persons that the Volterrans had received factions alien to their own interests; punishment should fall only on those responsible for the fault. It was not difficult for the Volterran spokesmen to find forgiveness. The Volterrans had not given way to criminal acts or bitterness; they had acted solely from party zeal. From the beginning it had been the intention of the City to subdue rather than destroy
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perditos Volaterranos. Ia que nemo post ingressum violatus est, nemini bona ablata, pauci modo principes diversae factionis in exitium acti formaque rei publicae constituta. Ad ea conficienda aliquot dies assumpti.

Post haec in Pisanos copiae traductae sunt. Pisani in tanto Florentinorum successu pugnae fortunam minime experiantam rati, sese moenibus continebant, missisque in castra oratoribus pacem et ipsi poposcerunt. Dictae conditions duae quidem multaque Pisanis per eam pacem adepta obsidique ob ea implenda suscepti.

Hae permulta quidem et egregia mirabili felicitate una aetate a florentino populo gesta sunt, adeoque prosper fuit omnium coeptorum cursus, ut is fuerit annum victorialum nuncupatum. Ex pisano demum agro laeta plaudentiaque agmina triumphantium more domum redierunt.

Eodem anno, crescente populi auctoritate aedibus publicis, ubi nunc praetorium est, aedificare plauuit. Cuitis rei causa, cum a locorum dominis facta redemptione solum publicum efficessent, aedibus praestanti magnificentia fundaverunt ac rostra et iudicia in his constituerunt, cum ante id tempus praeda domibus fere privatis uti consuevissent, consilia vero populi per templum agitarentur. Ita et foris et domo eo anno populi maiestas exaltata est.

Altero diehinc anno, cum desset bellorum materiis, Urbanitas postulavit missi equites quingenti. Hi cum forte Arentium pervenissent. Arentini guelfarum partium (iam enim per favorem florentini populi in urbem redierant) equitatus praesentia sublevati

The Volterrans. Hence no one was injured after Volterra was entered; no one's goods were taken; only a few leaders of the Ghibelline faction were sent into exile and a republican constitution was set up. Several days were spent making these arrangements.

Then the troops marched to Pisa. The Pisans, after so many Florentine successes, thought it best not to try the fortunes of battle. They shut themselves behind their walls and sent ambassadors to the Florentine camp to sue in their turn for peace. The conditions fixed were very hard indeed. The Pisans lost a great deal by that peace, and hostages were taken to ensure that the conditions were fulfilled.

These numerous great deeds were accomplished by the Florentine People with marvelous good fortune in the space of a single summer: so prosperous was the cause of all their undertakings that the year became known as the Year of Victories. And at last the army, happy and rejoicing, returned home in triumph from Pisan territory.

In the same year it was decided, in view of the growth of popular authority, to construct public buildings where the Palace of the Podesta now stands. For this purpose public land was created by purchase from its owners and a building of extraordinary magnificence was begun in which assembly-rooms and courts were laid out. Before this time judges were for the most part accustomed to use private dwellings and the councils of the People were held in churches. Thus was the majesty of the People raised high that year both at home and abroad.

The next year, in the absence of any grounds for war at home, five hundred knights were sent to the Orvietans at their request. By chance they passed through Arezzo. The Areitas of the Guelf Party (who by now had returned to the city through the influence of the Florentine People) were encouraged by the presence of the Florentine knights and, seizing their arms, they expelled forthwith from the city the men of the opposite faction who had ruled the