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BUSINESS, POLITICS AND FAMILY TIES
THREE CASE STUDIES:
THE CERCHI, DELL'ANTELLA AND PORTINARI OF FLORENCE
1260-1360

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CLARE MARIA BAGGOTT
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Abstract

BUSINESS, POLITICS AND FAMILY TIES THREE CASE STUDIES: THE CERCHI, DELL'ANTELLA AND PORTINARI OF FLORENCE 1260-1360

Clare Maria Baggott
University of Keele 1985

Despite the importance of the patrician family to the history of Florence, there have been few modern studies of any representative family or families in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the formative period in the evolution of the commune, when the political organisation, the business techniques, and the patrician structure of the city's society and administration were emerging and developing.

The Cerchi family acts as the main focus to this study. As well as highlighting the scope of the business and commercial activities of a Florentine international merchant and papal banking concern, the Cerchi also played a central role in the factional struggles which exploded between the Whites and the Blacks around 1300.

The dell'Antella, part of the late twelfth century migration to the city, never achieved great social or

political eminence. Their business concerns were solid rather than remarkable, but the family's position within the ranks of the Florentine oligarchy was never in doubt. Members of this family were tireless in their service to the commune's civic administration.

The Portinari, the longest established of the three families in the city, also enjoyed the most secure status. Celebrated both as the family of Dante's Beatrice and as founders and patrons of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, the Portinari are equally worthy of study for the remarkable number of ties and connections they show between their political allies, their business colleagues and employers, and their marriage partners.

The thesis also focuses upon aspects of the charitable and religious preoccupations of the Florentine merchant and attempts to draw together some of the ways in which we can identify the role and involvement of women in patrician society: their participation in religious and charitable activities, marriage and widowhood, and their ownership of and responsibilities for land and property.

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COMMONLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

ASF	Archivio di Stato, Firenze
ASI	Archivio Storico Italiano
BNF	Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze
<i>Capitoli</i>	C. Guasti, <i>I Capitoli del Comune di Firenze - Inventerio e Regesto</i>
CCE	Camera del Comune, Entrata
CC Uscita	Camera del Comune, Uscita
Compagni, <i>Cronica</i>	Dino Compagni, <i>Cronica</i>
Cons. Prat.	Consulte e Pratica
Davidsohn, <i>Storia</i>	R. Davidsohn, <i>Storia di Firenze</i>
Davidsohn, <i>Forschungen</i>	R. Davidsohn, <i>Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz</i>
<i>Delizie</i>	<i>Delizie degli eruditi Toscani</i> , ed. Ildefonso di San Luigi
Lib. Fab.	Libri Fabarum
Mss	Manoscritti
Provv.	Provvisioni
RRIISS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
Villani, <i>Cronica</i>	Giovanni Villani, <i>Cronica</i>

Note: as far as possible all dates are given in Old and New Style (e.g. 1290/91).

INTRODUCTION

Dr Philip Jones, in his stimulating article on Florentine families and their diaries and chronicles (my first introduction to the Cerchi and the dell'Antella families) written in 1956, said then that 'the history of Florence, even at its most democratic, remains in large measure the history of its principal families' [1]. This view has been repeated in one way or another by many of the leading modern historians of medieval and early Renaissance Florence [2]. The study of Florentine families will always be fascinating, and will never exhaust the topic.

Some Florentine families died out over the course of the years, while other families managed to work their way up to social and political importance. Nevertheless, from about the beginning of the thirteenth century to the time of the Medici, there was a core of patrician families made up of feudal and urban nobility, magnates, and the *popolo grasso*, around whom the entire life of the city revolved and indeed evolved. This study covers the years 1260-1360, very much the formative period in the history of Florence's economic and political development. These patrician families held within their midst the leading bankers, industrialists, politicians, ambassadors, knights, men of the church,

humanists, and artistic patrons of the city, who dominated the city for well over two centuries. One can point to no other social group, or economic factor, or political factor and say that this was the overriding and most fundamental element in the history of the city.

Contemporary chroniclers reflected this importance of the family. The political chronicle of Dino Compagni [3] was predominantly concerned with describing the factional divisions which occurred amongst the leading families of Florence at the end of the thirteenth century. Similarly, in Giovanni Villani's chronicle [4], family names and personalities dominate its Florentine sections. So important is the family to the history of Florence that Villani even compiled a list of the fifty-four noble families in Florence in 1015, classified according to the *sesto* of the city in which they lived [5]. Although it is difficult to assess the accuracy of this list, its mere existence points to the fact that any history of Florence, be it written in the fourteenth or the twentieth century, must be based to a very great extent on the activities of the important families within it. Villani's next list of families occurs under the year 1215, under the guise of telling which families became 'Guelf' and which 'Ghibelline' following the outspread of factionalism which resulted from the murder of a Buondelmonte by a Donati in that year [6]. More lists follow: the Guelf and Ghibelline line up of 1248 [7]; the

Ghibelline families expelled from Florence in 1258 [8]; the Guelfs expelled in 1260 [9]. The 'versified' edition of Villani's chronicle, composed by Pucci at the end of the fourteenth century, is even brought up to date by, amongst other things, a list of the 'casati piu cari' of the city, 209 by name, from the city's present population, according to Pucci's own conservative estimate, of 20,000 [10].

The chroniclers' interest in the patrician families was not simply due to the latter's position of power in the government of the city. Until the end of the fourteenth century, the upper class families, including the Cerchi, dell'Antella and the Portinari, also constituted both the economic and the social elite of the city. There were very wealthy business men to be found in the ranks of the *novi cives*, especially after the 1340's, but although these men were sometimes richer than some patrician families, they never had the necessary backing of family tradition, social position and political experience and influence to seriously threaten the dominant position of the *ottimati* families. Their history seems to be one of rapid rise and often almost equally rapid decline. This is in contrast to the continual occurrence of the family names which fill the chronicles of Compagni, the Villani brothers [11] and of Stefani [12]: the families which dominated the history of medieval Florence and which were instrumental in shaping its course.

Despite the recognised importance of the patrician family to the history of Florence, there has been no detailed study of any individual or selected group of representative families in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Armando Saponi has studied the economic activities of certain of the leading Florentine commercial houses, including the Bardi and the Peruzzi, the Frescobaldi and the Alberti [13]. Salvemini, Ottokar, Davidsohn, Isidoro Del Lungo, Brucker, Becker and Najemy [14] have constantly referred to families and members of families, but there are few integrated studies of the activities of any family in all its socio-political and economic aspects.

A start is being made: Gene Brucker has written an article on the Medici in the fourteenth century [15]; Guido Pampaloni has written on the Tornabuoni [16]; and Charles de la Ronciere on the Velluti [17]. The study by Raveggi, Tarassi, Medici and Parenti, *Ghibellini, Guelfi e popolo grasso: I detentori del potere politico a Firenze nella seconda meta del Duecento* [18], has a wealth of information on individual families, mainly in the form of references to archival documents, scattered liberally among the footnotes. For the fifteenth century F.W.Kent's work, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: the family life of the Capponi, Ginori and the Rucellai* [19] has started to redress the balance, and there is more unpublished work which has been done on families in the late fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries: Susannah Foster's study of kinship association and marriage in the Alberti family, 1378 to 1428 [20], Heather Gregory's study of the Strozzi [21], and the forthcoming examination of three *gente nuove* families (the Giovanni, Parenti, and Petrucci) in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by Elaine Rosenthal [22]. This study of the Cerchi, dell'Antella and Portinari will now give a focus for Florentine families at the very beginning of the pre-Renaissance period.

Old-fashioned family histories such as those produced in the nineteenth century by Litta and Passerini [23], and which are little more than expanded genealogies and potted biographies no longer suffice. We need many integrated analyses and case studies of Florentine families, which will examine the cross connections between families, and between the many 'facets' of a family's behaviour: its business, its politics, its marriages, its friends, its enemies, its houses, its neighbourhood [24]. There is also a need for studies in different periods, as there are distinct changes in family interaction which are dependent on the actual contemporary situation, as the changes in law and custom evolved, and altered current practices and expectations and pressures. Studies of families in different periods will also serve, not only to broaden our knowledge and understanding of the inherent importance of the family to the history of Florence, but also to provide continuity

among periods of history, and to highlight the differences within the various phases of Florence's political, economic, and social development through the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

In the thirteenth century the political framework of the city was being set out, with the establishment of a guild-based constitution and the implementation of the Ordinances of Justice; business was in its formative years, and the period was witness to the growth and development of some of the most spectacular banking concerns of medieval Europe; marriages could extend a family's social prestige and strengthen mutually advantageous inter-family alliances; and a man, even if he belonged to one of the most prestigious families and clans of his city, was still close to the rural lands from which, not that very long ago, his ancestor had uprooted himself.

From a patriciate of some two hundred families by the middle of the thirteenth century, this study concentrates on just three families. The Cerchi family was chosen as the main focus of this study because of the central role it played in the factional politics of the city at the end of the thirteenth century. It also shows the scope of the business and commercial activities of a Florentine international merchant and papal banking concern. The founding member of the Cerchi family originally came from Acone in the Val di Sieve, east of Florence [25], and

probably settled in Florence towards the end of the twelfth century. Giovanni Villani saw the Cerchi as *gente nuove* in 1215: 'Gia i Cerchi cominciavano a salire in istato' [26]. The first mention of a Cerchi in Florence in any capacity is Cerchio, who was prior of the Lana guild in 1212 [27]. A man with no surname - the family name was later derived from his first name - he was already a leading citizen holding one of the most important offices in the city. The immigration of the first ancestor of the family into the city must therefore have been at least a generation earlier than Cerchio: probably his father Puccio.

By the end of the thirteenth century the Cerchi were now 'uomini di grande affare, e possenti, e di grandi parentadi, e ricchissimi mercatanti che la loro compagnia era delle maggiori del mondo'. However, their base roots and up-start status was still attached to them: 'erano morbidi e innocenti, salvaticchi e ingrati, siccome genti venuti di piccolo tempo in grande stato e potere' [28]. Compagni, more politically sympathetic to the Cerchi, also refers to their origins, but stresses their wealth and social standing: 'uomini di basso stato, ma buoni mercatanti e gran ricchi, e vestivano bene, e teneano molti famigli e cavalli, e aveano bella apparenza, ... e tenendo gran vita' [29].

In thirteenth century terms the Cerchi were 'new men', but the dell'Antella family was even more recently assimilated into the patrician elite of the city. Although

Passerini would have us believe that the roots of the family lay in Germany, and that they had held seigneurial rights over the village of Antella, to be found just a few kilometres south east of Florence [30], in reality their origins would have been much more commonplace. Like so many Florentine families, they were part of the wave of immigration to Florence in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century [31]. Their surname, dell'Antella, would have been derived from the birth place of the first ancestor of the family to settle in Florence. I would place their entry to the city about a generation later than the Cerchi, for the first documentation for an Antella man is Guido dell'Antella, a member of the Calimala guild in 1235. His family was already adult, for his sons Compagno and Lambertuccio were members of the same guild in 1237 and 1242 respectively (see Chapter One, The dell'Antella and Business, pp. 64-65).

Villani considered the family to have been established enough to include them among the list of Guelfs living in the *sesto* of San Pier Scherragio in 1250, and believes that they were among the *popolani* Guelfs who went into exile in 1260 [32]. However, the fact that Villani seems not to have realised that not all members of the family were committed Guelfs - Lamberto and Lippo were Ghibelline councillors in 1260 and 1266 respectively - perhaps points to the family's position among the city's established, but fairly minor

families at this point in time. So while the family was part of the late twelfth or early thirteenth pattern of migration to the city, which firmly established it within the mercantile *popolani* patriciate of the city, the dell'Antella were not destined to achieve political preeminence, great economic fortune, or immense social presence. Rather, they would remain solidly entrenched among the middle-line, comfortably wealthy families of the city.

The Portinari are definitely the oldest family of the three. Although there is no direct proof of the origins of the family, the most convincing of the theories which have been put forward is that the family originated in Fiesole, and moved to Florence some time after the destruction of Fiesole in 1125 [33]. The suggestion has been made that they originally came from Portico di Romagna - based on the fact that a branch of the family was settled there in the fifteenth century, but this seems a tenuous connection, and most unlikely [34]. A Portinaio di Folco was named as a witness in a Florentine document of 1187 [35], and a Torrigiano Portonari witnessed an act of peace between the communes of Florence and Siena in 1201 [36]. As the Portinari are to be found among the leading families of the consular period, settled in the Porta San Piero [37], the suggestion made by Bracci that the family only settled in Florence as late as 1240 is not possible [38]. The family's common patrimony, in terms of ownership of city houses and

palaces, also dates the settlement of the family in Florence to at least the late twelfth century (see Chapter Four, The Portinari and Land, pp. 210-211).

This, then, is the background to my contribution to the history of the family in medieval Florence. It is a study of families in the earliest period of Florentine communal history, and I hope that, as such, it might provide some continuity with, and some of the original roots for studies in the later period of Florentine history. I equally hope that more studies will be undertaken for this period, in order to fully understand the complex links which tied politics to society and to business within this city in its innovative and expansionist days.

The thesis is divided into four chapters, on business, politics, marriage, and land, each of which is internally divided by family. In Chapters three and four are also to be found sections discussing women and marriage and women and property. The cross connections and overlapping between each 'category' of activity (business, politics, marriage and land) are so great that it is difficult to divide up the discussion neatly. A certain amount of duplication of analysis and material is inevitable, especially in the links between politics, business and commercial activity and rivalries, and politics, marriage, and neighbourhood connections and rivalries.

The families under consideration in this study participated in the boom opportunities afforded in the commercial environment of the thirteenth century nascent city. Florence's success was founded upon the interrelated and complementary activities of industry, commerce and banking. By the middle of the fourteenth century, international trade and banking and the textile industry were of supreme importance [39]. It had an annual production of more than 100,000 pieces of cloth in 1308 [40]. It could support an eighteen month war expenditure of 600,000 gold florins (1,860,000 lire aff.) in the years 1336 to 1338 [41]. Some idea of the actual scale of the development of the city can be seen in a comparison of Florence's urban budget, from an approximate annual communal income of under 26,000 lire in 1240, to 780,000 lire in 1301 and, in 1343, about 942,250 lire [42].

One of the most important elements of medieval urban society was the guild in which men who practised the same craft joined together for mutual aid and protection. By the end of the thirteenth century a higher ranking group, the 'merchant guild', had emerged in the larger towns and cities which represented the urban traders. As often as not this merchant trader was now in a position where he controlled the craftsmen, by supplying them with raw materials and marketing the finished product. In all likelihood, the merchant also supervised the craftsmen's labour, rented out

the premises in which they worked, and lent them the capital they needed to buy the tools and equipment of their trade. As industry and trade became more specialised, the single merchant guild divided to form individual guilds representing the interests of merchants dealing in wool or cloth, in skins, furs, wine and spices.

In Florence, the first record of the original merchant guild, with its 'consules mercatorum', appears in 1182, but individual, specialised associations very quickly emerged. The guild of textile importers and finishers, the Calimala (named after the street in which it was concentrated), emerged ten years later (1192). The Cambio guild, which represented the bankers and money changers came in 1202, and the textile retailers and silk merchants of Por Santa Maria existed as an independent guild by at least 1216 [43]. The Arte della Lana, the guild of the cloth manufacturers, was active after 1212. The remaining guilds of the *arti maggiore*, the seven greater guilds, represented the judges and notaries, physicians and spice dealers, and the furriers. In the fourteenth century, Florence's craftsmen and minor traders were represented by five middle guilds and nine lesser guilds, twenty-one guilds in all [44].

Italian wool was of a poor quality, and so the resulting local cloth, known as *panni grixii* or *biselli*, produced under the jurisdiction of the Lana guild, was of an equally poor quality and did not yield great profits.

However, Florence became a major commercial centre in the thirteenth century, based on the international cloth trade. The finest grades of Flemish cloth, the *panni franceschi*, were first bought, usually unfinished, at the Champagne fairs, brought back to Florence, finished under the supervision of the merchants of the Calimala guild, and then reexported to the markets of the southern Mediterranean. But the importance of the finishing industry gradually declined in the early years of the fourteenth century. At the same time, as high quality English wools began to be imported to Florence, the domestic cloth industry flourished, producing high quality cloth of its own manufacture [45]. Although, according to Giovanni Villani, about 10,000 pieces of Flemish cloth were still imported and finished annually in 1330 [46].

The Champagne fairs had been the financial and commercial centres for international trade in the twelfth century, but their importance declined through the thirteenth century, and they assumed more and more the role of simply the venue at which accounts were settled. As international trade expanded, the merchant no longer travelled with his goods from market to market. Instead he appointed agents and representatives who set up permanent branches and agencies in the large centres of wool production and cloth manufacture and reported back to the 'head office' in their native city. Florentine companies

were well established in Marseilles by 1248 [47] and by the end of the thirteenth century the principal Florentine companies had branches at Barletta, Bologna, Genoa, Naples, Perugia, Venice, Avignon, Barcelona, Bruges, London and Paris, and other agencies throughout Europe [48] and the Mediterranean: Rhodes, Cyprus, Alexandria and Tunis.

Just as the guilds represented the benefits of association to the traders of the middle ages, so the Italian *compagnia* or *societa* provided a business framework of capital, credit, and security. The *compagnia* was a partnership in which its two or more members put up the capital for and shared the profit of a business venture, and in its basic form can be found to date back to the tenth century [49]. In the Tuscan *compagnia* each partner supplied both capital and management skills. All partners were liable for the actions of the others. The word *compagno* (shared bread) gives us an idea of the original nature of the group: a small family partnership between father and son or sons, or several brothers, who shared the same house and table and had the same interests [50].

International commerce became concentrated in the hands of the merchant banking partnerships that could be found in all the major towns of north and central Italy by the middle of the thirteenth century. By 1284 there were twenty-two identifiable, large-scale international commercial and trading partnerships in existence in Lucca [51].

There is little evidence to show the amount of capital invested in these merchant banking partnerships in the thirteenth century, but we can get some idea of the scale of business, and the development of capital, by looking elsewhere in Tuscany. Thomas Blomquist has analysed the partnerships of the Castracani, a family of Lucchese money changers of the thirteenth century, and has found that they formed a partnership with two brothers of another family, Guido and Genovese. Guido and Genovese had started out in business together with a working capital of 200 lire genovese in 1245. In 1254, 1255, and 1256, Guido was in partnership with two members of the Castracani family, and they worked on an average working capital for the *compagnia* of 936 li. 6s. 8d. (1,700 Florentine florins) but by 1271 the *compagnia* of Genovese and the Castracani was operating with a capital of 3,800 lire (5,850 Florentine florins) [52]. This was a much smaller capitalisation than the major Florentine companies had in the fourteenth century, but shows the rapid expansion of capital over a little over a quarter of a century.

In 1310 the working capital of the Peruzzi bank was 149,000 lire aff. (almost 103,000 florins) [53]. In 1318 the actual amount of money controlled by the Bardi was over eight times as much, at 1,266,775 lire aff. 11 soldi (875,638 florins). This was worth about 130,000 pounds sterling, at a time when the ordinary annual income of the

English crown was just 30,000 pounds sterling. The invested capital of both the Bardi and the the Peruzzi was between 90,000 and 100,000 florins by the mid-1330's, a figure which excludes the deposits made by outsiders or by partners over and above their minimum share of the working capital [54].

The political environment of the developing Florentine commune was as important to the families in this study as the commercial opportunities of the period. Florence's change over the course of the thirteenth century from a small town to a city state [55] was affected by the Florentine factional support of Empire, Angevins and Papacy. In February 1246 Frederick of Antioch, one of the bastard sons of the Emperor Frederick II was installed by his father as podesta of Florence. The Guelfs, pro-papal and anti-imperial, rebelled, but were driven from Florence in 1248. They returned in 1250 and, in their turn, overcame the Ghibellines. However, the seizure of power in Sicily by Manfred, another bastard son of Frederick II, and his attempt to assume his father's mantle in central and northern Italy as well, in 1260, added impetus to the Ghibelline cause [56]. The Florentine Guelfs were defeated at the battle of Montaperti by the forces of Siena and the exiled Ghibellines, and were themselves exiled from Florence. The Ghibellines held Florence for six years, until 1266.

Ties of allegiance were loose and easily changed, depending on the particular interests at stake at a particular time. In 1263 and 1264 the pope, Urban IV, had put pressure on Tuscan bankers and forced them to leave the Ghibelline controlled cities and ally themselves, and their financial resources, to his cause. He needed their money to finance his henchman, Charles of Anjou, in an anti-Hohenstaufen 'crusade' in Italy [57]. The bankers, in their turn, through these contacts, were able to profit from the opportunities afforded by trading in the south of Italy and from close involvement in the lucrative area of papal finance and banking. In 1266, Manfred and the Ghibellines were defeated by the papal, Angevin and Guelf alliance at the battle of Benevento, and the Ghibelline's period of rule in Florence was over. For a few short months political power in Florence was held by an alliance of moderate merchants and artisans of the city, represented by the council of the Trentasei. However, by Easter 1267 Charles of Anjou had arrived in Florence, accompanied by the exiled Guelfs, and the Ghibellines, in their turn, were sent into exile.

Rule by the Parte Guelfa, whose Captain and Council formed an integral part of the government, dominated until the beginning of 1280, when the papal 'peacemaker', Cardinal Latino, arrived in Florence to negotiate for the peaceful return of the Ghibelline exiles with a fixed share in the government of the commune. Although the Parte Guelfa now

lost its integral position within the constitution of the commune, it nevertheless continued to wield great influence as a wealthy and powerful private corporation.

In 1293 the radical reformer Giano della Bella remobilised the 'popolo' against the nobility. He had two main aims. One was to act against the corruption of the previous regime, and to try to recover communal property appropriated by noble families. Similarly, he would have liked to confiscate property of the Parte Guelfa to the commune. His second aim, which was implemented through the Ordinances of Justice of 1293, was to legislate against the 'magnates' - the violent and powerful grandi - to exclude them from government, and to make them more answerable to communal law.

But in 1295 the oligarchic elite regained control as Giano della Bella was exiled. However, from 1295 to 1300 personal factions within the nobility continued to grow. Originally centred around family feuds and personal rivalries - especially between Vieri de Cerchi, the supposed leader of the Whites, and Corso Donati the leader of the Blacks - divided opinions and interests became more obvious within the followers of the two factions. And so the Whites came to be identified with the newer men in society and those whose trading interests often lay in areas other than those controlled by papacy and the Angevins, to whose strong Guelphism the Blacks tended to be allied [58].

In June 1300 a 'neutral' priorate took the opportunity to exile the leaders of each party from Florence, especially fearing that this rift within the political elite of the city would enable the traditional enemy, the Ghibellines, to gain a foothold again within the administration.

Appeals were made to the so-called leader of all Guelfs, pope Boniface VIII [59]. However, his bias in favour of the Black party ensured that there could be no independent intervention by him, and this in its turn ensured the eventual alliance between White Guelf and Ghibelline. The papal legate, the Cardinal of Acquasparta arrived in Florence in July 1300 but obviously favoured the Blacks. The next intervention, in November 1301, was by the papal 'peacemaker' Charles of Valois, the son-in-law and nominee of the Angevin Charles II of Naples. It was the excuse for allowing the Black party to take control of the city and expel the Whites. When the White Guelfs of Florence were exiled, it was inevitable that they should join forces with the Tuscan Ghibellines, in exile since 1267, and produce a single party of opposition. On the one side now were the Black Guelfs in Florence, supported by the pope and his allies, on the other were Whites in league with the Ghibellines and the emperor. Although Cardinal Nicholas of Prato attempted to intervene on behalf of the White party in 1304, nothing came of this and the White party stayed excluded from power.

In Florence, the basic struggle for power and for the acquisition of office tended to polarise the political life of the city, with the two factions competing for absolute control. The result was an all or nothing atmosphere: office-holding or exclusion, power or exile. The reasons for actual allegiance to one faction or the other were fluid and varied: ideological agreement, personal or family allegiance or rivalry, and expediency, as well as the more expected divisions between rich and poor, *popolano* and magnate, Guelf and Ghibelline [60].

The terminology and labels of 'Guelf' and 'Ghibelline' go back to the power struggle in Germany between Frederick I and Henry the Lion, and then Philip of Swabia and Frederick II against Otto IV. As a legacy of these twelfth and thirteenth century struggles between Pope and Emperor (Frederick I and Frederick II in particular), the names Guelf and Ghibelline were actually first used in the 1240's to differentiate between the allies of pope Innocent IV and the allies of the emperor Frederick II. Within twenty years the terms came into widespread use throughout Italy; in Florence, however, tradition had it that Guelf and Ghibelline were used to describe the supporters of the feuding Donati and Buondelmonti in 1215. Villani lists 'all the houses and nobles who became Guelfs and Ghibellines', according to the side of the city in which they lived [61]. These allegiances were also extended to categorise the

rivalry between cities: so, for instance, in 1267, when the Guelfs regained control of Florence, the city's commercial rivals Siena, Lucca and Pisa (who were also territorial rivals, in that their boundaries surrounded Florentine contado land) were all called Ghibelline by the Florentines.

By the beginning of the fourteenth century the patrician elite of Florence was made up both of magnates and *popolani grassi* [62]. The magnates were a group of feudal gentry, urban aristocrats, and merchants, the latter two categories having usually been settled in Florence since at least the end of the twelfth century. In the course of the thirteenth century the wealthy and important families of the *popolo grasso* rebelled against the political domination of the *magnati* and took over an increasing share of the communal government. This trend culminated in the Ordinances of Justice in 1293, which effectively banned magnate families from sitting in the Priorate, the most important governing body of the city. This did not completely stop the magnates from indirectly influencing communal policies, however, especially those who had considerable financial interests and the consequent social prestige. Within decades, communal rule was predominantly oligarchic in nature: the powerful and, usually, wealthy patrician families filled the principal offices and tended to consider communal priorities to be equivalent to their own [63].

In 1286 the first definition of magnate was any family in which there had been a knight in the last twenty years [64]. As knighthoods had often been granted for somewhat arbitrary reasons, and as the use of this criteria as a defining tool created an overly large group of magnate families, the Ordinances of Justice of 1293 settled for the eminently flexible formula of 'all shall be considered magnates who are reputed as such' [65]. Just as Guelf and Ghibelline and Black and White, *magnati* and *popolani* remain terms which are not easily reduced to formulas or rules. However, generally speaking, of the one hundred and forty seven families which were classed as magnate by the Ordinances of Justice, there were seventy-four feudal contado noble families, forty specifically 'noble' city families, and thirty-three city families with business and commercial interests [66]. 'The complexity of the group declared "magnates" together with the distinction often recognized between nobles and magnates, (for not all magnates were considered noble) are quite important and reflect nicely the very blurred line between social groups' [67].

This 'blurred line' is at its most obvious in the factional division of the Florentine oligarchy into the White party and the Black party during the last decade of the thirteenth century. This was a struggle for power between groups of families allied behind either Vieri de

Cerchi or Corso de Donati, the ostensible leaders of the White and the Black factions respectively. The labels of 'Black' and 'White' themselves are of no significance. They are differential terms, rather than signifying any innate inimicability, as demonstrated by the contemporary commercial divisions of family companies into two parts which were often labelled Black or White (for example within the Cerchi company and the Frescobaldi company). These Black and White company divisions frequently cooperated in business, and were then amalgamated back into a single company.

The division within the ruling Guelf elite of Florence was duplicated throughout Tuscany at this time and the non-personalised terminology of Black and White was echoed throughout these various political divisions. The party-political nature of the division is reinforced by the fact that, in Florence as throughout Tuscany, the parties never took on the qualifying name of the leading family. The leaders of the factions were initially agreed to be Messer Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi, against Messer Corso de Donati, but the party political aspect was obviously the overriding factor in the rift. This is in contrast to the contemporaneous, but decidedly family-orientated and motivated factional splits between, for example, the Visconti and the della Torre in the so-named divisions in Milan.

After the chapters on business and then politics, the third chapter of this thesis examines marriage. In a society where the family was of such fundamental importance, marriage was much more than a union between two people [68]. At the very least, it was an alliance, at least temporarily, between two families, and its social, financial and political ramifications were considerable. One of the most important aspects of marriage was the way it could be used to judge social status. If the family was rising in status, was it consistently able to attract good marriage alliances? If the family was already well established, could it maintain a high level of socially secure marriage partners?

Marriage was often used in the name of politics, factionalism, and alliances. Bitterness over broken marriage promises could be the springboard for interfamily vendetta and strife, often embroiling the whole of the oligarchic structure of the city in its wake (for example the feud between the Buondelmonti and the Amadei in 1216). Marriage between families from two opposing political sides was also used as an attempt to pacify the two sides and lessen political tensions. Thus there were marriages between the Adimari and the Tosinghi, and between the Donati and the Pazzi following on from the attempts of Cardinal Latino to make peace between Guelf and Ghibelline in 1281 [69].

The implications of marriage and business relationships, especially within mercantile families, is an

often neglected area. The *Ricordanze* of Gregorio Dati [70] is well known and often quoted. He used the dowries of each of his wives to finance immediate business deals or to provide the capital for expansion. Although his *Ricordanze* paints a picture of Gregorio as very much the practical man, he nevertheless enjoyed the personal aspects and the 'human' levels of his relationships with his successive wives. But wider business and marriage links also existed within the Florentine community. The Portinari's business relationship with the Bardi company must have been greatly affected by the amazing number of marriage alliances which can be discovered between members of the Portinari family and *soci* and factors in the Bardi company (see below, Chapter Three, *The Portinari and Marriage*, pp. 161-163).

I have deemed it most profitable to create a list of profiles which contain all known marriage data (see Appendices ABC, pp. 236-290). These are arranged alphabetically by family name, and include a brief profile of the major characteristics of each family, plus any other specific information which is of interest or importance. For the purposes of cross reference there is also a list arranged alphabetically by first name for each of the three main families.

The text of the chapter on marriage therefore has a different feel from the format of the other three main chapters. The discussion on marriage has been limited to an

analysis of certain aspects of marriage of particular interest and importance, as a taste of the possible range of cross connections which a full study of marriage and marriage partners could produce: marriage and political ties, marriage and business ties, marriage and personal life. There is also a section which briefly touches on certain aspects of the personal choices open to women, in terms of marriage, remarriage, the church and inheritance and legacies.

The final chapter of the thesis examines patterns of property and land ownerships within the three families. In the twelfth century Tuscan town towers and tower houses abounded. A product of consorterial ties, these were both a tangible symbol of a family's power, wealth, and prestige, and a solid means of personal protection and defence [71]. By the late thirteenth century, in Florence, a sequence of political reprisals taken between the rival Guelf and Ghibelline factions had destroyed many of the original towers of the old feudal and town aristocracies. In 1260 the victorious Ghibellines destroyed 103 palaces, 580 houses, and 85 towers (most with houses) belonging to many of the Guelfs who fled the city, and in 1304 a fire which started during the civil riots between the Blacks and the Whites is reputed to have destroyed 1,700 houses [72]. By the mid-thirteenth century towers were frequently incorporated into

extended town houses and palaces, as the great families and clans consolidated their holdings generally in a compact area, perhaps adjacent to the parish church, where they lived side by side with their own family, sometimes their kinsmen, their friends and their business partners, and, indeed, their rivals.

Because of the lack of standard terminology and phraseology within the sources, it is hard to clearly define what the contemporary writer meant by a *palazzo*, and what the features were which differentiated between a castle and a *palazzo*, and a *palazzo* and merely a substantial house. Indeed, Giovanni Villani believed that what to the native of Florence were 'ricchi palagi, torri, cortili, e giardini muratori', 'in altre contrade sarebbono chiamate castella' [73]. At the moment, therefore, I have tended to stick to the terminology and description found in the source document.

The contado started at the city walls, and Villani's above description of property was written to provide the background to his remark that there were more than twice as many 'ricchi e nobili abituri' within a six-mile radius of the city as in Florence itself. Contado land holdings were very important to the Florentine family. In 1200 a rural *podere* frequently meant a peasant family holding. But as the century progressed the term came to be applied to the new 'leasehold' and *mezzadria* farms which were formed when

old 'manor' farms were organised into estates [74]. 30 to 75 florins was the average early fourteenth century price for a copyhold *podere*, while larger *poderi* could fetch anything from 425 florins to well over a thousand florins [75]. Small plots of land (*colti*, *terre*, *spezzate*), unattached to a *podere*, could be acquired piecemeal for tens of lire.

Hoshino's work on the Albizzi [76] provides us with a good example of a typical range of property, and its worth, in 1350, towards the end of the period of this study. The estate of Antonio di Lando Albizzi, the richest and most important head of a branch of the Albizzi at this time, and his property, was divided up between his four sons and the heirs of his fifth son who was already dead. (Antonio's son Pepo had married Cianghella di Simone di Neri dell'Antella in 1339, receiving a generous dowry of 1000 florins). Seven farms had an effective value of 5,300 florins, and commanded an annual rent of 212 florins (a rentable value for rural property calculated at 4% of the value of the property). The remainder of the estate comprised both industrial and domestic property: seven shops associated with the wool guild and a warehouse at San Martino, a wool-dyeing shop, two fulling mills and a house with a stretching shop at San Gilio, a piece of land with stretching shop and various lowly houses at Cafaggiuolo, another four shops at San Brocolo in Vigna, the half share of a house at Monteloro, and a palace 'da casa Cerchi'. These had a joint value of

4,600 florins, and commanded an annual rent of 450 florins, just under 10% of their value. (In terms of rent income the industrial complex was most effective. 55% of rent income came from 38% of the effective value of all the property and estate) [77].

The acquisition of land by rich city merchant families has often been described as an attempt to regain a family's 'roots', purchases being made in the area from which the family originated, as well as a means of protecting capital from the vagaries of the business world - thus fulfilling a joint purpose, of buying noble status while also protecting family capital [78]. Landholdings were extended by patient assimilation of smaller pieces of land; manor houses were converted into villas and palaces, country estates developed in which the main palace might incorporate a tower, portico, court, well, and outbuildings, a central nucleus from which the surrounding *poderi*, mills, vineyards and lands would be managed.

However, these bare facts do little to fill in the picture of the emotional ties of land ownership. Most property ownership can be divided into two categories: 'practical' and 'patrimonial'. 'Practical' land includes land bought for industrial and commercial uses: fulling mills, shops, and land which was used to provide rent income (often land inherited by women), or which had been acquired in payment of debts and loans. These were often resold, or

exchanged, fairly quickly, unless they could be incorporated into the property which had a more personal attachment to the family. 'Patrimonial' land and property formed the nucleus of the family stronghold in city or contado. These estates were expanded and consolidated, and the property, usually inalienable, was often held in joint ownership between brothers and sometimes sisters, and later different branches of the family. This is property which we see being inherited and divided up, being added to, but seldom being sold.

Despite urban location and industrial interests, the roots of many of the Florentine families were still close to the land. Land might be seen as a commercially safe place, but in personal terms it often served as the antithesis of impersonal financial investments [79]. Contemporary chronicles and *ricordanze* are filled with the minutiae of land acquisition and consolidation, and writers of wills are concerned to ensure the proper continuity of the family estate. Folco de Portinari painstakingly reiterated the true division of interest of jointly-held family property in Florence, the concept of the inalienability of family property, and that women should not be allowed to inherit this property [80], while Consiglio di Uliviero de Cerchi was concerned to endow his rural palace with a chapel, to be manned 'in perpetuity' by two chaplains, who should pray for the spiritual salvation of Consiglio, his parents, and his family [81].

The sources for the thesis are widely scattered. The majority of the prime material comes from documents housed in the State Archives in Florence, but printed sources have also been invaluable. No student of Florence's history could work without major excursions into the materials held in its archives, but the more printed sources which are and which become available, the more effectively that time will be spent. The two major *fonti* for information on marriage and land and property ownership are the diplomatic and the notarial protocols, the *Diplomatico* and the *Notarile Antecosimiano*, both of which would yield the occasional marriage or dowry contract itself but, more usually, would provide indirect evidence of marriage through testaments, land purchases, interfamily *compromessi*, divisions of property, and other domestic notarised documents. It was possible to be fairly systematic in the study of the *Diplomatico*, thanks to the informative indices to the parchments themselves. These indices, compiled at the end of the nineteenth century, give a brief resume of the subject matter of the document, and the major people involved. However, the notarial protocols - of which there are not tens, but thousands of volumes - are not indexed, and a systematic search of all of them would take far more man-hours than the individual researcher working in the archives could ever have at his disposal.

Collections of family papers - some original, some compilations by later family historians - also proved useful, though were still very fragmentary. They tend to be more abundant for later periods. For the Cerchi there were the *Carte Cerchi-Canigiani* and the *Dono Canigiani-Cerchi* within the *Diplomatico*. The dell'Antella also have a collection under their name in the *Diplomatico*. Although there are few original family documents, the Biblioteca Riccardiana houses some volumes of transcripts of documents and genealogical lists relating to the Portinari family compiled by family antiquarians. The *Ceramelli-Papiani* collection in the Florentine Archives contains heraldic details, organised by family, while the *Poligrafo Gargani*, in the Biblioteca Nazionale, gives biographical details of family members, often drawing on the Gabelle records which have since been destroyed. Public records - the *Provvisioni*, *Tratte*, *Libri Fabarum*, *Balie* and so on - were the essential sources for information on politics, office holding and business, along with the records of the major guilds - Cambio, Lana and Seta, and the guild matriculation of the Calimala to be found in *Manoscritti*.

Archival sources listed in the Bibliography refer to *fonti* which contain documents all of which are actually referred to in the text or notes of this thesis. I have not listed the many other *fonti* or documents consulted which did not yield any useful material. The printed sources and

secondary works likewise only list books and works to which reference is made in the thesis. It is not an exhaustive bibliography, and does not necessarily include some of the important works which were formative to my background knowledge of the historical period and the social perspective.

CHAPTER ONE: BUSINESS

The Cerchi banking concern, as will be seen, was by far the most important and prestigious of the three, and was on a par with some of the most important of its contemporary banking partnerships, like the Frescobaldi and the Bardi. As an international trading company, it acted mainly in the export of wool from England to the Low Countries, and the import of high quality Flemish cloths to Florence. As international bankers the Cerchi were involved in large scale lending to the kings of England. They were intimately involved in aspects of financing papal politics, acting, at times, as papal bankers. The Cerchi also played their part in fulfilling the function of bankers to civic authorities and local magnates in Florence and Tuscany.

The merchant trading company of the dell'Antella, although quite successful, was never in the same league as the Cerchi, the Bardi, the Frescobaldi, and the Spini. However, it did survive, in various forms and partnerships, for at least eighty years, from the 1260's through to the economic crises of the 1340's. We will see that in the political arena members of the family appear to have been civic rather than political, so too in the economic sphere,

the Antella were solid business men rather than high financiers and speculators.

The Portinari demonstrate themselves to be the followers of others. Their business involvement, over two centuries, is most notable for the way in which they appear to act as *soci* and factors for some of the most important companies of the day, the Cerchi in the thirteenth century, the Bardi and the Buonaccorsi in the fourteenth century, and the Medici in the fifteenth century.

* * *

The Cerchi and Business

The development of the Cerchi company was typical of the emerging merchant family in Florence in the thirteenth century. Their business beginnings were humble and small scale, starting at the primary level of cloth manufacture and petty loans to monasteries [1], but by the beginning of the fourteenth century the company would be acting as bankers to the papacy and to the kings of England, and running an international trading company, importing wool and woollen cloth from northern Europe to Florence.

Although Cerchio was prior of the Lana guild in 1212, and his grandson Odarrigo was consul of Por Santa Maria in 1234 [2], by the 1240's the family had moved firmly into

membership of the Calimala guild: Uliviero di Cerchio and his nephew, Galgano di Gualterotto di Cerchio, were matriculated in this guild in 1240; Lamberto di Uliviero was consul in 1248, and Torrigiano di Uliviero in 1253 [3]. This membership points to the expansion of Cerchi business interests from the small scale of local industry to wider European horizons. Merchants of the Calimala guild were involved in the international wool trade, buying high quality wool in England, selling it to the woollen cloth producing centres in Flanders, then buying the resulting high quality *panni franceschi*, transporting it to Florence, arranging for it to be finished, and marketing the end product. The establishment of the European trading links, and the trade routes necessary for this type of international commerce were the key to the establishment of international banking facilities, and large scale banking activity was the foundation of a family fortune.

The Cerchi company or *società* was founded in the second quarter of the thirteenth century by Uliviero di Cerchio de Cerchi in partnership with his oldest sons Odarrigo, Torrigiano, and Ricovero, nephew Galgano di Gualterotto, and son-in-law Bindo Galigai dei Macci. When Uliviero died in 1254, the *società* was administered jointly by his sons, along with several outside *soci* (that is, neither in-laws nor blood kin). Unlike many Florentine companies of the time, the Cerchi seem to have been keen to recruit able

Table 1: ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE CERCHI COMPANY 1240's

(Gualterotto)-----GALGANO
(Cerchio)---
ODARRIGO
ULIVIERO-----TORRIGIANO
RICOVERO
daughter
mar. BINDO MACCI

Table 2: FAMILY MEMBERS OF CERCHI COMPANY MAY 1264

BRUNELLINO
GHERARDINO
LAPO
Uliviero-----CERCHIO *head of the firm
ARRIGO
CONSIGLIO
Torrighiano----- VIERI
Puccio----- DORE
Odarrigo----- MANFREDO

Table 3: FAMILY MEMBERS OF CERCHI COMPANY 1280

CONSIGLIO
ULIVIERO-----Torrighiano-----VIERI *head of the firm
Cerchio-----GENTILE
BINDO
NICCOLO

managers from outside the immediate family. However, it is not easy to be sure of the actual composition of the firm until the 1260's, because there are no account books or other documentation in existence for the Cerchi.

In May 1264 the Cerchi company broke all ties with the Ghibelline cause, and swore allegiance to the pope [4]. Such oaths are the earliest means we have of seeing the membership and composition of the firm. Cerchio di Uliviero was now sole head of the firm: Torrigiano di Uliviero having died in 1260, and Odarrigo di Uliviero having retired from the *società* earlier in 1264. Other Cerchi involved in the company were his five younger brothers Lapo, Gherardino, Brunellino, Arrigo and Consiglio, and three nephews Vieri di Torrigiano di Uliviero, Dore di Puccio, and Manfredo di Odarrigo. Two more *soci* were tied by kinship to the Cerchi: Naddo di Cambio dei Bonizzi was a maternal uncle, while Bindo di Galigai dei Macci was married to one of Uliviero's daughters [5]. The other company associates were unrelated: Teghia dei Tedaldi della Vitella, Guiduccio di Cavalcante de Cavalcanti, Uberto Cambi, Taldo Ranieri, and Bonsegnore Bonaiuti.

Cerchio died in 1280 and his nephew Vieri di Torrigiano assumed the leadership of the company. He would become the political leader of the White faction of Florence at the end of the thirteenth century. It is perhaps indicative of his strength, and his leadership qualities that he took over

Table 4: CERCHI BIANCHI COMPANY 1288

		NADDO
		VIERO
Gherardino-----		BERTO
		LIPPO
		LAPPO
Uliviero-----	LAPPO	*head of company
	NICCOLA-----	GIOVANNI
		VIERI
		IACOPO
		GIOVANNI
CONSIGLIO-----		BINDACCIO
		SIMONE
		DARDANO
		ALABANTE

Table 5: CERCHI NERI COMPANY 1288

		TORRIGIANO
Uliviero-----	Cerchio-----	BINDO *head of firm
		GIOVANNI

rather than an uncle or one of his cousins. Other *soci* of the company at this period include Consiglio di Uliviero, Bindo di Cerchio, Gentile di Cerchio, and Niccolo di Cerchio de Cerchi, as well as Naddo Bonizzi, Castellano Ranieri, Baldovino Ranucci, Giovanni Brodari, Villano di Stoldo, and Folco Portinari [6]. Naddo Bonizzi joined the firm at some point after 1264, and Villano di Stoldo had been the representative and manager of the Cerchi agency in Genoa in 1271 [7].

Vieri di Torrigiano retired after eight years as head of the *società*, and at the same time it divided into the Cerchi Bianchi and the Cerchi Neri. The Cerchi Bianchi company was headed by Lapo di Uliviero, and his partners were his brother Niccola and son Giovanni, and twelve nephews, Berto, Vieri, Lippo, Lapo, and Naddo, (sons of Gherardino), and Vieri, Iacopo, Giovanni, Bindaccio, Simone, Dardano, and Alabante, (the sons of Consiglio). From 1288 to 1303 non-family *soci*, that is neither in-laws nor blood kin, included Diedo Bonincontri and Bonaccorso Bonincontri, Maso di Rogerino Minerbetti, Francesco Bernardi, and Burdo Squarchie [8].

The much smaller Cerchi Neri company was headed by Bindo di Cerchio; his partners were his brothers, Torrigiano and Giovanni. There were, however, comparatively more non-family *soci*, including Bertone Mathi, Villano Stoldi (the father of the chronicler, Giovanni Villani), Carrochio

Uberti, Guccio di Ranieri Compagni, Guido di Filippo dell'Antella, and Allodolo Chiarissimo [9].

This split into the two companies was made purely as an administrative adjustment. It was not made as the result of some fundamental conflict of interest or policy. This is demonstrated by the close contacts of the two companies in England. Indeed, it was a common occurrence within Florentine family companies for them to break up into separate, but usually amicable and complimentary partnerships with successive generations. It was only after 1300 that members of the Cerchi Neri company were to become associated with the city's White political faction, and were permanently exiled from Florence, until the 1340's.

It is difficult to speculate with any degree of accuracy on the motivation for the division of the sets of brothers and nephews. As always for this period in Florentine history, documentation is tantalisingly fragmentary, and seldom answers the questions which need to be posed. Bindo di Cerchio appeared to be the logical 'heir' in 1280, when his father Cerchio died. But the first cousin, Viero di Torrigiano, instead took the leadership of the company. Possibly Bindo was still too young in 1280, as was Lapo di Uliviero, another of the younger sons from Uliviero's second marriage. By 1288 Gherardino was probably dead, which would then have allowed his sons to participate as his heirs in the company. Consiglio did not die until

1291, and he then divided his company shares between his eldest sons.

Having seen the composition of the Cerchi *società* through its various phases, we can now examine the development of the company's business concerns. Uliviero's *società* was already a multi-branched and multi-national company as early as 1248, when we find references to its branch in Marseilles in Provence. This branch was concerned with the export of French and Flemish cloth via Marseilles, with accounts payable at the Champagne fairs [11]. Initially, the Cerchi partner was Ricovero di Uliviero, and later a non-family *socio*, Teuchanerio Gauterio. Until Aigues Mortes was founded by Louis IX, Marseilles was one of the most important clearing houses for the export by sea of French cloths, and for the off-loading of goods from abroad which would then continue their journey by land. Davidsohn believes that Cerchi business in Marseilles incorporated the provision of insurance contracts. If this is true, then this is very early indeed for insurance provision [12]. The Cerchi, like the dell'Antella, had a branch in Genoa. This was established by at least 1253, and issued bills of exchange in lire of Provins for the Champagne fair of Saint-Ayoul. The Cerchi representative here in 1271 was Villano Stoldi [13].

By 1262 the Cerchi had eight permanent representatives in France, for as European trade had become more

sophisticated, so the Cerchi business network had expanded to exploit it. In the same period the *società* of Ghino Frescobaldi, for example, had ten representatives in France, the Rimbertyni thirteen, the Bardi six [14]. The Champagne fairs had brought together the Italian merchant and the French and Flemish cloth producers, and eventually the Italians began to go directly to the large centres of manufacture for their cloth. In 1295 the Cerchi Bianchi, the Franzesi, the Scali, the Bardi, the Frescobaldi, the Spini and the Mozzi were all represented at the fair of Saint Remy de Troyes, where they were buying cloth to export to Florence, and the Cerchi had representatives at Ypres to visit important Flemish fairs [15]. Davidsohn has estimated that these major Florentine merchant companies exported cloth to a value of about 1,375,000 lire through Aigues Mortes in this year [16]. In 1296 Simone di Consiglio de Cerchi, representing the Cerchi Neri in a deal along with the Spini, Mozzi, and Scali, rented a 'galera' at Nimes, for 360 lire genovesi (about 515 Florentine florins). The following month he rented another boat, to ship 150 bales of cloth, at a cost of 30 soldi per bale, from Aigues Mortes at the mouth of the Rhone to Pietra Santa, the Italian port just north of Viareggio [17].

Cloth bought in Flanders and France was often sold in Florence to be reexported to southern Italy and the ports of the southern Mediterranean. Although we can follow the

resale and export of woollen cloth from Florence south through the account books of the del Bene, for example [18], it would appear that the Cerchi acted primarily as an importing house in the wool and woollen cloth chain. However, documentation of the wool and cloth bought by the Cerchi in England, Flanders and northern France is, unfortunately, very scanty. The sole piece of known evidence to any resale and possible export of cloth is the isolated reference to the sale of twenty-two rolls of *panni franceschi* to a Roman merchant for 975 lire by Bindo, Gentile and Niccola, sons of Cerchio de Cerchi, in 1281 [19].

Italians had been trading in England from the 1220's: the Florentine companies of the Scala, and the Pulci-Rimbertyni, were represented in England before the mid-1260's, the Bardi are first recorded as being in England in 1267, the Cerchi in 1268, the Frescobaldi and the Falconieri in 1272, the Mozzi in the late 1270's, and the Spini, as an offshoot from the Mozzi, in 1294 [20]. Around 1282, the Cerchi in England divided into its two parts, known at first as Durand la Bon and Cerchi Bianchi, and later as the Cerchi Bianchi and Cerchi Neri (in conformity with the more formal division of the Florentine based company in 1288). The Frescobaldi in England also split into the Bianchi and Neri by 1287 [21].

It would appear that the division of the Cerchi into its two parts was either the result of, or resulted in, some sort of temporary financial crisis. Lloyd links it with the transition of the Mozzi company whose involvement in England at this same period evolved from being simply a banking company, collecting papal revenues, to becoming involved in the wool trade in partnership with the Spini. In 1284 the Mozzi took over Cerchi contracts for wool with twenty-four monasteries, and although in some of the cases wool was not due to be delivered until 1288, the Cerchi had already paid out deposits of money in advance [25]. Possibly this is an indication of financial trouble or regrouping on the part of the Cerchi. However, if there was any crisis, the Cerchi suffered no serious or lasting set back, of status or reputation or volume of trade.

The volume of trade with England undertaken by Italians was quite extensive. In 1273 a total of 32,743 sacks of English wool was exported: 35% of this total was handled by the English themselves, 24.5% by Italian merchants, 21.75% by the French, and the rest by merchants from Brabant, Lieges, Germany and Spain. Florentine merchants handled 3960 sacks, just over 12% of the grand total, and worth the sum of 1,830,000 lire. The Florentine companies involved were those of Ghino Frescobaldi, the Bardi, the Cerchi, the Macci, the Falconieri, and the Del Papa-Donati. A single sack as a unit of measurement at this time was the

equivalent of a whole cart load, or two horse loads: this would have been the volume of the three hundred and sixty-four pounds weight of the sack, needing the fleeces of a minimum of two hundred sheep [22].

Lloyd believes that the Cerchi were the leading wool-exporting company in England during the early 1270's. Their first representative in England was Rustichello Tedaldi in 1268, and by 1277 there were at least thirteen Cerchi partners, factors and agents in England, eleven of whom had been granted export licences for wool. The large number of Cerchi factors with licences indicates the size and strength of the company. In 1271 Rustichello, by now described as a citizen and merchant of London, was granted two unlimited export licences, while Paganel Walbon, another member of the company, was granted a licence to export 425 sacks of wool. It would appear that the Cerchi, through their factors, exported in excess of 3,600 sacks of wool in the period 1272 to 1275, while the Frescobaldi, in a similar period, exported just over 1,000 sacks [23]. The Cerchi bought wool from Shelford Priory in 1273; they contracted to buy wool produced by the abbey of Meaux for ten years from 1277 to 1287, and to gain this contract they paid an advance of 1600 marks (8,533 florins) in 1275. They also advanced 100 pounds sterling (800 florins) for a contract to buy wool from Newminster Abbey from 1277 to 1281 [24].

By 1290 the Italians and the Florentines were involved in the English wool trade on a very large scale. In the early 1290's they were buying wool from forty-nine of the seventy-four Cistercian houses in the country, as well as from other religious houses, and the great lay estates [26]. In 1291 the Cerchi Bianchi took part in one of the principal English fairs, at St. Botolph of Boston [27], and in the same year representatives of the abbey of St. Mary of York, furnished with letters of recommendation given to them by the Cerchi representatives in England, presented themselves to the Cerchi Bianchi company offices in Florence [28]. In 1294 eight Florentine companies - the Cerchi Neri, the Cerchi Bianchi, the Frescobaldi Bianchi, the Frescobaldi Neri, the Bardi, the Mozzi, the Spini, and the Pucci, - together with two Lucchese companies, controlled 2380 bales of wool, which accounted for 8% of the total English export of wool in that year [29].

At this period the Italians were not buying the wool to export it from England to Florence in its raw state, but to take this good quality English wool to the woollen cloth producing centres in the Low Countries and northern France, from where they would buy the resulting high quality *panni franceschi*, transporting it, usually by land, south to Florence, where they would arrange for it to be finished, and for the end product to be marketed. Most of the Italian export of wool went through the English ports of Boston and

Hull. In 1294 eight major Florentine companies had contracted to buy certain amounts of wool: The Frescobaldi Bianchi 360 sacks, the Frescobaldi Neri 154 sacks, the Cerchi Bianchi 301 sacks, the Cerchi Neri 350 sacks, the Mozzi 261 sacks, the Pulci-Rimbertini 258 sacks, the Spini 154 sacks, the Bardi 99 sacks [30].

International trade and international banking and high finance were intimately linked. So, although the companies were allowed to take delivery of the wool, they were not allowed to export it until they were granted an export licence, and King Edward I refused to grant these export licences until the Florentines themselves had agreed to make the king a 'loan'. On receipt of a total of 12,970 pounds sterling (103,760 florins) advanced by seven of the companies, (all but the Mozzi) licences which allowed the firms to export a total of 2651 sacks of wool were issued, and allowed the Frescobaldi Bianchi 721 sacks, the Frescobaldi Neri 164 sacks, the Cerchi Bianchi 396 sacks, the Cerchi Neri 466 sacks, the Bardi 313 sacks, the Pulci-Rimbertini 215 sacks, the Mozzi 231 sacks, and the Spini 145 sacks [31].

The Florentine merchant had first ventured abroad primarily in search of cloth and wool to satisfy his native city's industrial and commercial needs. But this business was very soon intrinsically linked with two other businesses: the concession of loans to kings and the

collection and transmission of papal dues, and all three of these business concerns brought about developments and progress in the actual handling of money, that is in banking itself.

Being on friendly terms with the king of England made the buying, collection and transportation of wool easier, for the king could provide safe conducts and preferential treatment. The way to stay on good terms with him was to lend him money, for from the time of Edward I the kings of England were always short of money to pay for their wars with Scotland and France. Such was the English crown's need that Edward often obtained forced loans from the Italian merchants through threats of expulsion and seizure of wool bought by the companies, or refusal to grant export licences.

The traditional view of the ties between Italian merchants, the papacy, and England, has been that the Italians came to England as collectors of papal taxes. This money was then used to buy wool, and the pope was paid his dues from the proceeds raised by selling the wool and cloth in the Italian peninsula. Papal collections which were 'in transit' in the hands of the Italian merchants also provided the means to make loans to the kings of England [32]. However, this view does not take into account all aspects of the relationships between Italian merchant, pope, and the king of England. Although Italian merchants had been trading

in England on their own account since at least the 1220's, and had been used to making small transfers of money to Rome since the 1230's, the first large-scale papal use of Italian merchants in England came in 1255, when Henry III of England agreed to pay the pope 134,541 marks to subsidise expenses incurred in the 'Sicilian settlement' [33]. 70,000 to 80,000 marks (373,333 to 426,666 florins) out of this total were lodged with the companies, but even this can hardly be interpreted as providing them with a large injection of working capital, as it was made in repayment of loans already advanced by the companies to the king and to the pope.

The first real advantage the companies saw to their connections and financial dealings with the papacy and the king of England came in 1277 when the receipts from the tithe raised in England in 1274 to finance a crusade were distributed, as deposits, among the major Italian merchant banking companies represented in England. The Riccardi of Lucca, the principal bankers of Edward I from 1272 until their bankruptcy in 1294, received a quarter of the final total, worth over 80,000 pounds sterling (640,000 florins), but the remainder was distributed among the other Italian companies in England. The Cerchi were third with a 4455 pounds sterling deposit (35,640 florins), under the Scala (5794 pounds/46,352 florins) and Mozzi (4576 pounds/36,608 florins) [34].

However, it appears that these deposits were made partly as a bribe or, perhaps, a lever, to ensure that the companies would cooperate in the 'forced loan' imposed by Edward on fifteen Italian and four southern French companies (also in June 1277), by which he hoped to raise 12,750 marks (68,000 florins) to help finance his campaign against the Welsh. Among themselves, the Cerchi, Frescobaldi, Bardi, and Falconieri promised a loan of 2,000 pounds sterling (16,000 florins) [35]. Further loans were imposed over the next decade and a half, as the second Welsh war brought more demands. In April 1282 the Cerchi Neri promised a loan of 666li 13s 4d sterling, the Cerchi of Durand le Bon (the Bianchi) promised 166li 13s 4d, the Frescobaldi, the Bardi, the Falconieri, the Mozzi, the Scala and the Pulci-Rimbertini 666li 13s 4d each, and the Falconieri 500 pounds. The same amount was promised by each company in July of the same year. In May 1283 the Cerchi of Durand le Bon promised 66li 13s 4d, the Frescobaldi 200 pounds, the Bardi, Mozzi, and Scala 666li 13s 4d each, and the Falconieri 133li 6s 8d [36].

In 1294 the Riccardi bank of Lucca collapsed, mainly as a result of the king's sudden demand for the return of his large credit balance needed to finance the impending war with France. From 1294 to 1302, until the emergence of the Frescobaldi as the king's bankers, Edward was dependent on a rather clumsy, and often unwilling, group of eleven Italian

companies to supply him with a steady flow of loans. As the king's needs grew and the resources of the companies dwindled, gentle pressure changed to bribery and threats. The grant of export licences for wool in 1294 was dependent upon loans from the major Italian merchants worth a total of 14,000 pounds sterling (98,235 florins). The Frescobaldi Bianchi put up 4,000 pounds sterling, while the Cerchi Neri contributed 2457 pounds sterling, and the Cerchi Bianchi contributed 2132 pounds sterling. Between them, the two Cerchi firms had put up a third of the money.

This state of affairs continued until the turn of the century. In the autumn of 1295, for example, letters of patent were drafted to instruct royal agents to seize wool belonging to the Bardi, the Cerchi Neri and Bianchi, and the Frescobaldi Neri and Bianchi who presumably had not made loans to the king. These companies do not appear to have exported any wool that year, although there is no evidence that their stock was, in fact, confiscated. In contrast the Spini, Pulci-Rimbertini and Mozzi, who each made loans of 500 marks to the crown in October 1295, were allowed to export their wool [37].

By the summer of 1300 the Cerchi Neri company had advanced a total of 4550 li 6s 8d sterling, the Cerchi Bianchi 3825 li 6s 8d sterling, the Frescobaldi Bianchi 4866 li 13s 4d sterling, the Frescobaldi Neri 1089 li 6s 8d sterling, the Spini 4438 li 6s 8d sterling, the Mozzi

4427 li 6s 8d sterling, the Bardi 3136 li sterling, and the Pulci-Rimbertini 2881 li 13s 4d sterling. The Bellardi of Lucca advanced 533 li 13s 4d sterling in total, the Ammanati of Pistoia 2993 li 6s 8d sterling, and the Bonsignori of Siena 966 li 13s 4d sterling [38]. Between their two companies, therefore, the Cerchi Bianchi and Neri had advanced the king nearly 63,000 florins, more than the combined loans of the Frescobaldi Bianchi and Neri, and almost twice as much as the Bardi, and three times as much as the Ammanati.

There was some good faith on the part of the crown, and efforts were made to repay the Italian companies. In 1298, in partial settlement of some of the loans the eleven companies were assigned customs revenues from the ports of Berwick, Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn, Yarmouth, Sandwich, London, Southampton and Bristol. Some of them, including the Cerchi, were also granted customs allowances on wool they exported. However, in 1313 the Spini were still petitioning the crown for repayment of the debts of Edward I and Edward II, and for the loan of 1294 [39].

In 1299 a loan of 2000 marks to the city of London showed the Cerchi, along with the Mozzi, Scali and Frescobaldi, as willing to do business with the mercantile citizens of London as with the king [40]. However, the loan was used to pay off a fine imposed on the city by the crown, and in retaliation the customs grant was withdrawn [41]. In

1301 the Cerchi, Spini, Mozzi, Pulci-Rimbertini, Velluti and Frescobaldi made a large loan to Edward's son-in-law, John, Duke of Brabant. In return they received the tax on the export of wool imposed on Brabant merchants in English ports, as well as the whole tax on English and Irish wool [42].

Although the Italian companies must have lost money overall through the loans they made to the English kings, in and of themselves these loans cannot be held responsible for the failure or disappearance of so many of the firms in the first decade of the fourteenth century. For instance, it appears as though the Frescobaldi Neri were reincorporated into the Frescobaldi Bianchi around 1298 or 1299. Although the Cerchi Neri disappeared at some point between August 1301 and April 1303, there is no record of any bankruptcy dealings or prosecutions for debt. It is likely, therefore, that the company was wound up deliberately and in an orderly manner [43]. As the company's disappearance was coincident to the peak of Florentine factional disputes, I would suggest that the dissolution of the company came about as a result of political pressures at home in Italy, rather than financial difficulties encountered in England.

Nevertheless, some companies did not make an orderly exit. The Falconieri had disappeared before 1294, the Mozzi became bankrupt in 1304, the Pulci-Rimbertini fled England in 1305. By the beginning of 1306, only the Cerchi Bianchi,

the Frescobaldi, the Bardi and the Spini were left of the Florentine wool-trading companies which had been so dominant in England in the last decades of the thirteenth century. In May 1306 there were still three Cerchi *soci* in England to the six Frescobaldi *soci*, four Spini, two Bardi, two Peruzzi, and one Portinari, the last two companies being newly arrived on the English scene [44]. The Cerchi Bianchi was still operating in England in 1310, when it faced conviction for illegally exporting 4,000 gold florins, in contravention of a recent decree banning the use of foreign coin [45]. However, at around the same time, two Cerchi associates Francis Grandon, (the chief wool agent) and Manente Francesci (a factor) started to work for the Bardi company, suggesting that the Cerchi Bianchi company was obviously in the process of being wound up. Again it would appear that this was done in an orderly way, for, once more, there is no evidence of any debts left outstanding after August 1311 [46].

In Italy, the Cerchi first became involved in papal politics and business in the 1260's. In 1260, the Guelfs were exiled from Florence after their defeat by the Ghibellines at the battle of Montaperti. Some members of the Cerchi family joined the exodus and took up residence in Perugia, the seat of the papal curia. Although the Cerchi family chronicle states that Torrigiano di Uliviero was killed at the battle [47], this is not possible as he is

recorded as being in Perugia later in the year. There is no record of any other member of the family participating in the battle. The Cerchi were granted citizenship of Perugia but they did not renounce their ties with their native city [48]. Indeed, two members of the family, Cerchio di Uliviero and Dore di Puccio, remained with the Ghibellines in Florence, and even acted as Ghibelline *consiglieri* in 1260 [49].

Cerchio di Uliviero was head of the Cerchi *società* at this time, and he conducted the business affairs of his exiled brothers from Florence. But in May 1264 Cerchio renounced the Ghibelline cause, submitted to the Pope, and was absolved from the papal ban of excommunication which had been laid upon all Florentine Ghibellines [50]. Evidently the astute Cerchi could see that the Guelf side was looking more profitable, and they now allied themselves firmly with the papacy and the Guelfs. Following Cerchio, his brothers and nephews now swore allegiance to the pope in July 1264 [51]. Having decided that it was in the company's interest to join sides with the Guelfs, Cerchio and Dore probably left Florence, and joined the rest of the family in Perugia.

The following year, 1265, members of the *società* renewed their allegiance to the pope, and renounced all promises and oaths which had been made to Manfred, "Prince of Taranto and persecutor of the Roman Church", promising not to help him and also promising to assist the Church

against him [52]. This obligation of assistance was more than an idle formula, for in the same year, when Charles of Anjou needed to finance his 'crusade' to Naples against Manfred, we have evidence that the members of the Cerchi company lent 500 lire tournois to Clement IV [53]. It was surely in recognition of financial backing, rather than for any military prowess, that nine members of the family were knighted by Charles, the new king of Sicily, after the Guelfs had regained control of Florence. They were Cerchio, his sons Bindaccio and Torrigiano, his brothers Gherardino, Lapaccio, Consiglio, Bonino, and Niccola, and his nephew Viero di Torrigiano, most of whom who had themselves sworn allegiance to the pope in 1264 [54]. There is, however, no evidence of any active Cerchi participation in the business opportunities which opened up in Angevin Naples.

The company in Italy does not appear to have been very active from the mid 1260's to 1280, although this was when the company was the most important of the Italian wool exporting companies operating in England. It is possible that, given the political climate in Florence, the Cerchi shifted the bulk of their activities to England until the atmosphere improved. This could also explain why there was a division first in England (1282) which was only later reflected, more formally, in 1288 in Florence. For although the Cerchi had renounced the Ghibellines and had allied themselves firmly with the papacy and so with the Guelfs in

1264 and 1265, they were still suspected of Ghibellinism and were also seen to be strongly linked with the pro-Angevin cause. They had financed Charles of Anjou's expedition in Italy in 1265, and it was also only the direct intervention of Charles in 1272 which saved Viero, accused of Ghibellinism, from banishment [55]. In the 1270's the pope, and so the leading Florentine Guelf party, followed a more and more anti-Angevin course. Both the della Scala and the Frescobaldi banks, also heavily involved in financing Charles in 1265, had a similarly low key period until the 1280's.

However, this period of less intense business activity in Italy did not affect the Cerchi's economic status, for as their business was focused in England, they enjoyed continued prosperity regardless of Florentine activity. In 1280 Viero di Torrigiano, his first cousins Bindo, Giovanni and Giano, sons of Cerchio, together with their first cousin once-removed Gentile di Folco di Puccio, bought a considerable amount of property in the city sesto of Por San Piero from the Conti Guidi family [56].

When the Florentine attitude towards the Cerchi and their suspected 'Ghibellinism' moderated, they began again to act as papal bankers. The Cerchi *società* was at the service of Pope Martin IV from 1280 in the collection and transmission of the church's tithe, along with the Scali of Florence, and banking companies of Siena, Lucca and Piacenza

[57]. As well as putting their banking facilities at the service of the popes, the Cerchi also lent them money. For example, the Cerchi Neri helped in pope Boniface VIII's struggle against the Colonna in 1298 with a loan of 4,100 florins [58].

The Cerchi's important period as one of the leading papal banking companies came in the first decade of the fourteenth century. In 1303 the Cerchi Bianchi were recalled from exile as 'true Guelfs', thanks partly to intervention on their behalf by the new pope, Benedict [59], who was much more favourable to the Cerchi than his predecessor Boniface had been. In 1304 Benedict took from the Spini their function and title of 'mercanti della camera' to show his disapproval of their speculations and machinations with Boniface [60]. He then gave the principal direction of the church's financial operations to the Cerchi Bianchi. From London they collected the papal tithe in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales; in Bruges they took in tithes from Metz, Verdun, Toul, Liege and Cambrai; they were also collectors in Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and Moravia, and in Pistoia [61]. The fact that the Cerchi Bianchi was considered an organisation capable of such responsibility is a strong indication that the company had the extended network of local branches and agencies already established and therefore ready to carry out their duties effectively.

After the election of Clement V in 1305, the banking affairs of the curia remained in the hands of the Cerchi Bianchi: they had, after all, lent him 8,300 florins as soon as he was elected, as well as putting up half of the amounts that Clement's allies, the rectors of the March of Ancona and Patrimony, needed to assume office [62]. But within a year of Clement's election, the Cerchi were doing less and less papal business, as papal clerks took over work previously done by the Cerchi and other banking companies. Gradually, papal deposits with the Cerchi were withdrawn [63].

We have examined the Cerchi company and its involvement with the international wool trade, its loans to the kings of England, its relationship to some aspects of papal politics, and its function as bankers of the papal camera, and now we must turn our attention to the Cerchi and their involvement in communal finances, as an important part of their business activities were tied up in their function as bankers to civic authorities and local magnates.

It is almost certain that the Cerchi company provided the loan of 12,000 lire made by Florence to Arezzo in 1255 [64], as the Florentine treasury was, as ever, completely impoverished, and as Torrigiano di Uliviero de Cerchi is the only Florentine banker to appear as witness. In 1280 the company of Bindo di Cerchio received monies from the commune to pay various stipends [65], and two years later Uliviero

and Consiglio promised a loan of 4,000 lire to the commune [66]. In 1289 the bishop of Arezzo ceded his castle to the Florentine Guelfs in return for 9,000 lire and the Cerchi bank guaranteed this revenue [67]. In 1295 the company of Bindo lent 12,000 lire to the commune towards the payment of 60,000 lire made to Giano di Celona, vicar of the king of the Romans. The total sum needed was made up of loans from Florentine banks, and included another 12,000 lire from the Frescobaldi, and 6,000 lire each from the Mozzi, Spini and Scali banks [68]. In 1303 the Cerchi Bianchi company of Lapo in Florence provided 850 florins to the 15,050 florin loan raised by the commune from Florentine bankers [69]. In the intervening decade between the 1295 loan and this one, the position of the Cerchi had changed, for now the Cerchi were in seventh place in the ratings of money lent, against the 2,900 florins by the Spini, 2,000 by the Amieri and the Peruzzi, 1,500 by the Bardi, and 1,000 by the Mozzi and the Pulci.

Political disfavour, not business or financial difficulties, had caused this seeming decline in Cerchi wealth and resources. All the other banks, who put up much greater amounts of the loan, were closely allied to the Donati and Black political faction, and although the Cerchi bank providing the loan was the Cerchi Bianchi branch, headed by the no longer exiled, and not politically active members of the family, they were, nevertheless, obviously no

longer integrated in the political and economic hierarchy of the city. Financially, the company of the Cerchi Bianchi was still very viable, as it was just entering its phase as principal banker to the papal camera, and would be in a position to make a loan of 8,300 florins to the pope in 1305 [70].

The Cerchi *società* also had dealings with the great Ghibelline families of Tuscany. The great Conti Guidi family remained in close contact with the Cerchi Neri after they had been exiled from Florence as White Guelfs in 1303 while the Cerchi Bianchi, although not political supporters of the Tuscan Ghibellines, nevertheless kept up their business and personal contacts with, for example, the Guidi and the Uberti. Indeed, financial dealings between the Cerchi and the Conti Guidi well preceeded any of the political and factional divisions of the turn of the century. In 1280 the Cerchi company had made a loan of 1,000 lire to Count Manfred, son of Count Guido Novello, of the Conti Guidi family [71]. This loan was made just six weeks before the Cerchi bought a large amount of urban property from the Guidi, and the property sale could well have been part of the deal [72]. Four years later Gherardino di Uliviero and his *soci* made another loan of 537 lire to the same Manfred, and half of this debt was then ceded to the Ubaldini, another Ghibelline family [73]. In 1300 the *società* of Bindo, of the Cerchi Neri, lent a small sum to Bishop

Ildebrandino of Arezzo, of the Conti Guidi family [74], while in the next year the Count Palatine Tegrimo di Modigliana dei Guidi Guerra deposited 2,949 florins with the Cerchi Neri (and 2,000 florins with the Mozzi) [75]. This was followed by another deposit of a further 4,266 lire a little later [76]. The head of the Ghibelline party, Neri Piccolino, maintained a deposit with the Cerchi Bianchi bank, with dividends and participation in company profits [77].

It is a measure of the complexity of the political, financial and social environment of late thirteenth century Florence and Italy that the Cerchi, both the Cerchi Bianchi and the Cerchi Neri, could have such intimate business ties with the pope, the Ghibellines, and the communal administration of Florence itself, all with their traditional enmities and rivalries and conflicts of interest.

However, as the factional splits within the Florentine ruling group became more intense, so the rift began to affect the respective positions of the Cerchi Bianchi and the Cerchi Neri. Bindo and Giovanni's *socio* Guido dell'Antella left the Neri company in 1301: "Da loro mi parti per la brigha, ove verrero cho'Donati e compagni" [78]. In 1302 over six hundred Florentine Bianchi Guelfs and Ghibellines were proscribed by Charles of Valois, and fled the city. The whole of the Cerchi family was banished [79].

But in the summer of 1303 those Cerchi who belonged to the Bianchi company, that is the company of Lapo, were allowed to return from exile, partly thanks to intervention on their behalf by the new pope, Benedict, whose bankers they were to become in 1304 [80].

From 1303 the more politically intransigent Cerchi Neri remained in exile, with their company represented in Florence by Villano Stoldi [81]. The Cerchi Neri company had wound up its business interests in London by 1303, and in Italy itself the Neri had ceased trading by about 1304.

The Bianchi company of Lapo now had to cut their ties with their exiled Neri kinsmen, and concentrate on economic necessity. Indeed, throughout the history of Florence it is possible to see instances where economic necessity or expediency overcame political rivalries. The Cerchi, like the Pulci and the Antella at the same time, had had members of the family, who were also partners in the company, exiled as Guelfs from Florence by the Ghibellines in 1260, while other members of the same families, including the nominal head of the Cerchi company at the time, Cerchio di Uliviero, were actively participating in the Ghibelline administration of the city. And when the time was right, the same men, as heads of their businesses, had no scruples about leaving Florence and the Ghibellines, and joining the Guelf and papal cause. And in the factional divisions within Florence in 1303, although close kinsmen, such as Viero di Torrigiano

and Bindo di Cerchio were in exile and had made their allegiance with the Ghibellines and the Emperor, the traditional enemies of the Guelfs and the papacy, the Cerchi Bianchi company included as *soci* men whose allegiances belonged to the orthodox Guelf and Black factions, such as the Buonincontri, Bonizzi, Fioravanti, Lambertucci and Lambertini [82], and the Cerchi Bianchi company itself was about to become the chosen papal bankers.

It was partly because of the original wealth and strength of the Cerchi Bianchi that the company managed to survive for so long in the face of political disfavour. This was in large measure due to its work for the popes until 1306. The Cerchi survival is all the more notable in view of the wave of bankruptcies which swept over even politically secure Florentine companies in the first decade of the fourteenth century: the Lamberti in 1305, the Nerli in 1306, the Franzesi in 1307, the Mozzi in 1308, the Bonaccorsi and Ferrantini in 1309, the Pulci and Rimbertyni in 1309 to 1310, and the Frescobaldi in 1312. In 1310 the Cerchi Bianchi itself showed signs of difficulty, and it collapsed in 1311.

After their bankruptcy the Cerchi had little further involvement in the world of banking and high finance. There was a minor Cerchi company involved in trading in Avignon in 1327 [83], but in 1339 Pigello di Berto and his brother Simone, descendants of Gherardino, were working as *soci* of

the Covoni company [84]. Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio was matriculated in the Calimala guild in 1352 and in the Cambio guild in 1356 [85], the first record of Cerchi guild membership since 1291. Matters had perhaps come full circle when, in 1364, Adoardo di Riccardo, great-great-grandson of the original Uliviero di Cerchio de Cerchi, lent one hundred florins to the rector of the church of San Bartolommeo di Palazzuolo [86]: over a century had passed, and the Cerchi were once more in the business of making small loans to Florentine monasteries and churches.

* * *

The dell'Antella and Business

The commercial company of the dell'Antella was in many ways similar to the Cerchi company, but it was of a much smaller scale. However, although the Antella never achieved the pre-eminence in international trade and banking enjoyed by the Cerchi, their company did survive for a longer period, until the second wave of commercial crises hit many Florentine banking companies in the 1340's.

Like the Cerchi, the dell'Antella's business company, led by Lamberto di Guido dell'Antella, was well established by the 1260's, with a *fondaco* at Genoa [87]. Guido dell'Antella was matriculated in the Calimala guild in 1235,

and his sons Compagno in 1237 and Lamberto in 1242. Compagno was consul of the guild in 1248 [88]. In the same period, in 1249, Baldese and Drudolio di Bonaccorso dell'Antella were matriculated in the Arte della Seta [89]. In 1252, as superintendent of the Zecca, Lamberto was the first official of the Florentine mint [90], and had the important job of managing the introduction of the new gold coin, the florin, the symbol of the emerging city. Subsequent members of the Antella family continued to be connected with the Mint. Donato di Lamberto was one of its officials from May to November 1304. He was one of three officials in charge of the silver coinage in 1307; in charge of gold and silver coinage in 1308 to 1309, 1311, and 1315, and in charge of gold, silver and black money in 1327. His brother Giovanni was one of the two officials for gold in 1304 and for gold and silver in 1307 and 1308 [91].

The Antella company was never a strictly family affair. It seems rather to have encompassed a variety of different individual Florentine merchants as *soci*. For instance, in 1280 Lamberto di Guido dell'Antella acted, in Florence, in partnership with four others - Passa di Finiguerra, Buonaccorso di Aldobrandino Carri, and Bencivenni and Tuccio di Vinta [92]. Filippo di Guido was a *socio* in Lamberto's company at least in 1273 [93]. By 1296 the major Antella company was the *società* formed by Maso, son of Lamberto dell'Antella, his cousin Guido di Compagno dell'Antella, and

Francesco di Guido del Bene [94]. This company was inscribed in the Cambio guild in 1300, and was made up of Giovanni, Donato and Banchello, sons of Lamberto dell'Antella; Guido di Compagno dell'Antella; and Francesco di Guido del Bene and his brothers Morecto and Tano [95].

Donato di Lamberto was consul of the Cambio guild in 1302 and again in 1314 [96]. The Antella were also active members of the Calimala guild: Donato was matriculated in this guild in 1303, and its consul in 1305 and 1306. Giovanni was consul in 1310, 1314, 1317, 1328, and 1331, and the third brother Banchello was consul in 1317 [97]. Banchello was also inscribed in the Lana guild in the same year [98].

One of the most interesting aspects of Guido di Filippo dell'Antella's contemporary thirteenth century *Ricordanze* [12] is the light it sheds on his business training and career. In 1267, at the age of thirteen, he went to Genoa to work as a *discepolo* or apprentice in the company of his uncle, Lamberto dell'Antella. He stayed there for eighteen months and then joined the Florentine Rinuccio Cittadini's company in Venice. In 1273, at the age of nineteen, he went on to Ravenna to work with his father, Filippo, who was a representative and *socio* of Lamberto dell'Antella, the head of the company, in Ravenna. When Filippo died later that year, Guido took over his father's interests and continued working for the Antella company until 1278, travelling

widely and working variously in Florence, Pisa, Provence, and the various seats of the papal curia, Acre, and Asia Minor.

Upon reaching his majority, after eleven years of working for his uncle, Guido left the Antella company to work for the della Scala company: he was given his own book of account to run in Provence. Guido does not tell us why he had left the Antella company, but it is possible that this was either because he wanted some independence and experience outside the family firm, or because the family firm was too small to support a large number of family partners. There is no evidence that the Antella were ever directly related to the della Scala by marriage. Guido spent twelve years with this company and moved in 1291, at the age of thirty seven, to become a partner of the Franzesi in Nimes.

Three years later, although living in Nimes, Guido was again working for the Antella: the *società* was by then probably being run by his cousins Maso di Lamberto and Guido di Compagno dell'Antella. It was only in 1296 that Guido returned to Florence where he took over the Baccarelli bank in partnership with his brother Neri and another *socio*, Lapo Ciederni. This partnership foundered two years later, so in 1298 Guido became a *socio* in the company of Bindo and Giovanni de Cerchi, of the Cerchi Neri. Guido was, by his own admission, to leave the partnership three years later,

because of the factional strife between the Cerchi and the Donati [99]. It is, therefore, notable that he himself later sided with the White faction and consequently spent years in exile from Florence.

The members of the Antella company of 1300 included Giovanni, Donato, and Banchello, sons of Lamberto dell'Antella, their cousin Guido di Compagno dell'Antella, and three sons of Guido del Bene, Francescho, with his brothers Morecto and Tano. Surviving the wave of bankruptcies which overtook so many Florentine companies between 1305 and 1312, the company remained intact, excepting Morecto del Bene, until at least 1314 [100]. But by 1320, at the latest, the partnership with the del Bene had finished, and the three sons of Lamberto were now in partnership with their nephews Maso and Lamberto di Maso di Lamberto and two non-family members, Piero Adapti, and Zenobio Giovanni [101]. Donato and Piero were formally dissolved from this partnership with Zenobio in 1324 [102] but were still in partnership with Giovanni di Lamberto and Lamberto and Maso di Maso and another cousin Viero di Banchello dell'Antella in 1329 [103].

In addition to Guido di Filippo, other Antella men chose not to confine their business activity within the family. For example, Ricco di Galgano dell'Antella was a member of the ill-fated Mozzi company which had become bankrupt in 1303 [104]. And Lotto di Donato, consul of the

Cambio guild in 1324, did not join his father and his uncles, but worked on his own [105]. Donato himself seems to have worked both with his brothers and nephews but also, at times, on his own account, for in 1328 we find a mention of Donato in a *società* comprising himself, Matteo Biliotti, Tuccino Cecchi, Ceronesi Nardi, Gino Veri and Riccardo Ricci, which had made a loan of 1100 florins to the commune [106].

There is little evidence to show the scope of the dell'Antella business activities, in terms of what they actually sold or were trading in. Their commercial interests in the thirteenth century appear to have been based on international trade and banking. In the 1260's, the Antella *società* had branches in Naples, Nimes and Paris [107]. And during that period in Genoa, the Antella *fondaco* sold high quality *panni franceschi*, but also accepted Genoese currency deposits which were to be repaid by the mother branch in Florence [108]. The family obviously continued to have international trading interests. Donato, Giovanni and Banchello di Lamberto were all members of the Calimala, (the guild of the international merchant), in the first decades of the fourteenth century, and the company was inscribed in the Cambio guild during this period which suggests continued activity in the field of banking, money lending, and investment.

In 1291 and 1295 they made loans of 1100 and 2700 florins respectively to the commune of San Gimignano [109]. 1296 saw a loan of 360 florins to Ser Cione di Ammannato da Carmignano [110]. One of the partners, Francesco del Bene, himself had 20,000 florins invested in the *società* in 1303 [111], while in 1321 Giovanni dell'Antella had 12,309 lire invested with the now bankrupt Macci company [112].

In 1319 the del Bene company (by now separate from the Antella) sold 'due vergati di Poperinghe e uno comellino di Lille' to Giovanni di Lamberto's company for 73 3s 10d lire [113] - an isolated reference but probably part of the stock sold in the shop which the Antella owned on the Ruga di Calimala [114], and an interest in wool and cloth which would explain the membership of Banchello in the Lana guild. In the 1320's the Antella were involved in the export trade from Florence via Porto Pisano [115] and were one of the twenty-one Florentine companies allowed to trade in Pisa after the peace was made with Florence in 1329 which ceased the hostilities between the two cities [116].

All told, the Antella businesses were fairly small scale, and never amongst the top league of Florentine companies. For example, a voluntary loan of 10,000 florins was put up by twenty six Florentine companies as part of the financial reforms of the Duke of Calabria in 1326. While the Bardi and the Acciaiuoli each put up 2,000 florins, the revived Buonaccorsi 600 florins, and the Alberti and Peruzzi

500 florins each, the company of Giovanni dell'Antella paid only 200 florins, as did the Alamanni, Ricci, Ridolfi, Manetti, Davanzati, Carini and Rinuccini companies, while each of the three emerging Strozzi companies paid 100 florins [117].

By the 1330's the next generation of Antellesi had come of age. Maso di Maso di Lamberto, a *socio* in his uncles' company in the 1320's, was consul of the Calimala guild in 1330 and 1333 [118] and of the Cambio guild in 1341, while Taddeo di Donato was consul of the Cambio five times, in 1330, 1334, 1335, 1338, and 1339 [119]. Andrea di Donato, first matriculated in the guild in 1339, was its consul in 1340 and again in 1342 [120] and treasurer of the gabelle of Florence in 1341 [121].

Taddeo di Donato ran a banking company in partnership with his brother, Andrea, and his cousin, Maso di Maso, in the 1330's [122], but by 1342, in common with many minor and indeed major Florentine banks, it was running into critical difficulties. The three year moratorium on its debts granted by Walter of Brienne temporarily eased the pressures on the company [123], but this was not enough. On 12 June 1344 the creditors of the company demanded that the liquidators be brought in, and by 1346 the Antella company had joined the ranks of failed and bankrupt Florentine companies [124].

Undeterred, members of the family continued to be involved in business, and kept on acting as financial

officials of the guilds and commune. Simone di Neri di Filippo dell'Antella, one of the six officials of *l'abbondanza del grano e biade* of the Commune in 1341 [125], was treasurer of the Cambio guild in 1349 [126], and its consul in 1348, 1350, 1353, 1355, 1359, and 1363 [127]. His sons Thomaso and Nofio were matriculated in the same guild in 1350 and 1361 respectively, and Thomaso was consul in 1356, 1358, and 1362 [128].

* * *

The Portinari and Business

The business activities of the Portinari in Florence date from the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In 1217 Torrigiano di Portinaio lent 50 lire to the bishop of Florence [129]. The first guild member of the family was Folco di Portinaio, who was matriculated in the silk guild in 1225 [130], but from then the only references to guild membership are for the Calimala guild, in which Doccia di Folco and his nephew Folco di Ricovero were matriculated in 1240 and 1259. The last Calimala guild member from the family until the fifteenth century was Folco di Ricovero, consul of the Calimala guild in 1280 and 1288 [131]. Puccio di Grifo was matriculated in the Lana guild in 1333 [132].

Actual references to a Portinari commercial company, then operating both in Genoa and Naples, date only from the late 1260's, half a generation behind the Cerchi [133], although it is probable that the loan referred to above (that of 50 lire to the bishop of Florence) was just one of a series of commercial transactions made by Torrigiano in partnership with his brother Folco [134].

From the 1290's the Portinari company, and individual members of the family, are to be found regularly in various notarial and communal sources named as merchants and bankers. A list of merchant societies of 1301 includes the Portinari company, represented by the non-family *socio* Michele Benci [135]. The 1303 loan of 15,050 florins made to the commune by various Florentine companies includes 300 florins from the Portinari [136]. In 1306 Manetto di Folco di Ricovero Portinari and *soci* are mentioned in a Calimala list of creditors of the company of Lambertescho dei Lamberti [137]. Also in 1306 their *socio* Orlando Guidi was on business for the Portinari in Naples, paying 50 gold coins for the curia [138].

It is for the Portinari company which operated in England that the most information remains. In 1314 the Portinari, along with the Bardi, Peruzzi, Spini, and the creditors of the Cerchi Bianchi, still had 1,500 marks sterling (6154 florins) invested in the Pulci-Rimbertini *società* as a result of dealings with the Pulci in England

prior to its cessation of business in England in 1305, and its bankruptcy in Florence in 1309 to 1310 [139]. Lloyd, who has analysed the workings of alien merchants in England in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, believes that the Portinari traded without interruption in England from 1303 at the latest through until the 1340's, where, along with the Bardi, the Peruzzi, and the Scala, it was very much involved in the wool trade [140]. 'Thomas Guy and Pouche (Puccio) de Portinari of Society of Portinari', who must just have arrived in London, were still assessed 44 li 8s 10d sterling (333 florins) in an alien assessment of 1304, to the 333 li 6s 8d (2,500 florins) of the Spini, the 177 li 15s 6d (802 florins) of the Cerchi Bianchi, the 266 li 13s 4d (2,000 florins) of the Peruzzi, and the 133 li 6s 8d (1,000 florins) of the Bardi) [141].

The company of the Portinari exported 161 sacks of wool from London from March to September 1303, and 124 sacks from April to March 1304. In the same period in 1303 the Peruzzi exported 386 sacks [142]. In May 1306, in the survey of Florentine banking personnel demanded by the king after the flight of the Pulci-Rimbertini, there was one major Portinari representative in England [143]. In July 1308 the Portinari and the Bardi had between themselves bought wool worth 475 6s 8d pounds sterling from the Templars in England [144], while in January 1318 the companies of the Portinari, Peruzzi and Scala were charged with owing 3120 florins, 573

pounds sterling, and 'a great sum', in London to the account of the Frescobaldi, bankrupt since 1311 [145].

However, the dealings of the Portinari in England were really fairly limited. In 1322, in London, a Pouche Archerico and an Archerico de Portinari, presumably Puccio di Accerito and Accerito Portinari, successfully objected to their assessment in an English customs tax on the grounds that they were not citizens of London. In the alien assessment of the same year Puccio was assessed at 4 li 8s 10.1/2d sterling, and Accerito at 16 li 3s 4d sterling. The Portinari assessment was similar to that of the Spini *società* (11 li 2s 2.1/2d), while the sizeable sums owed by the Scala (200 pounds sterling) and the Peruzzi (100 pounds sterling), reveal the differences in the extent of their respective trading [146]. When it suited them, however, members of the Portinari family were willing to be identified as residents of London. A few years later the same Pouche de Portinari was granted exemption from payment of the alien custom, when he claimed, successfully, that he was a perpetual citizen, domiciled in London, where he contributed to all local charges [147].

In July 1337 the Portinari were granted permission, along with the Acciaiuoli and two other Florentines, to ship 420 sacks of wool from Southampton in two Genoese galleys, and they were still exporting wool in 1342 [148]. There is a possibility that the Portinari success in continuing to

trade in England was because of the loans they were now making to the king, and the consequent reductions in duties. For in these last years of the 1330's, as the Bardi and the Peruzzi found it more and more difficult to satisfy the escalating demands of the English crown, so the king approached the Portinari. The Portinari advanced the king a total of about 20,000 pounds sterling (120,000 florins) and in return received various allowances of customs and deliveries of wool [149]. They were granted exemption from duty on 691 sacks of wool in 1339 and 1340, were given royal wool in Bruges in 1341, and received 335 sacks of Essex wool in 1342. In the same period the Buonaccorsi made a loan of 1950 pounds sterling, for which they received the grant of a duty-free export of 650 sacks of wool from London in the autumn of 1339. Lloyd sees the Buonaccorsi as the 'Portinari associate company', which would reflect the changed emphasis between the two companies in their involvement in English trade [150].

The interrelating ties of the Florentine companies in England were indeed complicated, especially when further mixed up by the involvement of each of them in royal loans and royal favours. This royal grant of exemption from duty in favour of the Buonaccorsi was opposed by the Bardi and the Peruzzi companies, because they had been assigned the customs of the port of London, as partial repayment of some of their loans. So, in autumn 1340, when five Portinari men

were Bardi *soci* in Paris and three Portinari would become *soci* of the Buonaccorsi within the year, it is ironic that the Buonaccorsi company was being repaid some of its credits with the king of England at the expense of the Bardi company [151].

There is only fragmentary information about individual ventures by members of the family and family companies in Florence. The 1322 list of two hundred and seventy Florentine firms includes that of Puccio di Grifo de Portinari in the popolo of San Proculo, and that of Accerito di Manetto de Portinari, popolo of Santa Margherita, both in the sesto of San Pier Maggiore [152]. In 1323 Stagio de Portinari, together with Ser Lippo Belli and Giovanni Giotti, was in dispute with some Pisan merchants, and appeared in front of a tribunal of the Cambio guild [153]. Twenty years later (1344) there was an independent Portinari company whose *soci* included Buono di Filippo, husband of Chiara di Giovanni di Manetto Portinari, and Girolamo di Buono Scarlatti, husband of Vanna di Pigello di Manetto Portinari, as well as Pigello di Manetto and Andrea di Andrea Portinari [154].

However, what is remarkable about the Portinari and their business involvement is the amount of associated service they had with other *società*. The Portinari consistently spread their commitments by running their own small companies and, concurrently, working for others as

soci and factors, rather than creating their own large organisation. Over a period of more than two hundred years, they established a pattern of becoming active working investors in the great banking companies of the day: the Cerchi in the thirteenth century, the Buonaccorsi and the Bardi in the first half of the fourteenth century, and the Medici in the latter part of the fourteenth century and through the fifteenth century. In this way the Portinari were able to survive the economic crises and bank failures which were so common throughout the fourteenth century, without serious damage to their own financial status. However, they did not grow quite so rich as others who took on the risks and the direct responsibility for the company, and who, accordingly, kept the greater share of the profits.

The close Portinari links with the Cerchi, both political and commercial, were well cemented by the second half of the thirteenth century. The families were close geographic neighbours in their land holdings within the city, and in 1268 Folco di Ricovero de Portinari witnessed a purchase of land by the Cerchi [155]. This type of 'social' interaction continued through till the end of the century, with members of the Portinari family variously acting as witnesses, procurators and *fideiussori* (guarantors) for members of the Cerchi family, and vice versa. Ricovero di Folco de Portinari was a guarantor for the Cerchi in 1295, and Grifo di Assalto de Portinari was a witness to a sale of

land by Cerchio di Uliviero de Cerchi in 1298 [156]. Folco di Ricovero Portinari was a *socio* in the company of Viero and Bindo de Cerchi in 1284 [157], but he was probably already an established *socio* with the Cerchi when he witnessed a loan by them to the Count Palatine, Manfred di Conti Guidi, four years earlier [158]. In his will of 1287 Folco specified that his 1,000 lire aff. holding in the Cerchi company should be divided between his sons Ricovero and Manetto, and that the tutorship of the Folco's children should be shared between adult members of the Portinari and M.Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi, still the head of the Cerchi *società*, and the future leader of the White faction in Florence [159]. Given the strong ties between the Cerchi and the Portinari it is surprising that there is no solid evidence of any marriages between the two families, although it has been suggested that the first wife of the original Uliviero de Cerchi, a marriage which would date from the early decades of the thirteenth century, was with a Portinari [160].

When M.Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi and his White party supporters were exiled from Florence after the victory of the Blacks in 1303, some members of the Portinari family, though not in fact the descendants of Folco di Ricovero, were sent into exile. Even though the members of the Cerchi Bianchi company were allowed to return from exile in 1305, no Portinari appears to have worked again for the Cerchi in any capacity.

The next generation of Portinari appear to have worked consistently for the Bardi and Buonaccorsi companies: from 1321 with the Bardi [161] and from 1328 with the Buonaccorsi [162]. Unlike with the Cerchi, there were early marriage connections between the Portinari and both the Bardi and the Buonaccorsi. Bice di Folco di Ricovero de Portinari (Dante's 'gracious lady', Beatrice), married M. Simone di Iacopo de Bardi in 1287 [163]. Simone, a *socio* in the Bardi company, was prior of Florence in this year, at the same time as his new or prospective father-in-law Folco Portinari [164]. Another marriage between the two families occurred later, in 1311, with the marriage of Cella di Folchetto di Manetto de Portinari (Bice's distant cousin) to Giovanni di Gualtiero di Iacopo de Bardi [165]. Giovanni di Gualtiero di Iacopo de Bardi was probably the son of the Gualtiero who was one of the sixteen major Bardi shareholders in the company of Lapo and Doffo dei Bardi in 1310 [166]. A marriage connection with the Portinari's other main fourteenth century business associates, the Buonaccorsi, was also made through Cella di Folchetto di Manetto, whose second husband was Bettino di Michele Buonaccorsi (see Appendices for all marriage information and references).

Florentine companies preferred, if possible, to use Florentine personnel even at their foreign branches. This was partly for reasons of urban patriotism, and to train young Florentine men in business, but also in the interests

of commercial success, as native Florentines were well versed in commercial techniques. It has been suggested that the Bardi company, for example, made use of Florentines exiled in 1303 to manage some of their foreign branches. But despite this theory, and despite the exile of some Portinari men in 1303, it appears that the Portinari did not go to work for the Bardi until long after. Few of the Portinari who in fact worked for the Bardi were still under sentence of exile by the 1320's. Although Sangallo di Grifo, for example, had been an active supporter of the Whites and exiled in 1303, this sentence of exile on him was cancelled in 1312, long before he appears to have started working for the Bardi, in the 1330's [167].

So it is that the first reference to the Portinari working for the Bardi comes in 1321, when Andrea di Grifo is noted as receiving his salary of 120 lire aff. [168]. From this time Andrea worked throughout Europe for the Bardi: in 1327 he directed a Bardi *filiale* at Bruges and was there until 1330. In Bologna in December 1330, he returned to Flanders in the autumn of 1331 and in 1339 Andrea, together with his brother Sangallo di Grifo, and his cousins Ricovero di Folchetto, Lorenzo di Stagio and Ubertino di Gherardo di Folco di Ricovero, all of the Portinari family, was working as a Bardi factor in Paris [169]. Giovanni de Portinari was imprisoned in the tower of London in 1344 with other representatives of the Bardi and the Peruzzi companies [170].

Accerito di Manetto Portinari was a Buonaccorsi *socio* from 1328 [171] and he acted for the Buonaccorsi company in England from August 1332 to April 1334, Andrea di Puccio di Grifo Portinari from August 1332 to August 1333, and his father Puccio di Grifo Portinari again from August 1332 [172]. By 1340 the brothers Giovanni, Accerito and Pigello di Manetto were all 'mercatores socies et societatem Bonacursorum' with at least 12,000 florins between them invested in the company [173]. In 1346 Giovanni di Manetto di Folco, along with his brother Accerito, was ordered to pay 5,875 florins or '7,438 fiorini valuta di perle e altre gioie' to the creditors of the Buonaccorsi company, which had failed in 1342, the first of the major Florentine companies to go under in the 1340's [174]. The settlement would have been made in absentia as Giovanni at least was still in England, on business for the Acciaiuoli, and settling affairs of the Buonaccorsi, from 1345 to his death in London in 1349 [175].

The interconnecting marriage and business links to be seen between the Portinari and the Bardi and Buonaccorsi (explored more fully in Chapter Three, pp. 161-163) are also found in their relationships with other Florentine business families. From 1337 to at least October 1339 Sandro di Giovanni di Manetto Portinari worked for the Covoni *società*, a business relationship consolidated by his marriage to Francesca di Bettino Covoni in 1337 [176]. Sandro later went

into partnership in a banking concern with Chiaro di M. Botte (family unknown) [177]. Ricovero di Folchetto di Manetto was married to Andrea di Guidone di Fabrino de Tolosini and business transactions occurred between Giovanni di Manetto Portinari and Fabrino de Tolosini in 1346, 1347 and 1349 [178]. In 1353 Accerito di Manetto lent 230 florins to his future kinsman Barna di Luca Alberti [179].

* * *

The Merchant and the Church

The commercial and political aspects of the ties which existed between the merchant and the church as an institution have been discussed, but the spiritual implications of the church's teaching remain. I do not intend to go into the theological debates on the morality and proscription of usury [180]. However, the Church was an integral part of medieval life, both on the large political and financial scale, and in the personal life and affairs of the individual. The medieval merchant, who spent his life handling money, making loans, and giving credit, even to the spiritual head of the church, the pope, himself, still had to face the anomaly of his 'usurious' position and had to give his personal relationship with God, via the teachings and doctrine of the church, important consideration.

The individual's personal relationship with the Church took many forms. The Alberti family opened their partnership contract of 1308 with the phrase 'In the name of God and of profit which God will give for the benefit of soul and body' [181]. Sums were set aside for the 'poveri per Dio' in the accounting books of the *società*. How much was the foundation, endowment, and patronage of 'charitable' institutions (such as the endowment of S.M.Nuova by Folco di Ricovero Portinari) a pay-off by the merchant to counterbalance his life of material profit? Benefactions made in final wills and testaments were often specifically tied to the medieval banker's personal reparation for his 'usurious' gains.

There is little evidence of Cerchi males who made their life in the ecclesiastical world. But Arrigo d'Uliviero was at first involved in the business world, actively participating in and helping to run the Cerchi *società*, and only later in life, around 1280, taking the habit and joining the Franciscans. He founded the chapel of Fra Arrigo de Cerchi in Santa Croce, the architect of which was Arnolfo di Cambio. This chapel is sited in what is now the third room of the Museo dell'Opera di S.Croce [182].

A lot of information about legacies left to the church and personal reparation for 'usury' can be found in the final wills of members of the Cerchi family in this period. Oderigo di Uliviero died in 1268, and during his final

illness he had himself carried by the Franciscans to Santa Croce. Like his brother Arrigo, he founded a chapel on the right arm of the transept [183]. He left a donation to the Convent of San Giusto alle Mure, and left to his heirs the 4,000 lire which he and his brother Consiglio had had from their brother Cerchio, in order that his personal 'usuris et male ablatis', to which he had just confessed in front of the minor friars of Santa Croce, should be made good [184].

A very important and informative will was made by Consiglio di Uliviero de Cerchi [185]. In it he left 500 lire for the 'male ablatis et lucris illicitis et rebur quas illicitas haberet et possideret ignoranter signa sunt et pro remedio anime sue'. There were detailed instructions of how and where this sum was to be apportioned and distributed, from 150 lire each to 'religiosis personis e invitatis et comitatis Florentie', 'pauperibus verecundis dicti loci', and 'aliis pauperibus et miserabilibus personis dicti loci', to 2 lire to his local parish church of San Romolo and 3 lire to his other parish church of San Martino Episcopo in Florence. The other ten specified churches and monasteries which are named in his will all correspond to areas in the contado in which either Consiglio himself or other members of the Cerchi family owned land and property: twenty soldi were to be given to each of the monastery of Plebi di Ripoli, and the churches of San Piero de Varlungo, Santa Maria de Sittingnano, Santa Maria de Rosano, and San Martino

de Sanprognano; 3 lire was to go to the church of San Martino a Terrenzano, 6 lire each to the churches of Sant'Angelo de Sieve and San Martino de Guona, and 5 lire to the church of San Andrea da Rovezzano, and 10 lire to the church of San Angelo de Rovezzano.

Then he left 400 lire which he 'dixit et credit debere restituere pro usuris incertis extra Dioeces: Flor: in remotis e loninquis locis'. The actual way in which this money was to be used was to be decided by the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

The next bequest was for 50 lire which his heirs were to use, again in accordance with the wishes of the Dominicans, 'pro usuris incertis domini Brunellini quondam fratris dicti Testatoris', that is in reparation for any usurious actions which might have been committed by Consiglio's dead brother, Brunellino, to discharge the obligations associated with the fact that Consiglio, as he had inherited from Brunellino's estate, had therefore profited from Brunellino's usurious activities. Consiglio in his will had attempted to ensure that this obligation should be met, and he stated that if his heirs did not recompense the said usury, then their sons should be obliged to give 200 lire to the Roman Church to be used to subsidise crusades to the Holy Land.

His final wish concerning the making of reparation for usury, was that his own heirs should ensure that the heirs

of Cerchio, another of Consiglio's dead brothers, repay the 800 lire 'quas restituere debent pro usuris incertis dicti Cerchi extra dioces Florent.', and that if this were not done, then the Dominican friars should denounce Consiglio's own heirs to the Bishop of Florence, and make them liable for the restitution.

So the final testament, drawn up by this Florentine international banker, was, all in all, a comprehensive restitution for any category of usury: Consiglio's own, both within and outside Florence (a necessary distinction, given his and the Cerchi family's wide range of banking and commercial activity throughout Europe); and the usury of his two dead brothers, from which he felt himself to have profited, and therefore for which he was liable to make amends. Only thus would all taint of usury, and its promise of eternal damnation, be removed from Consiglio's final judgement.

Consiglio stipulated that his two eldest sons were to maintain the chapel, housed in their contado palace at San Angelo a Sieve, 'et quod in dicta Capella stet et moretur unus sacerdos cum uno clerico in perpetuum ad celebrandam ibi pro anima sua et parentum suorum divina officia'. One of the farms which made up Consiglio's estate was to be used to provide for the necessary expenses of the said priest and his clerk. With an eye to future developments, he made the proviso that if the said chapel were to be impractical to

maintain in its present situation, then another should be established elsewhere among the estate of Consiglio.

Provisions were even made to cover the possibility of Consiglio dying with no surviving children (an unlikely eventuality, as the will was drawn up during Consiglio's final illness, when he had at least eleven living children, some of them adult). If all his children were dead at the time of the execution of the will, then half of his estate, he stipulated, was to be used to build a hospital 'recipiendum et alendum pauperes et Religiosos et spetiales personas'. This too was to be 'pro anima sua et parentum suorum'. He appointed as his joint executors for this religious, charitable foundation both the Dominicans and Franciscans of Florence. One of the terms of the foundation was that the hospital should take in and provide for, if needed, any member of the Cerchi family descended from his father Uliviero and his mother Ermellina. If the foundation of the hospital were not undertaken within two years of the execution of the will, then the said half of Consiglio's estate was to go to the Holy Church, to be used 'in subsidium Terre Sancte'.

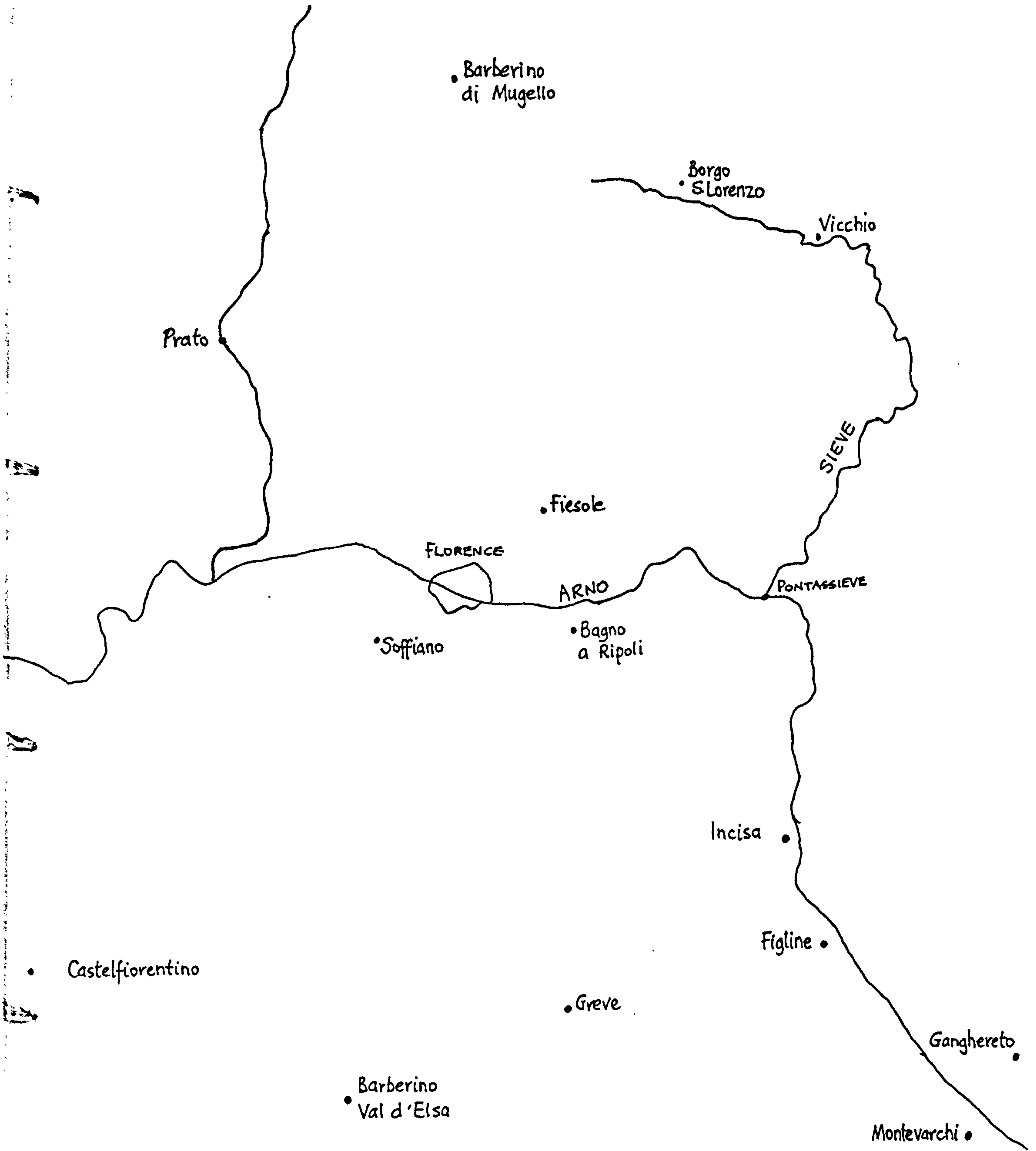
The foundation of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova by Folco di Ricovero de Portinari, in contrast, was a very definite and positive decision and commitment. He bought the land on which the hospital was built for 600 lire in 1285 [186], and a year later, in May 1286 Folco petitioned the

pope, Honorius IV, for permission to found the hospital [187]. Work on the hospital was finished in June 1288, and he then endowed the churches of S.Egidio and S.M.Nuova with land and property to support it [188]. Folco died in 1289, and in his will (drawn up in January 1288) he made provision for 500 lire f.p. to be made over as an endowment for the hospital, and the same amount again for the maintenance of the hospital's chapel [189]. He also stipulated in his will that his masculine heirs should have special privileges and full powers of patronage over the foundation 'in perpetuum'.

The hospital started off with just twelve beds, but soon expanded to over seventy beds [190]. This expansion meant that, although Portinari patronage of the foundation originally gave them control of the election of the *spedalingo* (the governor of the hospital) and the rector of the church (the two posts were often held by the same man), by the middle of the fourteenth century they had lost their say in the election of officials and their control over the foundation's finances. Real power and control were taken over by the bishop of Florence, and Portinari patronage of Folco's foundation became purely honorific [191].

Although Folco could have felt that he had already made his peace with God and the Church through his foundation of the hospital of S.M.Nuova, he still covered the possible sins of usury in his final will:

..iussit et voluit quod ea que ipse iniuste
et illicite acquisivit heredes sui reddant et
restituunt illis personis vel earum heredibus
que descripte sunt, et sicut apparet, ut



CHARITABLE BEQUESTS OF FOLCO DI RICOVERO DE PORTINARI

dixit particulariter, in duobus suis libellis
signatis sigillo suo in principio et in fine
utriusque quaterni sive libelli.[192]

The Florentines had an extensive knowledge of the various religious and charitable institutions of their city and its contado. As well as the 1000 lire left to S.M.Nuova, Folco made provision for 100 lire to be shared out between thirty-nine different religious foundations, from the main churches of the city - 10 lire each to the Franciscans of Santa Croce and the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella, 5 lire to the Augustinians of Santo Spirito, 3 lire to the Servites of Mary, and 2 lire to the Carmine - to 8 lire to the hospital of San Gallo run by the Mendicants, to go towards providing a refectory. There were also minor sums allocated to the hospitals of Fighine and Silva, Santo Spirito, and San Candide, and to the Franciscan monasteries of Ganghereto (in the upper Valdarno), Borgo San Lorenzo, Lucignano, Barberino, and Castel Fiorentina, and to the convents of Monticeli, Ripoli, San Donato in Polveroso, Convertite, San Gagio, Gignovo, and Santa Caterina della Ruota. Finally, 18 lire was to be shared between the itinerant poor of Florence - the sum of 4d each [192].

* * *

From similar backgrounds and origins, the eventual commercial achievements of each of the three families was

really quite different. Each developed at around the same time, with guild membership in the first half of the thirteenth century and an established trading concern by the second half of the same century. The high flying Cerchi fell first, with the final liquidation of their company in 1310. The dell'Antella, whose achievements were never as great but who nevertheless enjoyed a long period as co-partners in active banking and trading concerns, lasted until the middle of the fourteenth century as a viable business company. The Portinari, whose independent business companies, except in England, were never really of much importance neither reaped the rewards or profits of high finance, nor suffered the consequences of such risk taking; although the companies for whom they worked might fail, they themselves remained free to work with another master. The actual survival time of each company was commensurate with the degree of risk involved.

It is significant that these three merchant banking families and companies reflected the same characteristics in business as we will see in politics: the Cerchi as leaders, the Portinari as followers or agents, and the Antella as safe, middle-of-the-road men.

CHAPTER TWO: POLITICS

As the following evidence and analysis will show, the three families demonstrated a remarkable degree of diversity within the political arena, as well as some noteworthy similarities. All three families showed an apparent facility for switching between one faction or another: some members of each collaborated with the Ghibellines, while others went into exile with the Guelfs. On the return of the Guelfs, former collaborations were put to one side. At the time of the Black and White factional struggles, although some branches of the Cerchi and the Portinari went into an exile which would last for almost half a century, other branches of the families continued to prosper within the city.

Nevertheless, differences between the families, in terms of actual political and civic activity and function, as will be seen, were very marked. There was, effectively, a generation between each family in terms of establishment in Florence and participation in political office. None of the families was a typical old and established 'noble' family, like the Adimari or even the Donati, both of whom were active at the beginning of the consular period of government of the city in the twelfth century. All were new immigrants

to the city at some point. The Portinari came in just before the beginning of the remarkable thirteenth century growth of the city, and were politically established in the city by 1200, the Cerchi by 1230, the dell'Antella by 1260.

* * *

The Cerchi and Politics

The Cerchi family is probably best known for its leadership of the White party in the factional struggles at the end of the thirteenth century, which divided the governing class of Florence in the last decade of the century. But the history of the Cerchi in Florentine politics should be analysed from 1260 onwards in order to understand later events, and to appreciate the variety of Cerchi political positions and the change in the family's socio-political status.

In the decade before the Ghibelline victory over Florence in 1260, members of the Cerchi family, especially Torrigiano di Uliviero, were already active participants in communal government. As early as 1245 Torrigiano was one of the city's witnesses in financial transactions between the Florentine commune and Pope Innocent IV [1], and he continued to be involved in dealings between the commune and other cities and the Tuscan contado nobility. In 1254 he was

witness to the peace concluded between Florence, Lucca, Pistoia, and Prato [2], and to the purchase of Castri Pulicciati by the Florentine commune from the Uberti [3]. In the same year he also figured amongst the witnesses to an act of alliance between Florence and Bologna, along with Iacobo Gherardi and Iacobo Tornaquinci, members of well-established Florentine families [4]. Torrigiano was also the Cerchi family witness to the loan of 2,000 lire to the Parte Guelfa of Arezzo from the Florentine commune in 1255, the money possibly having been made available by the Cerchi *società* [5].

The Cerchi family cannot be classified as either committed Ghibellines or Guelfs in 1260. Rather, in common with a number of other important banking families of the day, such as the Mannelli, the Nerli, the Pigli, the Pulci and the Rimbertyni, who were allied to both the Ghibellines and the Guelfs, and who had similar commercial interests, they continued to be represented in both 'camps' from 1260 to 1263. When the Guelfs were exiled from Florence in 1260, most of the family took up residence in Perugia, the seat of the papal curia. This would later tie in with the Cerchi business relations with the papacy but, in the meantime, they in no way renounced their strong commercial and political ties with their native city. Cerchio di Uliviero and his nephew Dore di Puccio remained in Florence [6]. Not only did Cerchio conduct the banking affairs of his exiled

brothers and business partners, but he also took an active part in the Ghibelline administration of the city. Both he and Dore were Ghibelline *consiglieri* in 1260 [7], Cerchio was one of the *mallevadori* (guarantors) to the renunciation to Siena by Florence of a number of contado castles in January 1260/61 [8], and he was again a Ghibelline *consigliere* in 1262 [9].

This question of divided allegiance as a means of preserving the family and its possessions is important. It is a recurring phenomenon in Florentine political history through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as here in the middle of the thirteenth century. Could it have been a conscious decision, made by the family, that some of them should stay to protect their interests in Florence, or was it an unconscious realisation and implementation of what would, ultimately, best serve the family's short and long term interests? In the short term, no Cerchi property was destroyed by the Ghibellines when they took control of the city in 1260. Cerchio di Uliviero was able to continue the direction of the family *società* unhindered by political bias with the rest of the family keeping up necessary contacts with the Guelf powers. When the time came that the papal faction, ie the Guelfs, appeared to be becoming dominant, the transfer of Cerchi support solely to the Guelfs was more easily made.

For, when the pope began to threaten reprisals against these collaborating bankers (who held deposits from clerics throughout Europe), many of these banking houses were obliged to promise obedience to the pope so as not to prejudice their present and future commercial dealings throughout Christian territory. In common with other great merchant houses, from which 146 individual associates swore allegiance to the pope from 1263 to 1265, Cerchio submitted to pope Urban IV in May 1264, followed in July 1264 by his brothers and his nephew Dore di Puccio (also a Ghibelline councillor in 1260). They were all then absolved from the papal ban of excommunication which had been laid upon all Florentine Ghibellines [10]. From this point, the Cerchi *società* and family oriented themselves firmly towards the papacy and the Guelfs in the struggle against the Ghibellines. In 1265 the Cerchi lent Clement IV 500 lire tournois towards the sums he and his ally Charles of Anjou needed for their Neapolitan crusade against Manfred [11].

In April 1267, Charles of Anjou arrived at the gates of the city of Florence. The Guelfs took full control, and the Ghibellines were banished. The Ghibelline tendencies of those Cerchi who had supported the Ghibelline regime in 1260 and 1261 were temporarily forgotten and the aid which the family had later offered the papal and Angevin cause was rewarded. It was in recognition of their financial support, rather than for any military skills or bravery which was

being rewarded when nine members of the family - Cerchio; Gherardino, Lapaccio, Consiglio, Bonino and Niccola, sons of Uliviero; and their cousins Vieri di Torrigiano; and Torrigiano and Bindaccio di Cerchio di Puccio - were knighted by Charles, the new king of Sicily [12]. For the Cerchi had not fought at the battle of Montaperti in 1260, or in the Angevin reestablishment of the Guelfs in 1266, and no damage had been done to Cerchi property by the Ghibellines when they had taken power in 1260. The only claims made for damage were the fairly derisory sums claimed by *soci* of the Cerchi *società*: 25 lire by Guiduccio Cavalcanti and 350 lire by Chiarissimo dell'Alluodo [13].

Later however, they would play an important role in the military defence of the city. In 1289 Vieri di Torrigiano was one of the six Captains of War at the battle of Campaldino in the war against Arezzo and Pisa. In charge of choosing one hundred and fifty men to fill the dangerous and therefore unpopular position of *feditori* (spearmen), Vieri is reputed to have said that he would serve, along with his sons and nephew, but that he would not nominate any others, asking only for volunteers. Many nobles who at first had been unwilling to expose themselves to the dangers of being first in the line of fire now followed the Cerchi example. These volunteers included members of the Cavalcanti, Frescobaldi, Adimari and Della Tosa families [14]. Following the battle, of the twenty knights created at Campaldino, ten

were from the Cerchi family [15]. In 1291 Vieri also acted as one of the Captains of the Parte Guelfa at the time of the battle of Montefeltro [16].

The indispensable financial support of the papal and Angevin cause in 1264 and 1265 put Florentine bankers like the Cerchi in a position to expect and to receive political recognition and positions in the city's new regime which followed the Guelf successes in 1266. The 11th November 1266 saw the fall of Guido Novello and the end of the Ghibelline period of rule of Florence. A short period of 'popular' rule followed until the reestablishment of the Guelfs in April 1267. During these five months political power in Florence was in the hands of the moderate merchants and artisans of the city and represented by the council of the *Trentasei*. Only three of the members of this council are identified by the contemporary chroniclers - Uberto dei Pulci, Guidingo Savorgi, and Cerchio di Oliviero de Cerchi [17]. Like Cerchio, Uberto Pulci had sworn allegiance to the pope with his *società* of the Rimbertini, Pulci and Becchenugi in 1263. It was probably because of this moderation and divided allegiance, first to the Ghibellines and then to the Guelfs, that Cerchio and Uberto were chosen to be among the magistrates of the *Trentasei*.

But, in the long term, after this initial acceptance of the political persuasion of the family, the dominant Guelf party which now took complete control of Florence could not

forget the Ghibelline taints attached to the Cerchi, and Cerchi participation in the political life and administration of the city over the next few years was almost nonexistent. Indeed, in 1272 Viero di Gherardino de Cerchi, who had been with the Ghibellines in Florence until 1263, was in danger of being prosecuted as a Ghibelline and his property in the city was under threat of destruction. It was only through the direct intervention of Charles of Anjou on his behalf that he and his property were saved [18].

Even this association with the Angevins was not without its own penalties with regard to Cerchi status within the political framework of the city and in the eyes of the Parte Guelfa. After the Guelf victory in 1266 papal politics tended to become more conciliatory towards the Ghibellines and more anti-Angevin. So, in the period until 1280, it was those families like the Mozzi and the Spini who were closely linked with papal politics who were more influential in the political life of the city than those who had had strong Angevin links, like the Cerchi, Scali and Frescobaldi. The Scali, like the Cerchi, had been major financial contributors to Charles of Anjou's campaigns in 1265, while the Frescobaldi had played host to Charles during his stay in Florence in 1273. Both the Scali and Frescobaldi were strong Guelf families, having fought at Montaperti, and having spent the period 1260-1266 in exile from Florence [19].

However, the complexity of relationships and the reasons for political divisions within the Florentine ruling elite were so varied that we should not be surprised to find in 1273 Viero di Torrigiano de Cerchi acting as witness, along with Buonaccorso Bellincioni, Buondelmonte de Buondelmonti, Berto Frescobaldi, Guido Accoliti dei Bardi, Tomaso de Mozzi, Simone Donati, Chierico de Pazzi, Rosso della Tosa, and Gherardo Ventraia de Tornaquinci, to the will of Count Alessandro degli Alberti del Guidi, who left all his property to the Parte Guelfa. All ten of these witnesses were knights, and Davidsohn says that he quotes them all because 'essi certamente costituivano l'oligarchia che, facendo professione d'indiscussa fede guelfa, governava allora Firenze nell'interesse proprio' [20], which is rather contradictory to the actual participation by the Cerchi at this time in the political life of the city. However, it also points up the occasions when the individual's actions and character took precedence over the family: for example when Vieri di Gherardino was nearly expropriated, while his cousin Vieri di Torrigiano was one of the ruling oligarchy. Or it could be that this particular apparent conflict was similar to the division within the family in the 1260's, and can be interpreted as division of interests or, more likely, that it is simply two individual men acting differently, and it reflects the particularly political nature of Vieri di Torrigiano, the future leader of the city's White Guelf party.

The general reconciliation of the Guelf and Ghibelline parties in Florence by Pope Nicholas III's legate, Cardinal Latino, in 1280, brought a change in attitudes, lessening the hostility towards Ghibellines and committed Angevin supporters. This change returned the Cerchi to political esteem; until the turn of the century they were firmly established among the elite of the political and financial oligarchy of the city. Cante de Cerchi was amongst those knighted by the Parte Guelfa [21], while his cousin, Consiglio, was witness to the peace in January 1280/81. Consiglio, Gherardino, Gentile, and Ricovero were all signatories to the peace, along with their kinsmen and *soci* Bindo di Galigai dei Macci and Naddo Bonizzi [22].

It was also in 1280 that the Cerchi bought up the Conti Guidi properties and palaces in Por San Piero [23]. This purchase can be seen as the visible culmination of the passage of the family from the ranks of the *gente nuove* into the Florentine elite. It is also a more general sign of the transfer of power which was taking place from older, *grande* families, towards a new and more diverse political world composed of merchant families like the Cerchi, as well as some families of the older town and contado aristocracies.

The Cerchi's reestablishment in power can be seen in the various offices held after 1282. Cerchi were represented in the supreme office of the Priorate three times, from the

institution of that guild-based governing body in 1282 until the Ordinances of Justice in 1293. Giovanni di Gherardino was prior in 1285-86 and again in 1288, and his brother Oliviero was prior in 1292 [24]. Members of the family acted frequently as advisors and witnesses in important communal meetings and councils, and held posts as podestà throughout Tuscany and beyond. Viero di Gherardino was podestà of Padua in 1283 [25], the same year that Gherardino and Gentile were officials of the Inquisition [26]. Bindo was one of the seventeen eminent Florentines, including a Bellincioni, a Buondelmonti and a Frescobaldi, who were advisors to the peace between Pisa and Genoa in 1285 [27]. Niccola was podestà of San Gimignano in 1285 [28] and, in 1286, Bindo was Captain of Orvieto [29]. Niccola, with Burnetto Brunelleschi, also witnessed a loan of 700 florins made by Iacop Mule and Lapo Strozzi to the Florentine commune in 1289 [30]. Viero was an advisor in the *consiglio* in 1290 and 1291, as was his cousin, Lapo, in 1291 [31]. Niccola held office as podestà of San Miniato at the beginning of 1291 [32], Captain of Prato in 1291-92 [33], and again podestà of San Gimignano in 1292-93 [34].

The office of the priorate had been created by the guilds of Florence in 1282 partly as an attempt to stabilize the constitution from their position of neutrality in the Guelf and Ghibelline struggles. However, early attempts to institute a wide, guild-based and popular electoral system

failed, and the priorate became solidly established as the domain of and tool of the merchant and banking oligarchic elite of the city. But, by the end of 1291 the ruling oligarchy was in trouble. The war against Arezzo and Pisa did not appear to be making any progress and opposition within the city to foreign and fiscal policies was growing. Demands for popular reform in foreign policy, administration of the courts, taxation, and the electoral system, grew. It came to a head in the debate of the 24th November 1292 in the Council of the Captain of the Popolo, where the electoral reform of the priorate was discussed [35].

Giovanni de Cerchi took part in this heated debate, supporting Albizzo Orlandini's view that the consuls and guilds should be excluded from the nominating procedures for the priorate [36]. The view of the ruling oligarchy, represented in the debate by comments from such men as Giovanni Cerchi, Albizzo Orlandini and Ubertino Strozzi, Niccola Acciaiuoli, and Aldobrando da Cerreto, was that its interests would not at all be served by electoral and constitutional reforms based on equal participation by the guilds. But the attempts to ensure continued concentration of power and office holding in the hands of the families which had controlled the government of the city since 1282 failed. A vote of eighty to seven ordained that the consuls of each of the twelve major guilds should elect one candidate from each of the six sestì. No guild would be

allowed more than one member in the new priorate, and a three year *divieto* (period of ineligibility for re-election of office holders) disqualified all priors of the years 1290-1292 [37].

A priorate elected under the new procedures came to office on 15th December 1292 and on 18th January 1292/3, the Ordinances of Justice were announced. These put forward electoral procedures and set out the guidelines for eligibility. Nominations were restricted to "the most prudent, the best qualified and the most law-abiding guild members of the city who are continuously engaged in the exercise of a profession or trade, and who are not knights" [38].

The proscription of knights was primarily aimed at restricting the *cavalieri* who had played a major role in the political life of the commune before 1250. However, it also effectively disenfranchised members of the Cerchi who had been knighted in 1267 or in 1290 after Campaldino [39]. Thus the Cerchi appeared more influential and dangerous to the popular government than some of the traditionally ancient and aristocratic houses which were politically on the wane. Along with their great wealth, the Cerchi also enjoyed contacts which linked them with one of the great European powers of the time - the Angevins. It was felt that, with the support of these powerful allies, they could have easily overthrown the popular government of the priorate, or have

exerted undue influence upon it, especially if they themselves were acting as prior [40]. Significantly, the Cerchi, who were of undisputed *popolano* origins, had, over the course of three generations, succeeded in acquiring such wealth, public influence and repute that they were identified with the more ancient aristocratic elite.

So, by 1293, all the Cerchi had been declared magnate. This did not end Cerchi involvement in the commune's administration and areas of responsibility: in particular, they continued to act as podestà in other Italian cities, an activity already seen in the family a decade earlier and now becoming a typical magnate and 'noble' office. In 1295 Naddo di Gherardino was *sindaco* and procurator of the podestà of Florence [41]. In 1298-99 Niccola was podestà of Perugia [42], in 1300 of Padua [43], in 1301 of Pistoia [44]. He was extracted from the lists to become podestà of Colle di Val d'Elsa in 1302 [45], but was killed in the feuds against the Donati at the end of 1301 before taking up office. It is worth noting that Cerchi men were considered important enough to serve in positions of responsibility, as when in 1295 Niccola di Uliviero was witness, along with individuals of the important Florentine elite families of the Brunelleschi, Frescobaldi and Cavalcanti, to a loan of 2,700 florins made by the Antella and del Bene company to the commune [46].

We now come to the Cerchi leadership of the White party in the factional struggles at the end of the thirteenth century between the Cerchi and the Whites, and the Donati and the Blacks. The traditional interpretation of factional divisions has been based on class struggle. That is, the followers of the Donati were mainly *grande* families of ancient tradition, while the Cerchi and White followers tended to include and attract the houses of more recent origins, rich mercantile families which, magnate or *popolani*, had moved into the city fairly recently [47].

The main contemporary chronicler of the feuds, the White supporter Dino Compagni, describes a fight between the two sides of the Whites and the Blacks in May 1300 as a high point in the rising tensions between magnate and *popolo grassi* houses [48]. Until 1295 there is evidence of links which united the Donati and the Cerchi. For instance, the two families acted together in a dispute with a Florentine monastery in 1282, when Corso Donati was instigating litigation against the Dominican church of San Iacopo a Ripoli and was being supported in his claim by Consiglio di Uliviero de Cerchi [49]. Very importantly, there had been two marriages between individuals from the two families. Corso Donati himself was married to the daughter of Uliviero de Cerchi, and Filippo di Niccola de Cerchi married Laba di Donato de Donati [50].

But in July 1295, after the expulsion of Giano della Bella, a group of magnates attempted to overthrow the popolano government. At the last moment, the Cerchi pulled out of this movement, which earned them the enmity of the group and of Viero di Torrigiano's uncle by marriage, Corso Donati. The continuing hostility of the Cerchi and the Donati later made the Cerchi more attractive to popular support, increasing suspicion on the part of some magnates [51].

1296 saw the death of Corso Donati's Cerchi wife and his subsequent marriage to the rich heiress daughter of the Ghibelline Ubertino di Gaville, a marriage which caused resentment among the Cerchi and the Ghibelline Ubaldini [52]. It was also the year of the formal pact between the Cerchi and the Adimari, which ended any former minor enmities which might have existed between them, united the strengths of these important and influential houses, and reinforced the existing strong marriage ties between the two families [53].

At the end of this same year tension between the Cerchi and the Donati erupted into near civil war after the upset during the funeral of a Frescobaldi, which resulted in armed fighting in the streets [54]. When calm was restored, men on both sides were punished. Five Cerchi men - Vieri di Torrigiano and his son Giano, and the brothers Bindo and Torrigiano di Cerchio, as well as Ubaldino di Bindo - were

fined the massive sum of 12,200 lire by the Captain of the Popolo for disturbing the peace - a wealthy family indeed which could afford to pay this sort of fine. In addition, two Cerchi allies, Guido Cavalcanti and Baldinaccio di M.Bindo Adimari, were each fined 1,200 lire. Although Corso Donati himself was not fined, his son Simone and brother Sinibaldo were fined 2,000 lire each and banished [55].

During the next two years the power of the Donati grew. In December 1298, violence occurred once more when members of the Pazzi family, allies of the Donati, attacked a group of Cerchi who were on their way to visit their contado holdings. The struggle spread to the town, the priors intervened, and both parties appeared before the podestà [56]. Despite the fact that, in this instance at least, the Cerchi had been the victims of the original attack, both sides were condemned and fined. It is probably significant that both sides were punished - in other words, the authorities were not prepared at this point to take sides in the dispute, and were instead punishing factionalism and its instigators and perpetrators.

1st May 1300 saw the fight between the two factions at the dance held in the Piazza Santa Trinita, during which Ricoverino de Cerchi's nose was cut off by a follower of the Donati [57]. It was in the same month that the Cancellieri party of Pistoia came to Florence, when the leaders of the Bianchi part of the family stayed with their kinsmen the

Cerchi, and the Neri branch of the Cancellieri stayed with the anti-Cerchi Frescobaldi. It was from this point that the popular terminology of 'Bianchi' and 'Neri', White and Black, was attached to the opposing Florentine factions [58].

However, an interpretation of this factional division between the Cerchi and the Donati as being based on class differences does not hold. As a close reading of Dino Compagni's chronicle shows, the cross ties which bound allies and the differences between rivals are all very significant. Compagni demonstrates how much personal and not class differences, caused one family, or individual members and branches of the same family, to choose one side or the other [59].

When we compile a list of the main supporting families of each group we can, more often than not, match up families of similar origins, occupations, and political allegiances. For instance, the Whites included the Guelf magnate families of ancient tradition and long establishment in the city, (that is, dating back at least to the Consular period of the twelfth century): the families of the Adimari, Arrigucci, Cavalcanti, Gherardini, Giandonati, Malespini and Vecchietti. While amongst the ranks of the Blacks were to be found families of similar extraction, such as the Buondelmonti, Gianfigliuzzi, Pazzi, Tornaquinci, and Visdomini.

Compagni tells us that 'All the Ghibellines held with the Cerchi', and indeed, the Whites were largely supported by magnate families with Ghibelline "tendencies" such as the Abati, Migliorelli, Scolari, Tedaldini and Uberti. However, on the side of the Black faction we also find the Ghibelline magnate family of the Brunelleschi, and the Ghibelline Monaldi and Peruzzi.

The newer, but still magnate houses of the Cerchi faction included the Manelli, Mozzi and Scali, while the Blacks boasted support by the very similar Agli, Bagnesi, Bostichi and Spini. White merchant families of the *popolo grasso* included the Antella, Arrighi, della Botte, Canigiani and Falconieri, and Black *popolani* merchant families included the Acciaiuoli, Alberti, Albizzi, Altoviti, Anselmi, Machiavelli and Medici. Families split between the two factions included the Guelf magnate mercantile family of the Bardi, and the ancient magnate Nerli, Rossi, della Tosa, and Frescobaldi.

There is no way that we can produce any sound argument for a split based on the ideas of 'class struggle'. Rather, the schism was a factional split within the ruling group of Florence at the turn of the century, with allegiances being largely formed and dictated by ties of kinship and/or personal, business, or consorterial rivalries. Compagni highlights the personal enmity between Guido Cavalcanti and Corso Donati: 'Guido, son of

M.Cavalcanti, was also of their [the Cerchi] party, because he was the enemy of M.Corso Donati'. Kinship differences played their part: 'Naldo Gherardini [held with the Cerchi], because he was the enemy of the Manieri, kinsmen of M.Corso'. Kin ties were important: 'M.Manetto Scali and his kinsmen [were with the Cerchi] because they were related to the Cerchi', and this kinship in turn was accompanied by their own kinsman, the lawyer M.Lapo Salterelli. Business dealings and obligations were often of fundamental importance: 'M.Berto Frescobaldi, because he had received money from them...Bernardo, son of M.Manfred Adimari, because he was a partner of the Cerchi'. There are, too, a host of petty reasons and idiosyncratic motives listed which affected the support or enmity of various individuals.

Much more research needs to be done on the links of marriage and kinship, on business partnerships and rivalries, and on neighbourhood and other links which existed between families. A study of the families involved in each party might demonstrate men related to one another, or connected by business dealings so far unnoticed. This could explain the motivation for their support of a particular party. Perhaps then we will be in a position to develop a fuller picture of the existing range of commitments and rivalries, and expand on Compagni's account of what caused certain families, or individual members of the families, to hold with one group or the other.

In July 1300 the leaders of both factions were exiled: Messer Gentile, Messer Torrigiano and Carbone de Cerchi, Guido Cavalcanti, Baschiera della Tosa, Baldinaccio Adimari, and Naldo Gherardini were amongst the adherents of the Cerchi faction who were exiled to Sarzana (the precursor of La Spezia and at the extreme north west of Tuscany), while the Donati factional leaders were sent south to Citta della Pieve, in Perugian territory. It was while he was in exile with the Cerchi in Sarzana that the poet Guido Cavalcanti, friend of Dante, contracted malaria and died [60].

On 23rd May 1300 Cardinal Matteo di Acquasparta was appointed legate and pacificator in Lombardy and Tuscany by Pope Boniface VIII to make peace between the Whites and the Blacks [61]. He was in Florence at the time of the exile of the factional leaders and, according to Dino Compagni, very much favoured the Donati: "then the Cardinal's aim was clearly revealed: I mean that the peace he sought was for the purpose of exalting the party of the Donati" [62]. For, although members of both sides were exiled, the Donati were, on the whole, dealt with less harshly. Indeed, papal policy at the time favoured the Donati faction, for the Cerchi, partly through their links with the Ghibelline (and therefore anti-papal) Cancellieri of Pistoia, were keen to form an alliance with other powerful communes in Tuscany. This, they felt, might help them preserve power and stave off the, to them, all-pervading influences of the pope.

Corso Donati went from exile to Rome to seek papal aid against the Cerchi. Boniface summoned Vieri de Cerchi to Rome to make an agreement and peace with Corso. If Vieri were to fall in with papal wishes, he was promised honours and favours for himself, and ecclesiastical benefices for members of the Cerchi family. However, Vieri refused to be bribed, believing that the independence of Florence was at stake in the struggle, and that if Corso were to return to Florence with the backing of the pope, then the Cerchi would certainly be banished from the city, and the Donati and the papacy would rule supreme [63].

The next stage in the struggle came in 1301. The Cerchi had been officially allowed to return to the city in August 1300, while some of the Donati, those who had not broken bounds by going to Rome to seek papal support, returned a short time later. In June 1301 the Donati party met in the church of Santa Trinita to formulate plans to drive the Cerchi and their supporters from the city, and to get control of the government into their own hands. The conspiracy was discovered, and the main instigators of the plot, two of the Conti Guidi, and Messer Simone de Bardi, were outlawed, along with the Donati who were sent back into exile. Their property was destroyed, and the sentence of outlawry against Corso Donati, for breaking bounds in 1300 when he went to Rome, was renewed [64].

The papacy intervened with the appointment of Charles of Valois as official peacemaker in Tuscany. He arrived in Florence on 1st November 1301, supported by the exiled Neri. This intervention by the pope, with his proven bias towards the Blacks, marked the beginning of the end for the White party. On the 5th November, under the orders of Charles, the Blacks were allowed to return to the city. The Cerchi made no attempt at a show of strength to counter the threat. There followed six days of riot within the city, much damage was done to White property, and the Blacks gained complete control of the city [65].

Throughout the first months of 1302 over six hundred White Guelfs and Ghibellines were proscribed by Charles, and they fled the city. The whole of the Cerchi family was banished. It was ordered that all their goods should be confiscated and destroyed, and twelve members of the family were condemned to death, though all escaped the sentence as they had already left the city, and sentence had been passed 'in absentia' [66].

Fighting between the Blacks who held the city and a group of the exiled Whites, supported by the Tuscan Ghibellines, continued until the summer of 1303, when some of the Whites were recalled to the city. These were the Whites who had been exiled but who, in the following year, had not broken bounds or actively fought against the Blacks. Amongst the Whites who were allowed to return were those

Cerchi who formed the company of the Cerchi Bianchi rather than the more radical and politically oriented members of the confusingly titled Cerchi Neri company. These, and the political leader of the exiled Florentine Whites, Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi, all remained in exile. The recall of the Cerchi Bianchi was in part due to a papal petition of August 1303 [67]. Significantly, the same Cerchi Bianchi became bankers to the pope Benedict XI in 1304. Soon after his election in 1303, Benedict appointed the Cardinal of Prato as peacemaker in Tuscany in an attempt to bring together the two factions. However, continued intrigue by the Blacks thwarted any real attempts at peace between the two factions, despite a conference between the two sides in June 1304 [68]. 1304 saw the failure of the last real chance for the White party (including the Cerchi Neri) either to regain control of the city, or for some shared compromise with the Florentine Black party to be reached.

From this period the Cerchi were divided between the Cerchi Bianchi who had been allowed to return to the city and those Cerchi who were still attempting, from exile, to continue the struggle against the Black party in Florence. The exiled White partisans received aid and allegiance from the Tuscan Ghibellines and the support of the German emperor. They generally took up residence in Arezzo, Bologna or Pisa. Ricovero, Messer Viero, and Gentile were all in Arezzo in 1305 [69], and Messer Torrigiano, Scolaio di

Giovanni, Ubaldino, Gherardino, Gianni, and Borromeo, were all living in Bologna in 1305 [70]. A few members of the family made their peace with the Florentine authorities and returned from exile - Bernardino di Viero in 1311 [71], Messer Giovanni di Niccola in 1315 [72], and Francesco di Viero in 1319 [73], but most of the Cerchi Neri and their sons remained in exile. By the 1330's, the Cerchi Neri - Nero di Carbone, Tomaso di Iacobo, Anichino di Carbone, and the brothers Alosio, Ciampolo and Niccolo, sons of Messer Vieri - resided in Pisa [74] but finally, in 1342, under Walter of Brienne, the Duke of Athens, their original sentences of 1304 were commuted upon payment of fines, and many of the rest of the Cerchi, including specifically Bonifazio di Messer Viero, and Iacopo, Ubaldino and Sandro, sons of Messer Bindo de Cerchi, were at last allowed to return to Florence [75].

It is not known whether there were any dealings between the Cerchi Neri and the Cerchi Bianchi on any level, or whether the family really was divided, but the Cerchi Bianchi who were allowed to return to Florence in the summer of 1303 fared better. These were mainly the branches of Gherardino and Lapo. In the 1306 tax on Whites and Ghibellines living in Florence Oliviero was assessed at 40 lire, Naldo di M.Gherardino at 50 lire, Lapo at 80 lire, the heirs of Berto di M.Gherardino at 30 lire, the heirs of M.Lapaccio at 150 lire, and Lippo di M.Gherardino at 40 lire

[76]. Their banking company continued to trade until about 1311 and some members of these branches of the family continued to participate in various activities in the administration of the commune. In 1305, Naddo di Gherardino was a witness in the *consiglio* of the podestà [77] and, in 1310, Uliviero di Messer Gherardino was Captain of Or San Michele [78].

But it was really not until a new generation of Cerchi came of age, coinciding with a new era in Florence's political development after the crises of the 1340's, that members of the family once more joined the Florentine guilds and started to participate in affairs of state. The decade 1340 to 1350 had seen the *signoria* of the Duke of Athens, the resounding financial collapse of many banking companies, and the Black Death which decimated the population and economy of Florence and of Europe. The economy recovered quickly, bringing with it a large increase in guild matriculation. The Lana guild, for example, attracted over a hundred new members between 1349 and 1356; the Calimala guild one hundred and thirty-two new members; the Cambio guild two hundred and twenty-four new members; and the small guild of Por Santa Maria forty-one new members [79].

However, legacies of the factional feuding of the turn of the century, as well as the bankruptcy of the *società*, had wrought a significant change on Cerchi status. Their present administrative and political appointments bore

little relation to their former position among the elite of the late-thirteenth century city.

Riccardo di Giovanni di Messer Consiglio joined the Calimala guild in 1352 [80] and the Cambio guild in 1356 [81], and was an officer of the gabelles in 1359 [82]. One of his sons, Adoardo, was castellan of Monte Colore in 1351, and of Avellano in 1357 [83]. Another son, Lodovico, was officer of the towers in 1355 [84] and castellan of Coleilis in 1358 [85]. Alessandro di Pigello was treasurer of Or San Michele in 1358 [86]. Later, in 1364, he was an official in charge of supplying the Florentine army, when he was accused of withholding supplies from the commune's troops in a denunciation indicative of the anti-magnate feelings of the lower classes at the time [87].

By now, certain members of the family felt that they had little in common with fellow magnates, and there was a spate of petitions by individual Cerchi to become *popolani*: first Angelo di Messer Torrigiano in 1361 [88], and the rest in 1368 - Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio; Zenobio and Bartolomeo di Consiglio di Iacopo; Iacopo di Bindo di Messer Lapo; Nozzo di Manno di Messer Lapo; Alessandro and Olivieri di Pigello; Francesco di Simone; Bartolo di Angelo; Paolo di Ugolino; and Consiglio and Michele di Bindaccio di Messer Consiglio [89]. One of the conditions to be fulfilled in order to be granted *popolano* status was that the magnate surname should no longer be

used. Thus the *popolani* surnames of Riccardi, del Palagio, Lapacci, Della Botti, and Barletti were now assumed in the place of the traditional surname of over a century of Cerchi [90].

* * *

The dell'Antella and Politics

The first record we have of an Antella living in Florence is of Guido dell'Antella who was enrolled as a member of the Calimala guild in 1235. His sons Compagno and Lamberto matriculated in the same guild soon after, in 1237 and 1242 respectively, and Compagno was its consul in 1248 [91]. Lamberto was responsible for the introduction of the new gold florin in 1252 while holding the position of superintendent of the Florentine mint [92].

The Antella appear in the list of Guelf families of the *sesto* of San Pier Scherragio in 1250 [93] and they were among the *popolani* Guelfs who, according to the contemporary chronicler Giovanni Villani, went into exile in 1260 [94]. In fact, like the Portinari and the Cerchi, some of the family remained in Florence. Lamberto di Guido was a Ghibelline *consigliere* in 1260 [95] and Lippo was a *consigliere* in 1266 [96]. I have not been able to identify this Lippo within the family genealogy, but it is possible

that Lippo is an abbreviation for Filippo. This would then be the same Filippo di Guido, father of the *Ricordanze* writer, Guido, who was a partner in the branch of the family company in Ravenna before his death in 1273. Like many other new families, such as the dal Borgo, Pulci, dei Rossi, Saltarelli and Strozzi, who had just commenced business or political activity and who were to become more important later in the century, the Antella were not hostile to the imperial party, but they were not true Ghibellines. All members of the Antella escaped heavy penalties in the proscription lists of 1268 [97] and although the taint of Ghibelline 'tendencies' would always remain, they would be identified with the dominant Guelf group in the last decades of the century.

One of the most striking features of the family's political activity is their regular and continued participation at all levels in the commune's administration throughout the varied changes of ideologies, factions and leadership within Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At the time of the struggles between the Black and the White parties, the family was divided in its allegiance. Guido di Filippo and his brother Nero actively supported the Whites, while the other branches of the family stayed in the city governed by the Blacks. Division for the Antella, as for the Cerchi and the Portinari, whether at the time of the fighting between Guelf and Ghibelline, or Black and White, meant that the family survived in Florence.

In 1267, Lamberto di Guido witnessed the payments made by Florence to King Charles of Sicily, the ally of the leader of the Guelfs, the pope [98]. He was also, however, a guarantor for the Ghibellines in the peace of Cardinal Latino in 1280 [99], and became one of the early members of the priorate, as a prior representing the Calimala guild in 1283 [100]. He was a prior again in 1285 [101], the same year in which he acted as advisor to the *consigli* both in a debate on finance and in a treaty between the Commune and the Church [102]. One of his sons, Maso, became prior in December 1292, along with Pela Gualducci, Messer Palmieri di Messer Ugo Altoviti, Monpuccio di Salvi Girolami, Lapo Prates, and Gaddo di Forese Falconieri. It was this priorate which on 18th January 1292/3, instigated the Ordinances of Justice, the framework of principles for the popular guild based constitution [103]. Another son, Banchello di Lamberto, was treasurer of the commune in 1297/8 [104].

In 1301, because of the factional struggles between the Whites and the Blacks, Guido di Filippo dell'Antella cut his commercial ties with the Cerchi Neri company of Bindo di Cerchio de Cerchi, whose *socio* he had been since 1298. However, although not condemned and exiled in the decrees of 1302, he remained involved with the White cause. He and his brother Nero had to pay 50 lire in 1306 when a tax of 20,000 florins was levied on Whites and Ghibellines living in Florence after the Black Guelf victory at Monteccianico

[105]. Although Nero remained in Florence, it would appear that Guido left Florence shortly after this and joined the exiled Ghibellines and Whites. According to Davidsohn, Guido acted as ambassador for the Ghibellines, travelling to Germany in 1310, and becoming a member of the Emperor Henry VII's royal council in Italy in 1310. He is also supposed to have been with the Emperor at the siege of Brescia [106]. This is most unlikely, however, as Guido makes no mention of any of this in his *ricordanze* [107], nor does his name appear in the indices to printed documents of the period [108]. Guido died back in Florence in 1314 and, with his death, the ties of the Antellesi with the Whites and the Ghibellines were broken.

The descendants of Lamberto and Compagno had had nothing to do with the Whites and had remained in Florence throughout, continuing to play an active role in communal affairs, and seemingly unaffected by the exile of their kinsmen. Donato, Giovanni, and Banchello, sons of Lamberto, each frequently filled major and more minor offices in the administration, as well as running the family business [109].

Many of the positions which Donato di Lamberto held were connected with his and his family's banking and Cambio guild interests, and made much use of his obvious administrative abilities and banking knowledge. He was consul of the Cambio guild in 1302 and 1314 [110], and acted

for the guild and commune as sindaco for the liquidation of the Mozzi company [111]. He also worked for the Mercanzia, the tribunal of the merchants, in sorting out the affairs of various bankrupt companies - the Pulci in 1322 [112], the Macci in 1324 [113], and the Cornacchini in 1329 [114]. His father, Lamberto, had been superintendent of the Zecca, the mint, in 1252, and Donato continued the involvement. From 1305 to 1327 he regularly acted for the mint in some capacity, either just as an official, or in charge of one or more of its coinages [115].

The various committees which administered the day-to-day running of the city were dependent on men such as Donato to fill them. In 1312 Donato was one of the twelve *buoni uomini* on a committee charged with overseeing and providing for the daily needs of the city. His fellow members on this committee were Boninsegna Angiolini, Cione Pitti, Metto Biliotti, Giovanni Bonaccorsi, Giotto Peruzzi, Alberto del Giudice, Gentile Altoviti, Duccio di Pallo Anselmi, Lippo Aldobrandini, Ardingo de Medici, and Ricciardo de Ricci - all representative of the oligarchic elite of Florence [116]. In 1313 he was one of six *buoni uomini* under the Vicar Gentile degli Orsini responsible for prisoners [117]. In 1323 he was one of the officials of the gabelle, and in 1325 an official for the sale of the gabelle with Uberto Albizzi [118]. He was one of the twenty Captains of War of Florence in 1325 at the time of crisis just prior to Charles

of Calabria taking control of the city, along with men from some of Florence's most eminent families - a Buondelmonti, Adimari, Rossi, Ricci, Rinucci, Peruzzi, Mancini, Spini, Acciaiuoli, Gianfigliuzzi, Strozzi, della Tosa and Medici [119]. But Donato was not just a civic functionary and bureaucrat, sitting on committees and attending various council meetings. He also held the position of prior four times in the course of his political career, in 1299, 1303, 1307, and 1313/4 [120]. Donato also represented the commune in its dealings with external powers - with the Lord Legate of Lombardy in the summer of 1328 [121], and with the Duke of Calabria, Charles of Anjou, in the autumn of the same year [122].

Donato's two brothers, Banchello and Giovanni, were also involved in the city's affairs, though to a lesser degree. Both of them were active in the affairs of the Mercanzia, supervising the winding up of various bankrupt companies, as was their cousin and business partner, Guido di Compagno di Guido [123]. They were both, also, treasurer of the commune at various times [124], and held minor posts in the city's administration [125]. Giovanni, moreover, was prior of the city in 1310, 1312, and 1335 [126]. Thus Donato and Giovanni di Lamberto dell'Antella, two brothers from one of the lesser families of the city's oligarchy, had had seven terms as prior of the city in all in the period from 1299 to 1335.

The next generation of Antella continued in the tradition of their fathers, with regular participation at all levels of the commune's administration. After the death of Guido di Filippo, the ties of that branch of the family with the Whites and the Ghibellines had been broken and did not appear to affect in the slightest the political respectability of his descendants. The first position of his son Sandro di Guido di Filippo, at the age of twenty three, was as gonfaloniere for San Pier Scherragio (the family *sesto*) in 1325 [127]. He was an ambassador to Pistoia for the commune on September 1331 along with Cantino Binducci and Pero Neri, and treasurer for the commune later in the same year [128].

His brother Giovanni, who, as a child of nine in 1312 is reputed to have run through the streets of Ravenna, during his father's exile from Florence, shouting 'Onore e signoria alla Parte Ghibellina, morte e distruzione alla Parte Guelfa' [129], nevertheless turned into a respectable, hardworking member of the Guelf city's government. In 1340 he was one of the twelve 'cives honorabiles florentini populares' in a council concerned with the building of the city's new Cathedral [130]. One of the twelve *buoni uomini* of the city in 1341 [131], he was *gonfaloniere* for San Pier Scherragio from February to April 1343 [132], and then provost at Verona until June 1344 [133]. He was one of four ambassadors to the Val di Nevole in 1346 [134] and, on his

return, acted as Captain of Or San Michele for four months from November 1346 to February 1347 [135]. In 1349, he was a member of a *balie* of eight set up to promote peace and concord in the city and contado of Florence [136]. Officer of the towers in 1351 [137], he set off as ambassador to Perugia with Sandro Biliotti in January 1352 [138]. In 1354 he spoke in Council as one of the sixteen *gonfalonieri* [139], he was one of the twelve *buoni uomini* in 1356 [140], and on the advisory council for the building of the Cathedral of Florence again in 1357 [141].

Zenobio di Guido started to participate in the administration of the commune in the 1340's. Speaking in the *Consiglio del Capitano e del Popolo* in 1345 [142], he was a member of a *balie* concerned with building works on the Palace of the Podesta in 1346 [143]. He spoke in the *Consiglio del Podesta* in 1348 [144] and was one of the eight officials for the revision of the *estimo* established by the Duke of Athens [145]. He went to Bologna as one of nine ambassadors sent by the city to negotiate with the Emperor in 1350 [146], and was an ambassador, with Messer Giovanni Strozzi to Castel Tirolo in 1353 [147]. Later in the same year he was one of eight officials elected to correct errors in the *Monte* [148]. In 1359 he was one of the officials charged with overseeing the expenses connected with the construction of the new Cathedral's campanile (begun by Giotto in 1334, continued until 1348 by Andrea Pisano and

finally completed by Francesco Talenti in this same year of 1359 [149]).

Guido's other son, Raniero, was less active politically. When he was resident in Naples, pursuing his business and merchant's interests, he was delegated by his native city to act as ambassador and representative of Florence to King Robert [150]. In 1346, back in Florence, he was appointed as official of the gabelle for three months [151].

As to the rest of the family, the descendants of Lamberto - Taddeo and Alexandro di Donato and Maso di Maso - were all prominent citizens. Taddeo, who had been taken prisoner at Lucca after the battle of Altopascio [152], was one of the sixteen *gonfaloniere* in 1330 and 1334 [153], treasurer of the commune in 1335 [154], one of the *buoni uomini* of the city in 1336, 1338, 1339 and 1340 [155] and *gonfalone* of justice in 1339 [156]. In 1340, he was first elected podestà of Bugiano [157] and then appointed as an official to administer the confiscated goods of rebels [158]. From April to July he was one of the six officials of the *Biado* [159] and then appointed as *sindaco* to the Captain of Florence [160]. He was again an official of the *Biado* from December 1340 [161] and an official of the towers of the city in the summer of 1341 [162].

Taddeo was one of the leading Florentines who actively favoured the establishment of Walter of Brienne's signoria

in September 1342 (the Duke of Athens was mainly installed through popular support) [163]. He was rewarded by a three year moratorium on the debts of his business company which, like so many other Florentine banks at this time, was struggling in a period of great instability and crisis [164]. Taddeo then acted as ambassador for Florence, first to Rosaiolo, and then to Pisa [165]. He was also appointed by the Duke of Athens to negotiate between the creditors and the bankrupt company of Gucci Toito da Uzzano, Dicco Migliorati and Andrea de Guidalotti [166].

In the first few months of his signoria, Brienne had removed the power base of many civic offices from the *grande* and the oligarchic leaders of the city and the administration, and given them over to the representatives of the minor guilds, the *arti minori*. So, by the summer of 1343, these patrician and commercial leaders of Florence had lost patience with Brienne and his popular demagogic leadership. Moves were made towards overthrowing him. Although the Antella were not actively involved in these three separate anti-Brienne conspiracies in the summer of 1343, their support for the overthrow of the duke is suggested by the appointment of Taddeo to the *Balie* of six. This was set up after Brienne's expulsion to be in charge of law and order, in place of the newly elected but not yet arrived podestà [167].

Taddeo's brother, Alessandro di Donato, was one of the fourteen *buoni uomini* of the city in 1338 [168]. His other brother Andrea was treasurer of the committee in charge of Florence's currency in 1339 and treasurer of the committee in charge of grain in 1340 [169]. A cousin, Niccolo di Guido di Compagno, was in the *consiglio* of the priors in 1342 [170], and another cousin Viero di Banchello was castellan to Monte Topoli in 1341 [171].

Maso di Maso di Lamberto was in partnership with Taddeo di Donato and, like Taddeo, was also very involved in communal affairs. He began as treasurer of the camera for the commune in 1329 [172] and in 1330 was in charge of supplies for the Captain of War of Florence [173]. He was one of the *gonfalonieri* of the city in 1332 and 1335 [174], one of the *buoni uomini* later in 1335 and in 1338 [175], and *gonfalone* of justice in 1342 [176]. In 1335 he was Captain of Terre Colis and in 1337 he was podestà of Pisa [177]. An official of the towers of Florence in 1340 [178], and of the walls of the city in 1341 [179], his last position appears to have been as *sindaco* in charge of the affairs of the bankrupt Benvenuti company, to which he was appointed by the Duke of Athens in December 1342 [180].

It would be very rewarding to be able to make some generalisations as to whether all this civic and political activity was the sum of isolated careers by isolated individuals, or whether family connections enabled brothers

and cousins to help each other to get positions and jobs. For example, we know that in the same year of 1325 many of the dell'Antella held official positions: Giovanni di Lamberto was official of the *Biado* for the commune, Sandro di Guido di Filippo was pennant holder for one of the wards in the sesto of San Pier Scherragio; Donato di Lamberto was one of the fourteen *buoni uomini* of the city, an official for the sale of the gabelle tax, and one of the city's twenty captains of war; and M. Filippo di Neri (later Bishop of Florence) was ambassador to Rome with M. Gianozzo Cavalcanti and M. Gerio Spini.

In 1340, while Taddeo di Donato was acting at an official of the *Biadi* for four months, as well as one of the six *sindaci* who advised the captain of Florence, Giovanni di Guidone was sitting on a committee responsible for the construction of the city's new cathedral; Andrea di Donato was a treasurer of the officials responsible for ensuring adequate supplies of grain to the city; Maso was an official responsible for the maintenance of the city's towers; and M. Filippo di Neri and his brother Simone were on a tribunal examining the activities of Iacobo di M.Bardo de Frescobaldi. For most years through the first half of the fourteenth century at least this sort of pattern is repeated. Although family connections might not themselves have been responsible for the selection of Antella candidates for posts rather than other members of the

oligarchy, so many of the family holding a mixture of minor and important positions must have been very important to the identity of the family itself.

In Florence, undischarged bankrupts and anyone who owed taxes to the commune were excluded from holding communal office, and it is noticeable that neither Taddeo di Donato nor any of his close relatives held public office after the bankruptcy of Taddeo's company in 1346 [181]. However, Simone di Neri di Filippo, from this different branch of the family, was unaffected by any exemptions which might have been placed on his kinsmen. In 1331, he began his thirty-six years of more or less continuous public service, when his first position was as an official for corrections of errors in the *estimo*, in company with Francesco di Cenno Biliotti, Neri di Niccolo Ardinghelli, Falconerio Baldese, Cecco Spini and Venne di Benintendo Albizzi [182]. In 1333 and 1336, he was one of the *sindaci* charged with making peace treaties and alliances with various other communes and signorie [183] and in 1338 was elected as one of the nineteen *gonfaloniere* of the city for four months [184]. Later in the same year, he was chosen to arbitrate in a dispute between Filippo de Bardi and the commune [185]. In 1339, he was one of the fourteen *buoni uomini* of the city [186] and, in 1340, he held a couple of minor positions: an official in charge of repairing the bridges over the Arno and city walls [187], then an officer in charge of supervising supplies of grain

to the city [188]. 1341 saw him as one of the sixteen gonfaloniere of the city [189], and in 1342 he was appointed to act as ambassador to Pope Clement [190]. He was again a *gonfaloniere* in 1344 [191], Captain of the Parte Guelfa in the same year [192], and ambassador to Pistoia in the following year [193]. In 1346 he was one of the twelve *buoni uomini* [194], but refused the position of podestà of Monte Catini [195], having just returned from a trip as ambassador to Staggia in the Val d'Elsa [196]. He was a *sindaco* to the Podesta of Florence at the end of the year [197] and, in the beginning of 1347, was elected as *sindaco*, along with Ormannico Banchi, to make an alliance between Florence and the communes of Perugia and Siena [198].

His career in public office followed a similar pattern over the next two decades, when he acted variously as ambassador to Arezzo, San Miniato, Siena, Pistoia, Perugia and Rome [199]. He was one of the sixteen *gonfaloniere* of the city in 1349, 1357, 1362 and 1365 [200], and he was one of the twelve *buoni uomini* in 1351, 1354, 1360, 1364 and 1367 [201]. He was a member of the commission for the extraction of the priors in 1348 [202], standard bearer of justice in 1351 [203], held the minor post of official of *Conductorum* in 1352 [204], and was Captain of Pistoia in 1358 [205]. He frequently spoke in council discussions and the consultative assemblies of the commune. He showed himself as a man who would speak his own mind, voicing

independent opinions rather than blindly following the decisions of the ruling cabale [206].

A career in the church was an option open to men. In many ways it is possible to see this as being a positive choice instead of involvement in business or politics. Arrigo de Cerchi, for example, in 1280, gave up his position as co-director of the family firm, and joined the Franciscans. (This is in contrast to women, where involvement in the church can be interpreted as an alternative to marriage). The dell'Antella fulfilled a much more active civic role than either the Cerchi or the Portinari, and it is significant that a far larger number of Antella men made a life for themselves within the Church than in either of the other families.

In 1233 a small group of men, from some of the best Florentine families, joined together to form their own penitential confraternity. Their first house was at Cafaggio, just outside the gates of Florence, and where later their convent of S. Annunziata was built. These 'sette Beati fiorentini' were Manetto dell'Antella, a Monaldi, a Manetti, an Amidei, a Sostegni, an Uguccioni and a Falconieri, and the order which they founded was to become the Servite Order of Mary. By 1265 Manetto was in charge of the order, and of the monastery which they had founded in the hills to the north of Florence, at Monte Senario. Manetto died in 1268, at Monte Senario, and was canonized in

the nineteenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Order of Servites had sixty-six foundations throughout the whole of Europe, and at its peak in the fifteenth century, the Convent of Monte Senario controlled all its one hundred and thirty five seats [207].

Many of the Antella family had fled from Florence at the time of the Ghibelline control of the city in 1260 to 1266. It would appear that Simone dell'Antella took up residence in Orvieto, for in 1264, as a 'presbytero pauperi Viridunensis diocesis', he was granted various ecclesiastical benefices by the bishop at the Benedictine monastery of S.Mauritii de Belloloco [208].

A Fra Francesco dell'Antella was *sindaco* and procurator for the Franciscans in 1308 [209]. This was probably the same Francesco di Baldense who was a brother of the tertiary order of Saint Francis in 1319, becoming one of the order's ministers in 1321 [210]. A Fra Ricco de Antella was a Franciscan in 1309 [211].

Sandro di Donato dell'Antella moved from being canon of S.Pier Scheraggio in 1319 to being rector of S.Martino del Vescovo, a parish church under the jurisdiction of the Badia of Florence [212], and Giandonato di Banchello, who died in 1320, had been subdeacon at S.M.Novella [213]. Francesco di Neri was 'pleban' of the parish of Antella itself in 1327 [214], while Francesco di Simone was canon of the church of Santa Maria in Campo, in Fiesole, in the 1340's [215].

Another member of the family, Alessandro di Giovanni dell'Antella, was also a canon of one of the major churches in the diocese of Fiesole in 1348 [216]. In 1350 to 1351 the Florentine commune contacted the Curia, to request clerical benefices for Guglielmo Spini, Gherardo Peruzzi, Gianozzo Angioleri, Marco Arginghelli, and Azzone dell'Antella [217].

Apart from actually joining the church, members of the dell'Antella family had other links with the religious and charitable life of the city. Giovanni di Guidone dell'Antella was one of the twelve honourable Florentine citizens who sat on the committee formed to supervise the construction of the new cathedral in 1340 [218]. Donato dell'Antella had been captain of Or San Michele in 1304 [219], and Simone di Silverio dell'Antella was again captain of this charitable institution in 1350 [220]. Masino di Maso dell'Antella, along with Dietifero di Filippo, both described as 'merchants of Florence', were administrators of the goods and properties of the hospital of San Iacopo, under the jurisdiction of the church of San Giusto, and part of their duties lay in renting out property belonging to the foundation [221].

The most eminent dell'Antella church member in the fourteenth century was undoubtedly Filippo di Neri di Filippo di Guido dell'Antella. A respected theologian, he held a variety of posts and positions, from canon of the Florentine metropolitan in 1331, to prior of San Pier

Scheraggio in 1341, and then general rector of the province of Romagna [222]. Before this, he was twice ambassador for his city, going to the papal curia to meet pope John XXII with Gianozzo Cavalcanti and Gerio Spini in November 1325 [223], and then to pope Benedict XII in Avignon, again with Gerio Spini, in 1328, when Florence was threatened by the forces of Castruccio Castracani [224]. In a civic role he acted as sindaco for the commune in 1329 and again in 1340. He then became vicar general of the Chapter of Florence, before becoming Bishop of Ferrara in 1349. He was Clement VI's apostolic legate in Italy, and in 1350 was the church's representative in the league against the Visconti. The culmination of his career was when he became Bishop of his native city of Florence in 1356. Filippo died in 1361, and was buried in the Duomo [225].

* * *

The Portinari and Politics

Although the Portinari family had no claim to feudal or noble origins, ancestors of the Portinari were actively involved in the political life of the city during the 'consular' period, the era in the political development of Florence from the early thirteenth century to the *Primo Popolo* of 1250. A Portinaio di Folco was witness in a

document of 1187 [226], and Torrigiano di Portinari was signatory to the 1201 pact between Florence and Siena [227]. Forese di Folco was a judge in 1210 and 1217 [228] and Folco Portinaio was matriculated in the silk guild, the Arte della Seta, in 1225 [229]. Although not noble this still makes the Portinari an 'old' family, as this was at least a generation earlier than the Cerchi, whose first 'political' activity was in 1245, and significantly earlier than the Antella, whose guild membership dated from the first half of the thirteenth century, but whose first political activities were as *consiglieri* for the Ghibellines in 1260.

The political development of the Portinari family in the first decades of the second half of the century followed similar lines to the Cerchi and other families: active involvement in the Guelf government of Florence in the decade 1250 to 1260 - in 1255 Giano di Manetto di Folco was an official witness to the sale of land by the Conti Guidi [230] - followed by active support of the Ghibellines during the early years of their six year control of the city. Segna di Assalto was a Ghibelline councillor in November 1260 and January 1261 [231].

The returning Guelfs did not, however, consider the Portinari to be intransigent Ghibellines and, in the widespread proscriptions of Ghibellines which followed in 1267-1268, although Doccia and Giano di Manetto were condemned, their sentences were the lightest possible: they

were to stay within the Florentine contado (which started at the city walls) and their property and possessions were not confiscated or affected in any way [232].

The fact that Grifo di Assalto's brother, Segna, had been a Ghibelline councillor in 1260 and 1261 did not affect his own political career. A guarantor of peace for the Ghibellines in 1281 [233] and on the *seduto* for the election of the *Quattordici* in 1282 [234], he, like Folco di Ricovero, was very active politically, and was often advisor to the commune's magistrates [235].

In addition to their involvement in the major offices of the city, the Portinari were also represented in the military administration of the commune. Grifo di Assalto maintained horses for the Florentine cavalry - an indication of the family's wealth [236]. They also took an interest in financial and commercial affairs. Folco was consul of the Calimala guild in 1280 and 1288 [237]. Folco's son, Ricovero, was treasurer of the Florentine *camera* in 1290 [238]. Benozzo di Grifo di Assalto was one of the officials of the *prestanze* in 1296 [239], and Manetto di Folco was Captain of Or San Michele in 1299 [240].

Although Folco di Ricovero was suspected of 'Ghibellinism' in 1267, he rapidly became a respected and important figure in the administration of the commune. A signatory to the peace of the papal legate of Tuscany, Cardinal Latino, and guarantor for the Ghibellines, along

with his cousin Grifo di Assalto, in 1281 [241], he was a member of the *Quattordici* - one of the principle magistratures of the commune - set up by the Cardinal in 1282 [242]. Three times prior, from August to October in the same year, August to October 1285, and October to December 1287 [243], he also acted as advisor to the commune [244], and in 1288, the year in which he was also consul of the Calimala guild [245], he was one of the twelve Florentine ambassadors sent to improve commercial relations with Padua [246].

The end of the thirteenth century saw the division within the Florentine ruling elite into the Black and the White parties, and this split greatly affected the family. In 1299 a member of the Portinari family - the sources do not identify him by name - died in prison where he had been sent as a supporter of the White faction [247]. In 1302, after the defeat of the Whites by the Blacks, seven members of the family were banished - Doccia di Folco, his nephew Giovanni di Manetto di Folco, his second cousins Segna di Assalto and Grifo di Assalto, as well as three of Grifo's sons, Casancollo, Sangallo and Benozzo [248]. They remained in exile supporting the emperor Henry VII and the other exiled White Guelfs who were fighting to return to Florence [249].

But the allegiance by some members of the family to the White Guelfs did not unduly affect the rest of the family

which remained in the city, though Stagio di Folco and the heirs of Renzo di Doccia, being more closely related to the exiled Portinari, were amongst the Whites living in the city who were taxed in 1306 [250]. It is surprising that Folco di Ricovero's branch of the Portinari did not show any political allegiance to the Cerchi when we consider the close involvement of Folco with the Cerchi in some commercial and social spheres. Folco had been a *socio* in the Cerchi firm from the 1280's, and upon his death he left his 1,000 lire holding in the company to his sons, Ricovero and Manetto. He also appointed Messer Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi, the future White political leader, as joint tutor and guardian to his children [251]. But this branch of the family appears to have taken a middle-line from the very start of the feudings and was able to remain politically acceptable to the dominant Black party. Indeed, Manetto di Folco was an official of the gabelle in 1305 [252], and Captain of Or San Michele in 1310 [253].

In 1312, however, the sentence of exile on Giovanni di Manetto, Segna di Assalto, and Sangallo di Grifo, was cancelled by mandate of the Florentine Captains of the Parte Guelfa, probably because these Portinari had not actively fought against the city, but had limited themselves to background support [254]. In 1315 an amnesty was offered to the rest of the Ghibellines and the exiled Whites. Although Benozzo di Grifo Portinari decided to return to his native

city, not all of his exiled relatives took advantage of this humiliating and expensive amnesty. Consequently in November of the same year, their sentences were renewed and they remained in exile [255]. Unfortunately, there is no trace of who these members of the family were, nor is it known if and when they returned to Florence. However it is possible that they, like some of the Cerchi, could have taken advantage of the amnesties offered by Walter of Brienne, and have returned to the city in 1343 [256].

Ex-whites who took advantage of amnesties were not mistrusted by the administration for long. In 1318, six years after he had been allowed to return to the city from exile, Sangallo di Grifo di Assalto was appointed as one of the officers charged with examining the operation of the city's treasury [257]; in 1323 he was an officer of the gates of the city [258] and in 1343 he was Florence's ambassador to Siena [259].

* * *

A major point emerges from this study of the three families within the political and civic arena. All three families demonstrated the tendency, and the apparant ease with which it could be achieved, of divided allegiance between opposing faction or party. None of the families at any time made a determined stand which would result in all

branches of the family being permanently exiled from power or from Florence. At the time of the Guelf and Ghibelline conflicts, all three families left representatives in Florence, and only the Portinari had no members of the family who left and went into exile with the Guelfs. But even this more marked 'Ghibellinism' on their part did not affect their political position in the later years of the thirteenth century, and they were easily re-assimilated into the Guelf elite of the city. Thus even though Messer Viero di Torrigiano de Cerchi was the original leader of the White faction from 1296, those members of the family who choose to be more moderate were also easily supported in Florence. Unlike the factional struggles at the end of the fourteenth century, when, for example the whole of the Alberti family ended up in exile, after ongoing waves of exclusions and decrees of banishment, the Florentine political oligarchy was still much more tolerant at the beginning of the century.

CHAPTER THREE: MARRIAGE

In the complicated web of political intrigue, social standing, and financial interests in the family-dominated society of medieval Florence, there was more to marriage than the mere acquisition of a child-bearing partner or a suitable husband. For instance, marriages could make or break factional alliances, and they could also provide a ladder for social betterment and movement of the *gente nuova* into the circle of established 'noble' patrician families after several generations. In the world of finance, the often enormously high dowry could provide capital for business activities, or the purchase and consolidation of urban and rural landholdings, in itself a measure of the family's status and power. On the other hand, if an appropriate dowry for the woman was not available, a marriage would have to be contracted with a less worthy family and, if a pattern of lowly marriages were repeated over several generations, this could lead to a steady decline in the family's status.

The dowry could often be a measure of the relative wealth and status of marriage partners. Throughout the period under consideration, dowry payments were all

relatively modest, especially in comparison with the often grossly inflated rates which became so common within the Florentine patriciate in the fifteenth century. Samuel Cohn, in a somewhat restricted analysis of marriage contracts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries [1], has calculated that, in the period 1343 to 1383 (ie towards the end of the period of this study), about 17% of dowries were worth 400 florins or more. This was in a city where about 15% of the population was eligible for public office in 1343 [2]. Cohn rates any dowry of 800 florins or more (2.6% of his survey group) as 'extraordinary' [3].

Dowry data for the Cerchi, dell'Antella and Portinari are, like so much of the information for this period, scanty. However, the known evidence would indicate that Cohn's view of a dowry of over 800 florins being 'extraordinary' to be somewhat undervalued, even when the fact is taken into consideration that the normal in patrician terms is extraordinary in an overall view of all levels of Florentine society. For example, in 1343 a Portinari girl, Margherita di Accerito, took a dowry of 1050 florins to her marriage to Luigi di Poltrone Cavalcanti. The amount is twice that of any other known dowry for the Portinari family, but the participants of the marriage do not seem in any way more extraordinary than usual. Indeed, Margherita's own sister, Caterina, had a dowry of only 400 florins for her marriage in 1359 to Filippo di Duccio Magalotti.

For a total of forty-six Portinari marriages, we have dowry information for thirteen marriages, ranging from a low of 500 lire (in 1288) to the sum of 1050 florins in 1337. For the dell'Antella the picture is hardly better. From thirty-two marriages contracted within the period, there are only eight known dowry sums: these range from a low of 658 lire for the marriage between Margherita di Vieri di Ricoveri de Cerchi to Lamberto di Maso di Lamberto dell'Antella (a marriage contracted sometime before 1329), to a high of 1000 florins for the marriage between Cianghella di Simone di Neri dell'Antella to Pepo di Antonio di Lando degli Albizzi in 1339. There are seven known Cerchi dowries from a total of sixty-four Cerchi marriages: they range from a low of 145 florins for the marriage between Francesca di Vanni Cerchi to Ranieri di Tegna da Guona in 1322, to a high of 1000 lire for the marriage between Consiglio di Uliviero de Cerchi to Nella di Marsoppino di Ormanno Rossi in 1285.

* * *

The Cerchi and Marriage

The marriages contracted for Uliviero de Cerchi's daughters can be interpreted in two ways. To a 'climbing' family, the large dowries were essential to attract husbands

who would enhance the reputation and standing of the family. But the dowries were also a reflection of Uliviero's own position as a man of considerable wealth and reputation. These marriages also reflect the consorterial ties and the financial consequences of marriage for the Cerchi: the employment of sons-in-law in the business; the acquisition of *parenti* whose allegiance was tested in the factional disputes at the end of the century; the ties which united the Cerchi with the Donati before the split of the last decade of the century; the support of the thrice related Adimari. For the son of a self made man, Uliviero had already established a strong social, commercial and political position for his family through his children and their marriage partners by the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century.

In the period before the Cerchi had fallen into disfavour (1304) and their *società* had collapsed (1311), there were at least thirty marriages. Of these thirty marriages, fifteen were with families which were declared magnate in 1293: one marriage with the Frescobaldi, Rossi and Tornaquinci families, two with the Adimari, Amieri, Cavalcanti, Donati and Pulci families, and three with the Bardi. Two were marriages contracted with prestigious *grande* families from neighbouring Tuscan cities - one with the Tolomei of Siena, and the other with relatives of the Cancellieri of Pistoia. And eight were with *popolani*

families: the Benincasa, Bonizzi, Falconieri, Macci, Manfredi (two), and the Moltobuoni.

In the second period, from around 1310 to 1360, there were forty-five Cerchi marriages. Eighteen were with other magnate families: one marriage with the degli Asini, Cipriani, Gherardini, Guidalotti, Infangati, Rossi, Scali and Ubriachi families, two with the Buondelmonti, Cavalcanti, and Donati, and five marriages with the Bardi. Twenty-six were with *popolani* families: one marriage with the Altoviti, Bachini, Bentacorde, a Betti widow, Bonciani, Covone, della Fioraia, Gianori, da Laguto, Machiavelli, Mancini, Medici, Ser Nelli, Peruzzi, da Quona, della Rena, Ristori, Saltarelli, di Ugolino, and de Vicoflorentino; and two with the Albizzi and dell'Antella.

It is to be noted that there were many more multiple marriages contracted between the Cerchi and other fellow magnate families, than between the Cerchi and *popolani* families. Also, there was a significantly greater proportion of Cerchi and other magnate family marriages in the first period, when the Cerchi family was approaching the pinnacle of its political and economic and business expectations, than in the second period, when the Cerchi family was in decline [4].

It is particularly interesting to explore multiple marriage ties from the political point of view. There were at least two current Donati-Cerchi marriages in the 1280's,

then came the factionalism between the Donati and the Cerchi, and then another two marriages between the two families much later in the fourteenth century. Perhaps the marriage with the most immediate tragic consequences of all the Cerchi marriages was that made by a daughter of Uliviero (her first name is unreported) to Corso di Simone di Forese Donati, a marriage active in the 1290's. Her sudden death while her husband was podestà of Treviso in 1295 led the Cerchi family to suspect Corso of having poisoned her, especially as, soon after, he married Tessa di Ubertino da Gaville, a rich heiress of the noble Ghibelline Caponsacchi family, who brought Corso a dowry of lands, servants and privileges worth around 6,000 florins [5]. The Cerchi and the Donati families both lived in the sesto of Porta San Piero. Both had been declared magnate in 1293, but the Donati had been settled in Florence since consular times, much longer than the 'upstart' Cerchi.

As neighbours, there had been occasions when Uliviero de Cerchi's son Consiglio and son-in-law Corso Donati had supported each other (see Chapter Two, Cerchi and Politics p.105). Another mutual neighbour, and parente, M.Bindo di M.Bonaccorso Adimari, father-in-law of Ricoverino di Ricovero de Cerchi, had also reinforced the interlinking network of neighbourhood and kinship ties, when he acted as a guarantor for M.Simone Novello Donati and M.Corso Donati in January of the same year, 1295 [6]. There were, of

course, the usual expressions of neighbourhood tension and rivalry between the two families, who lived in the same parish and whose contado possessions were in the same area of the contado. Both were interested in political and social prestige and standing. But this was true throughout the oligarchic elite of Florence, and the Cerchi-Donati marriage was made well before there was any inkling of the factional division which would eventually lead to the murder of Niccola di Uliviero de Cerchi, in 1301, by his nephew Simone di Corso Donati. There was a second marriage between the two families, for Filippo di Niccola di Uliviero de Cerchi was married to Laba di Donato de Donati, at some point before the split between the two families. A second marriage tie was a logical renewal of their ties. There is possibly another marriage connection. Orsa di Orso de Donati was married Iacopo di Bindo di Cerchio. The actual date of this marriage is unknown, but as Iacopo's sister was married in 1288, Iacopo himself could have married soon after. This would make three current Donati-Cerchi marriages in existence before the split between the two parties began in 1296.

The marriage of Regale di Uliviero de Cerchi to Manfred Adimari by 1256 was the first link in what was to be a long and lasting relationship between the two families. The Adimari was the great magnate banking house of Porta San Piero. One of the most ancient of the noble families of the

Table 6: CERCHI-ADIMARI MARRIAGE TIES

Uliviero-----
de
CERCHI

- Ricovero-----Ricoverino
m.
Orlandina di Bindo
di Bonaccorso ADIMARI
(her will 1335)

- Cerchio-----Bindo-----daughter
m.
Bellincione di
Ruggero Rosso
ADIMARI
1288*

- Regale
m.
Manfredo-----Bernardo
ADIMARI ADIMARI
pre-1256

city, they had been actively involved in the political life of Florence since the consular period of the twelfth century. Regale and Manfred's son, Bernardo, was prior in 1286, 1289 and 1292 [7]. Like other Cerchi *parenti* (though actually a blood relative, not just an in-law) Bernardo worked as a *socio* of the Cerchi company. According to Dino Compagni, the business association was the reason for Bernardo's support of the Cerchi in the factional strife against the Donati in 1300, though he makes no mention of the close blood ties between the two families. Nevertheless, Bernardo's business association were presumably reinforced by his maternal kin ties [8].

There was at least one moment of discord between the two families when in 1280 five members of the Cerchi family (Viero di Torrigiano di Uliviero, Bindo, Giovanni, and Giano, sons of Cerchio di Uliviero, and Gentile di Folco di Puccio, so cousins of Bernardo di Manfred Adimari) bought extensive amounts of property in the city parish of Porta San Piero and in the contado from the Conti Guidi. This was land which the Adimari had wanted to acquire as they, too, held ex-Conti Guidi lands [9]. However, the animosity could not have been too great as eight years later, in 1288, a daughter of Bindo di Cerchio (that is, the great granddaughter of Uliviero) married Bellincione di Rugero Rosso Adimari. The union needed papal dispensation because of the proximity of kinship between these two cousins [10].

It is interesting to note that both families were important enough to receive papal dispensation, and equally that this marriage alliance was worth the effort to obtain such dispensation. Ruggero Rosso had been one of the captains of the Parte Guelfa in 1281, and vicar of Rodolfo of Hoheneck at Fucecchio in 1283 [11]. In the late thirteenth century there was yet another marriage between the Adimari and the Cerchi between Orlandina di Bindo di Bonaccorso Adimari and Ricoverino di Ricovero de Cerchi. With three current marriage links, it is not surprising that a formal pact of allegiance was concluded between the two houses in 1296 [12], and that the Adimari, apart from the Cavicciuli branch, closely allied themselves with their Cerchi parenti against the Donati at the time of the factional struggles at the turn of the century [13].

Multiple marriages were also contracted with other good families. For example, Giovanni di Cerchio married Lagia di Scolaio di Rodolfo de Pulci in 1282, receiving a dowry of 650 lire, while probably at around the same time Tina di Niccola was married to Guelfo di Rinaldo de Pulci, prior in 1282. Giovanni and Tina were first cousins, while Lagia was either niece or great-niece of Guelfo. The Pulci, like other Florentine families, oscillated between allegiance to the Guelfs and the Ghibellines. Scolaio's father, Rodolfo, had been a signatory to the Ghibelline pact between Florence and Siena, along with Cerchio de Cerchi, in 1261. With five

Pulci priors in the period 1282 to 1292, the family was, politically and socially, amongst the elite of the time. The Pulci-Rimbertini mercantile company, one of the richest of the Florentine companies in the Dugento, swore allegiance to the pope at the same time as the Cerchi, in 1263. Both Scolaio and Guelfo were *soci* of the Pulci company at this time.

Rinuccio di Cerchio was married to Gostanza Cavalcanti and his first cousin Vieri di Ricovero married Lena di Cantine Cavalcanti in 1292, with a dowry of 625 lire. Cantine was one of the nine *consiglieri* from the Cavalcanti family who were appointed to the *consiglio* of 1278 [15]. The Cavalcanti were a large and important magnate merchant family which sided with the Cerchi in the factionalism of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Guido Cavalcanti, the poet and Dante's noble exemplar, died while in exile with other White party supporters

However, multiple marriages did not necessarily indicate firm political allegiance or represent the renewal of political ties. For instance, despite three marriages with grandchildren of Oliviero de Cerchi, members of the Bardi family sided predominantly with the Donati Black party [16]. The Bardi, though of *popolano* origins, was declared magnate at the time of the Ordinances of Justice. They also directed the most powerful and influential Florentine bank

in the first half of the fourteenth century [17]. Gentile di Puccio de Cerchi was married to Bartolomea di Giuliano Bardi, while Bindaccio di Consiglio's wife was Lena di Simone Bardi and Guillelmo di Lapo de Cerchi's wife was Sandra di Gerozzo de Bardi. These three thirteenth century Bardi marriages were followed by another five in the fourteenth century. These eight ties are also significant in and of themselves, and perhaps should be analysed with other larger sets of multiple ties within other family studies.

Marriage and business ties often overlapped with marriage and political similarities. The second wife of the Cerchi *capofamilia*, Uliviero di Cerchio (died 1254) was Ermellina di Cambio Bonizzi. A similar family to the Pulci, the Bonizzi family was from the Cerchi's own sesto of Porta San Piero. Three of Ermellina's brothers, Rainaldo, Iacopo, and Naddo, were Ghibelline *consiglieri* in November 1260 at the same time as Cerchio di Uliviero and Dore di Puccio de Cerchi, who, unlike the rest of the Cerchi, had stayed in Florence [18]. Like the Cerchi, the Bonizzi was a mercantile banking family. But, like Bernardo Adimari, and probably also because of marriage ties, Uliviero's brother-in-law Naddo di Cambio worked as a *socio* in the Cerchi company in 1265 [19]. Similarly, one of Uliviero's sons-in-law, Bindo Galigai degli Macci, worked in the Cerchi *società* despite the fact that the Macci was itself one of the greatest companies of the Arte del Cambio [20].

Social mobility and marriage is particularly interesting in terms of its inter-city connections. Although these did little in terms of internal Florentine political development, as they did not extend the web of *parenti* in Florence, they must have been very important in terms of business and social prestige. The most surprising and striking Cerchi marriage is probably the one contracted by Lapo di Gherardino di Uliviero, who was head of the Cerchi Bianchi company from 1288. Not content with looking within the social, business, and political elite of his own city, he in fact married Imiglia di Mino di Messer Christoforo de Tolomei, of the great Siennese patrician banking company [21].

The marriage of Lapo's cousin, Giovanni di Niccola de Cerchi, changes the emphasis of marriage ties between social and business equals in neighbouring cities, to marriage ties which had political implications. Giovanni was married to Letta di Giovanni da Pistoia, kinswoman of the Cancellieri, the leading family of Pistoia [22]. According to Compagni and other contemporary chroniclers it was this parentado, between the Cerchi and a branch of the Cancellieri on the one hand, and between the Frescobaldi of Florence and the other branch of the feuding Cancellieri, which exacerbated factional discord in Florence, as well as, incidentally, providing the nomenclature for the two factions [23]. The Cerchi who were tied to the Cancellieri Bianchi branch were

in turn labelled Bianchi, and led the White faction, while the Frescobaldi, from their links with the Cancellieri Neri, joined the Donati in leading the Florentine Black party.

Such was the mobility possible within the society of Florence through the thirteenth century that, only three generations removed from the first known ancestor of the family, Uliviero's grandchildren were looking for marriage partners in the elite of the ruling classes of other important Tuscan cities. Family and marriage studies for other Tuscan towns might reveal more inter-town marriage links, as well as filling in the background on, for example, the origins of the Tolomei or the Cancellieri. Were they, like the Cerchi, relatively new to power, fortune, and prestige, or did they have feudal origins? Were these marriage alliances ties between social 'equals' who mutually benefited from the alliances?

Generally, the marriages from the next 'generation' of the Cerchi (the great-grandchildren of Uliviero, whose marriages tended to be current in the 1330's), were all very respectable. Nearly all were from the highest ranking of the Florentine patriciate families of the period. Many were to important banking families: there were three marriages to the Bardi in this generation alone, as well as one to the Peruzzi and one to the rising Albizzi. There were also marriages to the great noble families of Florence: two to the Adimari, one to the Buondelmonti and one to the

Cavalcanti, and also marriages to the great Ghibelline clans, of the Abati, the Pigli, and the Malespini. So, although the Cerchi had faded from its previous position of political dominance and financial supremacy after the first decade of the fourteenth century, nevertheless they were still in a position to attract most eligible marriage partners: from well established houses like the Adimari, the Buondelmonti, the Cavalcanti, the Altoviti; from banking houses in their heyday like the Bardi and the Peruzzi; and from some of the 'up and coming' houses which were to make their mark in Florence in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, like the Albizzi and Medici.

* * *

The dell'Antella and Marriage

Thanks in the main to details given by Guido di Filippo dell'Antella in his Ricordanze, it is possible to draw a picture (however sketchy) of some of the personal aspects of marriage at the time. Guido fathered two illegitimate children before his marriage in 1291, at the age of thirty-seven, to Ghita, the daughter of the patrician Messer Goccia di Bindo Adimari. Guido had been travelling and working abroad, in various cities in Europe, which could account for his tardiness in settling down to marriage. It

was in the same year (1291) that Guido left the employment of the della Scala, his employers for twelve years, and went to work for the Franzesi company in Nimes.

It took Guido and his wife five pregnancies, and the deaths of the first four babies - Deo, Bartolomeo, Tomaso and Attaviano - before a surviving child, Lippa, was born in September 1300. Another five children were then born to the couple: Sandro in May 1302, Giovanni in February 1303, Ranieri in May 1304, Isabetta in October 1310, and finally Zanobio in June 1312 [24].

Guido's eldest son Sandro continued his father's *ricordanze*, making it possible to chronicle his marriage and the marriage of two of his siblings. Sandro got married in January 1325, at the age of twenty-three. His wife, Guerriera da Quarata, brought with her a generous dowry of 730 florins. Hers was a prominent *popolani* family from Santo Spirito, and in the same year that the couple were married Guerriera's father held office as prior. Sandro and Guerriera had at least two sons: Azzo was born in 1326, and Guido was born in 1327. Sandro's brother, (Guido and Ghita's youngest son), Zanobio, married ten years later (in 1335) also at the age of twenty-three; his wife was Ginevra di Dardano di Lotteringhi de Acciaiuoli, and her dowry was worth 683 florins. Isabetta di Guido dell'Antella was married in 1326, at the age of sixteen, to Messer Andrea de Gherardini. She took with her a dowry of 700 florins, and

although her husband was no longer young (Andrea had been Captain of Pistoia in 1301, and so must have been at least in his mid-fifties at the time of his marriage to Isabetta [25]) he was, at least, a knight from an established magnate house of the same sesto of the city. Not surprisingly, she outlived her husband, and entered a second marriage, to Accerito di Manetto Portinari. This time she took with her a dowry of 500 florins.

Simone di Neri di Filippo dell'Antella, first cousin to Sandro, Zenobio and Isabetta, was married three times. His first wife was Niccolosa di Tano di Mico Baroncelli, to whom he was married by well before 1340. The Baroncelli had had banking interests, in partnership with the Acciaiuoli and the Peruzzi and, like the Antella, supported the establishment of Walter of Brienne in Florence in 1342. The leading political figure of the family in the post-Brienne period was Filippo di Gianori Baroncelli, a leading Parte Guelfa figure and a supporter of the Albizzi faction.

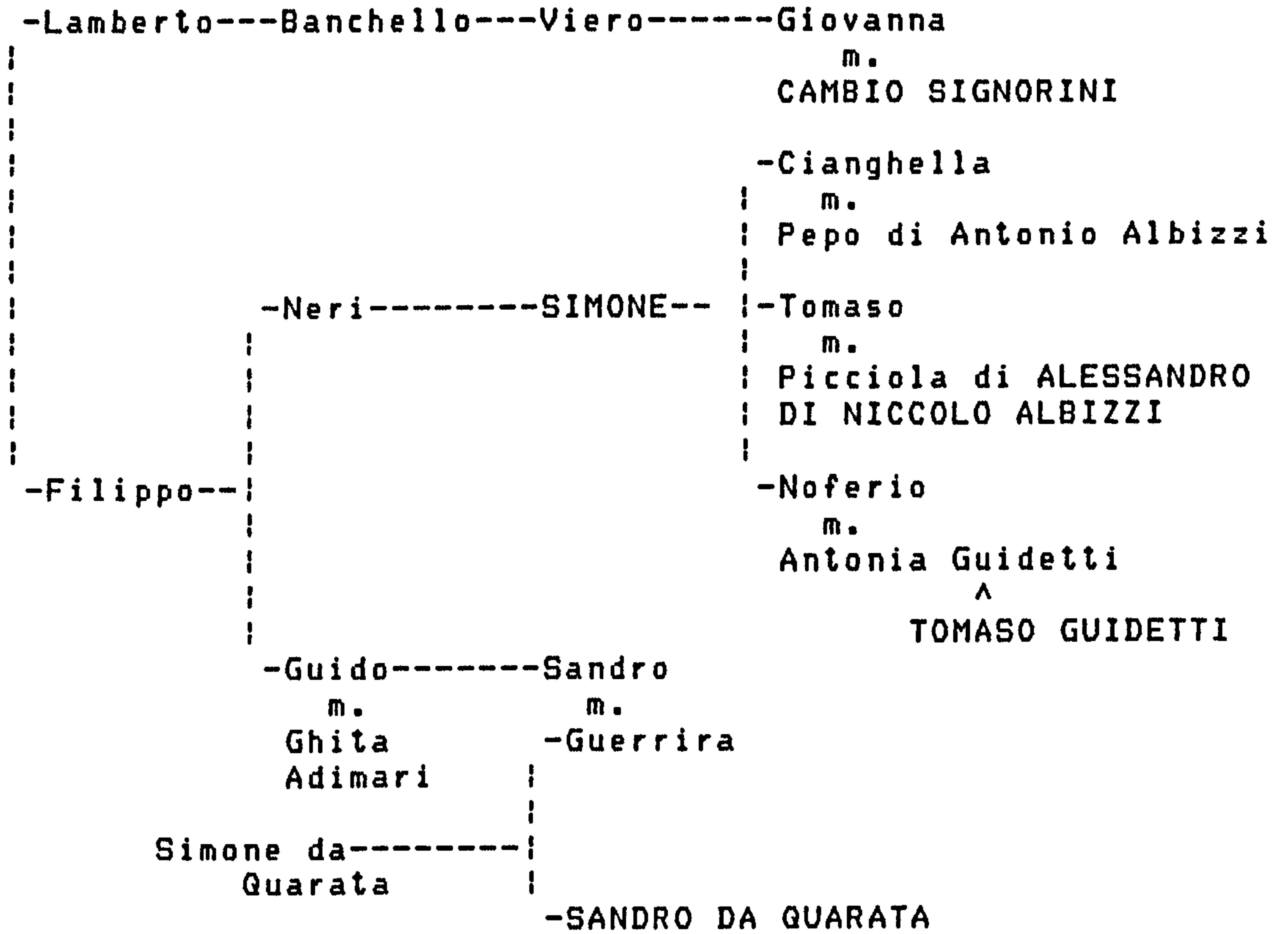
By 1351 Niccolosa had died and Simone had been remarried, to Bandecca di Masi Scolai de Sommaio. In 1355 Simone di Neri was consul of the Cambio guild at the same time as his wife's kinsman Amerigo di Bernardo da Sommaia. Upon Bandecca's death in about 1363 Simone was married for a third time, to Nera di Lando di Lapo Benci [26]. Simone had at least five children who married, and who had probably been born to his first wife. Andrea di Simone married a

Strozzi. Giovanna di Simone married Stefano degli Scali. Noferio di Simone's second wife was Antonia Guidetti. Tomaso di Simone married an Albizzi girl, Picciola di Alessandro di Niccolo, while his sister Cianghella married Pepo Albizzi. He was the son of Antonio di Lando Albizzi, head of the most important, and richest branch of the Albizzi family (see Introduction p.27).

'Hidden' kinship relationships must have been very important within the political life of the city, especially after the overall population of Florence had shrunk from its peak of about 95,000 around 1300 to about 30,000 in the 1340's immediately after plague had decimated the population. In 1343, when the population was still at around 90,000, there had still only been 3346 citizens admitted for scrutiny for election to public office [27]. Simone di Neri was very active as a civic and political figure during this post-Black Death and pre-Ciompi period, and it is interesting to examine some of the possibly unnoticed kinship ties between him and some of his fellow politicians.

Most of Simone di Neri's close political ties were with the kinsmen of his cousins. His first cousin Sandro di Guido di Filippo dell'Antella married Guerriera di Simone da Quarata in January 1325. The da Quarata were a prominent popolani family of Santo Spirito. By the 1340's they were no longer very active in business, but Guerriera's two brothers, Sandro and Vanni di Simone, were amongst the

Table 7: SIMONE DI NERI DELL'ANTELLA POLITICS AND MARRIAGE TIES



wealthiest of their family. Guerriera herself had been provided with a dowry of 730 florins. As a whole, the family supported the Ricci faction. In 1360 Sandro da Quarata and Simone di Neri dell'Antella backed each other in opposing the powers of the Parte Guelfa and the Albizzi group. Sandro da Quarata was assassinated because of his position as leader of the Ricci faction in 1370. Members of the Quartesi family were declared Ghibelline and ammoniti by the Parte Guelfa at the same time as M. Alessandro di Giovanni di Guido dell'Antella, nephew of Sandro di Guido, in 1372 [28].

Tomaso Guidetti, kinsman of Simone's son Noferio, together with Cambio Signorini, himself married to Giovanna di Vieri di Banchello dell'Antella, both added their support to Simone's views in 1358 when he opposed the joining of a pro-papal, anti-Visconti league. Simone's other son, Tomaso, was married to Picciola di Alessandro di Niccolao degli Albizzi. The Albizzi, a rich *popolani* family which made its money in the wool industry, headed the conservative, Parte Guelfa faction against the more liberal Ricci. However, Alessandro di Niccolao, who formally severed his ties with his own family in 1373, taking the family name of Alessandri, shared the same political views as Simone in the 1360's [29].

We cannot be sure how much kinship ties affected political allegiance, so this network of kinship ties shown by the Antella is possibly not as dramatic as some of the

ties and enmities displayed by the Cerchi and their kinsmen and factional followers half a century earlier. Nevertheless, it serves to highlight the complexities inherent in Florence's oligarchic structure, which are fundamental to a full understanding of the hidden relationships within Florence throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

An examination of interconnecting marriage and business ties within the families and their parentado can be very rewarding. The dell'Antella family married into many families of a similar business background and style to their own: the Baroncelli, Albizzi, degli Asini, Scali and Strozzi. But they never contracted any marriages with any of their business partners, for example the del Bene. This lack of business and marriage links is in direct contrast to the wealth of ties between themselves and their in-laws in the political sphere. But the picture the Portinari present is very different.

* * *

The Portinari and Marriage

This family demonstrates some of the tangible ties and important links and relationships which could, and did, exist between marriage families and business partners.

Messer Simone di Iacopo de Bardi was married to Bice di Folco Portinari. Simone was a socio in the Bardi company in the 1290's. A distant cousin of Bice, Cella di Folchetto di Manetto Portinari, married Giovanni di Gualtiero di Iacopo de Bardi (possible Messer Simone's nephew) in 1311. Gualtiero di Iacopo Bardi was one of the sixteen major Bardi shareholders in the company of Lapo and Doffo dei Bardi in 1310 [30]. Andrea di Grifo de Portinari started to work for the Bardi, as a factor in their Flanders branch, in 1321, and began a pattern of business ties and service between the Bardi company and members of the Portinari company which would last until the Bardi bankruptcy in 1345 (see Chapter One, Portinari and Business).

These links are interesting enough, but a closer examination of Bardi factors in the first half of the fourteenth century brings to light many more links between the Bardi, their factors, and the Portinari. There were two Portinari marriages with members of the Biliotti family: Capovanna di Gherardo di Folco Portinari was married to Biliotti di Metto Biliotti (marriage active 1332), and Sandro di Giovanni di Manetto Portinari to Lisa di Gualtiero di Metto Biliotti (marriage active 1351). Lapo di Niccolo Biliotti was a Bardi shareholder in 1326 [31]. Niccolo di Francesco di Gucci Cose, who married Beatrice di Folchetto di Manetto Portinari in 1336, had just completed twelve years in service as a Bardi factor [32]. His father

Table 8: PORTINARI-BARDI-BUONACCORSI
BUSINESS AND MARRIAGE TIES

			-PUCCIO-----ANDREA
-Torrignano--Assalto----Grifo-----			-SANGALLO-- Bartolo m.
			Isabetta di
			-ANDREA DINO FORZETTI
			-Capovanna m.
			(BILIOTTI)
			-Gherardo-!-UBERTINO
			BUONO DI FILIPPO
			m.
			GIOVANNI-Chiara
	--Ricovero---Folco-----	-Manetto----	-AC CERITO
			PIGELLO
			-Bice
			m.
			-SIMONE
		Iacopo BARDI--	
			-GUALTIERO--Giovanni
			-Cella m.i) ^
			ii) Bettino di MICHELE
			BUONACCORSI
			-Lapa m.Francesco di
			MANDO BELLINCIE
	--Manetto----Folchetto--	-Stagio----	-LORENZO
			!-Iacopa m.
			!-RICOVERO LAPINO MIGLIORE
			-Beatrice m.NICCOLO di
			FRANCESCO COSE

Francesco was a Bardi factor from 1310 to 1337, and a cousin Filippo di Gieri di Catalano Cose was a Bardi factor from 1334 to 1343 [33]. Buono di Filippo (no surname), a Bardi factor from 1318 to 1343, was married to Chiara di Giovanni di Manetto Portinari (marriage active 1332) [34]. Dino Forzetti, the father-in-law of Bartolo di Sangallo di Grifo, served as a Bardi factor from 1310 to 1333 [35]. And Lapo Migliore, probably the Lapino Migliore we know to have been the husband of Iacopa di Stagio di Folco Portinari in 1332, was a Bardi factor from 1328 to 1340 [36]. Many other members of his family also worked for the Bardi: Cino di Migliore (Ridolfi), and four sons Bartolomeo, Francesco, Giorgio and Iacopo [37].

Cella di Folchetto di Manetto Portinari's second husband was Bettino di Michele Buonaccorsi (marriage active 1334). Her first husband had been Giovanni di Gualtiero di Iacopo Bardi. Her new father-in-law Michele Buonaccorsi was a Bardi factor in Barletta from 1313 until his death there in 1317, and also in 1317 his son, possible Bettino himself, was trading in Rhodes on behalf of the Bardi [38]. Another Buonaccorsi, Lapo di Giovanni, was a Bardi factor for twenty years, from 1310 until 1330.

In addition to having close links with the Bardi company, the Buonaccorsi ran their own important company. (The Bardi, Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli and Buonaccorsi were labelled the 'four pillars of Christendom' by Villani). This

company was jointly founded by Lapo Buonaccorsi and Mando Bellincie in 1307. Lapo's nephew was Bettino (Cella Portinari's husband), and Mando di Bellincie's son Francesco was married to Lapa di Ricovero di Folco Portinari (marriage active 1332). Vanni Buonaccorsi, director of the company from 1314 to 1331, was married to Giovanni Villani's sister, Lapa. (This makes Mando Bellincie brother of Stoldo di Bellincie, who was the grandfather of Giovanni, Lapa, and Matteo di Villano di Stoldo). Michele Buonaccorsi was never a member of the family firm (he had died while working for the Bardi in Barletta in 1317), but his son Bettino, who worked for the Bardi in 1324 and 1328, became a co-director of the Buonaccorsi company in 1340, with his first cousin Bandino, from 1340 until the collapse of the company in 1342 [39].

The actual business relationship between the Buonaccorsi and the Portinari is confused: the two companies appear to have been administratively separate, but closely allied. Various Portinari men worked for the Buonaccorsi company. Accerito di Manetto Portinari was their associate from 1328, and acted for them in England from August 1332 to April 1334. By 1340 he and his brothers Giovanni and Pigello between them had at least 12,000 florins invested in the company. Puccio di Grifo Portinari and his son Andrea were both in London for the Buonaccorsi in 1332 to 1333 (See Chapter One, Portinari and Business).

There are still more interconnecting marriage and business links to be found between the Portinari and other Florentine business families. Sandro di Giovanni di Manetto Portinari who married Francesca di Bettino Covoni in 1337, worked for the Covoni *società* from 1337 to 1339. (Bettino di Michele Buonaccorsi went to live next door to the Covoni in the parish of San Procolo in 1328 [40]). An independent Portinari company was formed in 1344 among Pigello di Manetto and Andrea di Andrea Portinari, Pigello's son-in-law Girolomo di Buono Scarlatti, and Buono di Filippo (who had just left the employ of the Bardi), husband of Pigello's niece, Chiara di Giovanni di Manetto Portinari. son-in-law. Giovanni di Manetto Portinari himself had important business dealings with Guidone di Fabrino Tolosini whose daughter Andrea was married to Giovanni's nephew Ricovero di Folchetto Portinari (see Chapter Two, Portinari and Business).

In comparison with the Cerchi, there were few Portinari multiple marriage ties. The Bardi connections between the Portinari and the Biliotti have drawn above. There were in fact two Portinari marriages with this family. Sandro di Giovanni, whose first wife had been Francesca Covoni, married Lisa di Gualtiero di Metto Biliotti, and Sandro's cousin Capovanna married Lisa's uncle, Biliotto di Metto. In the 1328 loan by twenty six Florentine companies to the comune, Metto Biliotti advanced 400 florins, and Guido

Table 9: PORTINARI-BILIOTTI MARRIAGE TIES

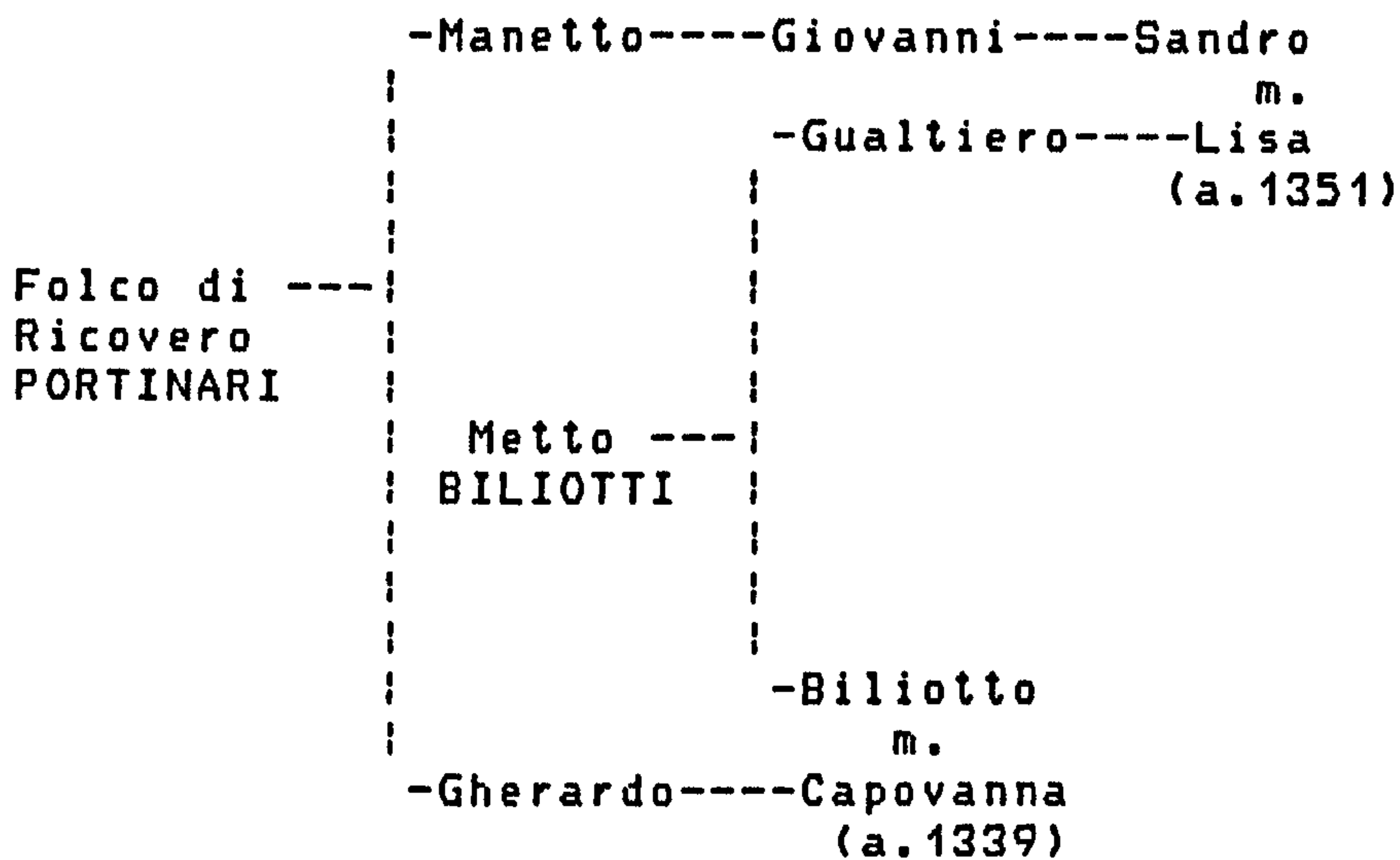
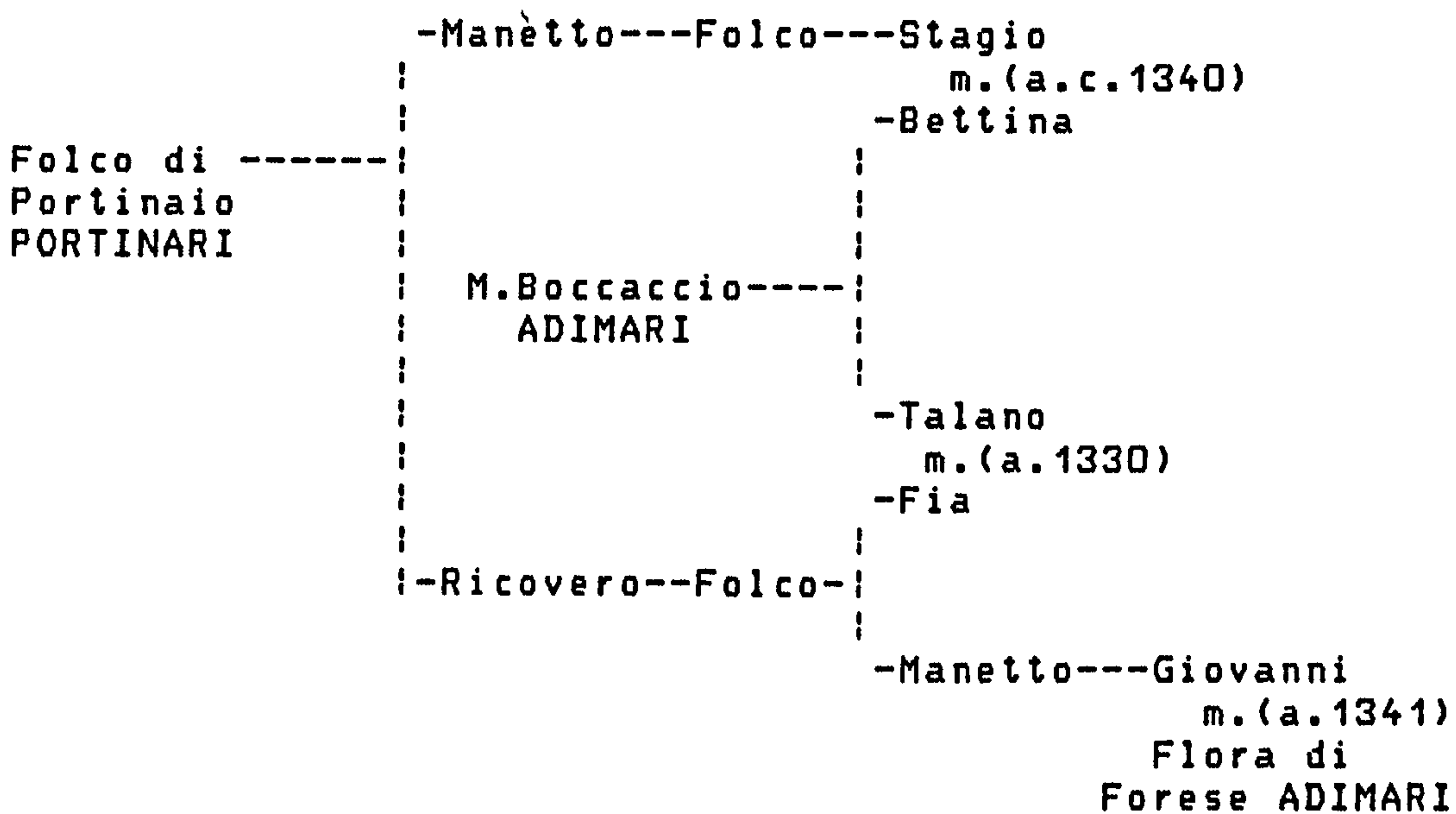


Table 10: PORTINARI-ADIMARI MARRIAGE TIES



Tolosini advanced 300 florins. (At the same time the company of Giovanni di Lamberto dell'Antella advanced 100 florins) [41].

There were also two marriages between each of the Falconieri and Portinari, Ricci and Portinari, and da Volognano and Portinari families. None of these show any immediately close ties of political or business links, or reinforcement of ties between close branches of the families. However, there were three marriages between the Adimari and the Portinari, all in more or less the same period. Two of the marriages were accounted for by an Adimari brother and sister marrying Portinari second cousins; the third was the nephew of a Portinari-Adimari marriage marrying an Adimari girl.

Messer Boccaccio Adimari and his sons were members of the Cavicciuli branch of the Adimari branch which, in contrast to the main part of the family who were White supporters, sided with the Black party in 1300. But in this instance White or Black political allegiance seems not to have affected marriage patterns, for Stagio, in common with other members of the Portinari family, was, passively at least, a supporter of the Whites. Talano di Boccaccio was a typically young 'magnate', arrogant and violent. In 1304 he was imprisoned in the Palazzo of the Podesta by the Captain of the Popolo, on charges of murder. An armed attack by his kinsmen, in which two guards were killed and the Captain

himself mortally injured secured his release. Despite public outrage, both he and his clansmen escaped scot free [42]. Talano later became an important public figure, sitting as one of the seven magnates on the *Quattordici* which was set up after the Duke of Athens was ousted from power in 1343 [43].

* * *

Women and Marriage

Remarriage by a man appears to have been more common than for a woman. From the combined 176 Cerchi, Portinari and dell'Antella marriages there were at least five women who remarried (two Cerchi, two Portinari, and one dell'Antella). For the men, two remarried at least twice (one Portinari and one dell'Antella), and another seven remarried once. Although the marriage data collected for the families does not pretend to be definitive, it would appear that remarriage did not affect a significant number of the women in this sample.

There would appear to be limited flexibility to the woman's role in the upper elite of Florentine society, though there is little documentation to enable us to follow the actual life choices which faced particular women. The Church is often seen as providing an alternative to marriage

for young women, especially later, by the fifteenth century, when dowries were high. However, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century there are few references to girls and young women becoming nuns from the three families studied. In 1318 the convent of Monticelli, a Franciscan foundation sited near the Porta Romana in Florence, numbered an unidentified Cerchi girl among its community. Her fellow nuns included girls from some of the best Florentine families: the Soldanieri, Nerli, Malespini, Scolari, Pazzi, Buondelmonti, Bardi, and Ubertini [44]. The only named reference we have is to an Ascior Maria dell'Antella (though even she is fairly anonymous, as her father is not identified), who became the abbess of the convents of Santa Margherita and Santa Maria Maddelena when they were amalgamated in 1350 [45].

A real alternative which could fulfill the spiritual and community needs of women, especially if widowed, was to become a *pinzochera* or *oblata* (lay sister) of the tertiary order of the Franciscans. This had its own organisation, administered by two abbesses. The order owned some of its own property in which some, though by no means all of the sisters lived together as a community. To belong to this tertiary order allowed women the enjoyment of a communal spiritual life, while still being able to participate in the daily life of the city, since they were not totally enclosed, as in many convents. It also left open the possibility of an eventual second marriage [46].

Tradition and history acknowledges the Blessed Umiliana di Uliviero de Cerchi as the first ever Florentine 'terziara', received by the Franciscans in 1240. She was born in Florence in 1219, and was brought up by her stepmother, Ermellina di Cambio Bonizzi (whose own kinsman, Filippo Bonizzi, was one of the 'setti beati Fiorentini', whose number included Manetto dell'Antella, who founded the order of the servites). Fact and fiction must have been intertwined in the story of Umiliana's life: nevertheless, the first of many biographies was written in 1248, just two years after her death, by Fra Vito da Cortona. This was followed by another by Ippolito da Firenze in 1249, which already catalogued the many miracles attributed to her [47].

In 1234, at the age of 15, Umiliana was the 'victim' of an arranged marriage, to an unidentified 'usurer'. Even at the age of fifteen, it would seem, she would have preferred a monastic and spiritual life rather than marriage, and especially, is the implication, marriage to a money-lender and usurer, and the material life. However, she was a devoted mother to her two young boys, and was given spiritual guidance and consolation by her paternal aunt, Ravenna: an admirable and living example of Christian piety.

In 1239, at the tender age of twenty, she was widowed. She renounced part of her dowry to cover the financial debts of her husband, but after a year of widowhood was obliged by her family to leave her children to be brought up by her

in-laws, and herself returned to the parental home. Here she refused to bow to the pleas, exhortations, and threats of her family to remarry, and instead reconfirmed her decision to live a life of celibacy and continence. Unable to join the Poor Clares of Monticelli, she resigned herself to living in the tower of the Cerchi palazzo. She took as her spiritual mentor the blessed Michele degli Alberti, a conventual minorite, and lived a brief life of penances, privations, and mystic visions. Her aura of virtue and piety was surely enhanced by her early death in 1246, just twenty seven years old.

Whatever the proportion of fact and fiction, the story of Umiliana nevertheless demonstrates some of the contemporary views on marriage, widowhood, parental pressure on young girls, wives, and widows. Girls generally had to marry whomever they were told, and were often forced out of 'holy widowhood', and away from their children. Marriage, and remarriage, at a young age, was very likely.

A strong tradition of Cerchi support for the tertiary order emerges. In his will of 1333 Giano di Viero de Cerchi left a bequest of 100 lire to be distributed by his son Amerigo amongst the 'Christian poor' of the city [48]. He also left 800 lire to his daughter Giovanna, possibly to provide her with a dowry. There is no record of any marriage for Giovanna, but we do know that a few months later she herself drew up her will in the sacresty of the Augustinian

convent of Santo Spirito. She willed the inheritance she had had from her father to the 'vestitis ordinis fratrum minorum Sancte Crucis de Florentia', the Franciscan tertiary order [49]. Notably, both Giovanna's sister, Cilia, and their paternal aunt Agnese di Viero Cerchi were *pinzochere* with the Franciscans of Santa Croce in the mid 1340's [50].

Women's control over possessions, money or land could come through the grant of specific bequests to them in the testaments of their relatives. Beatrice di Folco Portinari, already married to Simone de Bardi, was left the sum of 50 lire by her father in his will [51]. Occasionally they were granted rights over their dowry, or inherited their own mother's dowry. Thus Lapa di Amadore de Cerchi was able to leave all her possessions, which included three pieces of real estate, to the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala [52] where she was an oblata. Its mother foundation was in Siena, but this branch had been founded in 1316, near to Santa Maria Novella. It provided shelter for the poor and for pilgrims, and was a refuge for destitute women.

In 1368 Umiliana di Bindaccio de Cerchi, twice widowed, left all her goods to the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, the Portinari foundation [53]. Isabetta di Vieri di Ricovero de Cerchi, the widow of Davizzo Cipriani, requested in her will that she be buried with the Franciscans, that is at Santa Croce, and left a minor donation of 10 shillings each for the building costs of the city walls, and for the

construction of Santa Reparata, Florence's new cathedral [54]. This double bequest was a common occurrence in many testaments of the time, and is a juxtaposition quite typical of the coexistence in Florence of the world of the church and the world of the mercantile, capitalist city.

No Antellesi or Portinari women appear to have been tertiaries, although the few surviving bequests from some of them indicate the usual concern of woman for spiritual needs. Lapa di Grifo Portinari, widow of Andrea di Forese da Vespignano, left 10 florins to the company of the Misericordia [55]. Bandecca di Maso di Scolaio da Sommaio, the wife of Simone di Neri dell'Antella, drew up her will on 4 April 1363. She made provision for the sum of 400 florins to be given to the hermite monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli, to cover the costs of constructing an altar for the celebration of mass, and to furnish the said altar with two candles, to be lit during the celebration. She also allowed for 30 florins to endow two beds in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, for the reception of the poor and infirm [56].

* * *

Having discussed dowry data at the beginning to this chapter, we can return to them to aid our summing up. Dowry amounts tended to rise steadily over the course of the fourteenth century, so we would expect to see higher dowries

being given in the 1340's and 1350's than in the 1280's. Data from the Portinari family, the most socially and financially stable of the three families in this study, conform to this pattern (500 lire in 1288 rising to 1050 florins in 1337). It is significant that, in the case of the Cerchi family, the inverse is true. This is probably a reflection of the change in Cerchi status and wealth from the position of supremacy in the last decades of the thirteenth century (the highest known Cerchi dowry was for 1,000 lire in 1285) to their subdued position in the years which followed the collapse of both their political aspirations and their family *società*. The lowest dell'Antella dowry was for a marriage contracted between a Cerchi girl and an Antella man. This is another Cerchi marriage which dated from the 1320's, the low period in Cerchi fortunes, but it is not significantly lower than many other Antella marriage dowries.

However, the Antella recorded one of the highest dowries of any of the three families; Simone di Neri dell'Antella provided a dowry of 1000 florins when his daughter Cianghella became the first wife of Pepo di Antonio Albizzi in 1339. Simone di Neri, an active figure in the political and administrative life of the commune, was linking his family with another family of similar social background, and strong political ambitions.

CHAPTER FOUR: LAND

The practical and patrimonial aspects of land acquisition and disposition are of significant interest to historians for determining yet another facet of family activity. The concern the three families demonstrated for their urban and rural property shows their diverse and broad based occupation with the acquisition, disposition, and maintainance of land and property.

Once again the nature of the sources necessarily limits the full potential of analysis for Cerchi, dell'Antella and Portinari land-holding patterns. It is, for example, difficult to say with any certainty what proportion of land transactions have been discovered. On the other hand, the quantity of land transactions, in itself, makes clear the considerable and remarkable size of the contemporary land market. Further research within the Florentine archives will of course help to prove whether the patterns which do emerge need modifying, or whether the pictures they paint hold true throughout the period for these types of Florentine families.

In an attempt to gain some sort of feel for the geographic environment, most of the information for this

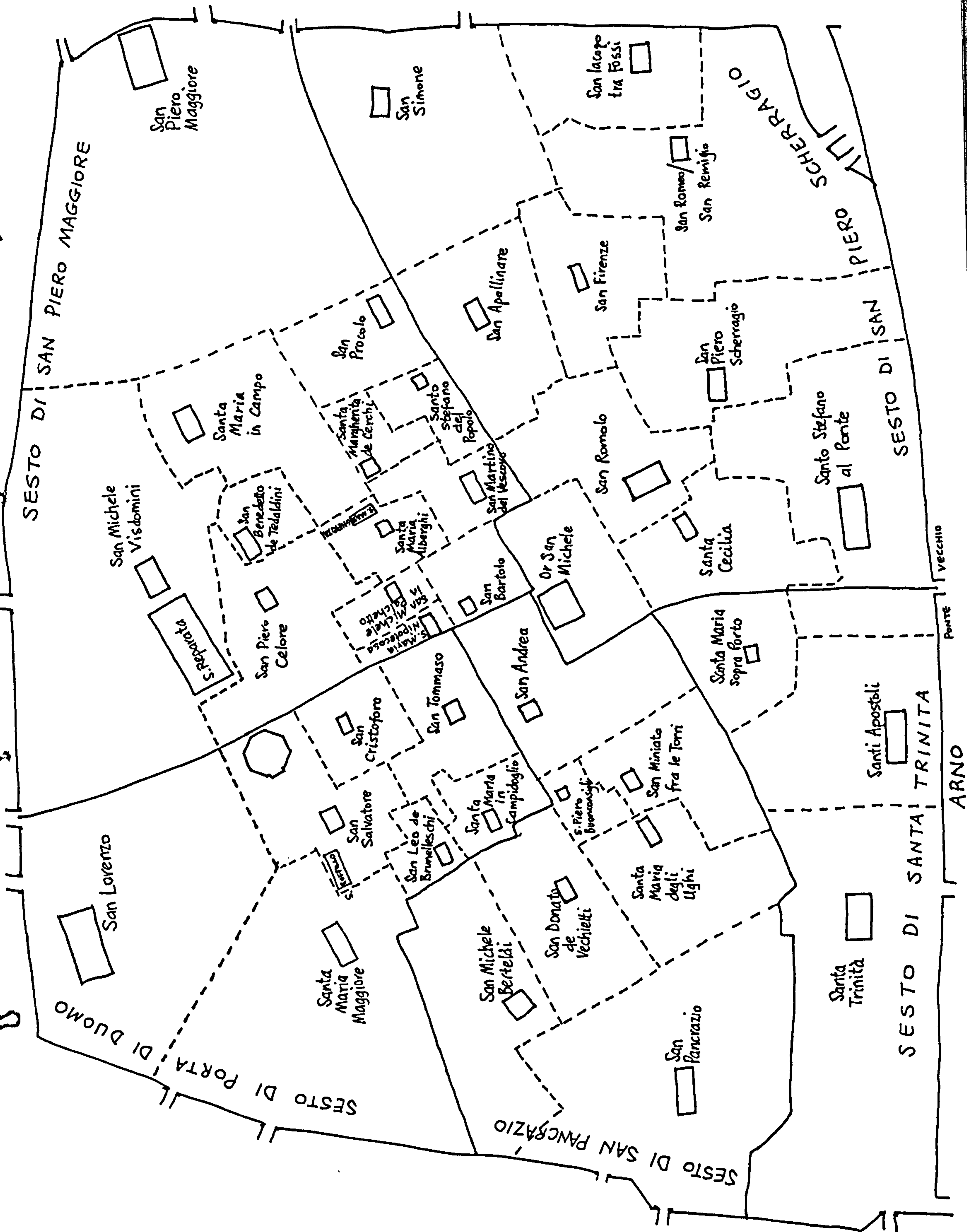
chapter is organised, within each of the family sections, on the basis of a discussion of urban property followed by an examination of the family's contado land holdings.

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The Cerchi and Land

Giovanni Villani, in his chronicle, lists the main families of Florence which divided into Guelf and Ghibelline in 1215. 'Gia i Cerchi cominciavano a salire in istato', he says, and places them among the Guelf merchant families which lived in the sesto of Porta San Piero [1]. The city was divided into administrative 'sixths' or *sesti* until the redistribution into 'quarters' or *quartiere* in July 1343 by the *Quattordici* immediately after the fall of Walter of Brienne [2]. This sesto of Porta San Piero, also known as San Piero Maggiore, was then incorporated into the quartiere of Santa Croce. Throughout the period the family was to be found established both in this sesto of the city and in the adjoining sesto of San Pier Scherragio [3].

The Cerchi were, with the Adimari and the Donati, one of the leading families of this part of the city. This was especially true after 1280 when Viero di Torrigiano, and Bindo, Giovanni, and Giano, sons of Cerchio di Uliviero, together with Gentile di Folco di Puccio, bought a quarter



FLORENCE - DIVISION INTO SESTI AND PARISHES

of the palaces, squares and courtyards of the feudal Count Palatine, Guido Salvatico di Conte Ruggieri, for the sum of 3,000 lire [4]. In comparison with the sums involved in the commercial transactions of the family's business concerns, this does not sound very much. The Cerchi *società* in England made a single advance payment of over 8,500 florins to gain a wool-buying contract in 1275, and the Cerchi Neri and Cerchi Bianchi companies lent the king of England almost 63,000 florins over the last quarter of the thirteenth century (see Chapter One, Cerchi and Business). But at this period property was comparatively cheap: in 1288 two houses in San Pier Maggiore were sold by the Cerchi for 500 lire [5].

The prestige value of this Conti Guidi land purchase was immense. It gave the family considerable holdings in the parishes of San Procolo and Santa Maria in Campo, and at the same time stopped the other great families of the sesto, the Adimari and the Donati, from expanding their holdings and influence. In many ways this purchase can be seen as the outward symbol of the 'arrival' of the Cerchi family into the elite of the city. In terms of their banking activities, the Cerchi had been incredibly successful since the 1260's. Now the purchase of such a large portion of some of the city's oldest parishes was an imposing reminder to Florence's citizens of the extent of the Cerchi family's wealth, power and connections.

Before this great consolidation of land holdings, members of the Cerchi family already owned land in this sesto. In 1248 a Cerchi palace near S.Ambrogio just outside the walls of the city was hardly completed when it, along with thirty-five other Guelf buildings was destroyed by the Ghibellines [6]. Evidence shows that in 1280 Consiglio di Uliviero bought a house in the parish of San Pier Maggiore [7], and that in the same year Bindo di Cerchio and his sons owned a house in the parish of San Martino Episcopo [8]. In 1285 Gherardino di Uliviero bought a house next to land which he already owned in the same parish [9].

I would like to thank Dr Brenda Preyer who has kindly let me have a pre-publication copy of her article on Cerchi Palaces, which has significantly enlarged and improved my understanding of the family's palaces. Her researches are based both on architectural details and on a notarial document dating from 1376 [10]. This document, partly because it was to be found outside of 'my period', is new to me, but very importantly, it relates a division of family palaces which took place by the sons and grandsons of M.Gherardino di Uliviero de Cerchi in 1309. This data, added to details of Cerchi property found in documents relating to the construction of the Via dei Cimatori in 1298, means that a satisfying picture of Cerchi palaces at the end of the thirteenth century can be drawn up [11].



Florence

CITY PROPERTY - CERCHI

SANTA MARIA NOVELLA



This new road was going to run west from Orsanmichele, past the Badia, and would finish up at the Bargello, the palace of the podestà, which was Florence's most important governmental building at that time. Ultimately, because of opposition by the Badia, the road only went half its original distance, finishing at the western edge of Badia property. The road as planned would have effectively linked Cerchi properties in the parish of San Martino Episcopo with property in San Procolo, including a palace owned by Gherardino and his sons which was regularly rented out to the commune and used by the Priors of the city as their official residence, and council meeting place [12]. The construction of the Palazzo della Signoria was not started until 1298/1299, when the tensions and troubles between the Black and White factions were becoming more intense. Indeed, according to Giovanni Villani, the insecurity of the priors' position, especially at a time of factional discord, was one of the reasons put forward for the building of the Palazzo Vecchio [13]. (The sons and grandsons of Gherardino continued to rent out their palace in San Procolo for use by the Commune's officials well into the 1320's [14], and in 1319 Simone di Berto di Gherardino sold another palace, this one in the parish of San Romolo, to the Commune [15].)

The street passed between at least three Cerchi palaces, as well as opening up the Cerchi loggia and the Cerchi piazza. On the north side of the street was the

recently built 'new' palace of M.Lapo di Uliviero de Cerchi. The street was planned to be ten braccia wide, and on the opposite side of the street were two palaces belonging to M. Gherardino di Uliviero de Cerchi, the Cerchi Loggia, and the Cerchi piazza. These two latter palaces were referred to as the north palace and the south palace. Both of these palaces would have been built before the death of M.Gherardino in about 1290. Dr Preyer has no doubt that the north palace, with a court, was the older of the two, and that the south palace, which incorporate two *fondachi* was originally built as an extension for M.Gherardino's sizeable family, rather than as a separate palace. Nevertheless, it also provided a striking appearance, facing onto the via del Garbo (the modern via Condotta).

After M.Gherardino's death his sons and grandsons lived as a joint fraternal household, with a collective estate, until the division of the palaces in 1309 between Uliviero, Lapo, and Lippo, the sons of Gherardino, and Simone, Pigello and Andrea, heirs of their dead brother Berto. Uliviero, the head of the Cerchi Bianchi company in 1302, was the eldest son, and he and Lapo received half each of the north palace. Lippo and the heirs of Berto divided the south palace between themselves.

Dr Preyer has been able to trace some of the subsequent history of these two palaces, and although both buildings remain today 'neither palace survived the Cerchi decline

with much dignity'. The north palace, a hotel by 1359, was then sold, and no longer belonged to the Cerchi from 1408, while the south palace 'for a brief time...one of the most notable palaces of the city' was rented out as commercial premises and living space to tradesman and artisans of the city.

Members of the family also owned isolated properties in other sestis: in 1274 Arrigo di Uliviero bought property, including a fulling mill, in the parish of San Iacopo tra Fossi, in the sesto of San Piero Scheraggio [16]. This is the one solitary piece of evidence for Cerchi industrial investment, apart from the ownership of the above mentioned *fondachi* incorporated into domestic palazzi. Arrigo also had land in the parish of San Simone, in the same sesto [17]. In 1288 Consiglio di Uliviero had to sell four houses in the parish of Santa Maria Novella to the commune for 1,600 lire f.p. to enable the piazza in front of the church to be built [18]. Consiglio also owned a house in the braccio San Giorgio, in the parish of Sant'Apollinare, sesto of San Piero Scherragio, in 1291 [19].

In 1302 after the condemnations of the defeated White faction by Charles of Valois and the triumphant Blacks, many houses and much property owned by the Cerchi and other Whites were burnt and destroyed. These included houses belonging to Vieri di Torrigiani and his son Giano; Torrigiano di Cerchio and his brother Giovanni; Ricoverino

di Ricovero and his brother Viero; and Carbone di Dore di Puccio [20]. At the same time goods belonging to Vieri di Torrigiano were acquired for sale by the *Consiglio Generale* of the Florentine commune [21]. In 1326 the princes of Morea, among the entourage of Charles of Calabria, were housed in a palace near the Bargello which the Commune had confiscated from the Cerchi exiles after their banishment at the beginning of the fourteenth century [22].

However, the heirs of Consiglio were not amongst the exiled White Cerchi, nor were the sons of Gherardino, and so, in 1305, we find that Berto di Gherardino owned a house in the parish of San Frediano in Oltrarno [23], and Vieri di Consiglio owned a house in San Martino Episcopo in 1306 [24]. In 1308 Giovanni di Niccola made over to his brother Filippo all the houses, lands and possessions which he held 'pro indiviso' with him. These included a house in San Martino Episcopo, which was very much within the nucleus of Cerchi property, as the house adjoined the house of Niccola's widow (ie their mother), and also the site of a road which had been built through land previously belonging to Consiglio (the via dei Cimatori). Giovanni also gave his brother a palace and another house, both in the same parish of San Martino [25]. Bindo di Consiglio had a house in the parish of San Apollinario, the rent from which he made over to the Dominicans in 1314, in settlement of the legacy of 500 lire which he had stipulated was to be distributed among the poor by the brothers of Santa Maria Novella [26].

The urban possessions of Bindo, the principal heir of Consiglio, were valued at 1,800 lire in 1328. These were a house in San Martino Episcopo, valued at 1,000 lire and two houses and a cottage in the same parish valued at 800 lire [27].

It would appear then that, by the fourteenth century, the areas where members of the Cerchi family lived had settled into a pattern, the origins of which had been set in the thirteenth century: the heirs of Consiglio and Niccola living in San Martino, the heirs of Gherardino in San Procolo and San Romolo, and the heirs of Torrigiano in Santa Maria in Campo, although this was by no means a rigid division.

Property bought outside the normal range of parishes appears to have passed out of the family quite quickly. For instance, Dore di Puccio bought a property in the parish of Santa Felicita in Piazza in Oltrarno some time before his death. This was inherited by his daughter Lapa, who also owned another two houses in the parish, one of which commanded an annual rent of 51 li 6s 8d. In her testament of 1323 she left her two houses in Santa Felicita to the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala [28]. Likewise, the only reference to property ever held in San Iacopo tra Fossi is the purchase of land there by Arrigo di Uliviero in 1274 [29]. The house in San Frediano, again in Oltrarno, rented out by Berto di Gherardino in 1305, was one of the six

houses in the parish which his son Pigello left to Orsanmichele in his will of 1330 [30] and these again are the only references to land ever held in this parish [31].

There seems to be no evidence of any hasty disposal of property after the Cerchi bankruptcy of 1310. The first record of property being sold is in 1319, when Simone di Berto di Gherardino sold a palace in San Romolo to the commune [32]. Even this item is of little significance, as there is no record either of his father Berto ever being active in any Cerchi business venture, nor of Simone himself, until 1339 when he was a *socio* of the Covoni company. The same Simone, along with his brother Pigello and his cousin Ugolino di Uliviero, sold a palace in San Procolo to Covone di Naddo and Piero di Guascho Covoni, Simone's business associates, for nearly 2,000 lire in 1339 [33]. This is possibly the palace later bought by the Albizzi, which is referred to in the division of Antonio di Lando degli Albizzi's estate in 1350 (see Introduction). It is hard to get any idea of the size or worth of these Cerchi 'palazzi'. However, 2,000 lire appears to be quite a high price, even if property prices had consistently been rising, given the 3,000 lire purchase of Conti Guidi land in 1280, 60 years previously.

In the fourteenth century as a whole there was little buying of property, although property did change hands. In 1328 there was a dispute between various members of the

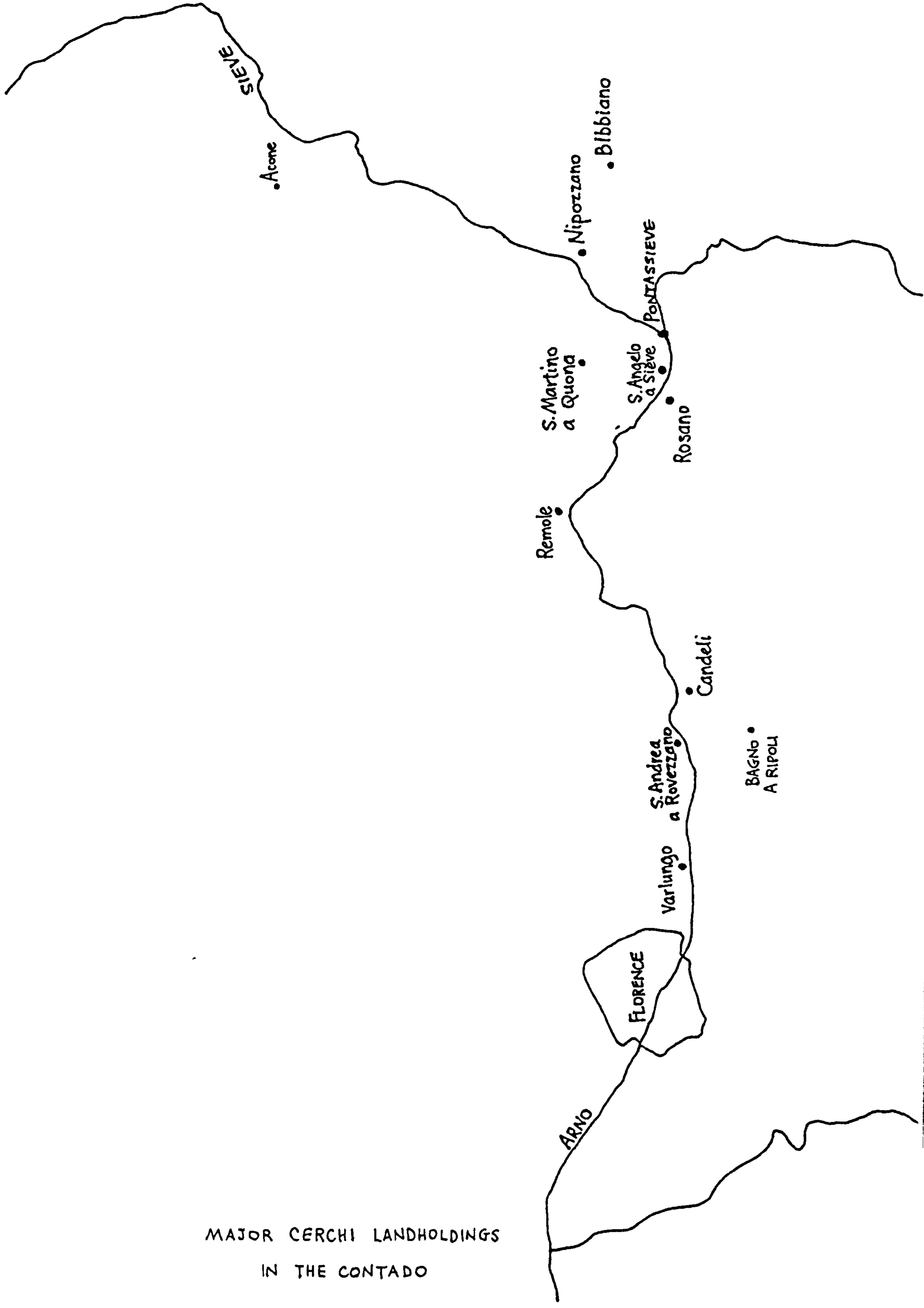
Cerchi and the dell'Antella families (related by marriage) over possession of a house in San Romolo [34]. 1353 saw an inter-family dispute between Alessandro di Pigello di Berto de Cerchi and his first cousin Francesco di Simone di Berto, who was acting on behalf of Alessandro's brothers, Uliviero and Filippo. Alessandro was eventually assigned a house and shop in San Martino, while Uliviero and Filippo were given possession of a palace (originally part of the estate of Berto di Gherardino) in San Romolo. In 1360 Bartolo di Agnolo de Cerchi sold a quarter share 'pro indiviso' of another palace in San Romolo to his cousin Francesco di Simone de Cerchi. The other three quarters of the palace belonging to Messer Bartolo Bertoldi, Francesco, and Uliviero di Pigello de Cerchi [35]. For the transfer of property by Cerchi women and wives see below, Women and Property.

There are only two known instances of land purchases made in this post-bankruptcy period, and these coincide with the renewed involvement by Cerchi men in politics and business (see Chapter Two, The Cerchi and Politics). In 1350 Uliviero di Pigello bought a palace in San Romolo from Simone and Giovanni Peruzzi for 300 florins (a small palace in comparison with the 2,000 lire paid by the Covoni for another of the Gherardini branch Cerchi palaces in 1339. Or possibly, land and property values had fallen sharply immediately following the plague of 1348). This land was

adjacent to two pieces of Cerchi property: one part co-owned by Uliviero and his brother Alessandro, and their cousins Simone and Bartolo di Angelo; the second piece was owned by the heirs of Ugolino di Viero de Cerchi. All of these were descendants of Gherardino [36]. This points to the fact that despite the division of property within the family in 1309 (see above), some property was still being handed down as estate held in common. Later, in 1353, Simona di Bindaccio di Consiglio bought the third part of a palace with tower in San Martino, next to land already owned by the Cerchi, for the sum of 150 florins [37]. Although only three Cerchi magnate households would remain by 1378 (after the granting of *popolani* status and renaming of many of the individual households and branches of the family), the Cerchi family was still, at this period and later, living clustered together, sometimes in commonly held property, sometimes in adjacent property.

The Cerchi family probably originated in Acone in the Val di Sieve, east of Florence and although there are no records of land owned or bought at Acone itself at any time, nevertheless the most important Cerchi land holdings were all in this area, between the north banks of the Arno and the river Sieve.

A pattern of land ownership and purchases of land in the contado was quickly established. We can find evidence of



MAJOR CERCHI LANDHOLDINGS
IN THE CONTADO

regular land purchases throughout the second half of the thirteenth century. In 1264 the sons of Uliviero jointly held land originally bought by their father in Sant'Angelo di Rovezzano [38], and in 1254 Torrigiano di Uliviero had bought possessions at Greti from the Conti Guidi [39]. Consiglio di Uliviero spent over 2,700 lire on land in the contado in the eleven years between 1268 and 1279.

Acquisition of land at San Martino a Quona seems to have begun by 1272, when Consiglio bought twenty one pieces of land there from the Abati family for 840 lire [40], and there were another two smaller acquisitions of land there in 1275 and 1279. In 1275 Consiglio received six pieces of land and a quarter share of a house at San Martino in payment of a debt of 42 lire [41], and he bought a piece of land adjoining land already belonging to him for 42 lire in 1279 [42]. Vieri di Ricovero, the nephew of Consiglio, is also on record as owning land there in 1305 [43]. This land was held by the commune as Viero had been banished with the Cerchi Bianchi in 1302.

Despite the banishments and the Cerchi bankruptcy of 1310, they still owned a fair amount of property at San Martino a Quona in the 1330's. In 1333 Giovanni di Giovanni di Consiglio owned a house and land in the village [44], and in 1334 Caterina di Vieri di Torrigiano received a farm and some land at San Martino as part of her share of the estate of her father [45]. Zenobio di Consiglio and his brother

Bartolo together sold a house and land at San Martino for a total of 69 florins in 1350 [46], and a few days later Zenobio sold another house with an adjoining meadow for another 10 florins [47]. Six years later he extended his holding here by the purchase of more land (for 10 florins) which was adjacent to his property [48]. In 1359 he went to arbitration in a dispute with his brother, Bartolo di Consiglio, presumably over the distribution of land which they had inherited. Bartolo was assigned a house, a cottage, a meadow and some land in the area known as Monte de Vaio, while Zenobio was to receive a house with cottage, meadow, well and land in the same location, as well as another piece of land in the same parish but in the area known as Campo Albizzi [49].

The first and only record found of land bought by Consiglio at Sant'Angelo a Sieve occurred in 1274 when he paid 190 lire to acquire a mill and two pieces of land [50]. But this lack of documentation for land ownership at Sant'Angelo very much shows up how the fragmentary nature of the sources can paint a misleading and not a complete enough picture. For it would appear that, by his death in 1291, this had become an important contado 'base'. In his testament Consiglio refers to his palace at Sant Angelo, and makes provision for its chapel to be staffed in perpetuity by a priest and a clerk. They were to celebrate the divine office there on behalf of the souls of Consiglio and

Consiglio's parents [51]. This palace passed to Consiglio's sons, and it was from here that the deed of purchase of three pieces of land in Sant Angelo in 1298 by Giovanni di Consiglio for 450 lire was drawn up [52]. Again in the 1330's, Giovanni and Riccardo, sons of Giovanni and grandsons of Consiglio, still owned land here as well as at San Martino a Quona [53].

A very important and extensive area of land holdings was at San Angelo a Rovezzano, very close to the city (about four kilometres to the east), as opposed to the twelve kilometres to San Martino a Quona. The sons of Uliviero were joint owners of at least one plot of land here in 1264 [54], and in 1268 Consiglio di Uliviero bought land here from his nephew Donadore di Puccio di Uliviero for 800 lire [55]. Consiglio added to his holding by the purchase of land worth nearly 360 lire in 1270 [56]. On Consiglio's death this land also passed to his sons. Other members of the family also originally held land at San Angelo a Rovezzano. Like Vieri's land at San Martino, some of this was also confiscated by the authorities, and in 1306 the priors assigned ten moggia of wheat from land belonging to Giovanni di Cerchio de Cerchi, and another one moggia from land belonging to Torrigiano, in the same place [57].

In 1308 Giovanni di Niccola gave various parts of his landed estate to his brother Filippo. This included at least three farms, various outbuildings, barns, mills and so on,

and various parts of the estate are noted as lying adjoining lands belonging to the heirs of Messer Gherardino and of Messer Niccola, and to the heirs of Messer Consiglio and of Messer Lapo [58]. There is evidence that M. Giovanni de Cerchi owned a mill at Rovezzano in 1311 [59], and in 1312 Piero di Consiglio and his brother Benedetto sold a piece of land with a house at San Andrea a Rovezzano to Guidaccio di Betto del Bene for 100 florins [60]. In 1314 Bindaccio di Consiglio gave a farm at San Andrea (which lay adjoining some land which belonged to Messer Vieri de Cerchi, and some belonging to the heirs of Giovanni and Iacopo de Cerchi) to the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence in settlement of the 500 lire willed to the church and its convent by his brothers Piero and Michele [61].

It is clear that the original land holdings at San Angelo had been made by Uliviero some time in the first half of the thirteenth century, and the main heirs of Uliviero jointly inherited land from their father, and continued to pass it on to their own heirs. Filippo di Niccola sold the fifth part 'pro indiviso' of the palaces, towers, houses, mills and land which he owned in San Angelo a Rovezzano to a Florentine, Manento di Lapo, in 1324 for 625 florins [62]. To include palaces, towers and houses, as well as mills and land, this must have been a large Cerchi manorial estate - and if this was a fifth of the total, the whole of this estate alone would have been worth over 3,000 florins.

In 1333 there was a dispute over inherited property between Caterina di Vieri di Torrigiano on behalf of herself and her brothers and sisters, against her nephews and nieces Berto di Giano di Vieri di Torrigiano, and Amerigo, Milia, Cecilia and Giovanna. Caterina had to give them half of her share of a farm in San Andrea a Rovezzano [63]. A reference to land confiscated from the Cerchi rebels and held by other people in 1336 includes possessions at San Angelo a Rovezzano which had belonged to Carbone di Dore di Puccio de Cerchi, and was now held by the Baroncelli family [64].

Not all of Giovanni di Cerchio's property was confiscated and remained alienated from him, for in 1341 his widow Lagia di Scolai Pulci sold half of a large farm worth a total of 1,250 florins in the parish of San Andrea a Rovezzano to Iacopo di Alberto degli Alberti [65]. This half share in the farm could have represented her dowry of 650 lire. In a dispute over land ownership between the sons of Pigello di Berto di Gherardino, Uliviero and Filippo di Pigello were assigned a farm in San Angelo a Rovezzano, in judgement against their brother Alessandro [66]. In 1361 Simone di Berto owned what must have been a very large estate in San Angelo a Rovezzano: it realised 275 florins worth of rents [67] which would represent a capital value of around 6,000 florins, at a rent of 4% of the capital value. In 1362 Consiglio di Bindaccio di Consiglio left the proceeds from the rents of his half share of a farm and

house in San Andrea a Rovezzano to his cousin Agnese di Vieri di Consiglio de Cerchi [68].

Even nearer to Florence is San Piero a Varlungo. Here in 1282 Bindo di Cerchio bought a few small pieces of land for 70 lire which he then sold in 1288 to the monastery of San Salvi [69]. But the heirs of Gherardino held land there for a much longer period. They are first named as being land owners there in 1292 [70], and in 1297 Berto di Gherardino sold a farm with house situated there for 536 florins [71], but the heirs of Berto still owned property in San Piero a Varlungo when Uliviero and Filippo, sons of Pigello di Berto, were given possession of a farm in the village in an arbitration against their brother Alessandro in 1353 [72]. Uliviero added to his holdings by buying another farm there for 260 florins later in the same year, and again another for 160 florins in 1354 [73]. The heirs of Niccola also had interests in the area: in 1308 Giovanni di Niccola gave to his brother Filippo a house with meadow in the parish of San Piero [74].

Nipozzano is situated to the east of the river Sieve, about four kilometres north of Pontassieve, and it was Bindo di Cerchio who in 1283 received from the monastery of Santa Trinita all the rights which the monastery of Strumi had over the castle of Nipozzano in the parish of San Niccolo di Nipozzano, in exchange for agricultural land belonging to Bindo [75]. This land was later confiscated from him as a

White rebel, and in 1336 was now held by the Pazzi family, under the control of the *Camera et Officio bonorum rebellium*, which also controlled his confiscated properties at San Niccolo de Vicchio, Santa Maria de Pulignano, San Martino de Bibbiano, and Santa Margherita de Bonra [76]. In 1298 Carbone di Dore di Puccio as well as other members of the family had possessions near Nipozzano, and it was while the Cerchi were on their way to these properties that they were attacked by the Pazzi during the factional feuding of the last decade of the thirteenth century [77]. The heirs of Viero di Torrigiano were named as owning land there in 1319 [78], and in 1334 Berto and Amerigo di Giano di Vieri di Torrigiano shared out the inheritance from Vieri with their aunt Caterina di Vieri, including ownership of three pieces of land at Nipozzano [79]. In 1338 Amerigo di Giano still owned a piece of land with two cottages and a meadow at San Niccolo, near to the castle of Nipozzano [80].

Members of the Cerchi family also owned land around Pugliano and Remole. Land at Remole had been confiscated from Vieri and was held by Sinibaldo Donati in 1305 [81], and land belonging to Vieri di Ricovero at San Eugenu de Pugliano was held by the officials of the *bonorum rebellium* in the 1320's [82], while Bindo di Cerchio's holdings at Santa Maria de Pulignano were still held by the officials of the rebels in 1337 [83]. In 1334 Berto and Amerigo di Giano di Vieri di Torrigiano received a farm with a *palazzo* and

two pieces of land at San Gerio da Pugliano from their aunt, Caterina di Vieri di Torrigiano, while she received two farms and a piece of land in Remole [84]. In 1345 Amerigo di Giano di Viero owned land at Pugliano, as did his cousin Vieri di Bonifatio [85]. In the same year Amerigo di Giano received land from his aunt Caterina di Vieri at San Eugenio di Pugliano to give to his sister Cilia, pinzochera of Santa Croce [86], and in 1346 Bonifatio di Vieri and his son Vieri were in dispute with the monastery of Rosano over lands situated at Pugliano [87]. By 1365 Vieri di Bonifatio was obviously a permanent resident here, as he figures in the tax register of *cittadini selvatici* in the *Estimo* of that year, in which his tax assessment was set at 3 florins [88].

Other members of the Cerchi family seem also to have moved permanently back to the contado by the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1380 to 1390 the contemporary Florentine novelist Sacchetti records an insolvent Cerchi living in Candeli, near Ripoli [89], and there is the tomb of a member of the Cerchi Bianchi at San Andrea di Candeli [90]. The first reference to Cerchi land held at San Andrea a Candeli comes in 1277 when Lapo di Uliviero gave various pieces of land in the parish of San Andrea a Candeli to the prior of the monastery of the Camaldoli [91]. Lapo's son, Manno, bought a farm in San Andrea for 200 florins in 1341, and at the same time gave other land worth 150 florins which he also owned in the same parish to his daughter Lisa, wife of Francesco Albizzi [92].

Vieri di Torrigiano bought land in San Martino a Bibbiano in 1286 for 14 lire to add to land he already owned around this plot [93]. His daughter Caterina, widow of Filippozzo di Gualterotto de Bardi, sold a farm in San Martino in 1333 [94], and in 1337, after having been awarded possession of the quarter share of a farm at San Martino in the dispute over division of her inheritance from her father Vieri in 1334 [95], transferred the title to a farm and quite a large number of parcels of land there to her nephew Berto di Giano di Vieri [96]. Amerigo di Giano Viero bought three pieces of land at San Martino on behalf of his sister Cilia for 24 florins in 1345 [97]. By 1336 land originally owned by Bindo di Cerchio at San Martino a Bibbiano was being held by the officials of the *bonorum rebellium* [98].

There is some evidence of land changing hands within the family. Consiglio purchased land from his nephew Donadore in 1268 [99], but gifts of land and changes of ownership through inheritance within the family were more common. In 1337 Caterina di Viero (married to Filippozzo de Bardi) gave a farms and land to her nephews Berto and Amerigo di Giano di Viero in settlement of the estate of her father Vieri [100]. In 1345 Manno di Lapo gave land to his daughter Lisa [101]. In 1345 Caterina and her daughter Giovanna de Bardi gave land to Amerigo di Giano de Cerchi [102], and in 1346 Ciampolo di Vieri gave land to his brother Luigi [103].

Some acquisitions of land obviously tie in with the Cerchi business role as bankers and money lenders, on both the large and the small scale. On the smallest of scales, Consiglio received six pieces of land and a quarter share of a house in San Martino a Quona worth a total of 20 lire 3s in payment of a total debt of 42 lire in 1275. This was from the wife of Benincasa di Guittole of San Martino a Quona, presumably a simple *contadino*, and must have been humble property indeed [104]. On the larger scale we know that the Cerchi lent money to the feudal nobility, for instance the 1000 lire lent to Count Manfredi di Guidoni Novelli by the Cerchi company [105] in 1280 just six weeks before Vieri di Torrigiano and Bindo di Cerchio bought urban property from the Conti Guidi worth 3000 lire [106], and in 1301 Torrigiano di Cerchio, who half a century earlier had bought possessions at Greti from him [107], received a castle in Fostia, and the rights over the three 'borgate' of Celle, Gelle and Valle, from the sons of Aghinolfo, count of Romena, of the Conti Guidi family [108]. This was probably in payment of a debt, or perhaps in payment for services rendered, and must soon have passed out of the family's possession, as there are no more references to any land or privileges being held here.

The Cerchi also profited from the political disfavour in which the Florentine Ghibellines found themselves in the 1270's after the Guelf return to Florence in 1266, buying

much contado land from the great Ghibelline Abati family in 1272 [109]. It would appear that they were able to buy this land at a good price: Consiglio paid the Abati just under 800 lire for twenty-one pieces of land at San Martino a Quona, of which one was complete with house, and another with manor house and a farm with a house, whereas two years previously it had cost him nearly 360 lire to buy only two parts of a piece of land with a house, vine and well, from Ghieri di Donato Alighieri at San Angelo a Rovezzano [110].

The Cerchi bought most of their contado land in the final decades of the thirteenth century, at the time when the fortunes of the Cerchi *società* and the family's social and political status were reaching their peak. Consiglio di Uliviero spent over 2,700 lire on the purchase of land in the contado in the eleven years between 1268 and 1279, while Vieri di Torrigiano and the sons of Cerchio spent 3,000 lire on urban property in 1280 [111]. However, after the 1290's the records mainly relate to land being sold. In 1297 Carbone di Dore di Puccio sold land and possessions worth 2,800 lire [112]. Piero and Benedetto di Consiglio in 1312 sold land at Rovezzano for 100 lire, and in 1314 Bindaccio di Consiglio gave away a farm at San Andrea di Rovezzano worth 1,000 lire in payment of a legacy from his brothers Piero and Michele [113]. (Despite this gift Bindaccio still owned extensive amounts of property, worth 2,300 lire in 1328 [114]). Nevertheless, it would seem as though the

greater part of land purchases and consolidation of landed estates were made in the 1270's by Consiglio, and that by the 1320's his son Bindaccio was merely living from this property, and not in any way adding to it, which would tie in with the changed financial circumstances of the Cerchi family. However, more contado land started to be bought, in 1341 by Manno di Lapo [115], in the 1350's by Alessandro and Uliviero di Pigello and Zenobio di Coniglio [116]. This, once more, ties in with city land purchases, and the renewed interest shown by members of the Cerchi family in the political and business world of Florence in the 1340's and 1350's.

* * *

The dell'Antella and Land

Although the Antella family is listed among the Guelf families of the sesto of San Pier Scherragio in 1250 [117] and again by the chronicler Giovanni Villani as among the popolani Guelfs of San Pier Scherragio who went into exile in 1260 [118], we have seen that they were not all committed Guelfs, as Lamberto and Lippo took part in the Ghibelline administration of the city in the years 1260-1266 [119]. And although the administrative changes of 1343 then put the Antella firmly into the quarter of Santa Croce, in the

thirteenth century their property was divided between the sestis of San Pier Maggiore and San Pier Scherragio.

In 1280 Lamberto di Guido, in partnership with a few other Florentine merchants, and probably as a business deal, sold a piece of cultivated land with two houses in the parish of San Michele Visdomini, sesto of San Pier Maggiore, just outside the city walls, for 500 lire [120], but it seems likely that his own personal property was situated actually in the parish of San Piero Maggiore [121].

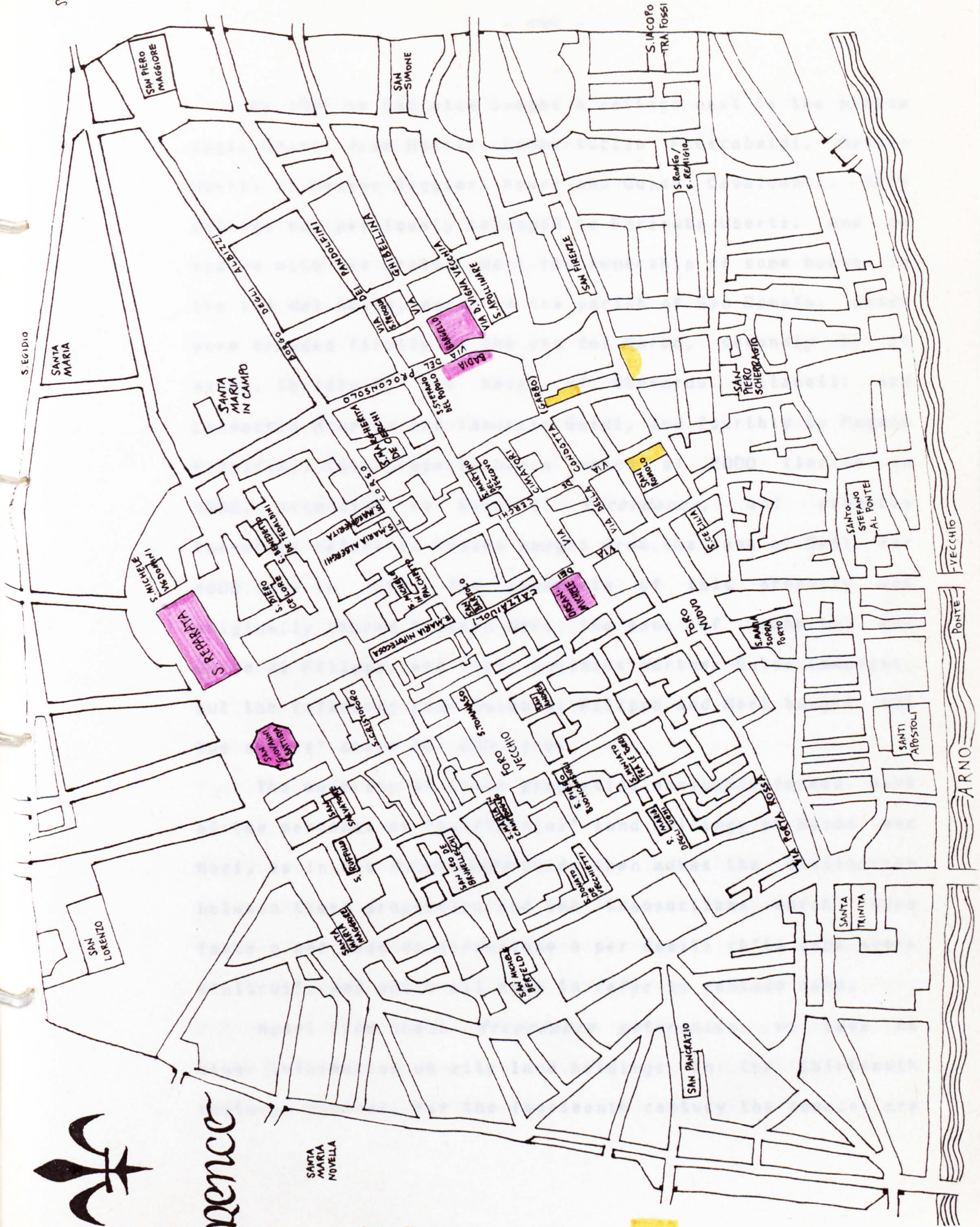
Most of our information about Antella land and property purchases and ownership in the last years of the thirteenth century comes from the *Ricordanze* of Guido di Filippo dell'Antella, compiled at the beginning of the fourteenth century [122], but unfortunately he gives very few details, and thus it is hard to identify much of the property and to tell whether it refers to urban or contado land. However, he did buy three houses in the parish of San Romolo (sesto of San Pier Scherragio) from his business partner Guido Compagni, brother of the chronicler Dino Compagni in 1296, paying 800 lire for them. He then sold one of the houses, and half of a second one, to his brother Barzellino for 212 florins in 1297 but in 1301 the ownership of all three of these properties reverted to Guido. In 1297 he bought a farm in San Ambrogio for 900 lire, paying out another 300 lire for repairs to the houses and courtyard in 1299.



Florence

SANTA MARIA NOVELLA

CITY PROPERTY - DELL'ANTELLA



S. AMBROGIO

SANTA CROCE

S. IACOPO TRA FORTE

SAN PIERO MAGGIORE

SAN SIMONE

S. EGIDIO

SANTA MARIA

SANTA MARIA IN CAMPO

VIA DE' PANDOLEINI

VIA GIBELINA

VIA D. VIGNA VECCHIA

S. APOLLINARE

SAN FIRENZE

S. RAIMONDO / S. RAFFAELLO

S. NICOLA

S. REPARATA

S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA

S. MARIA ALBERGHINI

S. MARIA MIPRESCA

CALZAIUOLI

S. MARTINO

S. CINTORIO

VIA BELLA

VIA CANOTTA

S. RAIMONDO

SCEGLIA

SANTO STEFANO AL PONTE

VECCHIO

PONTE

ARNO

SAN LORENZO

S. GIORGIO

S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA

S. MARCO

S. PIERO

S. RAIMONDO

S. MARTINO

S. CINTORIO

S. RAIMONDO

S. MARIA SOPRA PORTO

SANTA TRINITA

SANTI APOLLINARI

ARNO

SAN PANCRATZIO

SANTA TRINITA

ARNO

By 1302 he had also bought a cottage next to the piazza degli Uberti from Messer Lambertuccio Frescobaldi, Messer Uberto di Messer Roggieri Rossi and Guido Cavalcanti. This cottage had previously belonged to Farinata Uberti. And he shared with his brother Neri the ownership of some houses in the via del Garbo, again in the parish of San Romolo, which were bounded firstly by the via del Garbo, secondly by an alley, thirdly by the heirs of Gherardo Villanelli and Landaccio Manetto and Tanuccio Guidi, and fourthly by Pagnio Ridolfini. This property had a value of 2000 florins in 1302, according to Guido's *Ricordanze*, and probably therefore refers to houses bought from the sons of Dati for 1800 lire in 1293. The ownership of this property was originally shared between Neri, the sons of Lamberto, and Guido di Filippo, and their business partner Guido Compagni, but the following year Guido di Filippo and Neri bought out the others' share for 600 lire.

The majority of these properties obviously formed part of the personal or 'patrimonial' land holdings of Guido and Neri, as in his *Ricordanze* Guido then makes the distinction between these properties and the transactions which 'sono fatte o per modo di difensione o per debiti ch'io debo avere d'altrui', and which all seem to refer to contado land.

Apart from these *Ricordanze* references, we have no other information on city land holdings in the thirteenth century. However, for the fourteenth century the sources are

somewhat more informative. In 1301 we find reference to a farm in the parish of San Piero Maggiore which was bounded on one side by property belonging to the heirs of Lamberto dell'Antella [123], and in 1309 Donna Mona dell'Antella was the co-owner with Lippa di Cinghi Bonafedi of a property in the parish of San Simone Guida, sesto of San Pier Scherragio, just outside the city walls [124]. In 1314 some of the affairs of the estate of Guido di Filippo, who had died in 1313, were settled. A quarter of the houses and shops which Guido had acquired from Lambertino di Iacopo Burnacci on behalf of his brother Barzellino were claimed by Barzellino, while Guido's son Andrea was given possession of a cottage in the parish of San Michele Bertoldi, and the revenue for fifteen years of a house in the parish of San Romolo which was at the present time being rented out to a certain Fighine. Guido's widow, Ghita, held title to a shop in San Romolo, which she rented out to a tailor for 5 florins [125]. In 1317 the sons of Guido di Filippo together bought a house in San Romolo for 110 florins, and the neighbouring house to it for another 210 florins [126].

Donato di Lamberto dell'Antella was the co-owner with his brothers of land in the parish of San Michele Visdomini in 1321 [127]. Later, in 1328, he and his sons, Taddeo and Lotto, sold two farms with houses, one in the parish of San Michele Visdomini, the other in the parish of San Pier Maggiore, both near the Porta a Pinto, for the price of 657

florins [128]. In 1326 Ranieri di Guido bought certain houses in the via San Cristofano and the via delle Pinzochere from Piero di Pagno del Cappone. He then rented them out: a small house in the via delle Pinzochere commanded an annual rent of 16 lire, a shop in the via San Cristofano was worth an 8 lire annual rent, while a large house in the via San Cristofano was rented to Feo di Piero and Cione di Filippo Gherardini for an annual rent of 3 florins [129]. Such a discrepancy in rent value, from a 16 lire (about 5 florins) rent for a 'small' house, to a 3 florin rent for a 'large' house shows the difficulty the non-specialised social and family historian faces when trying to identify and quantify the actual scale or value of property and land. Adjectives used by notaries to denote small or large are in themselves always subjective, and in real terms are of little use. In 1328 Donato and Vieri di Lamberto disputed the ownership of property in the parish of San Romolo in the via Garbo with Sandro, Giovanni, and Ranieri dell'Antella, and some of the Cerchi family [130].

It is often difficult to differentiate between property transactions conducted on a personal or patrimonial level and those which constituted part of the commercial and business interests of members of the family, but it would seem likely that the sale in 1336 of a house in the parish of Santa Maria Novella, not a usual situation for domestic Antellesi property, by Ranieri di Guido, together with

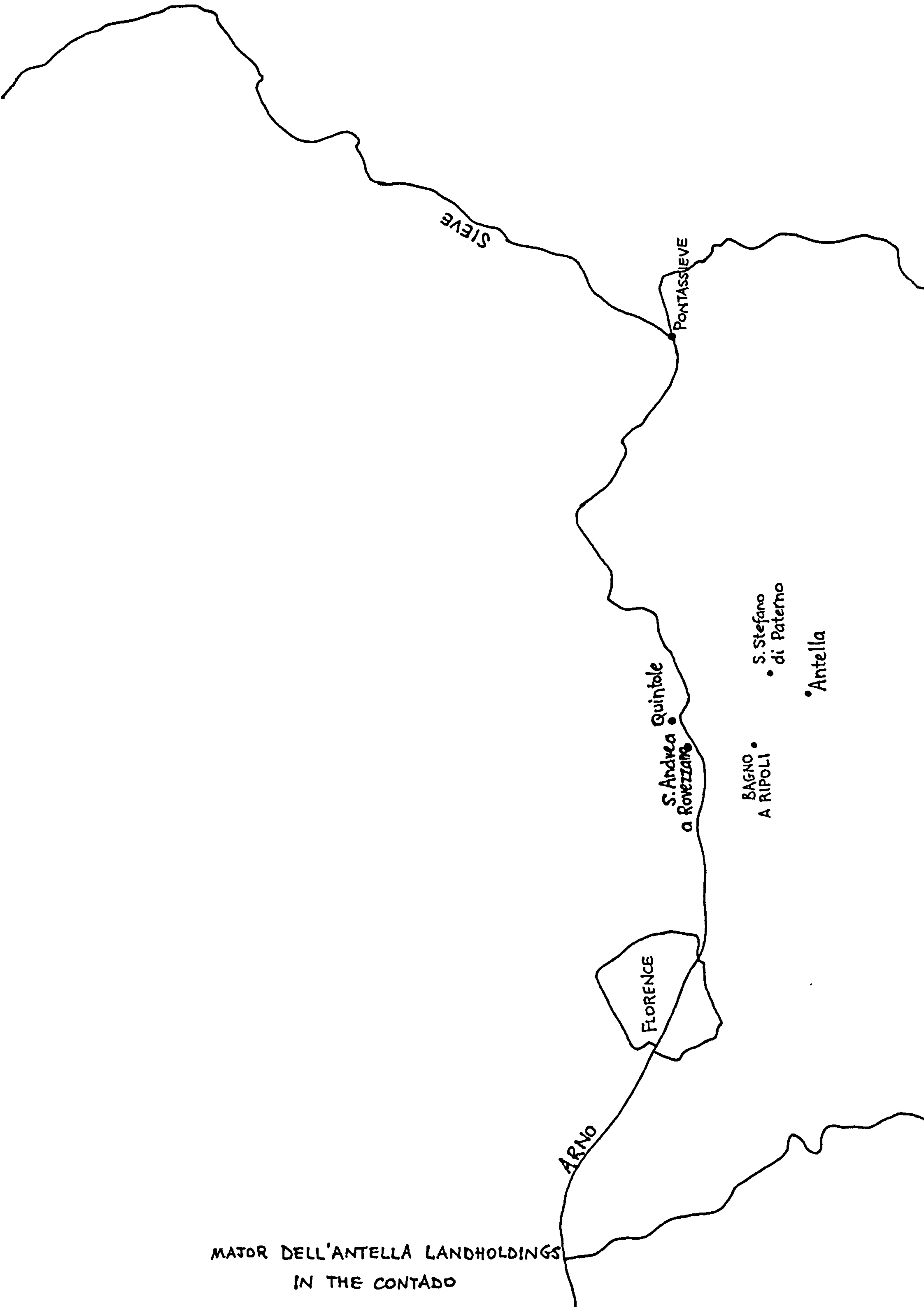
Andrea di Bartolino Mazzante, Sandro di Fiore Spina, and Paolo di Bencino, to Agnolo di Maso Arcagnoli for 200 florins [131] would be explained by a business interest, perhaps that the property came to these partners in repayment of a debt. Agnolo di Taldo dell'Antella was fined 400 lire with his partners Francescho di Lapo and Guelfo di Andrea de Galemoli for the non payment of the gabelle due on the sale of a property in San Appolinario in 1343 [132].

The Antella generally do not appear to have stayed as loyal to one or two parishes as, for example, did the Portinari. In 1340 Zanobio di Guido di Filippo still owned cottages in the parish of Santa Margherita, which he rented out to Giovanni Ammanati and Borghino di Tadeo [133], but his cousin Simone di Nero bought property consisting of a half share in two houses in the parish of San Michele in Orto for 200 florins in 1349 [134], while Vieri dell'Antella's widow, Donna Diana, lived in the parish of San Simone in 1352 [135], and her sons Matteo, Tomaso, and Viero still lived in that same parish in 1360, when they together sold two fifths of their third of a house in the parish of San Andrea de Florentia, on the via de Linaiuoli for 20 florins. The other three fifths of this property belonged to the sons of Masino dell'Antella [136].

However, a certain concentration remained in the parish of San Romolo. In the same year of 1360 Simone di Neri dell'Antella sold a house with two shops in the parish of

San Romolo which was bounded firstly by the via del Garbo, secondly a road, thirdly property which used to belong to Donna Bancha and Iacobo di Bindo de Cerchi, and which now belonged to Donna Niccolosa, wife of Riccardo de Cerchi, and fourthly Donna Paula, wife of Arrigho Cattani [137], while in 1363 Simone's widow left 400 florins realised from the sale of a house in the parish of San Romolo to the monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli [138]. In 1362 Messer Alessandro di Giovanni di Guidoni and his brother Filippo owned houses in San Romolo which were next door to Simone's property, bounded firstly by the via del Garbo, secondly and thirdly Simone di Neri's property, and fourthly the church of San Romolo itself [139]. Simone di Neri also owned a large house with a shop in the parish of San Iacobo tra Fossi, along with another house and cottage in the same parish [140]. In 1374 the heirs of Simone di Neri still owned what was now described as a 'palace' in the parish of San Romolo, situated next door to the Cerchi palaces [141], and later generations of the Antellesi owned a palace which is still today to be found facing onto the Piazza Santa Croce.

The first definite information relating to the family's contado land comes towards the end of the thirteenth century. In 1299 Cione di Ricco dell'Antella bought a farm at San Stefano di Paterno, in the place called alla Strada, for 1,200 lire [142]. In 1298 Guido di Filippo and Neri had



MAJOR DELL'ANTELLA LANDHOLDINGS
IN THE CONTADO

bought out the share of all the houses which they owned in partnership with Ciacho da Gavignano at the villa of Boroli from Ciacho for the price of 600 lire [143], and they divided up the ownership of their contado land between the two of them in 1300. Neri took possession of a farm in the village of Mancigniano, while Guido had the villa at Boroli. He then added to this holding by buying a house and a vineyard at Boroli for 40 lire from Peruzzo del Chiaro, and also bought a wood near Ficho for 55 lire [144]. The following year he bought a 'farm' called da Sala for 3000 lire. This high price would indicate that it was a fairly considerable purchase, and that it would have been what we would term an estate [145].

In 1314, after the death of Guido di Filippo, his brother Barzellino inherited a farm at Montelatico, while Guido's son, Andrea, received a cottage near the village of San Michele Bertolde [146]. Generally, Antella contado property appears to have been acquired fairly much at random. In 1316 Banchello di Lamberto bought a small share in a house situated in the parish of Santa Maria Maggiore for 44 florins [147], and in 1322 Donato di Lamberto sold a farm in the parish of the Badia of Fiesole to Benci Caruccii for the price of 320 florins [148]. Donato also owned land in the village of Montelocho in the place known as Mulino [149]. Donato's brother Giovanni owned land and vineyards at Suliciano, on the banks of the Greve river [150].

Information from the next generation of Antella is still rather patchy. In 1341 Taddeo di Donato sold land at San Angelo a Rovezzano to the sons of Rossello Strozzi [151], while Donna Diana, widow of Vieri dell'Antella, was the owner of a farm with house in the village of San Marcellino, in the parish of San Ripoli in 1352. This property was itself adjacent to more unspecified property owned by Donna Diana, and another property owned by the sons of Masino dell'Antella [152]. In 1358 Alessandro di Donato dell'Antella sold a house and various parcels of land situated in the parish of San Giusto a Petrognano, in the commune of Montelupo, for 350 lire [153], but he still owned property here in San Giusto in 1362 [154]. In 1361 Tomaso di Simone dell'Antella sold a piece of land in the parish of San Bartholo de Mussignano to his kinsman, Otto de Sapiti, who was married to Francesca di Lotto di Donato dell'Antella [155]. He also bought a piece of land in the same parish, adjacent to land owned by his father Simone, for 50 lire two days later [156].

In 1362 Zanobi di Guidone bought a piece of land in the parish of San Miniato a Quintole for 50 lire but resold the same piece of land for the same amount in 1364, and it is possible that this is in fact an example of a hidden loan, to avoid the penalties of usury, rather than a straightforward land purchase and sale. Such subterfuges were fairly common, and the land was probably merely held in

title as surety for the loan [157]. This type of hidden or disguised transaction adds to the obstacles in the way of a clear picture and definition of family land holdings.

Lando, Andrea, Domenicho and Licto di Ardito dell'Antella owned land in the village of Antella itself in 1328 [158]. This is the only sure reference we have to contado land owned in the village from which the family originally derived its surname, until the 1360's. In 1362 Alessandro di Giovanni di Guidone dell'Antella disputed the ownership of a farm with houses in the parish of Santa Maria de Antella, in the place called "a pila", on the banks of the river Arno with his brother Filippo [159].

In his will of 1365 Zenobio di Guidone dell'Antella, uncle of the above Alessandro and Filippo, left a farm with labourer's cottage and vines and trees, in the parish of Antella, in the place called Pruneta, and another farm in the same parish, and this one in the place known as Sala, to his widow Cincura degli Acciaiuoli [160]. This could mean that the Sala estate bought by Neri for 3,000 lire in 1299 actually represented the first purchase of land here by the Antella family. Once more, an Antella man showed that his family had gone full circle. For Alexius di Niccole dell'Antella, a poor member of the family according to the register of *cittadini selvatici* compiled for the Estimo of 1365, in which his contribution was assessed at only 2 florins, had settled permanently in the village which his

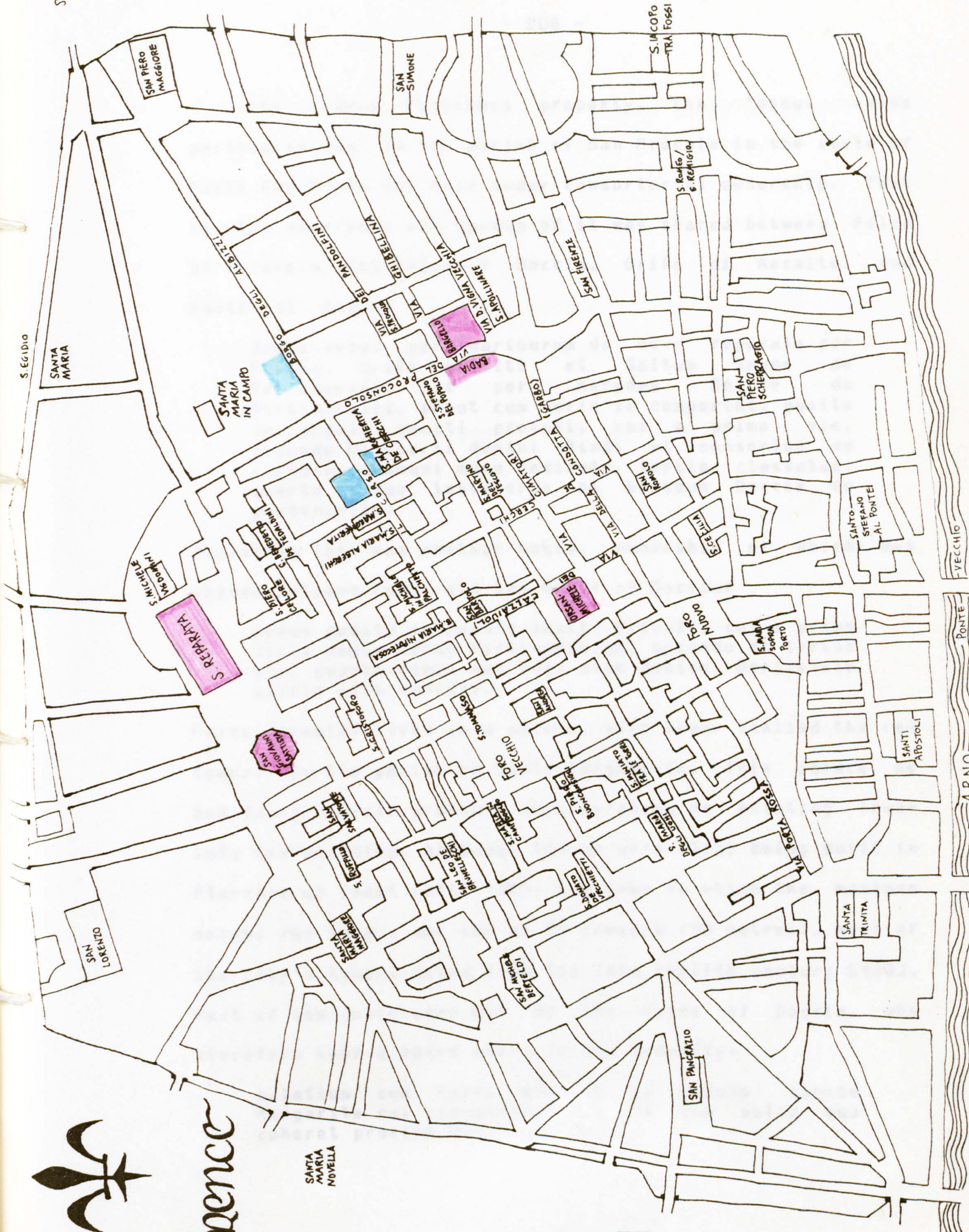
ancestor had left to move to the city more than a century before [161].

* * *

The Portinari and Land

The Portinari family was established in the sesto of Porta San Piero, in the parishes of Santa Margherita, Santa Maria in Campo, and San Procolo. Although this might sound as though the family was quite widely dispersed, given the almost arbitrary nature of parish boundaries at this period, adjacent houses or groups of houses could find themselves classed as being under the jurisdiction of different parish churches. The courtyard of the Portinari 'domus vetus', for example, itself in the parish of San Procolo, is named as one of the bounds of a house in the adjacent parish of Santa Margherita.

Information relating to Portinari property is rather scanty, and apart from property bought by Folco di Ricovero Portinari with which to endow his foundation of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova (see above, The Merchant and the Church), nearly all information about property held by the family in the late thirteenth century comes from Folco's will of 1287 [162].



SANTA
MARIA
NOVELLA



The oldest Portinari property, the 'domus vetus portinariourum' in the parish of San Procolo in the sesto of Porta San Piero was held under consorterial ownership. That is, the ownership and upkeep of it was shared between Folco di Ricovero, the heirs of Doccia, Grifo di Assalto, and Salto di Segna:

domus vetus portinariourum de novo reparata per Folcho, Grifo Assalti et Saltum Segne de Portinariis, et per heredes Doccie de Portinariis, prout cum curia se comportat, posita in populo sancti proculi, cui a primo via, secundo Ulivierii domini Bindi et consortium de circulis communi muro mediante, tertio classulus, quarto ipsius testatoris et heredum Doccie de portinariis.

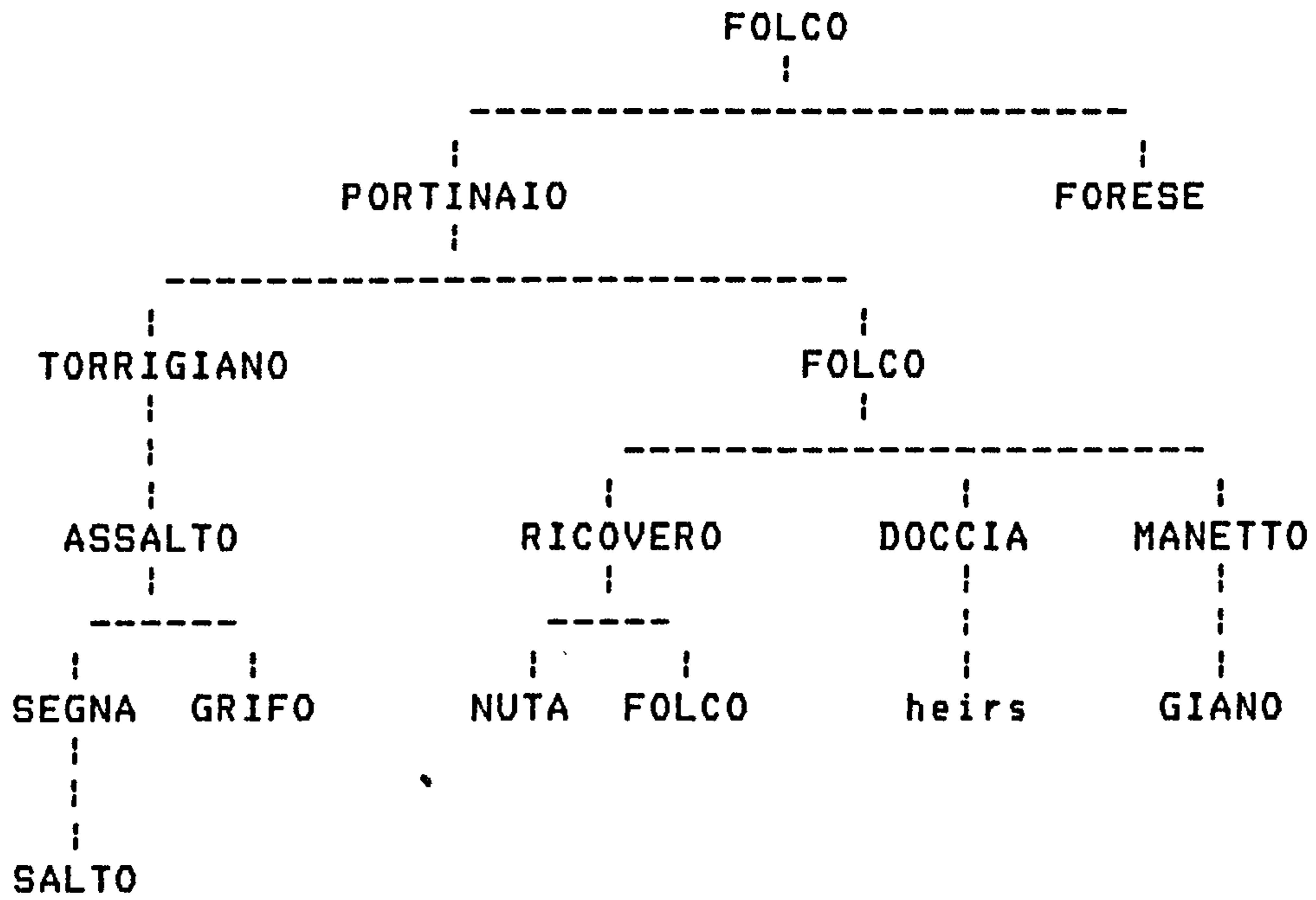
Adjoining this was another house, ownership of which was shared between Folco and the heirs of Doccia:

domus posita in populo sancti Proculi, cui a primo dicta domus vetus Portinariorum, secundo et tertio via, quarto domus que fuit olim domine Bericevute uxoris olim venture.

Folco actually lived in a palace, with tower (called the red tower), in the parish of Santa Margherita. This palace he had built himself probably incorporating an existing tower into the building. Although towers were still being built in Florence at least until 1325, the year in which the maximum height for towers was set at 50 braccia (30 metres), most of the city's towers dated from the late twelfth century [163]. Part of the costs were met by the heirs of Doccia, who therefore kept a third share in the property:

palatium cum turri positum in populo sancte Margarite cui circumstant vie una cum volta que coheret proxime descripte domui.

Table 11:
SELECTED PORTINARI GENEALOGY FOR SHARED HOUSE OWNERSHIP



As well as these three major properties, there are also details of other city properties given by Folco in his will. The ownership of a house bought from the heirs of Boninsegna de Bibbiano, situated in the parish of Santa Maria in Campo, was shared, half belonging to Folco and the heirs of Doccia, and the other half belonging to Grifo and Salto. A cottage in the parish of Santa Margherita:

cui a primo via, secundo classus, tertio domus
olim domine Benriveuta uxor olim Venturae, quarto
curia dicte domus veteris portinariorum

was shared two thirds to Folco, and the remaining third to the heirs of Doccia. The house which had belonged to Messer Bericevute, and which adjoined the Portinari house in San Proculo, was shared between Folco and the heirs of Doccia, while a cottage next to Folco's palace:

cui a primo et secundo via, tertio heredum Spade
Bonfantini, quarto domus testatoris

had a complicated pattern of ownership, with half belonging to Grifo and Salto, and of the other half, an eighth of the total belonged to Folco, and the remaining three eighths had belonged to Giano di Manetto di Folco, who was now dead, and whose share of the house had passed to Folco and to the heirs of Doccia, who held half shares each. The house next to this cottage belonged to Folco himself, as did another house, bought from Lando di Jacobo.

The inalienability of landed property, a strong concept within most Florentine patrician families, was obviously strictly adhered to by the Portinari family in

particular. Folco shared ownership of nearly all his property with his cousins and second cousins. He also stipulated within his own will that his heirs were not to divide up the inheritance. All was to be held jointly, and no landed property could be passed on through a female line:

disposuit quod in ipsis domibus et cassolaribus
nulla femina, nullusque descendens per lineam
femininam succedere valeat ex testamento vel ab
intestato.

This is the only written determination of this point that I have found in wills or testaments of any of the three families in this study.

The Portinari's common ownership of patrimonial land and property in the sesto of Porta San Piero must date back to at least the late twelfth century, if we work back from the details given by Folco di Ricovero in his will of 1287.

Folco lists at least eight properties in the city the ownership of which is shared between himself, his cousins the heirs of Doccia, and Grifo di Assalto and Salto di Segna Portinari. The properties shared by Folco and the heirs of Doccia presumably formed part of the inalienable and indivisible inheritance which came to them from their paternal grandfather, Folco di Portinaio. Those shared by Folco, the heirs of Doccia, Grifo and Salto must have descended from their paternal great-grandfather, the Portinaio di Folco whose activity in Florence is established as witness to an official communal document in 1187. He could have been the builder of the family palace and the

accumulator of this nucleus of family property. This could also signify why he gave his name to the family, rather than his father, that is the original Folco, who made the move from Fiesole to Florence some time after the fall of Fiesole in 1125.

Only inherited patrimonial property or property bought to consolidate patrimonial holdings tended to be inalienable. Folco bought and sold some land in other parishes of the city. In 1284 he gave the hospital of Pinti a piece of land with a house in the parish of Sant Ambrogio, and in return he received two pieces of land in the parish of San Gervasio [164]. In 1288 he bought two houses in the parish of San Piero Maggiore for 500 lire from Bindo di Cerchio de Cerchi, which he then, a fortnight later, gave to the hospital of Pinti in return for another piece of land in the parish of San Gervasio and 200 lire in cash [165]. But his city land dealings, from the evidence which has survived, were on a very small scale.

Records of city land holdings and transactions for other members of the family, into the fourteenth century, are hardly more plentiful. In 1298 Pigello di Folco sold a plot of land with a house in the parish of San Piero Maggiore fuori le mura for 200 florins [166]. In 1308 the commercial society of Manetto di Folco received a farm with oven and cottage situated in the parish of San Lorenzo outside the walls of the city. This property was valued at

300 florins, and was in part payment of a debt of 500 florins, but the land was not incorporated into Manetto's estate, as it was sold a few months later, in May 1309 [167]. In 1323 Sangallo Portinari and Forese Ferrantini were paid a rent of 15 florins by the commune for houses owned by Sangallo and Forese which were being used as offices by some of the city's administration [168].

The family on the whole continued to inhabit the traditional parishes, although Benozzo di Grifo Portinari did move slightly away to the parish of San Ambrogio [169], and Puccio de Portinari had part ownership of a house in the parish of San Michele in Orto in 1334, the rest of which was owned by Amerigo di Vanno degli Alberti, the Cavalcanti, and the de Benzi [170]. In his will of 1340 Giovanni di Sandro Portinari left houses in the parish of Santa Maria in Campo to the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. This house was bounded firstly by a road, secondly and thirdly by Cerchi property, and fourthly by more Portinari property [171]. In 1348 Bartolo de Portinari had a house in the same parish of Santa Maria in Campo [172]. In 1341 Folchetto di Manetto di Folco sold half a tower to Caroccio di Lapo degli Alberti, while his brother Acceritto sold a house in the parish of San Benedetto [173]. Andrea di Andrea sold a third part of a house in the parish of San Remigio (he himself lived in the parish of San Proculo) in 1344 [174], and in 1346 Giovanni di Acceritto and Pigello di Manetto held in equal and joint

ownership a palace with three shops, other houses, and tower, in the parish of Santa Margherita. This property adjoined houses held by Sandro and Stagio de Portinari, and it obviously consists of the same stronghold of Portinari property accumulated by the original Portinari over a century previously [175].

In 1356 an arbitration over property occurred, between Caterina di Accerito di Manetto Portinari, as heir of her mother Isabetta dell'Antella, and her father Accerito. In her will Isabetta had left her dowry to Caterina, and now Accerito's property was split up to give Caterina a fair value. It was decided that Accerito should keep three fifths 'pro indiviso' of a house (which still had a tower and courtyard) in the parish of Santa Margherita. It was bounded firstly by a road, secondly by the heirs of Stagio Portinari and the heirs of Andrea Renzi de Portinari, thirdly by the heirs of Donna Bice, the widow of Folchetto di Manetto de Portinari, and fourthly by the said Accerito and Donna Capovanna, the daughter of Gherardo de Portinari, together with Donna Piera, the daughter of Roggieri de Ricci. He was also to retain half shares in two houses in the same parish, which were bounded firstly by a road, secondly by houses belonging to Accerito and Donna Capovanna, thirdly by the house of which they shared the ownership with Donna Piera, and fourthly by a house belonging to Sandro di Giovanni Portinari. Caterina was to have three parts 'pro indiviso'

of the house with the tower and courtyard, and half of the above two houses [176].

It is difficult to establish any pattern of contado land holdings for the Portinari. There is only one record from the thirteenth century of any contado land, and that is in 1288 when Folco endowed the churches of San Egidio and Santa Maria Nuova with a few small pieces of property and land in the villages of Santa Maria del Fornelo della Pievania del Doccia and Santa Brigida [177]. In 1317 Manetto di Folco sold some land in the parish of San Stephano in Lucente [178], and in 1319 Frate Boninsegna di Grifo de Portinari, a Franciscan, gave two pieces of land to his sister Lapa, the first in the parish of San Martino a Vespignano, the second in a place called Angherina [179].

It was only in the 1330's that members of the family appear to have started to deal in land to any degree. In 1332 Chiara di Giovanni Portinari, wife of Buono di Filippo, bought half a farm with land in the parish of San Romolo di Campestri for 450 lire [180], and in the same year Giovanni and Manetto di Folco bought land in Camerata, in the parish of San Marco a Mugnone, from Francesco Alighieri, brother of Dante [181]. This connection with Camerata was to continue: four years later Pigello di Manetto was the lessee of land which had belonged to Dante in San Marco a Mugnone [182], and in 1343 Andrea di Andrea di Renzo sold the farm which he

had previously bought from the heirs of Scolaio di Maso dell'Antella at Camerata to his cousin Margherita di Accerito Portinari [183]. However, she then sold the same land to the Strozzi the following year [184]. Casovanna di Gherardo di Folco sold one of her farms in Camerata, a farm which had also originally belonged to Dante, to Silvestro di Rinieri Peruzzi for 1050 florins in 1347, and another to Caterina Salviati in 1351 for 620 florins [185]. I know of no fourteenth century marriage connections with the Salviati, but it is interesting to note that the site of the main Portinari palazzo in Florence, now the Banca Toscana on the Via del Corso, passed at some point from the Portinari into the hands of the Salviati.

Apart from few discussed above, references to contado land holdings are scattered. Bartolo and Agnolo di Grifo owned a vineyard in San Romolo de Capestri, which in 1343 they rented out to a contadino under a contract of mezzadria - an annual rent of 25 lire and half the produce of the land [186]. In 1352 Bice di Folchetto di Manetto bought half a farm in the parish of San Giusto Assingnano for 30 florins [187], and in 1355 Mona di Gherardo Portinari, widow of Biliotto di Metto Biliotti, sold a farm with house, dovecote, and lands in the parish of Gaglano to Fuligno di Conte de Medici [188].

* * *

Women and Property

As has been seen above, the inalienability of landed property, especially when it formed part of the patrimony, was often a strong concept within Florentine families. Folco di Ricovero de Portinari shared ownership of nearly all his property with his cousins and second cousins. He stipulated within his own will that his heirs were not to divide up the inheritance. All was to be held jointly. He categorically excluded the possibility that landed property could be passed on through a female line [189].

Nevertheless, women often received or made gifts of property. In 1319 Frate Boninsegna di Grifo de Portinari, a Franciscan, gave two pieces of land to his sister Lapa, wife of Andree Foresini da Vespignano. One of the pieces of land was actually in the parish of San Martino a Vespignano [190].

In 1329 Laba, wife of Filippo di Niccola de Cerchi, was given a house in the parish of Santa Maria Alberghi by her sister Bice de Donati [191]. In 1344 Lena de Bardi, wife of Bindaccio di Consiglio de Cerchi, gave houses and shops in the parish of San Lorenzo della Piazza to her sons from her first marriage to Nepo di Paolo della Tosa [192]. In 1350 Niccolosa, wife of Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio de Cerchi, and her sister Sandra, daughters of Roggerio de Ricci, sold a house in the parish of San Simone [193]. These

transactions in fact all concerned women who were married into the Cerchi family, and the properties which they were able to dispose of as they liked had come to them from their own families or previous marriages, and were not part of the traditional Cerchi family landed estate.

Manno di Lapo de Cerchi bought a farm in San Andrea de Candegghio for 200 florins in 1341, and at the same time gave other land worth 150 florins which he also owned in the same parish to his daughter Lisa, wife of Francesco Albizzi [194].

In 1350 Piera di Roggieri di Neri de Ricci, wife of Pigello di Manetto di Folco Portinari (and sister-in-law of Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio de Cerchi) gave her third share in a house and three shops in the parish of Santa Margherita to her brother, Tedaldino de Ricci [195]. (The Ricci also came from the sesto of Porta San Piero). Two years later she received three shops worth 300 florins in the parish of Santa Margherita, and another house with shop in the parish of Santa Maria Nepotecose worth 215 florins. This was in restitution of her dowry of 515 florins which she had brought with her on her marriage to Pigello [196].

There was a surprising amount of activity by women to do with real estate. Amadore di Puccio de Cerchi had bought property in the parish of Santa Felicita in Piazza in Oltrarno (far from the traditional Cerchi sesto and parishes) some time before his death. This was inherited by

his daughter Lapa, who rented out one of the houses in 1313 for an annual rent of 51 li 6s 8d. She also used one of the houses as security for a 300 florin loan in 1319. She left the properties, along with another 3 pieces of contado land, to the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala (to which she was attached as an oblata), in her will of 1323 [197].

Lagia, the widow of Giovanni di Cerchio, sold half a farm worth a total of 1,250 florins in the parish of San Andrea a Rovezzano to Iacopo di Alberto degli Alberti in 1341 [198]. In 1353, Simona di Bindaccio di Consiglio de Cerchi bought the third part of a palace with tower in San Martino, next to land already owned by the Cerchi, for the sum of 150 florins [199].

Lisa, as the widow of Sandro Portinari, controlled some Portinari family commercial property. She rented out one of her shops to the officials of the University of Florence for the annual rent of 14 florins in 1366 [200]. By December 1368 it appears that Lisa had died, for the same property was again being let to the University, this time by her stepson Giovanni and grandson Adoardo di Giovanni [201].

In 1332 Chiara di Giovanni Portinari, wife of Buono di Filippo, bought half a farm with land in the parish of San Romolo di Campestri for 450 lire [202]. In 1343 Andrea di Andrea di Renzo Portinari sold the farm which he had previously bought from the heirs of Scolaio di Maso dell'Antella at Camerata to his cousin Margherita di

Accerito Portinari [203]. However, she then sold the same land to the Strozzi the following year [204]. Casovanna di Gherardo di Folco Portinari, widow of Biliotto Biliotti, sold one of her farms in Camerata, a farm which had also originally belonged to Dante, to Silvestro di Rinieri Peruzzi for 1050 florins in 1347, and another to Caterina Salviati in 1351 for 620 florins [205]. She also sold a farm with house, dovecote, and adjoining lands, in the parish of Gaglano, Fuligno di Conte Medici in 1355 [206]. In 1352 Bice di Folchetto di Manetto bought half a farm in the parish of San Giusto Assingnano for 30 florins [207].

Donna Diana, widow of Vieri dell'Antella, was the owner of a farm with house in the village of San Marcellino, in the parish of San Ripoli in 1352. This property was itself adjacent to more unspecified property owned by Donna Diana, and another property owned by the sons of Masino dell'Antella [208].

The affairs of the estate of Guido di Filippo dell'Antella, who died in 1313, were settled the following year. His widow, Ghita Adimari, was given the title to a shop in San Romolo, which she rented out to a tailor for 5 florins [209].

In his will of 1365 Zenobio di Guidone dell'Antella left a farm, with labourer's cottage and vines and trees, in the parish of Antella, in the place called Pruneta, and another farm in the same parish, and this one in the place known as Sala, to his widow Cincura degli Acciaiuoli [210].

We have seen above the dispute between Caterina di Accerito di Manetto Portinari and her father Accerito. Caterina had been left her mother's dowry, and she in fact received her inheritance from the division of Accerito's own family property. When a settlement had been reached Caterina rented out her share of the property to her father for an annual rent of 10 florins. Having confirmed her legal right to the property, which meant that the property would be hers after the death of her father, a decision which could not now be disputed by her brothers, she was in the meantime happy to let her father have the use of the property for a low rent [211].

In 1345 Amerigo di Giano de Cerchi received land from his aunt Caterina di Vieri, widow of Filippo Gualterotto Bardi, at San Eugenio di Pugliano to give to his sister Cilia, pinzochera of Santa Croce [212]. She had sold a farm in San Martino in 1333 [213]; the following year she was involved in litigation on behalf of herself and her brothers and sister, against her nephews and nieces, the children of her brother Giano, in dividing up the estate of her father Viero. In 1337, after having been awarded possession of the quarter share of another farm at San Martino in this dispute she transferred the title to a farm and quite a large number of parcels of land there to her nephew Berto di Giano di Vieri [214]. Amerigo di Giano di Viero bought three pieces of land at San Martino on behalf of his sister Cilia for 24 florins in 1345 [215].

There could be hidden reasons for transfer of property to women. The Buonaccorsi company had bankrupted in 1342, and there was the obligation, in law, that creditors should be reimbursed to the full satisfaction of the debt. But although, for example, Lisa di Monte Buondelmonti, wife of Matteo Villani, was imprisoned for her husband's debt in the autumn and winter of 1343 to 1344, the state could not touch property held by widows, who were considered by statue as removed from any co-responsibility for debts of their late husband. Their property could not therefore be threatened despite any unsatisfied creditors. This was sometimes, therefore, the reason why sons would make over property rights to their widowed mothers, and could explain why, in November 1351, Bice Portinari, the widow of Niccolo di Francesco Cose, in conjunction with her uncle Accerito, agreed to the making over to her sister Cella of her rights over her dowry. However, this was done on condition that Cella's husband, Bettino Buonaccorsi, could not claim any rights either of ownership or usufruct [216].

* * *

The study of a family's land and property holdings is of interest in of itself, in terms of the scope of the property held, its value, its location, and the transactions involved in acquiring, maintaining, consolidating and

disposing of this real estate. In terms of its connection with business and politics, land and property transactions can tie in with the ebb and flow of financial success and political favour. Thus the Cerchi showed their stature by the purchase of Conti Guidi land in 1280, and profited from the disfavour of the Ghibelline Abati, which enabled them to buy up property at a good price. Finally, after the political and financial decline of the Cerchi family, some members of the family retired to the contado to live.

An examination of a family's land holdings can also be used to determine a family's characteristics and life style. This will be reflected in their attitudes towards palaces and integral patrimonies, and the sense of heritage and family solidarity which property could give to a family. The changing map of property ownership and inheritance can also be used to chart the growth and changes in households and the overall 'clan' or lineage.

The Cerchi, consciously or unconsciously, were keen to establish themselves as a 'noble' family, and so they acquired and consolidated city and contado property. This family, at the height of its power, was buying and building palaces. They lived in palaces, not houses, but their palaces then passed out of their hands fairly quickly, charting their decline in prestige and wealth. The Portinari do not appear to have gone in for ostentation, but probably demonstrate the most integrated attitude to patrimonial

holdings and inheritance. The Antella's land holdings add little to our knowledge of the family. Nevertheless, the early seventeenth century Antella palace (on the site of an original Cerchi palace) still bears their name at Number 21 Piazza Santa Croce.

CONCLUSION

The power of the patrician families of Florence lay in their claim to social position, in their traditions of active political participation in the government of the city, and in their management of the financial, trading and industrial businesses which ensured the wealth and the prestige of Florence throughout Tuscany, Italy, Europe, and the medieval world.

When I first decided to make a study of Florentine families as a research project, I started with the intention of perhaps studying twenty families in the period from about 1282 (the year the priorate was instigated) until the seizure of control by the Medici in 1434. The first contraction was in the period to be studied. This was affected by my awareness that to understand the characteristic of a specific family in about 1280, one had to go back to the family's origins, and then especially to the time of the Guelf and Ghibelline conflicts in 1260-1266. This new starting point also coincided with the formative periods in the commercial developments of Florentine family business companies and in the political environment and administration of the commune.

The decade 1340-1350 saw many upheavals: the failure of the Bardi and Peruzzi and so many other Florentine banks; the political events surrounding the installation of Walter of Brienne as *Signore* of Florence, his overthrow, and the popular revival; and the devastation caused by plague. The nature of the sources which the social historian can use to determine family history in Florence change fairly considerably over a two century time span, and many more *fonti* survive more completely from the second half of the fourteenth century than before. Two hundred years of family history also began to feel too long a period to examine in depth, and rather than risk an imbalance in 'feeling' in the two periods, I decided to use 1360 as a cut off point.

My original group of 'interesting' families incorporated many which seemed to represent different elements of the Florentine patrician family. Some had their origin in the feudal nobility of the precommunal era; some were the *novi cives* of the twelfth and early thirteenth century; some were *popolani* and others were magnate; some were bankers and international merchants, while others were mainly landholders; some were Guelf, some were Ghibelline. At the time I did not want to include, for example, the Bardi and Peruzzi, who are generally well known through the works of Saporì on their banking activities. I wanted to concentrate on those families which are frequently referred to by historians of Florence, and who are used to illustrate

certain factors of family or communal history. However, without the overall picture of their origins, their political and business activities, their marriages and their social and geographic environment, the generalisations which are made cannot truly reflect, and possibly even distort, the actual state of affairs. This is even more likely when analysis is based on an incomplete history of a particular family. Individual members of a patrician family are often not looked at within the framework of their traditional family interests or enmities, or, conversely, isolated individual actions can be misinterpreted due to overreliance on the assumed family background. Marvin Becker, for example, in his *Florence in Transition*, has the Cerchi in the index and the text as both the Cerchi and the Circuli family, without making the connection between the two.

This final study is of three families. Such is the wealth of information contained in the Florentine archives that the material collected for just these three families, at such an 'early' period, was almost too much to organise and analyse effectively. My aim was never to overthrow existing arguments or to draw loud new conclusions based on my studies. But I feel that my achievement has been in tackling this somehow neglected, yet so formative period in the history of medieval and Renaissance Florence. My work follows on from the historians of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century Florentine family, but I hope that I have

been able to set up a primary, very early, pattern for family studies.

An advantage of studying three families contemporaneously is that certain comparative conclusions become very obvious. An important point can be made which concerns 'status' and social position. The Portinari family, the longest established of the families within the city (dating from the end of the twelfth century) was also the most secure. It was never a large family, nor did it ever really wield much influence, nevertheless its assured position within the oligarchic elite of the city was never in doubt or in any danger. Sufficiently early entrance to the city granted unassailable status. The Portinari family's period of greatest involvement in the political and administrative life of the commune had undoubtedly been up to the end of the first decade of the priorate: after 1292, participation in communal affairs was, at most, sporadic. After Folco di Ricovero, there was no Portinari prior or *gonfalone* of justice, nor any major political office holder from the family throughout the fourteenth century. It would appear that members of the family were more interested in consolidating their position within the upper strata of Florentine society, and with supervising the development of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, founded by Folco di Ricovero de Portinari in the 1280's, than pursuing active civic and political careers. (It was only after the middle

of the fourteenth century that this became an honorific patronage.) It is also possible that the Portinari caution, as displayed in the family's financial and business affairs, was also reflected in its attitudes to political involvement. By abstaining from direct political activity, and by not taking on direct responsibility within factional politics or public office, the Portinari did not expose themselves to the dangers of being in the front line, and could steer a middle course between the conflicts of White and Black, Guelf and Ghibelline, and *popolani* and *grandi*.

The Cerchi demonstrate many dynamic, aggressive and almost expansionist tendencies. They too, in comparison with the dell'Antella, the Strozzi, the Alberti, for instance, were quite an 'old' family. They also became, quite quickly, a fairly numerous family. The chances and accidents of birth gave them a strong advantage, especially when coupled with their economic position at the head of an expanding international business. And while their commercial company was among the leading ones of its field, so in their political life the Cerchi were also, of the three families, the innovators and the leaders.

The dell'Antella, although tireless and secure within the ranks of the Florentine oligarchy, never achieved the pre-eminence of the Cerchi, or the established status of the Portinari, and somehow appear, at least in thirteenth and early fourteenth century terms, the true *gente nuove*

family. For after the growth period of the thirteenth century, it was practically impossible for any newer families to establish themselves. In the Antella family, there are individual men with individual careers in public service, but little sense of a family political identity. Perhaps a civic posture creates a non-political picture of a family, but the impression that emerges from an examination of all activity of the dell'Antella is that they were civic but not political. They were rarely caught up in factional politics, and seemingly able to change sides at will without acrimony. They were able to hold on to service regardless of the group or party in power. Perhaps this was one way for the *gente nuove* to settle into the oligarchy of Florence, through tireless service, rather than through disruptive politics. These were the civic servants, not the party leaders or innovators.

An interesting aspect of the study of families begins to emerge from this thesis. It is often difficult, especially with the scattered and somewhat arbitrary nature of the documentation for this early period in Florentine history, to analyse and explain what actions are the result of a 'family's' political stance, and what actions are merely the activities of individual men, who happen to be members of a family. Nevertheless, it is only when a full family background is developed that some of the individual personalities of the men and women who constitute that family can start to emerge and be established.

We see, for example, that Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi became director of the Cerchi family *societa* in 1280 on the death of his uncle Bindo, although the logical transfer of power would probably have been to his uncle Consiglio or his cousin Bindo di Cerchio. Eight years on, however, he retired from the company, and later headed the White political faction of Florence. Perhaps he realised that his qualities of leadership, which had allowed him to take control of the company, were out of place in a commercial environment, and were more suited to the political arena.

Even within the dell'Antella's family strong tradition of public office holding and civic responsibility, the public service of Simone di Neri di Filippo is quite remarkable. He was an active participant in the civic affairs of Florence's administration more or less continuously for thirty-six years, undeterred by the bankruptcy of the family business, and the changes in political leadership of the commune. Perhaps surprisingly, he was never actually a prior of the city.

I have been struck by the facility with which each of the Cerchi, dell'Antella and Portinari families, different the one from the other, and each in some ways representative of other 'types' of Florentine patrician families, were able, repeatedly and consistently, to divide their allegiance between two political parties or ideologies. This highlights the basic ambiguity and circularity inherent in

this whole question of the individual and the family. What could be more of an individual action than, for example, certain members of the Cerchi and dell'Antella families deciding to stay with the Ghibellines in Florence in 1260 (giving positive support to the regime and the administration in their capacity of councillors), while their brothers and cousins went into exile. And yet, the constant fact of divided allegiance, at the opportune moment, was of paramount importance to the survival of each of the families and their continuance as active members of the Florentine patrician elite for so long.

This differential between the individual and his family leads us on to the next area of comment. The idea of 'class' differences as a determinant for political conflict in Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has conclusively had its day. These conflicts are now, justifiably, explained in terms of factional and party politics.

But though 'class' has to give way to 'faction', a true evaluation of factional allegiance has to take personal idiosyncracies, both on the family and the individual level, as much into account as anything else. For although marriage was an important bond, it never completely tied the respective families to allegiance of the same factional grouping - the bitterness left after the marriage of Corso Donati to a Cerchi girl added weight to factional

differences between the two families. And multiple marriage links between the Bardi and the Cerchi did not stop the Bardi from predominantly siding with the Black faction.

In a round about way, therefore, the establishment of well-grounded studies of various family histories focuses our attention on the individual actions of the men and women who made up those families. Their personal life, their marriages and their individual likes and dislikes, their feelings of allegiance and obligation, or bitterness and personal rivalry are of vital importance to the establishment of an overall picture.

The traditional preoccupation of the historian with political relationships has often led us to ignore other forms of groupings. The preliminary study of marriage ties, especially within the Portinari family, highlights the visible business and marriage links which existed in such number between the Portinari and members of the companies of their banking partners, the Bardi and the Buonaccorsi.

An equally neglected area of study in the past, though this too is starting to be remedied, has been the role played by women within all levels of society. Although there was no place for formal participation by women in the political affairs of the commune, it is interesting to note that, even within this 'early' period of medieval history, it is possible to see just how much control certain patrician women had over their dowries, their property and land.

In contrast, the role of women in the religious and charitable areas of life and society has often been examined and commented upon. But the religious imperative in the life of the Florentine merchant and citizen is equally worthy of attention. For some members of the oligarchy these preoccupations assumed great importance. Hence the 'Setti Beati Fiorentini', including Manetto dell'Antella, who founded the order of the Servites of Mary, and the great charitable foundation of Folco di Ricovero Portinari, the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.

It is imperative that research be done on many more Florentine families so that the wealth, importance and particular significance and status of each of the families as a whole, of their constituent branches, and of the individuals who constituted that family may be fully appreciated.

The lack of extant genealogies for the three families of this study, and the nature of the sources precluded at this stage the sorts of analysis of marriage and kinship which the historian in family studies would ideally like to do. However, now that the basic framework for the Cerchi, dell'Antella and Portinari has been set up, I hope that the information gathered together here can be used in further family studies in this period, and as a background to family studies in later periods. Then a true picture of, for example, the status of particular marriages within the

Florentine patriciate might be drawn up, and a picture drawn of the network of interlinking ties and connections which so affected political allegiances and business relationships.

Then the many cross ties which existed between business, politics, marriage and the neighbourhood will become more accessible and more obvious, and a more fundamental appreciation of the actual social context of the Florentine family, and of its political and business environment, will be possible.

APPENDICES

MARRIAGE PROFILES

There are very few actual dowry transfers or marriage contracts found for this early period. Information on marriage generally comes from later documents, though sometimes the date of marriage and dowry information is given. So:

(a.1357) means marriage active at that point
1280* means actual date of marriage

In the list of marriages arranged by first name, the figure in square brackets for the Cerchi and the dell'Antella [iv] refers to the generation. Uliviero de Cerchi, who died in 1254, is [i], as are Filippo and Lamberto dell'Antella.

Where no specific reference is given, the general background to the families comes from works such as Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, and Raveggi, Tarassi, Medici, and Parenti, *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, especially for the first half of the period. For the later years of the study, background information is generally drawn from Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, and Becker, *Florence in Transition*.

I should like to thank Sergio Raveggi of the University of Florence for kindly letting me consult the unpublished *Repertorio analitico delle famiglie della classe dirigente fiorentina (1260-1300)* compiled by himself and Massimo Tarassi, Daniela Medici and Patrizio Parenti from their researches in the Florentine archives. The details of family guild membership especially have been drawn from this work.

These marriage profiles are not exhaustive, but I hope that they will provide a point of reference for the social, business and political activities and traditions of marriage partners and their families.

Appendix A

CERCHI MARRIAGE PROFILES
(Porta San Piero)

- ADIMARI, Messer Manfredo m.
Regale di Uliviero (a.1256) [a]
ADIMARI, Bellincione di Ruggero Rosso m.
Itta di Bindo di Cerchio 1288* [b]
ADIMARI, Orlanduccio di M. Bindo di M. Bonaccorsi m.
Ricoverino di Ricovero (a.1335) [c]

The Adimari were neighbours of the Cerchi in the sesto of Porta San Piero. Part of the feudal nobility of the city, they had been heavily involved in the political administration of Florence since consular times. Declared magnate in 1293, they mainly sided with the White faction in 1300. Merchants and bankers, they were matriculated in the Calimala guild.

Bernardo, the son of Messer Manfredo Adimari and Regale Cerchi, was prior in 1286, 1289 and 1292 [d]. He was also a *socio* of the Cerchi company. He sided with the Cerchi and the Whites in the factional strife of 1300 [e].

The marriage between Bellincione di Ruggero Rosso Adimari and Bindo de Cerchi's daughter needed papal dispensation because of the fourth degree kinship ties which already existed between the two families: 'Bellincione, nato nobilis viri Rogerii Rubei de Ademaris, et Itta, nata Bindi de Circulis de Florentia, qui quarto se invicem gradu consanguinitatis attingunt, quod, impedimento hujus modi non obstante, matrimonium contrahere valeant, dispensent' [f]. Ruggero Rosso had been one of the captains of the Parte Guelfa in 1281, and vicar of Rodolfo of Hoheneck at Fucecchio in 1283 [g].

[a] BNF Gargani 564; [b] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.35; [c] ASF Diplomatico, Adespote, 1335, 22 giugno. This is her will; [d] Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, p.202; [e] Compagni, *Cronica*, i. chap. 22; [f] Prou, *Registres Honorius IV*, (Paris 1888), reg. 639, 1286, 15 October; [g] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. pp. 239, 308.

- ALBIZZI, Francesco di Uberto m.
Lisa di Manno di Lapo (a.1340) [a]
ALBIZZI, Margherita di Messer Francesco di Uberto m.
Torrignano di Viero (widow by 1406) [b]

The Albizzi, like the Adimari, were from the *sesto* of Porta San Piero, later the quarter of San Giovanni. They were a *popolani* family which, mainly Guelf, sided with the Black party in 1300. They achieved political prominence in the 1350's as leaders of the conservative Guelf party faction against the Ricci. Their commercial involvement was as wool manufacturers, and guild matriculation was in the Lana guild.

Uberto, Francesco's father, spent over 60,000 lire, an enormous sum, on the construction of fulling mills in 1327 [c]. Francesco was declared a magnate for anti-*popolani* and patrician misdemeanors in 1372, but knighted by the Ciompi in 1378 [d].

[a] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigani, 83; [b] BNF Gargani, 565; ASF Dipl. S.Croce, 1409/10, when she became a *pinzochera* of San Francesco; [c] Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p.112; [d] Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, pp. 254, 261, 381.

ALTOVITI, Ugo di Messer Ugo m.

..... di Berto di Gherardino (a.c.1340) [a]

A branch of the noble family of the Corbizzi, the Altoviti lived in the *sesto* of Borgo (Q.S.M.Novella). They were a Guelf *popolani* family.

Ugo's father, Messer Ugo, was one of the most authoritative political men in Florence in the 1280's. Palmiero di Messer Ugo was a lawyer and prior at the time of the Ordinances of Justice, and in 1300 was a leader of the White party and, like members of the Cerchi family, fled from Florence and joined the Ghibelline cause under the Emperor Henry VII. However Ugo di Messer Ugo's own political life was not unduly tainted by his brother's and his in-laws' political failings, and he was involved in communal politics in the early 1340's [b].

[a] Velluti, *Cronica Domestica*, p.293; [b] Ottokar, *Il Comune*, pp. 53, 135; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. pp. 717, 718; Becker, *Florence in Transition*, i. p.95.

AMERI, Tancia di Vanni m.

Naddo di Messer Gherardino (a.1307) [a]

This is possibly the Ghibelline magnate family of the Amieri, from San Pancrazio. Important in the thirteenth century, the family was less influential after 1267. Guild matriculation was in the Calimala guild.

[a] ASF Not.Ante. 02 (II), c.83, 1307, 25 nov.

dell'ANTELLA, Lamberto m.

Margherita di Vieri di Ricovero (a.1329) [a]
dowry 658 lire [a]

dell'ANTELLA, Dianina di Giovanni m.

Adoardo di Riccardo di Giovanni (a.1367) [b]

The dell'Antella was a Ghiblline family from San Piero Scherragio which supported the White faction in 1300.

This was Margherita's first marriage. By 1343 she had remarried Lamberto BACHINI.

[a] ASF Dipl. Acq. Caprini, 1329, 12 aprile; [b] Dipl. Captitani di Or San Michele, 1342/3, 5 febr.; and Not.Ante. B1525, c.71v, 1347, 25 ott.

degli ASINI, Niccolo di Marco m.

Zenobia di Pigello di Berto (a.1358)

The degli Asini was a Ghibelline popolano/magnate family from the sesto of San Piero Scherragio. Guild matriculation was in Lana.

[a] BNF Gargani, 564.

BACHINI, Lamberto di Lamberto m.

Margherita di Vieri di Ricovero (a.1343) [a]

No information on the family.

This was Margherita's second marriage. See dell'ANTELLA.

BARDI, Sandra di Gerozzo m.

Guglielmo di Messer Lapaccio (wid.1327) [a]

BARDI, Filippo di Gualterotto m.

Caterina di Vieri di Torrigiani (wid.1333) [b]

BARDI, Bartolomea di Giuliano di Ricchi m.

Gentile di Puccio (wid.1302) [c]

BARDI, Margherita di Nello di Simone m.

Luigi di Vieri di Ricovero 1343* [d]
dowry 900 florins [d]

BARDI, Margherita di Nello di Simone m.

Lodovico di Riccarado di Giovanni (a.1352) [e]

BARDI, Lena di Simone m.

Bindaccio di Consiglio (a.1333) [f]

BARDI, Francesco di Ribaldo m.

..... di Bindaccio di Consiglio [g]
BARDI, Bice di Lapo di Messer Nastagio m.
Vieri di Bonifatio di Vieri (a.1377) [h]

The Bardi family was arguably the most important of the clans of popolano origins which were declared magnate in 1293. The family came from the sesto of Santo Spirito. They were divided in their support of White or Black party in 1300, but mainly supported the Blacks. Matriculation was mainly in the Calimala guild, as they were directors of one of the most powerful and influential of Florentine banks in the first half of the fourteenth century.

[a] ASF Not.Ante., M.104, c.192, 1327, 29 ott.; [b] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 110, 1333; [c] ASF Not.Ante., 03, c. 161v-163v, her will; [d] ASF Dipl. Canigiani-Cerchi, 1343, 11 giugno, and Gargani 564, widow by 1351; [e] Gargani 565, 1352; [f] ASF Dipl. Canigiani-Cerchi, 1332/3, 9 marzo, and S.M.Novella, 1344, 18 aprile; [g] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 309, f.33r, and 310, f.24r; Jones, *Florentine Diaries*, p.184; [h] BNF Gargani 565, 1377 gabelle.

BENINCASA, Albizzo di Lapo di Pietro m.
Giovanna di Ricovero 1296* [a]
dowry 935 lire [a]

A Pietro Benincasa of the sesto of San Piero Scherragio was a director of the Scali-Amieri mercantile company, and a Lottieri Benincasa del Becuto was also a member of the Scali-Amieri company in 1263 [b]. See above for the marriage between the Cerchi and the Amieri.

Witnesses to the dowry transfer were Benozzo di Grifo di Assalto Portinari, Nero di Corso Capi, and Ferrana di Cino de Bronci. Witnesses to the marriage contract were Guiduccio di Bonizzi Lanfredi, Simone and Riccardo Benincasa, and Bindo de Cerchi [a].

[a] ASF Dipl. Riformagione, 1295/6, 14 genn.; [b] Ottokar, *Il Comune*, p.76.

BENTACORDI, Tora di Nozzo m.
Manno di Lapo (a.1341) [a]
dowry 700 florins [a]

The Bentacorde was a merchant family, operating extensively in Padua.

[a] ASF Dipl. Monache di S.Osala, 1340/1, 17 febr.; Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, n.5.

BETTI widow, Tommasa di Francesco m.
Angiolo di Giano di Vieri (a.1361) [a]
dowry 179 florins [a]

No information on the family.

[a] ASF Dipl. S.M.Nuova, 1360/1, 8 marzo.

BONCIANI, Agnolo di Caccino m.
Simona di Bindaccio (a.1368) [a]

Living in 1368 in the parish of SS.Apostoli, the Bonciani had already been established in the sesto of Borgo in the 1260's. An ancestor, perhaps even Simona's father-in-law, Ser Caccia Bonciani was prior of the comune in the 1280's. Matriculated in the Calimala guild, he was a *socio* first of Aldobrandino Bellincione, and then in the company of Gianni Buiamonte. A Tomaso di Dardo Bonciani was a Bardi factor for eleven years 1330-1341 [b], and a Puccino Bonciani was in partnership with two Cavalcanti and a certain Giovanni di Guida Perini in the period 1350-1358 [c].

[a] ASF Dipl. Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1368, 26 agosto; [b] Saporì, *Crisi*, p.279; [c] Ottokar, *Il comune di Firenze*, p.66; Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p.127.

BONIZZI, Ermellina di Cambio m.
Uliviero di Cerchio (a.1250) [a]

The Bonizzi were from the sesto of Porta San Piero, the Cerchi's own sesto. Three of Ermellina's brothers, Rainaldo, Iacopo and Naddo, were Ghibelline consiglieri in November 1260, at the same time as Uliviero's son, Cerchio [b]. Like the Cerchi, the Bonizzi was a mercantile banking family, but instead of joining the family firm, Naddo di Cambio worked as a *socio* in the Cerchi company in 1265 [c].

Ermellina, we know, was Uliviero's second wife, and it is possible that Uliviero's first wife was a Portinari [d]. Uliviero died in 1254.

In his will of 1291 Consiglio, the son of Ermellina Bonizzi and Uliviero de Cerchi, absolved his uncles Odarrigo and Brunello (Ermellina's brothers) from all debts which

they owed to him. Another of Ermellina's brothers, Rinaldo di Cambio, and another member of the family, Cambio di Burnetto Bonizzi, actually acted as witnesses to Consiglio's will [c].

[a] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 165, no pag. and Dipl. Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1291, 30 agosto. See also Not. Ante. A182-183, 1340-1344; [b] Raveggi et al, *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, pp. 43-44; [c] Jordan, *Registres de Clement IV*, reg. 86; [d] cf Portinari business section; [e] ASF Dipl. Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1291, 30 agosto.

BUONDELMONTI, Messer Gentile m.

Giovanna di Cerchio di Dore (a.1336) [a]

BUONDELMONTI, Andrea di Ranieri m.

Umilia di Bindaccio (a.1348) [a]

The Buondelmonti was a Guelf noble family from the sesto of Borgo. Declared magnate in 1293, they supported the Black party in 1300. They had few, if any, commercial interests.

Messer Gentile Buondelmonte, also called Novello, had strong military connections. Podesta of Colle in 1297, he fought against Henry VII in 1312 and 1313. Captain of San Gimignano in 1313, and podestà of Prato in 1323, he went to Naples in 1328 and was nominated minister with supreme jurisdiction over Calabria by the Angevins.

Ranieri Buondelmonte, father of Andrea, also fought in 1312 against Henry VII, in 1315 at Montecatini, and in 1325 at Altospascio. Andrea was also a military man, and in 1356, for example, he was Vicar of the Mugello. He was Umilia's second husband. See UBRIACHI. Andrea, too, had been married once before. His first wife had been Piera di Bernardo Manfredi [a], which meant that he was already connected by marriage to the Cerchi family, as Margherita di Vieri di Torrigiani de Cerchi was married to Filippo di Bernardo MANFREDI. Andrea died in 1360 and was buried next to his wife at the church of S.Colombano a Bibbione in the Valdipesa, where, in fact, he had made his will the previous year. However, it is not sure whether the wife referred to is his first MANFREDI wife or his Cerchi wife.

[a] P.Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiani*, vol.10, Buondelmonti di Firenze.

CANIGIANI, Gherardo di Joseppi m.

..... di Oliviero (a.1268) [a]

The Canigiani was an important Guelf popolano house from Oltrarno, from which there were seven priors in the decade 1282 to 1292. They supported the White party in 1300. Guild matriculation was in Calimala and Cambio, and their commercial company, which worked in partnership with the Ridolfi, was extensive and powerful, and had many links with the Bardi and Rossi. As was appropriate for one of the highest ranking popolani houses of the period, members of the Canigiani were to be found as rectors in other Italian cities, such as San Miniato in 1290 and Forli in 1291.

Gherardo himself was a *consigliero* in the Primo Popolo, in the years 1254, 1255 and 1256 [b].

[a] ASF Not.Ante. A982, c.8v; [b] Raveggi et al, *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, pp. 146, 186; Ottokar, *Il comune di Firenze*, pp. 49-50.

CAVALCANTI, Lena di Cantino di Poltrone m.
Vieri di Ricovero 1292, 6 nov.* [a]
dowry 625 lire [a]

CAVALCANTI, Gostanza m.
Rinuccio di Cerchio [b]

CAVALCANTI, Attaviano di Messer Filippo m.
Francescha di Bindo (a.1363) [c]

CAVALCANTI,
Tomaso di Vieri di Torrigiano [d]

The Cavalcanti were a Guelf family of long aristocratic tradition within their sestis of San Pier Scherragio and Borgo and throughout the city. They had great political influence, and were declared magnate in 1293. They sided with the White party in 1300. Guild matriculation was in Calimala and Cambio, though there was no important Cavalcanti business company as such.

Cantine, the father-in-law of Vieri di Ricovero, was one of the nine *consiglieri* from the Cavalcanti family who were appointed to the consiglio of 1278 [e].

[a] ASF Capitani di Parte Numero Rosso, 42, c.33v; Dipl. S.M.Novella, 1330, 5 luglio; Dipl. Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1343, 11 giugno; Dipl. Carmine, 1341, 25 maggio; [c] ASF Dipl. Certosa, 1362/3, 14 marzo and 1363, 21 aprile; [d] Guido Cavalcanti, *Istorie Fiorentine*, (Florence 1839), vol. 2, p.486; [e] Raveggi et al, *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, p.112.

CIPRIANI, Davizzo m.
Isabetta di Vieri di Ricovero (wid.1382) [a]

This was a Ghibelline magnate family of ancient tradition from the sesto of San Pancrazio, near the Mercato Vecchio. They sided with the Whites and the Ghibellines in 1300. Guild matriculation was in the Calimala, and they also owned clothing shops in the 1290's.

A Betto di Messer Tegghia Cipriani was a Bardi factor in 1310 to 1316 [b].

[a] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, 1382; [b] Saporì, *Crisi*, p. 258.

COVONI, Covone m.

Bartola di Berto di Gherardino [a]

The Covoni, matriculated in the Cambio guild, had a banking and money lending company which operated in the 1330's and 1340's. They also had a business branch in Padua.

Messer Covoni, according to Donato Velluti, himself related to the Covoni family, 'fu giudice, di comunale statura, soavio e buono legista, grande in comune e molto amato, e di buona coscienza mercatante, e in lui dicea il fondaco e compagni de Covoni' [b]. In 1339 Bartola's brothers Simone and Pigello were both *soci* of the Covoni company, even though Bartola was by now dead, and Covone was remarried to Tessa di Litto Corbizzi, herself the widow of Cino Rinuccini [c].

[a] Velluti, *Cronica domestica*, p.292; [b] *ibid.* p.293, Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 279, 857; [c] Velluti, *Cronica domestica*, p.295.

DONATI, Corso di Simone m.

..... Oliviero [a]

DONATI, Laba di Donato

Filippo di Niccolo (a.1329) [b]

DONATI, Messer Guglielmo di Donato

Bimba di Agnolo di Tommaso di Messer Vieri [c]

DONATI, Orsa di Orso m.

Iacopo di Bindo di Cerchio (a.1335) [d]

The Donati was the great Guelf house of Porta San Piero whose presence and importance in Florence dated back to the consular times. They too were declared magnate in 1293, and Corso di Simone Donati was the leader of the Black faction against the White faction led by Messer Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi in the later thirteenth century.

The marriage of the daughter of Oliviero to Corso Donati himself had far reaching consequences. Her sudden death while Corso was podestà of Treviso in 1295, and his

hasty remarriage to a rich Caponsacchi heiress (who brought him a dowry worth around 6,000 florins) triggered expressions of latent hostility and rivalry between the two families, which would eventually split the city in two, create civil war and discord, and eventually lead to the murder by Simone di Corso Donati of his uncle Niccola di Uliviero de Cerchi in 1301 [c].

[a] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.37; [b] BNF Gargani, 565, 1329; ASF Not.Antecos. I 42 (II), no pag., 1329, 7 sett. and 1329/30, 9 genn.; [c] Ammirato, *Famiglie Nobile*, p.91; [d] ASF Dipl. Acquisto Polverini, 1335, 6 aprile; [e] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.27.

FALCONIERI, Messer Filigni m.

Tessa di Messer Ricovero (a.1316) [a]

Like the Bardi, Cerchi, Acciaiuoli and Mozzi, the Falconieri of Porta San Piero was a 'new' family which started its main political activity after 1260. Surprisingly they were not declared magnate in 1293, possibly because they had supported Giano della Bella [b], but they then actively supported the White party in 1300, and some of the family were exiled and, like the Cerchi, Pulci and Guidalotti, were finally dispensed from the orders of exile by the Duke of Athens in 1342 [c]. Their mercantile activity dated back to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Originally wool merchants, they were frequent consuls of the Calimala guild, and had important international banking and trading interests [d].

[a] ASF Not.Ante. L76, c.101, 1316, 29 ott.; [b] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.6; [c] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.162 and ii. p.108; [d] Villani, *Cronica*, viii. 39; Raveggi et al, *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, p.145.

della FIORAIA, Gismonda di Ser Simone m.

Alessandro di Pigello di Berto (a.1356) [a]

No information on the family.

BNF Gargani, 565, 1356 in the gabelle.

GHERARDINI, Giovanna di Calesso m.

Iacobo di Bindo di Lapaccio (a.1349) [a]

The Gherardini family came from the sesto of San Pier Scherragio. They were a Guelf magnate family with a strong knightly tradition dating back to the consular period. They supported the White faction in 1300. Guild membership was in the Calimala, although their main commercial interest was investment.

[a] ASF CCE 33, c.80v, 1349, 28 maggio; BNF Gargani, 565, by 1365 Giovanna was a widow in the gabelle.

GIANORI, Iacobo m.

Nera di M.Pepo di Lapaccio (a.1372) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] BNF Gargani 565, 1372 in the gabelle.

GUIDALOTTI, Toscana di Gocci m.

Bonifatio di Vieri (wid.1360) [a]

There were two Guildalotti families, both Guelf, one from the parish of San Remigio in the sesto of San Pier Scheraggio, who were magnate, and the other from the parish of San Michele Visdomini in the sesto of Porta San Piero.

[a] ASF Dipl. S.M.Nuova, 1359/60, 30 genn.

INFANGATI, Piera di Uberto di Ubaldino m.

Francesco di Simone (a.1357) [a]

This was an old Ghibelline family from the sesto of San Pier Scherragio which was declared magnate in 1293.

Uberto di Ubaldino Infangati was a Bardi factor for fifteen years from 1326 to 1341, as was Piera's uncle Agnolo [b].

[a] ASF Dipl. Riformagione, 1357/8, 12 marzo; Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 110; [b] Saporì, *Crisi*, pp. 280, 254.

da LAGUTO, Bonaguide m.

Giovanna di Lapo di Uliviero (dead by 1340) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani 83, 1340.

MACCI, Bindo di Galigai m.
... di Oliviero [a]

The Macchi were a Ghibelline family from the parish of San Michele in Orto in the sesto of Por San Piero. They had been politically active in the consular period, but less so after 1267. They supported the White party in 1300. Guild matriculation was in Calimala and Cambio.

Despite the fact that the Macchi company was one of the greatest banking companies of the Cambio guild in the thirteenth century, Bindo joined the company of his brothers-in-law in the 1260's [b].

[a] Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p.371; [b] Jordan, *Registres Clement IV*, reg. 86.

MACHIAVELLI, Lapaccio m.
.... Berto di Gherardino [a]

The Machiavelli were a Guelf popolano family from the parish of S.Felicita in the sesto of Oltrarno. According to Villani they were among the most notable houses of Oltrarno in 1260 [b], and there were four Machiavelli priors in the period 1282 to 1292. They supported the Black party in 1300. Guild matriculation was in Calimala and Cambio, and although for the most part they tended to work for the Bardi company, they also had their own small banking and mercantile company which operated in France and Flanders in the 1290's and in Genoa [c].

[a] Velluti, *Cronica domestica*, p.292; [b] Villani, *Cronica*, vi. 9; [c] Ottokar, *Comune*, pp. 48-52, Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 646, 838.

MALPIGLIS di S.Miniato del Tedesco, Talana di Piglio m.
Ugolino di Oliviero (a.1354) [a]

This was one of the three *grande* families which tried to overthrow the government of the popolo of San Miniato del Tedesco in 1308.

Talana's aunt, Stefania di M.Ridolfo married Bindo di Lapo Pazzi in 1314 [b].

[a] BNF Gargani, 565, 1354; see also Riccardiana, 1983, c.70v, for her will; [b] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, Pazzi, vol.10.

MANCINI, Giovanna di Lippi m.
Pigello di Berto di Gherardino (a.1358) [a]

This was a Guelf popolani family from the parish of San Michele in Orto in the sesto of San Pier Scherragio. They supported the Blacks in 1300, having been prominent in the thirteenth century with three priors in the period 1293 to 1300. Associated with the Calimala guild, the family directed a banking company which was used by the Parte Guelfa. However, by the fourteenth century their fortunes had declined.

[a] BNF Gargani 565, 1358.

MANFREDI, Bilia di Bernardo m.
Messer Giovanni (a.1300) [a]
MANFREDI, Filippo di Bernardo m.
Margherita di Vieri di Torrigiani [b]

No information on the family.

[a] ASF Not.Antecos. 03, c.83v-85 and Dipl. Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1308, 27 maggio.

MEDICI, Bertaccia di Ardinghello di Arrigo di Lippo m.
Nozzo di Manno (a.1363) [a]

The Medici were a mainly Guelf popolano family from the sesto of Porta Duomo. They supported the Black party in 1300. Guild membership was in Cambio, and they had been involved in money lending since the early thirteenth century.

[a] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, vol. 5, Medici.

MOLTOBUONI, Bono di Cione m.
Fia di Andrea detto Vacca di Puccio (a.1302) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] ASF Dipl. Adespote, 1302, 27 agosto.

PERUZZI, Arnolfo m.
Bilia di Lippo di Gherardino (a.1347) [a]
PERUZZI, Rinieri m.

Milia di Lapo di Gherardino (a.1346) [b]

The Peruzzi were a mainly Ghibelline popolano family from the sesto of San Pier Scherragio. Politically active since the time of the Primo Popolo, they supported the Black party in 1300. Guild matriculation was in Cambio, Calimala and Medici e Speciali. They ran an important banking company.

Rinieri di Luigi Peruzzi was knighted by the Ciompi in 1378 [b].

[a] Saporì, *Studi di Storia Economica*, ii. p.854; ASF Ginori-Lisci, *Libri di Commercio dei Bardi*, 185, c.CLXr; [b] Salvemini, *La Dignità*, p.195.

da PISTOIA, Letta di Giovanni di Gherardino m.
Giovanni di Niccolo [a]

No information on the family, except that they were probably kinsmen of the Pistoian Cancellieri family.

[a] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.182.

PULCI, Iagia di Scolai m.

Giovanni di Cerchio 1279/80, 15 genn.* [a]
dowry 650 lire [a]

PULCI, Guelfi m.

Tina di Niccolo (a.1308) [b]

The Pulci, of the parish of San Stefano al Ponte in the sesto of San Piero Scherragio, were divided in their allegiance between the Guelf and the Ghibellines, like the Cerchi themselves. Politically important since the Primo popolo, they were declared magnate in 1293, but returned to popolano status in 1295. They supported the Black party. With five Pulci priors in the period 1282 to 1292, they were amongst the elite political and social families of Florence, while in the business world, matriculated in the Calimala guild, they headed the Pulci-Rimbertini company, one of the richest of the Florentine companies of the Dugento.

Both Scolaio and Guelfo had been *soci* of their family company in 1263. Guelfo was prior in 1282.

[a] ASF Capitane di Parte Numero Rosso, 42, c.33v; Dipl. Strozzi-Ugucione 1341, 7 giugno; ASF Not.Antecos. L76, c.70, 1308, 19 nov.

da QUONA, Ranieri di Tegna m.

Francesca di Vanni di Puccio 1322* [a]
dowry 145 florins [a]

No information on the family.

[a] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, dated 1375, 21 nov.

della RENA, Gianozzo di Doffo m.
Itta di Iacopo di Bindo (a.1354) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 84; by 1364 Itta was a widow
and living in S.P.Maggiore.

RISTORI, ...

Riccardo di Tano (a.1362) [a]

There were two Ristori families at the end of the thirteenth century, both from the sesto of San Pancrazio. The Ristori del Barone were popolani merchants of the Calimala guild who were politically active after 1282. The Ristori Martini were Guelf popolani who supported the White faction in 1300.

[a] BNF Gargani 565, 1362 in the gabelle.

ROSSI, Nella di Marsoppino di Ormanno m.
Consiglio di Uliviero 1285* [a]
dowry 1,000 lire [a]

ROSSI, Niccolosa di Lapo di Boccaccio m.
Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio (a.1352) [b]

The Rossi were one of the great consorterial houses of Oltrarno, from the parish of S.Felicita. They were declared magnate in 1293, and most of the clan sided with the Blacks in 1300. Guild membership was in the Calimala and the Cambio, and the Rossi ran a banking company from the thirteenth century.

This was Consiglio's second marriage. Nella's father, the knight Messer Marsoppino, was dead at the time of her marriage, and her guardian was Stoldo di Beringhieri Iacopi Rossi. He had been an ardent Guelf and papal follower, and was a military leader in the struggle against the Ghibellines in the 1260's. The witnesses to this marriage were the eminent Florentine businessmen Berto di Ranieri Frescobaldi and Lamberto di Ugolino Frescobaldi [a].

[a] ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1285, 13 sett.; Raveggi et al, *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, p. 117; [b] ASF Not.Ante. G838 (III), c.159v, 1352, 16 ott., and see, Ser Guido di Rucco da Rondinaio, 1367, c.37.

SALTARELLI, Ermellina di Lapo m.
Scolaio di Giovanni di Cerchio (a.1317) [a]

The Saltarelli were a popolano family of Ghibelline tendencies from the sesto of San Piero Scherragio. They supported the Whites in 1300. Ermellina's father Lapo, the eminent jurist, was prior of Florence and podestà of other Italian cities at the end of the thirteenth century.

[a] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.141.

SCALI, Singlia di Cante m.
Cerchio di Amaadore di Puccio (a.1347) [a]
dowry 950 lire.

The Scali was a Guelf magnate family from the sesto of Borgo. They supported the Whites in 1300. They were Calimala and Cambio guild members, and had banking interests in common with the Mozzi and the Spini. Their company collapsed in bankruptcy in 1325.

[a] BNF Gargani, 565, 1347.

TOLOMEI di Siena, Imiglia di M.Mino di Christoforo m.
Lapo di Gherardino [a]

Lapo di Gherardino was head of the Cerchi Bianchi company in 1300, and his wife belonged to the great Siennese banking company of the Tolomei. On her death Imiglia was buried in San Francesco di Siena.

The Tolomei obviously favoured marriage connections with Florence, as Babola di Nello di M.Mino Tolomei was married to Lippo di Scolaio di Sinibaldo Buondelmonte, of the Ghibelline branch of the family [b].

[a] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.182; [b] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, vol. 10, Buondelmonte.

TORNAQUINCI, Grana di Ugolino di Sinibaldo m.
Uliviero di M.Gherardino (dead by 1343) [a]

The Tornaquinci were a Guelf magnate family from the sesto of San Pancrazio. Their tradition of political participation dated back to consular times, and they supported the Black party in 1300. However, they were more involved with commerce than with politics, and their mercantile interests dated back to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

[a] ASF Not. Antecos. G838, 1343, 5 giugno.

UBRIACHI, Ciappo di Spinello m.

Umiliano di Bindaccio di Consiglio (a.1348) [a]

The Ubriachi was a Ghibelline magnate house from the parish of S. Felicità in Oltrarno. Already established in the city from 1200, they were in decline from 1267. They had banking interests, often in Sicily, and Spinello Ubriachi himself had worked for the Cerchi in Avignon in 1314 [b].

This was Umilia's first marriage, see also BUONDELMONTI.

[a] ASF Dipl. Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1368, 3 luglio; [b] ASF Dipl. Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1314, 8 giugno; Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 648.

di Ugolino, Taddea di Alessandro m.

Bartolo di Consiglio (a.1365) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] BNF Gargani 565, 1365, in the gabelle.

de VICOFIORENTINO, Bandecca di Rinucci m.

Zenobio di Consiglio (a.1368) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] BNF Gargani 565, 1368.

CERCHI MARRIAGES

- Adoardo di Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio [v]
Dianina di Giovanni DELL'ANTELLA
- Alessandro di Pigello di Berto di Gherardo [v]
Gismonda di Ser Simone DELLA FIORAIA
- Angiolo di Giano di Vieri di Torrigiano [v]
Tommasa di Francesco BETTI
170 florins dowry 1360*
- Bartola di Berto di Gherardino [iv]
Covone de COVONI
- Bartolo di Consiglio di Iacopo di Consiglio [v]
Taddea di Alessandro di Ugolino
- Bilia di Lippo di Gherardino [iv]
Arnoldo PERUZZI
- Bindaccio di Consiglio [iii]
Lena di Simone BARDI (widow of Paolo
della Tosa)
- Bonifatio di Vieri di Torrigiano [iv]
Toscana di Gocci de GUIDALOTTI
- Caterina di Vieri di Torrigiano [iv]
Filippo di Gualterotto de BARDI
- Cerchio di Dore di Puccio [iv]
Singlia di Cante de SCALI
dowry 950 lire
- Consiglio di Oliviero [ii]
Nella di Marsoppino di Ormanno ROSSI
dowry 1000 lire 1285*
- Fia di Andrea (Vacca) di Puccio [iv]
Bono di Cione MOLTOBUONI
- Filippo di Niccola [iii]
Laba di Donato de DONATI
- Francesca di Bindo
Attaviano di Filippo CAVALCANTI
- Francesca di Vanni di Andrea di Puccio [v]
Ranieri di Tegna DA QUONA
dowry 145 florins 1322*

Francesco di Simone di Gherardo [iv]
Piera di Uberto di Ubaldino INFANGATI

Gentile di Puccio [iii]
Bartolomea di Giuliani Ricci BARDI

Giovanni di Cerchio [iii]
Lagia di Scolai de PULCI
dowry 650 lire 1280*

Giovanna di Cerchio di Dore di Puccio [v]
Gentile BUONDELMONTI

Giovanna di Lapo [iii]
Bonaguide DE LAGUTO

Giovanni di Niccola [iii]
Letta di Giovanni di Gherardino DA
PISTOIA

Giovanna di Ricovero [iii]
Albizzo di Lapo di Pietro DI BENINCASA
dowry 935 lire 1295*

Giovanni
Bilia di Bernardo MANFREDI

Guillelmo di M.Lapaccio [iii]
Sandra di Gerozzo de BARDI

Iacobo di Bindo di M.Lapaccio [iv]
Giovanna di Calessi de GHERARDINI

Iacopo di Bindo di Cerchio [iv]
Orsa di Orso de DONATI

Isabetta di Vieri di Ricovero [iv]
Davizo CIPRIANI

Itta di Iacopo di Bindo di Cerchio [v]
Gianozzo di Doffo DELLA RENA

Lapo di Gherardino [iii]
Imiglia di M.Mino Christophoro de TOLOMEI

Lisa di Manno di Lapo [iv]
Francesco di Uberto degli ALBIZZI

Lodovico di Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio [v]
Margherita di Nello di Simone de BARDI

Luigi di Vieri di Ricovero [iv]
Margherita di Nello di Simone de BARDI

Manno (Nozzo) di Manno di Lapo [iv]
Bertaccia di Arrigho di Lippo de MEDICI

Margherita di Vieri di Ricovero [iv]
i) Lamberto DELL'ANTELLA
dowry 658 lire
2) Lamberto di Lamberto BACHINI

Margherita di Vieri di Torrigiani [iv]
Filippo di Bernardo MANFREDI

Naddo di M.Gherardino [iii]
Gostanza (Tancia) di Vanni de AMERI

Nera di M.Pepo di Lappaccio [iv]
Iacopo GIANORI

Pigello di Berto di Gherardino [iv]
Giovanna di Lippi de MANCINI

Regale di Uliviero [ii]
M.Manfredo de ADIMARI

Riccardo di Giovanni di Consiglio [iv]
Niccolosa di Lapo di Boccaccio de ROSSI

Ricoverino di Ricovero di Uliviero [iii]
Orlanduccia di M.Bindo di M.Bonaccursi de
ADIMARI

Rinuccio di Cerchio [iii]
Gostanza CAVALCANTI

Scolaio di Giovanni di Cerchio [iv]
Ermellina di Lapo SALTARELLI

Simona di Bindaccio di Consiglio [iv]
Agnolo di Caccino BONCIANI

Tessa di M.Ricovero [iii]
M.Filigno de FALCONIERI

Tina di Niccola [iii]
Guelfo de PULCI

Tomaso di Vieri di Torrigiano [iv]
1) CAVALCANTI
2) MANGIADORI

Ugolino di Uliviero di Gherardino [iv]

Talana di Piglio di M.Ridolfi de Ciccioni
Malpiglis di S.Miniato del Tedesco

Uliviero [i]

Ermellina di Cambio BONIZZI

Umilia di Lapo di Gherardino [iv]

Rinieri PERUZZI

Umilia di Bindaccio di Consiglio [iv]

1)Ciappa di Spinello UBRIACHI
2)Andrea BUONDELMONTI

Uliviero di M.Gherardino [iii]

Grana di Ugolino di Sinibaldo TORNAQUINCI

Vieri di Bonifaccio di Vieri di Torrigiani

Bice de Lapo di M.Nastagio de BARDI

Vieri di Ricovero [iii]

Lena di Cantine Pultrone de CAVALCANTI
dowry 625 lire 1292*

Zenobio di Consiglio di Iacopo di Consiglio [v]

Bandecca di Rinnuci de VICO FLORENTINO

Zenobia di Pigello di Berto di Gherardino [v]

Niccolo di Marco DELL'ASINO

..... di Berto [iv]

Lapaccio MACHIAVELLI

..... di Berto [iv]

Ugo di M.Ugo ALTOVITI

..... di Bindo [iii]

Bellincione di Ruggero Rosso ADIMARI

..... di Uliviero [ii]

Bindo Galigai degli MACCI

..... di Uliviero [ii]

Corso di Simone DONATI

..... di Uliviero [ii]

Gherardo di Joseppi dei CANIGIANI

CERCHI DOWRIES

Angiolo di Giano di Vieri di Torrigiano Tommasa di Francesco BETTI 1360	170 florins
Cerchio di Dore di Puccio [iv] Singlia di Cante de SCALI	950 lire
Consiglio di Uliviero Nella di Marsoppino di Ormanno ROSSI 1285	1000 lire
Francesca di Vanni di Andrea di Puccio Ranieri di Tegna DA QUONA 1322	145 florins
Giovanni di Cerchio Lagia di Scolai de PULCI 1280	650 lire
Giovanna di Ricovero Albizzo di Lapo di Pietro DI BENINCASA 1295	935 lire
Margherita di Vieri di Ricovero Lamberto DELL'ANTELLA	658 lire
Vieri di Ricovero Lena di Cantine Pultrone de CAVALCANTI 1292	625 lire

Appendix B

DELL'ANTELLA MARRIAGE PROFILES
(San Pier Scherragio)

ACCIAIUOLI, Ginevra di Dardano di Lotteringhi m.
Zenobio di Guido 1335* [a]
dowry 683 florins [a]

The Acciaiuoli family came from the sesto of Borgo (later the quartiere of S.M.Novella), from the parish of SS Apostoli. They were Guelf, popolani, and merchants. Guild matriculation was in the Guidici e Notai, Por Santa Maria, and Medici e Speciali. The Acciaiuoli supported the Black party in 1300, and formed part of the oligarchic elite of the city in the period after 1343.

Dardano Acciaiuoli, as an active Black Guelf, was Captain of Pistoia in 1309 [b] and Vicar of Pistoia for King Robert in November 1316 [c]. He also acted as Florentine ambassador to San Gimignano in 1325 [d]. Commercially, Dardano was at one point a merchant in Naples, and in the voluntary loan to the commune of 1328 Dardano's company contributed the largest single loan by far, at 2,000 florins, to the 100 florins of Giovanni di Lamberto dell'Antella [e]. Dardano died in 1335, the year of his daughter's marriage to Zenobio, and he founded the chapel of S.Niccolo di Bari in S.M.Novella with an endowment of 1,000 florins [f].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N221 (II), c.77v, 1366, 11 ott.; also Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1365, 12 agosto; [b] Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. p.573; [c] ibid. iv. p.575; [d] ibid. ii. reg. 2251; [e] Barbadoro, *Finanze*, pp. 560-561; [g] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri italiane*, vol.1, Acciaiuoli.

ADIMARI, Ghita di M.Goccia di Bindo m.
Guido di Filippo 1291* [a]

ADIMARI, Margherita di Neri di Lapo m.
Antonio di Guido di Compagno (a.1340) [b]

The Adimari family were from the sesto of Porta San Piero. Of secure Guelf background, they were part of the feudal nobility of the city, and were declared magnate in 1293. They practised as merchants, matriculated in the Calimala guild, and were involved in money lending and as investment brokers. On the whole, the Adimari sided with the White party in 1300.

Guido's father-in-law, M.Goccia Adimari, was himself one of the leaders of the White party, and condemned and exiled in 1302.

[Ca] *Ricordanze di Guido*, p.13; [Cb] ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1339/40, 22 marzo.

ALBIZZI, Pepo di Antonio m.

Cianghella di Simone di Neri

dowry 1000 fl. 1339* [Ca]

ALBIZZI, Picciola di Alessandro di Niccolo m.

Tommaso di Simone di Neri (a.1362) [Cb]

The Albizzi, like the Adimari, were from the *sesto* of Porta San Piero (Quartiere of San Giovanni). However, they were a *popolani* family which, mainly Guelf, sided with the Black party in 1300. Their commercial involvement was with the Lana guild, as they were cloth manufacturers.

Cianghella died very soon after this marriage, in July 1340, and Pepo remarried Contessa di Benci Charucci in January 1341 from whom he received a dowry of 1500 florins. Contessa also died just thirteen months later, but Pepo waited for over ten years until 1352 when he took as his third wife Francesca d'Albertozzo degli Alberti, from he received a dowry of 2000 florins [Ca]

Alessandro di Niccolo Albizzi, Tommaso's father-in-law, held the same political views as Tomaso's own father, Simone di Neri dell'Antella in 1366, and in fact severed his ties with his own family, forming the Alessandri branch of the Albizzi, in 1373 [Cb].

[Ca] S.Foster, *The Ties that Bind*, p. 248. Hoshino also refers to the first two of these marriages by Pepo, but makes no mention of the final Alberti marriage, see his *L'arte della lana*, p.312; [Cb] ASF Not.Ante. N228 (I), no fol., 1362, 10 dic.; [Cb] Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p.219.

degli ASINI, Caterina di Marcho m.

Taddeo di Donato di Lamberto (widow 1355) [Ca]

dowry 950 florins [Cb]

This was a Ghibelline *popolano* family from the *sesto* of San Piero Scherragio. Matriculation was in the Lana guild. In the loan by 26 Florentine companies to the *comune* of Florence in 1328, the company of Asino and Marco degli Asini put up 300 florins, and 600 florins in a similar loan in 1337 [Cc].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), c.100v, 1355, 28 marzo; [b] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N225 (I), no pag., 1356, 30 luglio, her will; [c] Barbadoro, *Finanze*, pp. 560-561. For a Iacopo degli Asini, a rich merchant in the 1360's, see Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p.190.

BARONCELLI, Niccolosa di Tano di Mico m.

Simone di Neri di Filippo (a.1340) [a]

Niccolosa was Simone's first wife. See also da SOMMAIA and BENCI.

The Baroncelli were a popolano family from S.Pier Scherragio (Q.S.Croce), with divided, though mainly Guelf, allegiance. Members of the family were matriculated variously in the Calimala, Cambio, and Medici and Speciali guilds. They were a prominent and influential family, similar in background and activity to the Antella themselves. Their company was closely associated with the Peruzzi. Like the dell'Antella, the Bardi, the Peruzzi and the Acciaiuoli, latter, and the Antella, Bardi and Acciaiuoli, the Baroncelli went bankrupt in the 1340's [b].

Filippo di Gianori Baroncelli was a leading Parte Guelfa figure in the Albizzi faction [c].

[a] BNF Gargani, 107, 1340; and see also ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N228 (I), no pag. 1362, 10 dic.; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, pp. 17, 203; Becker, *Florence in Transition*, i, p.98, ii.p.40; [c] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.31.

BENCI, Lapo m.

daughter of Filippo 1280* [a]

BENCI, Nera di Lando di Lapo m.

1) Simone di Neri di Filippo (a.1362) [b]

2) Sandro di Azzo (widow 1395) [c]

No information on the family.

[a] Guido di Filippo, *Ricordanze*, p.9; [b] BNF Gargani, 107, 1362; ASF Diplomatico, Capitani di Or San Michele, 1367/8, 15 febr. Nera was Simone's third wife. See also BARONCELLI and da SOMMAIA. [c] It would appear, according to the researches of Gargani in the records of the Florentine gabelles, that by 1395 Nera was now identified as the widow of Sandro di Azzo di Guido di Filippo dell'Antella, whom she had presumably married on the death of Simone. BNF Gargani, 107, 1395.

BENCIVENNI, Buonfostegni m.

Ghese di Neri di Filippo (a.1357) [a]

No information on the family, but there was a Bene Bencivenni in the parish of SS. Apostoli in 1280 [b]. A Cambio Bencivenni was a *socio* of the Rossi company in 1312 in its dealings with the Emperor Henry VII, and a Butino Bencivenni was a Bardi factor in 1310-1332 [c]. However, it is hard to differentiate between Bencivenni being used as a patronymic, or Bencivenni as a surname.

[a] BNF Gargani, 106, 1357; [b] Barbardoro, *Finanze*, p.316; [c] Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. p.337; Becker, *Transition*, i. p.115.

di BRONCOLO, Neri m.

Stefania di Neri di Filippo (no date) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] ASF Diplomatico, Adespote, sec. XIV, 16-22 maggio.

BURNACCI, Lambertino m.

daughter of Filippo 1280* [a]

No information on the family.

[a] Guido di Filippo, *Ricordanze*, p.9.

CERCHI, Margherita di Vieri di Ricoveri m.

Lamberto di Maso di Lamberto (a.1329) [a]

dowry 658 lire [a]

CERCHI, Adoardo di Riccardo di Giovanni m.

Dianina di Giovanni (a.1367) [b]

A magnate family from Porta San Piero. See relevant parts of thesis.

[a] ASF Diplomatico, Acq. Caprini, 1329, 12 aprile. Lamberto's second wife was called Letta, though her family is unknown. See ASF Monte Comune, 1345, S.Croce, c.484v; [b] BNF Gargani 565; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Guido di Rucco da Rondinaio, 37, vii. Adoardo's will.

GHERARDINI, Messer Andrea m.

Isabetta di Guido di Filippo 1326* [a]

dowry 700 fl. [a]

The Gherardini family came from the sesto of San Pier Scherragio. They were a Guelf magnate family with a strong knightly tradition dating back to the consular period. They supported the White faction in 1300. Guild membership was in the Calimala, though their main commercial interest was investment.

Messer Andrea Gherardini was Captain of Pistoia in 1301 [b].

[a] *Ricordanze di Guido*, p.14. The dowry was provided by Donato Acciaiuoli and Filippo di Rinucci; [b] Salvemini, *La Dignita*, p.170. Isabetta remarried after the death of Andrea - see PORTINARI.

di GINEVIA, Vanni m.

daughter of Filippo 1280* [a]

No information on the bridegroom, from Geneva.

[a] *Ricordanze of Guido*, p.9.

GONDI, Giovanni di Geri m.

Marinetta di Zenobio di Guido (a.1361) [a]

The Gondi came from the quartiere of Santa Maria Novella. They participated in international business in the 1300-1320's, matriculated in the silk guild. Giovanni's brother, Simone di Geri, was branded as a Ghibelline by the Parte Guelfa in 1352 [b].

[a] BNF Gargani 107, 1361 in the gabelle; [b] Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence*, p.158.

GUIDETTI, Anontia di Alessandro di Mantello m.

Nofrio di Simone di Neri (a.1362) [a]

No information on the family.

A Tommaso Guidetti opposed the anti-Visconti league in 1358, supporting the views of Nofrio's father, Simone di Neri dell'Antella [b].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N228 (I), no pag., 1362, 10 dic.; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.177. Nofrio was remarried by 1382, but the only information on his second wife is her first name, Simona. BNF Gargani, 107, 1382.

PORTINARI, Accerito di Manetto m.

Isabetta di Guido di Filippo (dead 1356) [a]
dowry 500 florins [a]

See thesis for Portinari, a Ghibelline popolani house of Porta San Piero.

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), cc. 155v-156.

da QUARATA, Guerriera di Simone di Neri m.

Sandro di Guido di Filippo 1325* [a]
dowry 730 florins [a]

The da Quarata, or Quaratesi, was a prominent popolani family of Santo Spirito [b].

Sandro di Simone and Vanni di Simone, Sandro dell'Antella's brothers-in-law, were amongst the wealthiest of their family, and Sandro supported Simone in his opposition of the Parte Guelfa and Albizzi in 1360 [c]. The Quaratesi were denounced as Ghibellines at the same time as Messer Alessandro dell'Antella in 1378 [d].

[a] *Ricordanze di Guido*, p.14; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp. 26, 30; [c] *ibid.* pp. 182, 199, 216; [d] *ibid.* p.348.

RISTORI, Diana di Filippone di Filippo m.

Viero di Banchello di Lamberto (a.1345) [a]

There were two Ristori families at the end of the thirteenth century, both from the sesto of San Pancrazio. The Ristori del Barone were popolani merchants of the Calimala who were politically active after 1282. The Ristori Martini were Guelf popolani who supported the White faction in 1300.

[a] ASF Monte Comune, 1345, Q.S.Croce, c.768; see also Notarile Antecosimiano, G355 (III), c.134v, 1346, 18 maggio, by which time Diana was a widow, and *ibid.* A197, cc. 159-160, 1352, 4 nov., and T463, cc. 265v-266, 1360, 9 luglio.

SCALI, Stefano di Canto m.

Giovanna di Simone di Neri (a.1363) [a]

The Scali was a Guelf Magnate family from Borgo (Q.SMNovella), which supported the Whites in 1300. A Dante della Scala was podestà of Colle Val d'Elsa in 1302 [b]. Calimala and Cambio guild members, they had banking interests in common with the Mozzi and Spini, and a banking company which went bankrupt in 1325 [c].

[a] ASF Diplomatico, Capitani di Or San Michele, 1363, 3 agosto; [b] Davidsohn, *Forschungen* iv. p.572; [c] Barbadoro, *Finanze*, p.179.

SIGNORINI, Cambino m.

Giovanna di Vieri di Banchello (a.1374) [a]

No information on family.

Cambino, a 'gente nuove', supported Simone di Neri dell'Antella's views in 1358 [b].

[a] ASF R.Arcispedale di S.M.Nuova, 60, c.361v, 1374; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.177.

da SOMMAIA, Bandecca di Masi di Scolaio m.

Simone di Neri (a.1351) [a]

No information on family.

Amerigo di Bernardo da Sommaia was consul of the Cambio guild in 1355 at the same time as Simone di Neri himself.

[a] BNF Gargani, 107, 1351, 1359, 1362. See also ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N228 (I), 1362, 10 dic.; Diplomatico, S.M. degli Angeli, 1363, 4 aprile, for Bandecca's final testament. Bandecca was Simone's second wife, see also BARONCELLI and de BENCI.

SPINI, Bilìa di Filippo m.

Maso di Maso di Lamberto (a.1347) [a]

The Spini were a Guelf magnate family from the sesto of Borgo. They supported the Black faction in 1300, and Geri and Vanni Spini were leaders of the Black faction, with Simone Bardi, Rossellino della Tosa and Sinibaldo Donati in 1304 [b]. They ran a very influential and important banking company.

A Filippo de Spini, possibly Bilìa's father, was podestà of Poggibonsi in 1293 [c].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (II), c.50, 1346/7, 1 marzo; [b] Barbadoro, *Consigli*, p.181; [c] Davidsohn, *Forsch. iv.*, p.568.

STROZZI, Smeraldo di Strozza di Strozzi m.
Andrea di Simone di Neri (a.1359) [a]

The Strozzi was an important popolani family from the sesto of San Pancrazio. They were very active politically at the end of the thirteenth century, and through the fourteenth century. They supported the Black faction in 1300. Guild matriculation was in Guidice and Notai and Cambio, and they were involved in local banking and money lending.

A wealthy family, Strozza Strozzi had 3707 florins invested in the Monte Comune in 1345 [b]. He was prior in 1326 and 1332, and was married to Adelasia degli conti Alberti, the feudal contado family. Smeraldo's houses were burnt by the Ciompi in the rioting of 1378. He died in 1384 [c].

[a] ASF Carte Strozzi, III, 78, c.66; III, 235, c.19v; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.20; [c] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, vol.7, Strozzi.

TOSINGHI, Giovanni di Donato m.
Giovanna di Lamberto (a.1329) [a]

The Tosinghi, or della Tosa, were from Porta Duomo, and were an ancient Guelf magnate family dating back to the consular era. They were divided between White and Black, but mainly supported the Whites. All the Tosinghi were allowed popolani status in 1370 [b].

[a] ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Caprini, 1329, 12 aprile; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.156.

da VILLANUOVA, Iacopo di Ranieri m.
Francesca di Zanobio di Guido (a.1352) [a]
dowry 400/500 florins [b]

No information on family, but Iacopo was from the parish of San Lorenzo, in the sesto of Porta Duoma (Q.S.Giovanni).

[a] BNF Gargani, 107, 1352 in the gabelle; [b] ASF

Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1365, 12 agosto, for a dowry of 400 florins mentioned in Francesca's father's will. See also Diplomatico, Capitani di Or San Michele, 1368/9, 27 febr., and Diplomatico, San Marco, 1370, 22 aprile.

....., Ghita m.

Alesso di Niccolo di Guidone (a.1358) [a]

[a] ASF R.Arcsipedale S M Nuova, 60, c.321, his will, 1358.

....., Lagia m.

Banchello di Lamberto (widow 1345) [a]

[a] ASF Monte Comune, Q.S.Croce, c.490.

....., Letta m.

Lamberto di Maso di Lamberto (widow 1345) [a]

[a] ASF Monte Comune, Q.S.Croce, c.484v.

DELL'ANTELLA MARRIAGES

- Alessandro di Niccolo di Guidone di Compagni [iv]
Ghita
- Andrea di Simone di Neri di Filippo [iv]
Smeraldo di Strozza di Rosso STROZZI
- Antonio di Guidone di Compagno [iii]
Margherita di Neri di Lapo ADIMARI
- Azzo di Sandro di Guido di Filippo [iv]
Nera di Lando de BENTIS
- Banchello di Lamberto [ii]
Lagia
- Cianghella di Simone di Neri [iv]
Pepo di Antonio di Lando ALBIZZI
dowry 1000 florins
- Dianino di Giovanni
Adoardo di Riccardo di Giovanni CERCHI
- Francesca di Lotto di Donato di Lamberto [iv]
Ottone di Andrea SAPITI
- Francesca di Zanobi di Guidone di Filippo [iv]
Iacopo di Ranieri DA VILLANUOVA
dowry 500 fl.
- Ghese di Neri di Filippo [iii]
Buonfostegni BENCIVENNI
- Giovanna di Vieri di Banchello di Lamberto [iv]
Cambini SIGNORINI
- Giovanna di Simone di Neri di Filippo [iv]
Stefano di Cange degli SCALI
- Guido di Filippo [ii]
Ghita di Goccia di Bindo ADIMARI
- Giovanna di Lamberto
Giovanni di Donato TOSINGHI
- Iacobo
Contessa di Risalti
- Isabetta di Guido di Filippo [iii]
1)Andrea GHERARDINI

dowry 700 fl.

2) Accerito di Manetto PORTINARI

dowry 500 fl.

Lamberto di Maso di Lamberto [iii]

1) Margherita di Vieri di Ricovero CERCHI

dowry 658 lire

2) Letta

Lamberto di Taddeo di Donato di Lamberto [iv]

Lisa di Niccolo di Bartolomeo GUALTEROTTI

Leonardo di Andrea di Donato di Lamberto [iv]

Ghita di Taddeo DONATI (TADDEI)

Marinetta di Zenobio di Guidone di Filippo [iv]

Giovanni di Geri GONDI

Maso di Maso di Lamberto [iii]

Bilia di Filippo de SPINI

Noferi di Simone di Neri di Filippo [iv]

1) Simona

2) Antonia di Alexandro di Mantello GUIDETTI

Piero di Maso di Maso di Lamberto [iv]

Tessa di Simone BUONARROTI

Sandro di Guido di Filippo [iii]

Guerriera di Simone di Neri DA QUARATA

dowry 730 fl.

Simone di Neri di Filippo [iii]

1) Bandecca di Masi Scolai DE SOMMAIO

2) Niccolosa di Tano di Mico BARONCELLI

3) Nera di Lando di Lapo BENCI

Stefania di Neri di Filippo [iii]

Neri di BRONCOLO

Taddeo di Donato di Lamberto [iii]

Caterina di Marco DELL'ASINO

dowry 950 fl.

Tessina di Donato di Lamberto [iii]

Maestro Iacopo medico

Tomaso di Simone di Neri di Filippo [iv]

Picciola di Alessandro di Niccolo ALBIZZI

Viero di Banchello di Lamberto [iii]

Diana di Filippone di Filippo RISTORI

Zenobio di Guido di Filippo [iii]

Ginevra di Dardano di Lotteringo ACCIAIUOLI
dowry 683 fl. 1335*

..... di Filippo [ii]
Lapo BENCI

..... di Filippo
Lambertino BURNACCI

..... di Filippo
Vanni DI GINEVIA

DELL'ANTELLA DOWRIES

DAUGHTERS took with them to:

DA VILLANUOVA, Iacopo di Ranieri
 Francesca di Zanobi di Guido di Filippo
400/500 florins pre-1352

GHERARDINI, Messer Andrea
 Isabetta di Guido di Filippo
700 florins 1326*

PORTINARI, Accerito di Manetto
 Isabetta di Guido di Filippo
500 florins pre-.... (second marriage)

ALBIZZI, Pepo di Antonio di Lando
 Ciaghella di Simone di Neri
1000 florins 1339*

SONS attracted dowries from:

CERCHI, Margherita di Vieri di Ricoveri
 Lamberto di Maso di Lamberto [iii]
658 lire

DA QUARATA, Guerriera di Simone di Neri
 Sandro di Guido di Filippo [iii]
730 florins 1325*

DELL'ASINO, Caterina di Marco
 Taddeo di Donato di Lamberto [iii]
950 florins pre-1355

ACCIAIUOLI, Ginevra di Dardano di Lotteringho
 Zenobio di Guido di Filippo [iii]
683 florins 1335*

Appendix C

PORTINARI MARRIAGE PROFILES
(Porta San Piero)

ADIMARI, Talano di M.Boccaccio Cavicciuli m.
Fia di Folco di Ricovero (a.1330) [a]
dowry 800 lire [a]

ADIMARI, Bettina di Boccaccio Cavicciuli m.
Stagio di Folco di Manetto (? 1383) [b]

ADIMARI, Flora di Forese m.
Giovanni di Manetto di Folco (a.1341) [c]

The Adimari family were from the sesto of Porta San Piero. They were part of the feudal nobility of the city. Of secure Guelf background, they were declared magnate in 1293. They practised as merchants, matriculated in the Calimala guild, and were also involved in money lending and investment. Although generally the Adimari sided with the Whites in 1300, the Cavicciuli branch of the family supported the Blacks [d].

Boccaccio and his sons were members of this Cavicciuli branch, even though Stagio was a passive supporter of the Whites (see politics).

Talano di Boccaccio appears to have been guilty of typical 'magnate' arrogance and excessive violence. In 1304 he was imprisoned in the Palazzo of the Podesta by the Captain of the Popolo, on charges of murder and other crimes. He was freed by an armed attack by his kinsmen in which two guards were killed, and the Captain mortally wounded. Despite the public outrage, such was the power and influence of the Adimari that no action was taken against Talano or his kinsmen [d]. Talano was one of the seven magnates and seven popolani on the Quattordici set up after the fall of Walter of Brienne - both the Cavicciuli and the main Adimari family having taken part in the anti-Brienne conspiracy in 1343 [e].

There was a Forese di Buonaccorso Adimari who was given dispensation by pope Nicholas IV to marry Iacoba di Count Guido Novello, because of a fourth degree of kinship see Adimari, Cerchi, and Conti Guidi links in 1289 [f]. Forese was podestà of Modena in 1275, Captain of the Popolo in Parma in 1281, and Podesta of Arezzo in 1285 [g].

[a] Will of Folco Portinari in which he made provision for this 800 lire dowry, as Fia was not yet married; also

Riccardiana, 1884, c.84, 1332; and BNF 25, 397, c.198, 1330; [b] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Iacop di Ser Bartolomeo di Ser Giovanne, c.17, 1383/4, 3 febr. The marriage must have dated back to much earlier, as there are references to Stagio being active between 1304 and 1320; [c] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1341, c.39 and 1345, c.103; and BNF 25, 397, c.210, 1353; [d] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 400-401; [e] Becker, *Transition*, i. pp. 154, 157, 158, 171; [f] Davidsohn, *Forsch.* iv. pp. 187-188, 1288, 5 maggio, and pp. 242-245; [g] Davidsohn, *Forsch.* iv. pp. 562, 563, 566.

ALBERTI, Barna di Luce m.

Gostanza di Pigello di Manetto 1354* [a]
dowry 230 florins [a]

No information on the family, but this Alberti must not be confused with the Alberti del Giudice family. Barna came from the parish of S.M.Novella.

The dowry was provided by Gostanza's uncle, Accerito, in 1356 [b].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), c.54, 1353/4, 5 febr.; [b] *ibid.* c.151, 1356, 9 maggio. However, by 1363 Gostanza, still identified as the wife of Barna, is referred to as living in the parish of Santa Margherita, ASF Diplomatico, Cistercensi, 1363, 29 aprile.

dell'ANTELLA, Isabetta di Guido m.

Accerito di Manetto di Folco (Isabetta d.1356) [a]
dowry 500 florins [a]

The dell'Antella was a Ghibelline family from San Piero Scherragio which supported the White faction in 1300. See relevant parts of thesis.

The dowry had been provided by Isabetta's brother, Sandro di Guido di Filippo [a].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), cc. 155v-156, 159v-160, 1356, 19 & 30 maggio. Isabetta is dead here and the document relates to a dispute between Accerito and his daughter Caterina. Caterina is claiming the inheritance of her mother's dowry.

BARDI, M.Simone di Iacopo m.

Bice di Folco di Ricovero 1280* [a]
dowry 500 lire [a]

BARDI, Giovanni di Gualtiero di Iacopo m.

Cella di Manetto di Folco (a.1311) [b]
(di Folchetto di Manetto?)

The Bardi was an important Guelf magnate family from Oltrarno. They were divided in their support of White and Black party in 1300, but mainly supported the Blacks. Matriculated in the Calimala guild, they were associated with the elite merchant class of the city from the mid thirteenth century, and ran their powerful banking company.

Bice di Folco, the beloved Beatrice of Dante, was M. Simone's second wife. His first wife was possibly Bilia di Puccio Acciaiuoli [c]. Simone was a *socio* of the Bardi banking company, a Guelf *consigliero* in 1278, prior of the city in 1287, and Captain of Prato in 1290, the same year that Bice died. Simone himself eventually became one of the leaders of the Black party [d].

Giovanni, from the parish of Santa Margherita, was Cella's first husband. See also BUONACCORSI.

[a] Will of Folco; [b] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Biagio di Boccadibue, iii. c.46, 1311; [c] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri*, Acciaiuoli, vol. i; [d] Davidsohn, *Storia*, vii. 373; *Delizie*, ix. p.50; Stefani, *Cronica*, p.62; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. p.566, 1290, 25 aprile.

BELLINCIE, Francesco di Mando m.

Lapa di Ricovero di Folco (a.1332) [a]

Francesco came from the parish of San Benedetto [a]. Francesco shared a common ancestry with Giovanni Villani. Bellincie had two sons, Mando and Stoldo. Stoldo's son was Villano, which makes Francesco di Mando the uncle of Giovanni Villani [b]. Mando Bellincie was co-founder of the Buonaccorsi with Lapo Buonaccorsi in 1307 [c].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, cc. 333, 335, 355; [b] Litta, *Famiglie Celebri*, Villani, vol.8; [c] Luzzati, *Giovanni Villani e la sua compagnia dei Buonaccorsi*, p.13.

BENCI da Figline, Antonia di Ranieri di Messer Fini m.

Puccio di Grifo (a.1332) [a]

Kinsmen and business partners of the Franzesi, the Benci was a family of minor importance, which was active in banking and trade in the first quarter of the fourteenth century [b].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Duccio di Giovanni da Rondinaio, 1332/3, 28 febr.; Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, c.12, and 1334, c.70; [b] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 556-7. Another Portinari, Lipa di Salto di Segna was married to a factor of the Franzesi company, See Giandonato de MARDOLI. The Franzesi were magnates and supporters of the Black faction. Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, p.263.

del BENE, Ghilla di Benuccio di Senni m.

Iacopo di Folco di Ricovero (widow 1341) [a]

The del Bene was one of the richest popolani families in the sesto of Borgo. They were from the parish of Santa Trinita. A family with a Ghibelline background, there were two del Bene priors in the period 1282 to 1300. Guild matriculation was in the Cambio and Calimala guilds. They ran a banking company, often in partnership with the dell'Antella.

In 1295 Benuccio di Senni endowed the hospital of S. Bartolomeo a Mugnone, in the parish of Sant Lucie, near the Porta al Prato, with an endowment of 5,000 lire. The hospital was established in order to care for the poor and infirm. (Iacopo Portinari's father, Folco, had founded the hospital of S.M.Nuova). Benuccio himself was head of the Calimala del Bene company. Ghilla's grandfather, Senni (Sennuccio) had himself been a friend of Petrarch [b].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Filippo di Contugino da Pupigliano, c.16, 1341, 12 luglio; [b] Davidsohn, *Forsch.* iv. pp. 395-396.

BILIOTTI, Biliotti di Metto m.

Capovanna di Gherardo di Folco (a.1332) [a]

BILIOTTI, Lisa di Gualtiero di Metto m.

Sandro di Giovanni di Manetto (a.1351) [b]

dowry 400 florins [b]

The Biliotti were from Santo Spirito. Members of the family became active in the political administration of the city in the second half of the fourteenth century. Proprietors of a minor banking company, they traded in wool, with branches in Lucca, Flanders and Verona from the middle of the thirteenth century [c].

A Sandro Biliotti was one of the city's counsellors in 1355, a Bartolo Biliotti was an ally of the Albizzi faction in the 1360's, and a Giovanni was a leader of the oligarchy against the Ciompi in 1378 [d].

Metto Biliotti's company loaned 400 florins to the commune in the loans by twenty six companies in 1328 [e]. Lapo di Niccolo Biliotti was a Bardi shareholder in 1326 [f].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, and also ibid. 1339, c.85, 1341, cc. 16, 88, 157, 1345, c.1, 1348, 10 nov. Capovanna was a widow from at least 1339. See also G838 (III), cc. 82-84v. Even as a widow Capovanna still lived in Santa Felicita, her husband's parish. For Capovanna's emancipation, see Ser Salvi Dini, 1347, c.267, and 1349, cc. 135, 185, 250; [b] Riccardiana, 2009, c.515, 1351; Lisa was Sandro's second wife, for his first wife see COVONI. Lisa remarried Zanobi di Forese Falconieri after the death of Sandro. See Notarile Antecosimiano, N230, 1371, 30 aprile, no pag.; [c] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. pp. 645, 835; [d] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp. 24, 164, 200, 232, 339, 343; [e] Barbadoro, *Finanze*, pp. 560-561; [f] Saponi, *Crisi*, p.248.

BOSCOLI, Donato di Lotteringho m.

Giovanna di Folco di Ricovero (a.1339) [a]

The Boscoli was a Ghibelline popolani family from the Sesto of Porta San Piero, matriculated in the Cambio guild [b]. A Francesco Boscoli was a creditor of the Buonaccorsi company in 1342 [c].

[a] BNF 25, 397, c.201, 1339; and Riccardiana, 2004, c.313; [b] Raveggi et al, *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, p.70; [c] Luzzati, 'Ricerche sulle attivita mercantili e sul fallimento di Giovanni Villani', p.214.

BUONACCORSI, Bettino di Michele m.

Cella di Manetto di Folco (a.1334) [a]

The Buonaccorsi was a Ghibelline family which ran an important banking company. The nuclear family originated in the parish of San Stefano all'Abbazia, in the sesto of San Pancrazio. However, by the 1320's the family had spread into different parishes, though still mainly clustered around the Badia. In 1328 Bettino moved to the parish of San Procolo, next door to the Covoni (also kin ties Portinari-Covoni). However, although Luzzati says that Bettino moved to the parish of Santa Reparata only after the Buonaccorsi bankruptcy in 1342, according to this document he was already in this parish in 1334 [b].

This was Cella's second marriage - see BARDI.

Michele Buonaccorsi was a Bardi factor at Barletta from 1313 until his death in 1317. Bettino di Michele also worked for the Bardi in Rhodes in the 1320's [c], but became co-director of the Buonaccorsi company with his cousins Bandino in 1340 until its bankruptcy in 1342 [d].

Cella's uncle, Accerito, worked as a *socio* for the Buonaccorsi in 1340 [e].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1335, c.10, and Ser Domenico di Allegro di Nuto, N224 (I), no pag., 1351, 16 ott.; [b] Luzzati, 'Ricerche sulle attivita...di G. Villani', pp. 184-185; [c] Saporì, *Crisi*, p. 273; [d] Luzzati, 'Ricerche', pp. 184-185; [e] Y. Renouard, 'Le compagnie commerciale fiorentine del trecento', *ASI*, xcvi (1938), pp. 64, 165, 166, and ASF Diplomatico, S.M. Nuova, 1340, 20 ott., Biblioteca Ricardiana, 2009, c.320.

BUONI, Salvi m.

Gualdrada (widow 1280) [a]

No information on the family.

[a] Riccardiana 2009, c.359, 1280, 21 luglio.

CAPONSACCHI, Cilia di Gherardo m.

Folco di Ricovero di Folco (a.1287) [a]

The Caponsacchi were an old established Ghibelline family of the twelfth and early thirteenth century oligarchy. They lived in three sestis of the city, Porta San Piero, Porta Duoma, and San Pancrasio. As Ghibellines the Caponsacchi suffered heavily at the hands of the returning Guelfs in 1267-1268, though some branches of the family, especially those settled in the sesto of Porta San Piero, escaped exile. The Caponsacchi were declared magnate in 1293 [b].

A Gherardo di Coppo of the sesto of Porta San Piero, possibly Cilia's father, was treasurer of the commune in 1224, and a Ghibelline consigliere in 1266 [b].

The Caponsacchi allied with the White party in 1300, despite the fact that Corso Donati, the leader of the Blacks, had married a Caponsacchi girl, Tessa di Ubertino di Gaville, after the death of his Cerchi wife. Two members of the Caponsacchi were beheaded as followers of the White faction in 1303 [c].

[a] Will of Folco 1287/8, 15 genn.; [b] Barbadoro, *Finanze*,

p.43; Raveggi et al, pp. 9, 29, 34; [c] Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. pp. 38-39.

CAVALCANTI, Luigi di Poltrone m.

Margherita di Accerito di Mannetto 1343* [a]
dowry 1050 florins [a]

The Cavalcanti was a Guelf family from the sestis of San Piero Scherragio and Borgo. Their political influence dated from consular times. They were declared magnate in 1293, and supported the White party in 1300. Guild matriculation was in the Calimala and Cambio.

Margherita's dowry of 1050 florins was the largest Portinari dowry given or received. Rather unusually, it was more than twice as much as allocated to Margherita's sister Caterina who married Filippo MAGALOTTI in 1359, with a dowry of only 400 florins. Possibly their father, Accerito, who worked as a factor for the Bardi, had suffered financially after the collapse of the Bardi bank in 1348.

Margherita died in 1348, and Luigi remarried eighteen years later, to Caterina di Luigi di Neri de Bardi [b]. Luigi was proscribed, as a magnate, by the Albizzi faction in 1366-1367, along with three Cerchi (Francesco, Niccolo di Lodovico and Giovanni di Riccardo), two Brunelleschi, and Tuccio Falconieri [c].

[a] Riccardiana, 2009, c.422; [b] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Domenico d'Allegro Nuti, 1366; [c] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.204.

CIGLIAMOCHI, Dino di Gerio di Ruggerio m.

Benedetta di Sangallo di Grifo 1345* [a]

The Cigliamoichi (or Tigliamoichi) was a middling rank popolani house, like the Ricci, Bagnesi, Quartesi, Machiavelli [b]. There is little information on the family, except that Dino was himself from the parish of San Piero Scherragio [a].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1345, 37, c. 124; see also BNF Gargani, 1609, 1353 gabelle; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.43, and Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*, p.261. However, Becker believes them to be of noble origin, like the Adimari, Gherardini, or Buondelmonti: Becker, *Transition*, i. p.202.

COSE, Niccolo di Francesco di Gucci m.

Beatrice di Folchetto di Manetto 1336* [a]
dowry 500 florins [a]

Niccolo came from the parish of Santa Trinita, in the sesto of Borgo, and probably belonged to the Cosi family of that sesto, who were a Ghibelline magnate family matriculated in the Calimala guild.

Some members of the Cose family, including Niccolo himself, worked as factors for the Bardi company: Niccolo from 1324 to 1336, his father Francesco di Guccio from 1310 to 1337, and a Filippo di Gieri from 1334 to 1343 [cb].

Bice was a widow by 1351 [ca], and by 1355 had remarried, to Arrigho di Messer Chiante de Fracassis de PRATO.

[ca] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Not. N224 (I), no pag., 1351, 9 nov. This document refers to the dowry contract drawn up in 1335/6, 20 genn. See also Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, cc. 329, 357, and BNF Magl. 25, 397, c.198; [cb] Saporì, *Crisi*, pp. 274, 262, 264.

COVONI, Francesca di Bettino m.

Sandro di Giovanni di Manetto 1337* [ca]
dowry 560 florins [ca]

The Covoni, from the Quartiere of Santa Croce, were matriculated in the Cambio guild, and had a banking and money lending company which operated in the 1330's and 1340's.

Sandro worked for the Covoni company from 1337 until at least 1339 [ca]. After Francesca's death he took as his second wife Lisa BILIOTTI. She, in her turn, when widowed, remarried Zanobi di Forese Falconieri.

[ca] A.Saporì, *Libro giallo della compagnie dei Covoni* (Milan 1970), p.42; Velluti, *Cronica*, p.293.

FALCONIERI, Bandino di Messer Cambio m.

Ravignanna di Folco (a.1288) [ca]
dowry 500 lire [ca]

FALCONIERI, Sandro di Cenni m.

Caterina di Andrea di Grifo (widow 1379 [cb])

Like the Bardi, Cerchi, Acciaiuoli, and Mozzi, the Falconieri of Porta San Piero was a 'new' family, which started its main political activity after 1260. Despite their prestige and influence, they were not declared magnate in 1293, possibly because they had supported Giano della Bella in his campaigns [cc]. They sided with the White party in 1300, many of the family were exiled, and were only in fact dispensed from exile by Walter of Brienne in 1342 (like

members of the Cerchi, Pulci and Guidalotti, and some of the Portinari) [d]. Their mercantile activity dated back to the beginning of the thirteenth century. They were originally wool merchants, frequent consuls of the Calimala guild, and they had important banking and international trading interests [e].

Cambio di Guido Falconieri was an 'anzian' of the city in 1254, and a member of Chiarissimo Falconieri's *società* which swore allegiance to the pope in 1264 [f].

Bandino di Messer Cambio Falconieri was prior from December to February 1283 to 1284, from June to August 1286, and again from June to August 1290. He was actually on the priorate of 1293 which established the Ordinances of Justice, with Maso dell'Antella. He was involved in the 1295 debates on guild participation. However, he stopped participating in debates on electoral guild policy in 1295. Although most supporters of a guild based electoral policy favoured the White faction, including many of the Falconieri, Bandino in fact collaborated with the Blacks in 1301 [g]. He was podestà of Bergamo in 1294, and Florentine ambassador to Lombardy in 1296 [h].

[a] Will of Folco; [b] Riccardiana 2004, c.151; [c] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.6; [d] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.162 and ii. p.108; [e] Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, viii. 39, Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini*, p.145; [f] Davidsohn, *Forsch.* iv. p.108; [g] Najemy, *Corporatism*, pp. 44, 56, 64, 70, 71; [h] Raveggi et al., pp. 186, 187, 312; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. 569, 1294, 10 aprile.

FANTINI, Sandra di Tano m.

Matteo di Gherardo di Folco 1349* [a]
dowry 140 fl. [a]

No information on the family.

[a] Riccardiana, 2009, c.445 (ref. to ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Christofano di Bartolo di Ronaldini da Barberino, 1349); see also on Sandra and Matteo Riccardiana 1884, c.126, and ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, L35, i. no pag., 1365, 22 nov. for her will.

FILIPPO, Buono di m.

Chiara di Giovanni di Manetto (a.1332) [a]

No information on the family, but Buono came from the parish of Santa Margherita. He was a Bardi factor from 1318 to 1343, and was a *socio* in the Portinari company of 1344,

which included as partners and directors Chiara's uncle Pigello di Manetto, and Andrea di Andrea Portinari, as well as Girolamo di Buono SCARLATTI, husband of Chiara's cousin Vanna di Pigello Portinari [b].

[a] ASF Diplomatico, S.Lucia di Firenze, 1332, 4 ott.; Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1338, c.140; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1341, cc. 132, 152, 159, 164.

FORZETTI, Isabetta di Dino m.

Bartolo di Sangallo di Grifo (a.1357) [a]

No information on the family, though Isabetta is described as being from the parish of San Procolo [a].

Isabetta's father, Dino, was a *socio* of the Bardi in 1310 to 1333 [b]

This was Bartolo's second of three marriages, see GUITTOMANNI and STROZZAFICHI. Isabetta had died by 1364.

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Domenico di Allegro di Nuto, II, 1356/7, 8 febr.; Ser Ruberto di Talento da Fiesole, vii., 1356, c.44; Riccardiana, 1884, c.87, Riccardiana 2004, c.81v; [b] Saporì, *Crisi*, p.261.

GUITTOMANNI del Pepe, Lisa di Messer Grazia m.

Bartolo di Sangallo di Grifo (a.1354) [a]

The del Pepe traded in Flanders in the early fourteenth century [b].

A Grazie Guittomani was extracted from the purse to be a standard bearer of justice in 1324 [c].

This was Bartolo's first marriage. Lisa had died by 1357, and Bartolo remarried Isabetta FORZETTI, and then in 1364 a STROZZAFICHI.

[a] Riccardiana, 1884, c.86, and Riccardiana, 2040, c.37; [b] Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 448, 645. Lisa was probably the niece of the Cianghellus di Guittomani del Pepe whose will of 1324, 2 genn. is in Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. reg. 803; [c] Najemy, *Corporatism*, p.96.

MACHERONI di Pistoia, Andrea m.

Dora di Stagio di Folco (a.1330) [a]

No information on this marriage.

[a] Riccardiana, 2004, c.213. 1330. 17 maggio.

MAGALOTTI, Filippo di Duccio m.

Caterina di Accerito di Manetto 1359* [a]
dowry 400 florins [a]

This was a Guelf popolano family from the parish of San Firenze in the sesto of San Pier Scherragio. Important in the priorate, the family had supported the Black party in 1300. Guild matriculation was in the Calimala, and Filippo was an associate of the Peruzzi [b]. But by the 1340's the family had withdrawn from commercial activity [c].

Filippo was a member of the priorate in 1353, and although as a rule his family supported the conservative Albizzi faction Filippo, like Simone dell'Antella, was an independent liberal [d].

[a] Riccardiana, 2004, c.149; see also Diplomatico, Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1362/3, 11 genn., by which time Caterina was a widow, and also ibid., 1363, 10 nov; [b] Luzzati, 'Ricerche', p.227; [c] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, pp. 26, 125, 128; [d] Brucker, ibid., p.152. See also Najemy, *Corporatism*, pp. 202, 272.

MANDOLI, Giandonato m.

Lippa di Salto di Segna (a.1332) [a]

No information on the family, except that Giandonato was a factor in the Franzesi company in 1296 [b].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, c.380, 1333, cc. 131, 145, 240, 340; [b] Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p.677.

MAZZUOLI, Martino di Cione m.

Lisa di Folchetto di Manetto (a.1335) [a]

No information on the family, except that Martino was from the parish of San Pier Scherragio [a].

[a] BNF 25, 396, c.218, 1335; Riccardiana, 2040, c.30v, 1355.

MIGLIORE, Lapino m.

Iacopa di Stagio di Folco (a.1332) [a]

This family from the parish of San Felicità in Oltrarno had been Ghibelline in the 1260's [b]. However, there was also a Migliore tower in 1248 near Or San Michele, near property of the Cavalcanti and Macci [c].

A Migliore Guadagni put up 100 florins in a loan to the commune in 1303 [d]. Lapo Migliore was a Bardi factor from 1328 to 1340, as were other members of his family [e].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, c.19; for her will see ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1374, 11 luglio, by which time she was a widow; [b] Raveggi et al., p. 71; [c] Davidsohn, *Forsch.*, iv., p.489; [d] Barbadoro, *Finanze*, p.472; [e] Saponi, *Crisi*, pp. 270, 257, 260-261, 263-264, 266, 269.

de PRATO, Arrigho di Messer Chiante de Fracassis m.
Beatrice di Folchetto di Manetto (a.1356) [a]

No information on the family.
This was Beatrice's second marriage. See COSE.

[a] Riccardiana 2004, c.36v, 1355/6, 23 marzo; *ibid.* 1884, c.87, 2004, c.131v.

RICCI, Piera di Roggeri di Neri m.
Pigello di Manetto di Folco (widow 1350) [a]
RICCI, Tomasso di Messer Rosso m.
Checca (a.1358) [b]

The Ricci were a middle rank Guelf popolano family from the sesto of Porta San Piero, with a solid tradition of participation in public office in the fourteenth century. There were twelve Ricci priors in the fourteen years 1328 to 1342, and another nine in the period 1352 to 1377 [c]. A member of the family sat on the Twenty in 1341, and another was a member of the Fourteen after the fall of Brienne [d]. The Ricci led the popular, anti-Albizzi faction in the second half of the fourteenth century. (It is interesting that the Portinari had close ties with the leaders of the 'popular' based White faction, the Cerchi, at the turn of the century, and again with the 'popular' leaders in the next wave of factionalism. See business section for commercial dealings between Pigello Portinari and his Ricci kinsmen).

Original guild matriculation was in the arte dei Medici e Speciali, but the family also ran a banking company in the thirteenth century, and fourteenth century guild membership was in the Cambio and Calimala [d]. By the middle of the

fourteenth century the family was wealthy: a Messer Rosso di Riccardo de Ricci was fined nearly 4,000 florins for misappropriation of public funds and communal property by the Duke of Athens in 1342 [c].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (III), cc. 146v-147, 1352, 24 giugno; [b] BNF 25, 397, c.101, 1358; [c] Najemy, *Corporatism*, pp. 104, 117, 202; [d] Becker, *Transition*, i. pp. 153, 173; [e] Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 438, 831; [f] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.173, and Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.205.

ROMALDELLI, Caterina di Tomaso di Lapo m.
Adoardo di Giovanni di Manetto (a.1360) [a]

No information on the family, but Caterina had been married before, to Bartolomeo di Matteo di Aldobrandini di Lapo Tanaglie, of the parish of San Procolo [b].

[a] Riccardiana 1884, c.87, 1360, gabelle; [b] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Domenico di Allegro di Nuto, I, 1361/2, 2 marzo.

SCARLATTI, Girolamo di Bocca m.
Vanna di Pigello di Manetto (1341*) [a]

No information on the family, but Girolamo was a *socio* in the Portinari company of 1344, which included as partners and directors his father-in-law Pigello di Manetto [b].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1341, cc. 132, 152, 159, 164; [b] see business.

STROZZAFICHE, Magnola di Niccolo di Berto m.
Bartolo di Sangallo di Grifo 1365* [a]
dowry 550 florins [a]

No information on the family, but this was Bartolo's third marriage. See GUITTOMANNI and FORZETTI.

Niccolo di Berto Strozzafiche was prior four times in the period 1328 to 1342 [b].

[a] ASF Notarile Ser Francesco di Ser Piero di Ser Stefano, 1364/5, 14 genn.; and Riccardiana 2004, c.82. Magnola and Bartolo appeared in the gabelles in 1374, 1379 and 1386, BNF Gargani 1609, and Riccardiana 2004, c.81v; [b] Najemy, *Corporatism*, p.117.

TEDALDINI, Ranieri di Stoldo m.

Cilia di Ricovero di Folchetto (widow 1325) [a]

The Tedaldini were a Ghibelline family whose presence in the city, in the sesto of Porta San Piero, dated back to consular times. Declared magnate in 1293, they supported the White faction in 1300.

A Banco di Messer Ranieri, possibly a son of this or a former marriage, was a Ghibelline signatory to the peace of Cardinal Latino in 1281 [b].

[a] ASF Notarile B835, c.19, 1325, 21 ott.; see also Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, cc. 16, 130, 220; 1335, c.110; 1341, cc. 121, 130; [b] Salvemini, *Magnati*, (1899 edition), p.329.

TOLOSINI, Andrea di Guidone di Fabri m.

Ricovero di Folchetto di Manetto (a.1365) [a]

The Tolosini was a relatively new family, whose first representation in the priorate was in 1318 [b]. Fabro Tolosini had lent 200 florins to the city in the loan of 1303 [c], and his son Guido, who also lent money to the treasury, was very wealthy, with almost 4,000 florins invested in the Monte in 1345 [d]. Ricovero's father-in-law, Guidone di Fabri Tolosini, had important business connections with Ricovero's uncle, Giovanni di Manetto Portinari [e].

According to Brucker, the Tolosini supported the Ricci faction as they feared the concentrated power of the great clans like the Albizzi. He classes them among those families of recent prominence who were not, however, entrenched politically or socially, but who nevertheless formed part of the 'patriciate' of Florence. Thus they were similar to the Covoni (first prior 1303), the Antella (prior 1282), the Mozzi (former magnate, prior 1327), del Bene (prior 1283), and the Rimbaldesi (prior 1316) [f].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Guido di Ser Duccio di Ser Giovanni da Rondinaio, c.78, 1365, 7 giugno; [b] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.100; [c] Barbadoro, *Finanze*, p.472; [d] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.100; [e] see business; [f] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.126.

TORNAQUINCI, Francesca di Duccio di Messer Cipriani m.

Folchetto di Manetto (widow 1326) [a]

The Tornaquinci were a Guelf magnate family from the sesto of San Pancrazio. Their political tradition dated back to consular times, and they supported the Black party in 1300. However, although they were more involved with commerce than politics, and their merchant interests dated back to the beginning of the thirteenth century, by the mid fourteenth century, though they still ranked among the great magnate houses of the city, they were not well off [b]. Like the other great magnate houses of the Adimari, Bardi, Spini, they were convicted of fraud by Brienne in 1342, and a Tornaquinci sat on the Fourteen after his fall [c].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Bartolomeo dGratini da San Donato in Greti, c.73, 1326, 14 nov.; see also Ser Salvi Dini, 1335, c.139, and 1345, c.200; see Notarile Antecosimiano, B835, c.73, 1326, 14 nov., and by 1351 both Francescha and Folchetto were dead: Notarile Antecosimiano, N224 (1), 1351, 9 nov.; [b] Brucker, *Florentine Politics*, p.22; [c] Becker, *Transition*, i. p.158.

UGUCCIONI, Giovanna di Bartolo m.

Banco di Francesco di Grifo (a.1363) [a]
dowry 500 florins [a]

No information on the family, except that Giovanna came from the parish of San Firenze in the sesto of San Piero Scherragio [a].

The dowry was provided by her brother Tancredi [b].

[a] Riccardiana 2004, c.76; [b] ASF Provvisioni, 1363, c.218.

da VESPIGNANO, Andrea di Forese m.

Lapa di Grifo di Assalto (widow 1338) [a]

No information on the family, except that Lapa, as a widow in 1338, was living in the parish of Santa Reparata, presumably still in her marriage home [a].

[a] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1338, c.131; see also *ibid.* 1345, cc. 37, 124; Ser Ruberto di Talento da Fiesole, c.227, 1356.

de VOLOGNANO, Lapa di Rimbotti m.

Renzo di Doccia di Folco (a.1319) [a]

de VOLOGNANO, Lagia di Piero di Ubaldino m.

Francesco di Grifo di Assalto 1329* [b]
dowry 300 florins [b]

The da Volognano was a Ghibelline family of aristocratic tradition which was declared magnate in 1293. In the early fourteenth century the family sided with the Tuscan Ghibellines and aided the exiled White Guelfs [c]. Indeed, Francesco di Grifo Portinari was himself in exile until 1315, with his father and three of his brothers [d].

Lapa came from the parish of San Procolo [a].

[a] BNF 25, 397, c.198, 1319. See also ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1332, cc. 223, 231, 1334, cc. 69, 140, 1338, c.122, 1345, c.60; [b] ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, R348, cc. 411v, 416, 419, 1329, 4 ott. & 8 nov.; [c] Raveggi et al., p.263; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 385; [d] see politics.

....., Bice m.

Manetto di Folco di Ricovero (dead 1333) [a]

[a] Riccardiana, 2009, c.409. She died in 1333, he in 1340.

PORTINARI MARRIAGES

- Accerito di Manetto di Folco
Lisabetta di Guido DELL'ANTELLA
dowry 300 fl.
- Adoardo di Giovanni di Manetto di Folco
Caterina di Tomaso di Lapo ROMALDELLI
- Banco di Francesco di Grifo
Giovanna di Bartolo UGUCCIONI
dowry 500 fl.
- Bartolo di Sangallo di Grifo
1)Lisa di M.Grazia GUITTOMANNI
2)Isabetta di Dino FORZETTI
3)Magnola di Niccolo di Berto STROZZAFICHI
dowry 550 fl. 1365*
- Bice di Folchetto di Manetto
1)Niccolo di Francesco di Gucci COSE
dowry 500 fl. 1336*
2)Arrigho di M.Chianti de Fracassis de Prato
- Bice di Folco di Ricovero
M.Simone di M.Iacopo de BARDI
dowry 500 lire
- Benedetta di Sangallo di Grifo
Dino di Gerio Ruggerii Cigliamochi
- Benedetto di Sangallo di Grifo
Diana di Cione GUIDETTI
- Benozzo di Grifo di Assalto
Fia
- Capovanna di Gherardo di Folco
Biliotti di Metti BILIOTTI
- Caterina di Accerito di Manetto
Filippo di Duccio MAGALOTTI
dowry 400 fl. 1359*
- Caterina di Andrea di Grifo
Sandro di Cenzo FALCONIERI
- Cella di Folchetto di Manetto(Manetto di Folchetto)

1)Giovanni di Gualtieri di Iacopo de BARDI
2)Bettino di Michele BUONACCORSI

Checca

Tomaso di M.Rosso de RICCI

Chiara di Giovanni di Manetto
Buono di Filippo

Cilia di Ricovero di Folchetto (Ricovero)
Ranieri di Stoldo de TEDALDINI

Dora di Stagio di Folco
Andrea Maccheroni di PISTOIA

Fia di Folco di Ricovero
Talano di M.Boccaccio ADIMARI
dowry provision 800 lire

Folchetto di Manetto di Folco
Francesca di Puccio di M.Cipriani de TORNAQUINC

Folco di Ricovero di Folco
Cilia di Gherardo CAPONSACCHI

Francesca di Ricovero di Folco
Niccolai di Boninsegna de Moirmorays

Francesco di Grifo di Assalto
Lagia di Piero di Ubaldini da VOLOGNANO
dowry 300 fl.

Giovanna di Folco di Ricovero
Donato di Lotteringho de BOSCOLI

Giovanni di Manetto di Folco
Flora di Forese de ADIMARI

Gostanza di Pigello di Manetto
Barna di Luce Alberti
dowry 300 fl. 1356*

Gualdrada di Portinari
Salvi Buoni

Iacopa di Stagio di Folco
Lapino di Migliore

Iacopo di Folco di Ricovero
Ghilla di Benuccio Senni DEL BENE

Lapa di Grifo di Assalto
Andree Forese FORESINI DA VESPIGNANO

Lapa di Ricovero di Folco

Francesco di Mandi BELLINCIE

Lippa di Salto di Segna

Giandonato di Mandolis (Mardolis)

Lisa di Folchetto di Manetto

Martino di Cione Malluoli (Mazzuoli)

Manetto di Folco di Ricovero

Bice

Manetto di Giovanni

Flora di Foresis de ADIMARI

Margherita di Accerito di Manetto

Luigi di Poltrone CAVALCANTI

dowry 1050 fl. 1343*

Manetto

Francesca TORNAQUINCI

Matteo di Gherardo di Folco

Sandra di Tano FANTINI

dowry 140 fl. 1349*

Pigello di Manetto di Folco

Piera di Roggeri di Neri RICCI

Puccio di Grifo di Assalto

Antonia di Ranieri di M.Fini de Benzis de Figli

Ravignanna di Folco

Bandino FALCONIERI

dowry 500 lire

Renzo di Doccia di Folco

Lapa di Rimbotti DA VOLOGNANO

Ricovero di Folchetto di Manetto

Andrea di Guidone di Fabri de TOLOSINI

Sandro di Giovanni di Manetto

1) Francesca di Bettino COVONI

dowry 560 fl.

2) Lisa di Gualtieri di Metti BILIOTTI

dowry 400 fl.

Stagio di Folco di Manetto

Bettina di Boccaccio degli ADIMARI

Vanna di Pigello di Manetto

Girolamo di Bocca SCARLATTI

PORTINARI DOWRIES

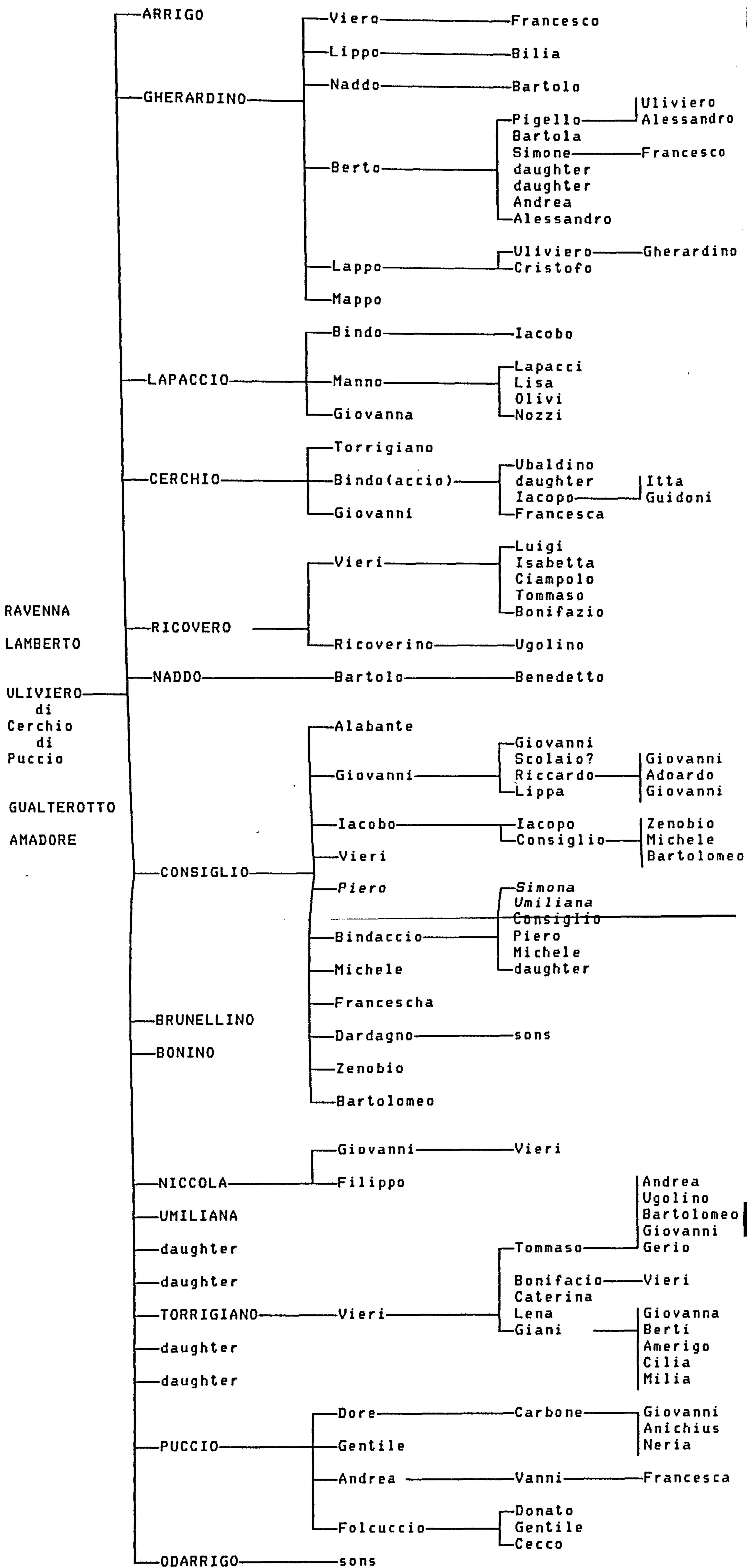
Acceritto di Manetto di Folco Isabetta di Guido DELL'ANTELLA pre 1356	500 fl.
Banco di Francesco di Grifo Giovanna di Bartolo UGUCCIONI c.1363	500 fl.
Bartolo di Sangallo di Grifo Magnola di Niccolo di Berto STROZZAFICCHI 1364, 14 January [third wife]	550 fl.
Bice di Folco Messer Simone di Iacopo de BARDI 1280's	500 lire
Caterina di Accerito di Manetto Filippo di Duccio MAGALOTTI 1359	400 fl.
Fia di Folco Talano di Messer Boccacio de ADIMARI pre 1330	800 lire
Francesco di Grifo di Assalto Lagia di Piero di Ubaldino DA VOLOGNANO 1329, 4 October	300 fl.
Gostanza di Pigello di Manetto Barna di Luce ALBERTI 1353/4, 5 February	300 fl.
Margherita di Accerito di Manetto Luigi di Poltrone CAVALCANTI 1343	1050 fl.
Matteo di Gherardo di Folco Sandra di Tano FANTINI	

1349		140 fl.
Ravignanna di Folco		
Bandino FALCONIERI		
pre 1288		500 lire
Sandro di Giovanni di Manetto		
Francesca di Bettino COVONI		
1337		560 fl.
Lisa di Gualtieri di Metti BILIOTTI		
pre 1351		400 fl.

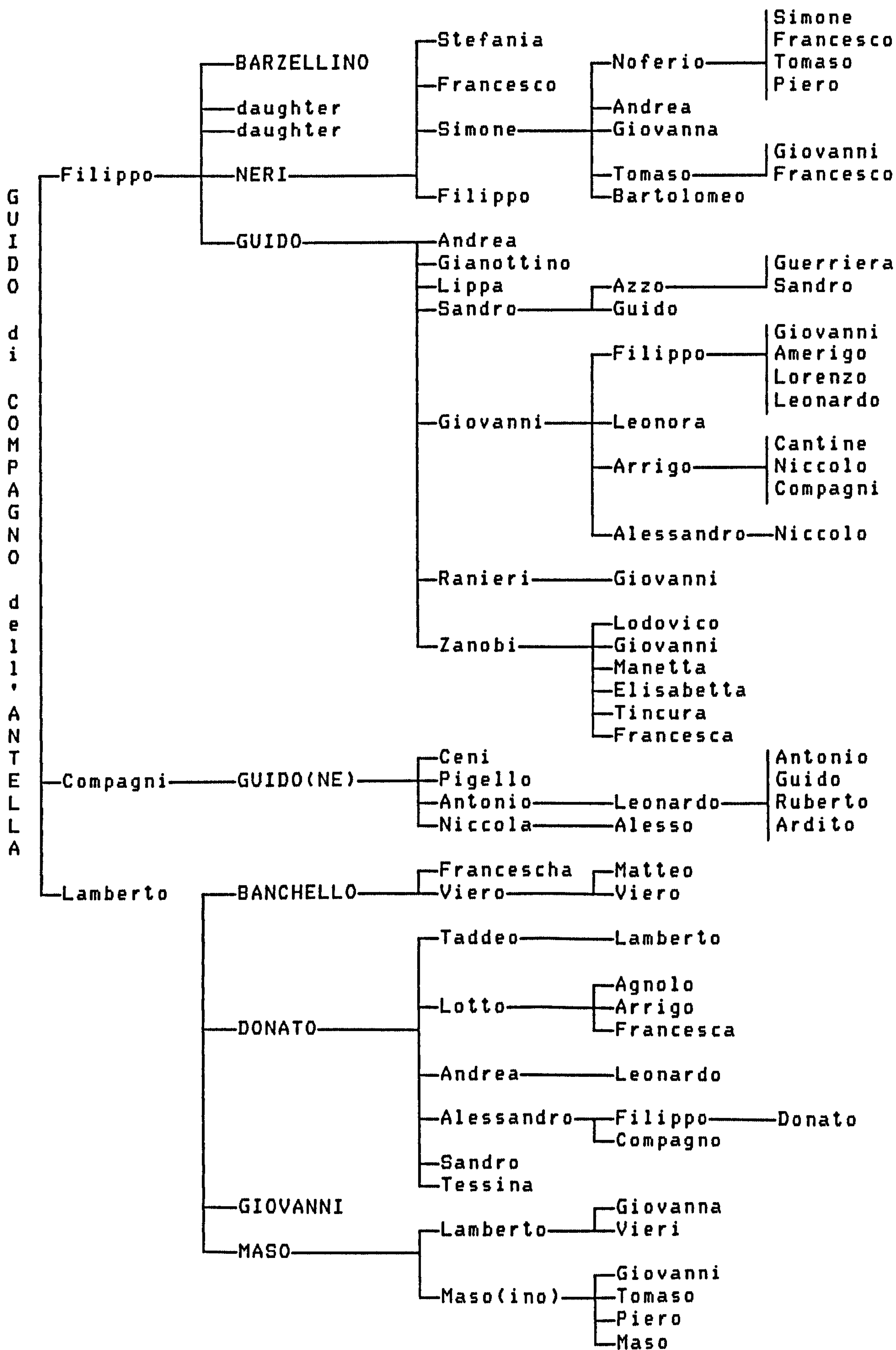
PORTINARI DOWRIES

pre 1288	BARDI male	500 lire
pre 1288	FALCONIERI male	500 lire
pre 1330	ADIMARI male	800 lire
1329	DA VOLOGNANO female	300 fl.
1337	COVONI female	560 fl.
1343	CAVALCANTI male	1050 fl.
1349	FANTINI female	140 fl.
pre 1351	BILIOTTI female	400 fl.
1353	ALBERTI male	300 fl.
pre 1356	DELL'ANTELLA female	500 fl.
1359	MAGALOTTI male	400 fl.
1363	UGUCCIONI female	500 fl.
1364	STROZZAFICHI female	550 fl.

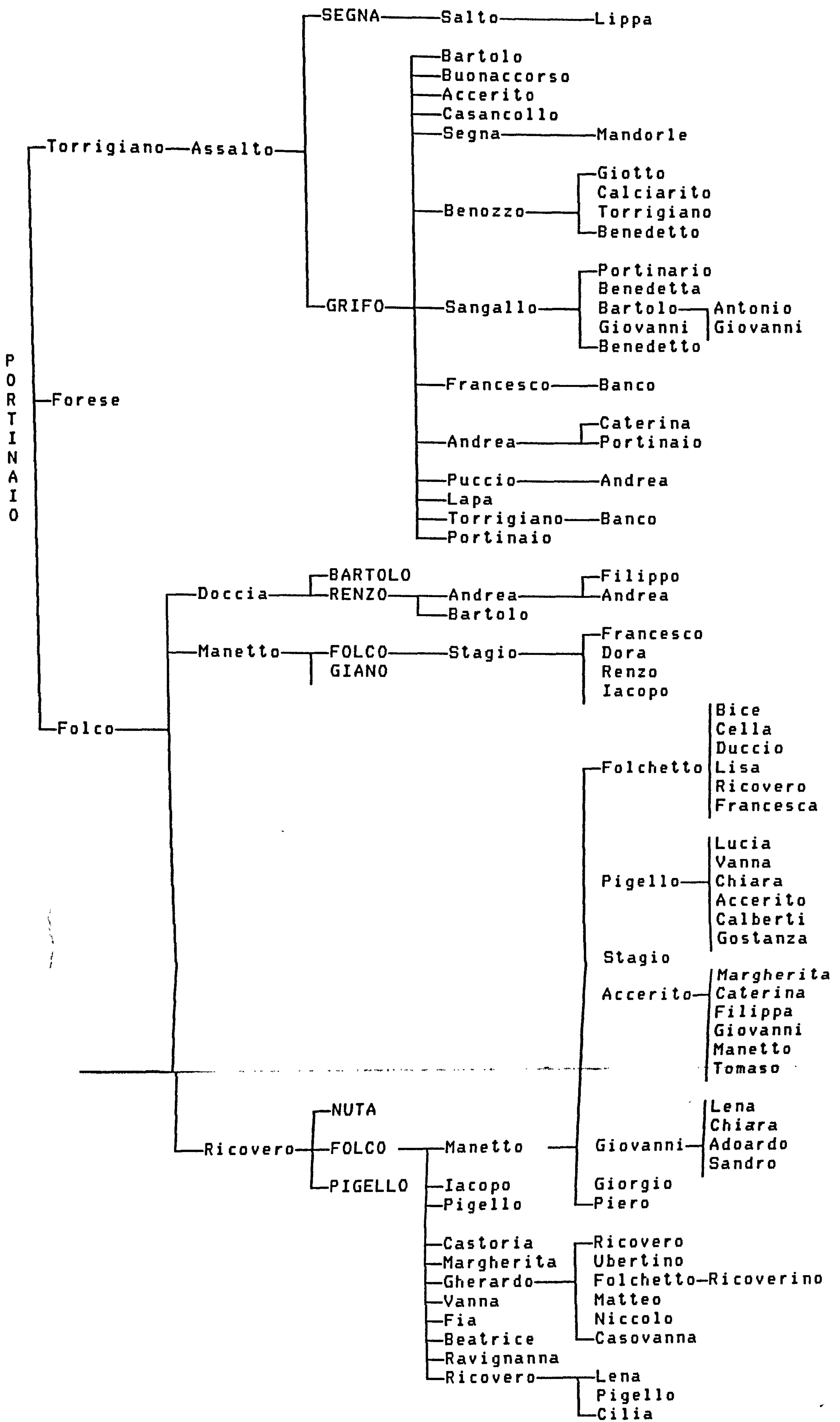
CERCHI FAMILY GENEALOGY



DELL'ANTELLA FAMILY GENEALOGY



PORTINARI FAMILY GENEALOGY



NOTES TO PAGES 1-4

Introduction

- 1 P.J.Jones, 'Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries in the Fourteenth Century', *The British School at Rome*, 1956. 3-205, p.183 (hereafter Jones, *Florentine Families*).
- 2 Gene Brucker, for example, in his *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence*, (Princeton 1977), p. 18, says: 'Though the family had no charter or constitution, nor formal rules and regulations, it was - and remained - the most cohesive force in Florentine society through the Renaissance and beyond'.
- 3 Dino Compagni, *Cronica*, ed. Gino Luzzatto, (Turin 1968) (hereafter Compagni, *Cronica*).
- 4 Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, ed. G.Dragomanni, (Florence 1844-1845) (hereafter G.Villani, *Cronica*).
- 5 *ibid.* iv. 10-13.
- 6 *ibid.* v. 29.
- 7 *ibid.* vi. 33.
- 8 *ibid.* vi. 65.
- 9 *ibid.* vi. 79.
- 10 *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, ed. Ildefonso di San Luigi, 24 vols., (Florence 1770-1789), vi. pp. 180-182 (hereafter *Delizie*).
- 11 Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, ed. G.Dragomanni, (Florence 1844-1845).
- 12 *Cronaca Fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani*, ed Rodolico, RRIISS, new ed. vol. xxx, pt.1, (Citta di Castello 1903-1955) (hereafter Stefani, *Cronaca*).
- 13 A.Sapori, *Le crisi delle compagnie mercantile dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi*, (Florence 1926) (hereafter Sapori, *Crisi*); *I Libri di commercio dei Peruzzi*, (Milan 1934); *La Compagnia dei Frescobaldi in Inghilterra*, (Florence 1947); *I Libri degli Alberti del Giudice*, (Milan 1952).
- 14 G.Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295*, (Florence 1899, reprinted Turin 1960) (hereafter

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- Salvemini, *Magnati*). N.Ottokar, *Il comune di Firenze alla fine del Duecento*, 1926, rev. ed. Turin 1962) (hereafter Ottokar, *Comune*); Isidoro Del Lungo, *I Bianchi e I Neri*, (Milan 1921); R.Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols., (Florence 1956-1968) (hereafter Davidsohn, *Storia*); G.Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, (Princeton 1962) (hereafter Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*); M.Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols., (Baltimore 1967); J.Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics*, (Chapel Hill 1982) (hereafter Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*).
- 15 G.Brucker, 'The Medici in the Fourteenth Century', *Speculum*, xxxii (1957).
- 16 G.Pampaloni, 'I Tornaquinci, poi Tornabuoni fino ai primi del Cinquecento', *ASI*, 1968.
- 17 C. de la Ronciere, 'Une Famille Florentine au XIVe siecle: Les Velluti', *Famille et Parente dans l'Occident Medieval*, (Rome 1977).
- 18 S.Raveggi, M.Tarassi, D.Medici, P.Parenti, *Ghibelline, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso: I detentori del potere politico a Firenze nella seconda meta del duecento*, (Florence 1978) (hereafter Raveggi et al., *Ghibelline, Guelfi*).
- 19 F.W.Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The family life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai*, (Princeton 1976). This work counters the views of R.Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence*, (Princeton 1968) whose study of four families - the Strozzi, Guicciardini, Gondi and Capponi - in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries originally led him to put forward a theory about the progressive fragmentation of the patrician family in Florence. See especially pages 251-275.
- 20 S.K.Foster, *The Ties that Bind: Kinship Association and Marriage in the Alberti Family 1378-1428*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cornell 1985).
- 21 H.Gregory, *A Florentine family in Crisis: the Strozzi in the fifteenth century*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, Westfield College, University of London, 1981).
- 22 Phd thesis, University of London.
- 23 For example, the series of P.Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, (Milan and Turin 1847-99). This includes genealogies of families from throughout Italy. The

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specifically Florentine families dealt with are the Acciaiuoli, Albizzi, Aldobrandini, Alighieri, Buonarroto, Buondelmonti, Capponi, Ferucci, Gaddi, Guicciardini, Machiavelli, Martelli, Medici, Pazzi, Pulci, Soderini, Strozzi, Tornabuoni, da Uzzano, Valori, Vettori, and Villani. Works by L. Passerini, include *Genealogia e Storia della Famiglia Corsini*, (Florence 1858); *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Altoviti*, (Florence 1871); *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Guadagni*, (Florence 1873). However, these types of work are still very useful, where they exist, in providing at least a working framework for the genealogy of the family.

- 24 Although it is notoriously hard to identify and quantify friends and neighbours, see D.V. and F.W. Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The district of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth century*, (New York 1982).
- 25 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p. 33.
- 26 G.Villani, *Cronica*, v. 39.
- 27 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p. 33.
- 28 G.Villani, *Cronica*, viii. 39.
- 29 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 20.
- 30 L. Passerini, *Famiglie Celebri Toscane*, 3 vols., (Florence 1862), vol. i. no pag.
- 31 Jones, *Florentine Families*, p. 185. Florence's population of around 25,000 in 1125, already a large city by the standards of the day, had risen dramatically to almost 100,000 by the end of the thirteenth century, when it was one of the five or six largest cities in the whole of Europe. Much of this dynamic growth had taken place in the second half of the thirteenth century. G. Pardi, 'Disegno della storia demografica di Firenze', *ASI*, lxxiv (1916), i. pp. 1-84, 185-246. E. Fiumi, 'La demografia fiorentina nelle pagine di G. Villani', *ASI*, cviii (1950), pp. 78-158. For a review of different historians' views on the growth of population in Florence at this period see F. Sznura, *L'Espansione urbana di Firenze nel Duecento*, (Florence 1975), pp. 8-10.
- 32 G.Villani, *Cronica*, vi. 183.
- 33 G. Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, (Florence

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- 1960), p.12 (hereafter Pampaloni, *Palazzo Portinari*).
- 34 *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, (Rome 1973), vi. p. 607.
- 35 BNF Gargani, 1609, no pag.
- 36 *Delizie*, vii. p. 175.
- 37 *ibid.* vii. p. 161.
- 38 *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, iv. p. 607.
- 39 For a general introduction to the economic background to this study see P.J.Jones, 'La Storia Economica', in *La Storia d'Italia*, ed. R.Romano and C.Vivanti, vol. ii. (Turin 1974); and G.Luzzatto, *An Economic History of Italy*, (London 1961).
- 40 G.Villani, *Cronica*, xi.94. Chapters 92 to 94 form his well-known statistical analysis of 'la grandezza e lo stato e la magnificenza del comune di Firenze' in 1338. For a translation of chapter 94 into English, see R.S.Lopez and I.W.Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, (New York 1955), pp.71-74. On the reliability generally of Villani's statistics, see A.Sapori, *The Italian Merchant in the Middle Ages*, trans. P.A.Kennen, (New York 1970), pp.106-109.
- 41 G.Villani, *Cronica*, xi.92. Some figures given originally just in lire, or in other currencies, have been converted, throughout the thesis, into florins, using an approximation of the rate of exchange current for the date. These have been taken from P.Spufford and W.Wilkinson, *Interim Listing of the Exchange Rates of Medieval Europe*, (Keele 1977), and the new more detailed listing of exchange rates, at present being prepared for publication, which Dr Spufford has kindly let me consult.
- 42 D.Herlihy, 'Direct and Indirect Taxation in Tuscan Urban Finance, ca. 1200-1400', *Finances et Comptabilite Urbains du XIIIe e XVIIe siecle*, (Brussels 1964), pp. 386, 403, 404.
- 43 P.Santini, *Documenti dell'antica costituzione del comune di Firenze*, (Florence 1895), pp. 17-18, 191, 365 (hereafter Santini, *Antica costituzione*).
- 44 On the guilds of Florence see especially A.Doren, *Le Arti Fiorentine*, (Florence 1940), 2 vols.
- 45 On the development of Florence's own woollen industry

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see H.Hoshino, 'The rise of the Florentine woollen industry in the fourteenth century', in *Cloth and clothing in medieval Europe*, eds. N.B.Harte and K.G.Ponting, Pasold Studies in Textile History, 2, (London 1983), pp. 184-204; Hoshino's major work on this subject is *L'arte della lana in Firenze nel basso medioevo: il commercio della lana e il mercato dei panni fiorentini nei secoli XIII-XV*, (Florence 1980).

- 46 G.Villani, *Cronica*, xi.92.
- 47 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi., p.425.
- 48 Y.Renouard, *Les hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Age*, (Paris 1968), p.160.
- 49 R.S.Lopez, 'The Dawn of Medieval Banking', in *The Dawn of Modern Banking*, 10 essays for a conference for Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, (London 1979), p.8.
- 50 On the Italian and Tuscan 'compagnie', see Y.Renouard, *Les hommes d'affaires italiens*, especially pp. 152-200. See also I.Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, (London 1963), p.109.
- 51 T.W.Blomquist, 'The Dawn of Banking in an Italian Commune: Thirteenth Century Lucca', in *The Dawn of Modern Banking*, p.68.
- 52 *ibid.* pp. 58-59.
- 53 R.de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*, (Harvard 1963), p.3.
- 54 R.de Roover, *Business, Banking and Economic Thought*, ed. J.Kirshner, (Chicago 1974), p.129. For the original capitalisation and investment by partners in the Alberti *società* see R.de Roover, 'The story of the Alberti Company of Florence, 1302-1348, as revealed in its account book', *The Business History Review*, xxxii (1958).
- 55 As an introduction to the early history of the Italian city states, and on the transition of Florence and other Italian communes from town to city state, see D.Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 2nd edition, (London 1978). On the general political context and background, see J.K.Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy*, (London 1973) and J.Larner, 'Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch', (London 1980),

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- particularly chapters 2 and 3.
- 56 The classic work for this area is S.Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, (Cambridge 1958).
- 57 On the Angevins see E.Jordan, *Les Origines de la Domination Angevine en Italie*, (Paris 1909), and E.Leonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, (Paris 1954).
- 58 Dino Compagni is the contemporary chronicler of the feuds between the Blacks and the Whites. For a detailed commentary on the chronicle see the edition by Isidoro del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua cronica*, 3 vols., (Florence 1879-87). Some of the works of G.Masi provide worthwhile analyses of the period. See, for example, his 'Sull'origine dei Bianchi e dei Neri', *Giornale Dantesco*, xxx, pt. 2, (1927), 'Il nome delle fazioni fiorentine dei Bianchi e dei Neri', *Studi Medioevali*, 1927; 'Struttura sociale delle fazioni politiche fiorentine ai tempi di Dante', *Giornale Dantesco*, xxxi (1930); and 'I banchieri fiorentini nella vita politica della città sulla fine del Dugento', *Archivio Giuridico*, cv, pt.1, (1931) pp. 57-89.
- 59 For a study of Pope Boniface see T.S.R.Boase, *Boniface VIII*, (London 1933), and on his relations with Florence see G.Levi, 'Boniface VIII e Firenze', *Archivio della società Romana di Storia Patria*, v (1882).
- 60 For an interpretation of the political history of the period as an example of 'party politics', see J.Heers, *Parties and Political Life in the Medieval West*, (Amsterdam 1977).
- 61 G.Villani, *Cronica*, v. p.38.
- 62 There is an enormous amount of work which covers the subjects of magnates. See of course Salvemini, *Magnati*, and Ottokar, *Comune*. Also N.Rubenstein, *La lotta contro i magnati a Firenze. Le origini della legge sul sodamento*, (Florence 1939); M.B.Becker, 'A Study in Political Failure. The Florentine Magnates: 1280-1343', *Medieval Studies*, xxvii (1965); D.Cavalca, 'Il ceto magnatizio a Firenze dopo gli ordinamenti di giustizia', *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, xl-xli, (1967-1968); and G.Pampaloni, 'I magnati a Firenze alla fine del Dugento', *ASI*, 1971-1972.
- 63 The main works which cover the period 1300 to 1360 are

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Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*, Becker, *Florence in Transition*, and Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*.

- 64 On knights and knighthood see G.Salvemini, *La dignita cavalleresca nel comune di Firenze*, (Turin 1966), and E.Christiani, 'Sul valore politico del cavalierato nella Firenze dei secoli XIII e XIV', *Studi medievali*, serie III, iii. (1962), giugno.
- 65 Heers, *Parties and Political Life*, p.77.
- 66 Salvemini, *Magnati*, pp. 26-27.
- 67 Heers, *Parties and Political Life*, p.77.
- 68 On the importance of marriage and the family see J.Heers, *Le clan familial au moyen age*, (Paris 1974); D.Herlihy, 'Family solidarity in Medieval Italian History', *Explorations in Economic History*, vii. (1969-1971); L.Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists*, (London 1963); and D.Kent, *The Rise of the Medici*, (Oxford 1978). Contemporary domestic chronicles and writings are a great source of information on attitudes to marriage. See especially the *Ricordi*, of Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, ed. V.Branca, (Florence 1956); Donato Velluti, *La cronica domestica di messer Donato Velluti scritta fra il 1367 e il 1370*, ed. I. del Lungo and G.Volpi, (Florence 1914); and Leonardo Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. R.N.Watkins, (Columbia 1969).
- 69 G.Villani, *Cronica*, vii. 56.
- 70 The diary of Gregorio Dati in *Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence*, trans. J.Martines, ed. G.Brucker, (New York 1967).
- 71 On the consorterie and tower houses in Florence see especially M.Tabarrini, 'Le consorterie nella storia fiorentina del medio-evo', in *La vita italiana nel Trecento*, (Milan 1892); F.Niccolai, 'I consorzi nobiliari ed il comune nell'alta e media Italia', *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, xiii (1940), pp. 116-47, 292-342, 397-447; and P.Santini, 'Societa delle torri in Firenze', *ASI*, xx (1887), pp. 25-58, 178-204.
- 72 Heers, *Parties and Political Life*, pp. 174, 180.
- 73 G.Villani, *Cronica*, xi. 94.

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- 74 P.J.Jones, 'From Manor to Mezzadria: A Tuscan Case-Study in the Medieval Origins of Modern Agrarian Society', in *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. N.Rubinstein, (London 1968), p.227.
- 75 *ibid.* pp. 229-230.
- 76 H.Hoshino's *L'arte della lana in Firenze*, includes a short study of the Albizzi family in the fourteenth century.
- 77 *ibid.* pp. 317-318.
- 78 Jones, *Florentine Families*, pp. 203-204.
- 79 Heers, *Parties and Political Life*, p. 119.
- 80 See Chapter Four, The Portinari and Land.
- 81 See Chapter Four, The Cerchi and Land.

Chapter One: Business

- 1 ASF Diplomatico, Badia fiorentina, 1246, 12 luglio and 16 sett. Here the abbot of the Badia convent of Vallombrosa, already in debt to Uliviero and his sons and *socii*, borrowed another 1,610 lire pisani from the Cerchi to enable him to purchase rights over the Burgo Vico l'Abate in Greve. Later in the same year Torrigiano, on behalf of the *società* of his father Uliviero, took over the debts which the convent had with the Cavalcanti of Florence.
- 2 P.Santini, *Antica costituzione*, p.376; ASF Diplomatico, Badia fiorentina, 1234, 26 marzo.
- 3 ASF Mss, 542, no pag. Giovanni di Consiglio di Uliviero was again consul of the guild in 1291. However, after the collapse of the Cerchi *società* in the fourteenth century no member of the family was again inscribed in the guild until 1352 when Giovanni's son, Riccardo, joined the Calimala guild, and in 1356 he also joined the Cambio guild. ASF Mss, 542; ASF Cambio, 12, f.75v.
- 4 J.Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urban IV*, (Paris 1892), reg. 574, 1264, 28 mai; reg. 661, 2 juillet;

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- Jordan, *Angevins*, p.348, 1264, 28 mai.
- 5 See under Saporì in the bibliography for his editions of many of the Florentine account books which do exist. for Florentine companies in the fourteenth century.
- 6 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1291, 30 agosto, testamento di Consiglio di Uliviero de Cerchi.
- 7 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Arnoldo da Firenze, 1281, 30 aprile; A.Gherardi, *Le Consulte della Repubblica fiorentina dall'anno 1280 all'anno 1298*, (Florence 1896-1898), 2 vols., (hereafter Gherardi, *Consulte*), i. p. 122, 1282, 23 nov.; ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Manni, 1284, 31 agosto.
- 8 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp.426, 837-838.
- 9 ASF Provv., ix. 208v, 1298, 24 sett.; Diplomatico, Mercatanti, 1300/1, 22 febr.; Notarile Antecosimiano, B2126, f.33, 1301, 30 maggio; M293(II), f.66, 1302, 3 nov.
- 10 ASF Provv. v.ff.132-133, 1295, 20 sett.; Diplomatico, Mercatanti, 1296, 13 sett., 1296, 14 ott., 1300/1, 22 febr.; Notarile Antecosimiano M293(II), ff.73-73v, 1303/4, 2 genn.
- 11 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 426, 431.
- 12 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p. 431.
- 13 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 426, 837-838.
- 14 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p. 620.
- 15 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p. 665.
- 16 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p. 470.
- 17 The 'galera' was rented at Nimes for 360 lire genovesi. ASF Diplomatico, Mercatanti, 1296, 13 sett. Simone rented another boat the following month to carry 150 bales, at 30 soldi per bale, from Aigues Mortes to Piaccia, Diplomatico, Mercatanti, 1296, 14 ott. According to the document Simone di Consiglio was representing the Cerchi Neri. If this is true, and not a slip of the pen, then it is rather strange, as he was really a member of the Cerchi Bianchi - see Figure 2.
- 18 A.Saporì, *Una compagnia di Calimala ai primi del*

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Trecento, (Florence 1932).

- 19 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Filza I, 43, Arnolfo da Firenze, 1281, 30 aprile.
- 20 I am indebted to two invaluable works by T.H.Lloyd or information on the activities of the Cerchi and other Florentine merchant banking companies in England. These are his *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge 1977), and *Alien Merchants in England in the High Middle Ages*, (Brighton 1982), especially Chapter 7, 'The South', pp. 167-202, which is concerned with Italian merchants in England. The information about the first dates of the Florentine companies in England is to be found in Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.171.
- 21 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.171.
- 22 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p.700; E.Powers, *The Medieval English Wool Trade*, (London 1941), p. 23.
- 23 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, p.43.
- 24 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, p.39.
- 25 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, pp.72-73.
- 26 M.Prestwich, 'Italian Merchants in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century England', in *The Dawn of Modern Banking*, (London 1979), pp. 92, 94..
- 27 Trips to Scotland to buy wool were also fairly frequent, but the hostilities between England and Scotland at this time prejudiced regular commerce. See the contemporary correspondance between Consiglio de Cerchi and one of the Cerchi *soci* in England at that time, Giachetto Rinuzzi, in 'Lettera di Messer Consiglio de Cerchi a Giachetto Rinuzzi', 24 March 1290/1 and 23 June 1291, in A.Castellani, *Nuovi Testi Fiorentini del Duecento*, 2 vol., (Florence 1952), pp. 593-603. See also A.P.Usher, *The Early History of Deposit banking in Mediterranean Europe*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1943), pp. 79-81, for an analysis of these letters as the 'earliest extant evidence' for informal mercantile letters of payment.
- 28 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi.730.
- 29 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi.701; E.Bond, 'Extracts from the Liberato Rolls relative to loans', *Archaeologia*, xxviii. p.221

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- 30 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, p.72. These figures are based on monastic contracts and take no account of wool purchased from lay wool producers or brokers.
- 31 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, pp. 72, 83.
- 32 See, for example, M.M.Postan, 'Italians and the economic development of England in the Middle Ages', first published 1951, republished in his *Medieval Trade and Finance*, (Cambridge 1973), pp. 336, 340.
- 33 See W.E.Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1939); Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, esp. pp. 169-171.
- 34 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, pp. 170, 186. Amounts deposited with other Florentine banks were: Frescobaldi, 4197 pounds; Pulci-Rimbertini, 3874 pounds; Falconieri, 2864 pounds; Bardi, 1669 pounds.
- 35 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.186.
- 36 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, pp. 186, 188.
- 37 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, p.83.
- 38 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.191.
- 39 R.W.Kaeuper, 'The Frescobaldi of Florence and the English Crown', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, x. 1973, pp. 50-53.
- 40 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 444.
- 41 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.191.
- 42 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 665.
- 43 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.137.
- 44 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.193.
- 45 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.138.
- 46 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.172.
- 47 'Frammenti d'una cronaca dei Cerchi', ed. F.Maggini, *ASI*, lxxvi (1918), pp. 96-109.
- 48 Davidsohn, *Storia*, ii. 700.

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- 49 Salvemini, *Magnati*, p.226; *Delizie*, ix. 21.
- 50 Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, reg. 574, 1264, 28 May; Jordan, *Angevins*, p.348, 1264, 28 May.
- 51 Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, reg. 661, 1264, 2 July.
- 52 E.Jordan, *Les Registres de Clement IV*, (Paris 1893), pp. 86, 124; Jordan, *Angevins*, p.349, 1265, 2 giugno; ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1265, 19 maggio.
- 53 eds. E.Martene & U.Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, Paris 1717, reprint New York 1968, vol.II, cols. 127 - 128. The Cerchi involved in this loan are described as 'civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis et Perusinis', and are named as Cerchio, Gherardino, Bruno, Argutio (Arrigo?), and Cerchio's brother-in-law and Cerchi company partner Bindo di Galigai de Macci.
- 54 Despite the domestic Cerchi chronicle (see above note 47) which expressly states that this one of the reasons why nine members of the Cerchi family were knighted by Charles of Anjou, I have not, in fact, been able to find any actual evidence for any member of the Cerchi family participating in the battle of Montaperti in 1260. See Salvemini, *La dignita*, p.200, for details of the Cerchi knights.
- 55 S.Terlizzi, *Codice diplomatico delle Relazioni di Carlo I d'Angio con la Toscana (1265-85)*, (Florence 1914), p.221, n.408, 1272, 11 febr.; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii, 99.
- 56 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1280, 8 nov.
- 57 A.Sapori, *Studi di Storia Economica*, 3 vols. (Florence 1955, 1967), iii. 519; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 312.
- 58 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. pp. 62-63.
- 59 ASF Provv. v. ff. 62v-63v; Barbadoro, *I Consigli della Repubblica Fiorentina*, (Bologna 1921), p.113, 1303, 7-8 agosto. Even before his intervention with the commune on their behalf, Benedict had helped Bindo di Cerchio to collect debts from various prelates, and had conceded various ecclesiastic benefices to members of the Cerchi family.
- 60 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 568.

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- 61 C.Grandjean, *Les Registres de Benoit XI*, (Paris 1905), reg. 181, pp. 145-6; reg. 534, pp. 357-8; reg. 1232, pp. 759-760; reg. 1233, pp. 760-1; reg. 882, 886, 887, pp. 534-5, 538-40; reg. 1234, pp. 761-2; reg. 1238, pp. 763-4; ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1303/4, 17 febr.; R.Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols., (Berlin 1896-1908), iii. reg. 460 and 461, p.91.
- 62 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 419.
- 63 Renouard, *Les relations des papes d'Avignon et les compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 a 1378*, (Paris 1941), pp. 94, 570, 571. See also D.P.Waley, 'An account-book of the patrimony of St.Peter in Tuscany, 1304-1306', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 1955, vol.vi, pp.18-25.
- 64 ASF Capitoli, XXCI, f.255v, 1255, 27 sett.
- 65 Gherardi, *Consulte*, i, 10, 1279/80, febr.-apr.
- 66 Gherardi, *Consulte*, i. 122, 1282, 23 nov.
- 67 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 455.
- 68 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 55, reg. 236; ASF Provv. V, ff. 122-3, 1295, 20 sett.
- 69 Barbadoro, *Le Finanze della repubblica fiorentina imposta diretta e debito pubblico fino all'istituzione del monte*, (Florence 1929), p.472; ASF Camera Uscita dei Camarlinghi, I, f.10v, 1303;
- 70 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 419.
- 71 ASF Diplomatico, Riformagioni Atti pubblici, 1280, 27 agosto; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 196; Masi, 'I banchieri fiorentini', p.59.
- 72 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1280, 8 nov.
- 73 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Manni, 1284, 31 agosto.
- 74 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 464,; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. reg. 462.
- 75 ASF Notarile Antecosimianco, Protocollo di Giovanni di Buto, II. ff. 59-59v, 109.
- 76 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. reg. 364, pp. 76-77, 1301, 20 maggio.

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- 77 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 36.
- 78 Guido dell'Antella, *Ricordanze*, p.6
- 79 ASF Riformagioni, Atti pubblici, 1302, 5 aprile.
- 80 ASF Provvisioni, v. ff. 62v-63v; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, p.113, 1303, 7-8 agosto.
- 81 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, M293 (II), ff. 73-73v, 1303/4, 2 genn.
- 82 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 297.
- 83 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 534.
- 84 A.Sapori, *Libro giallo della compagnia dei Covoni*, (Milan 1970).
- 85 ASF Mss. 542, no fol.; Cambio, 12, f.75v
- 86 ASF Diplomatico, Lana, 1363/4, 27 genn.
- 87 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 426, 481. Accorso dell'Antella was their representative in Genoa in 1268. Earlier, in 1252, Accorso di Acto dell'Antella had been in Milan with other Florentine merchants, including Arrigo di Dietisalvi and Piero de Mozzi. ASF Mss, 534, no fol.
- 88 ASF Mss, 542, no fol.
- 89 ASF Arte della Seta, 6, ff. 20, 21.
- 90 ed. Renzo Fantappie, *Libro della Zecca*, in M.Bernocchi, *Le Moneta della Repubblica Fiorentina*, (Florence 1974), p.2. This is an edition of the 'Libro della Zecca' which was started by Giovanni Villani and is now in the ASF as Fiorinaio, Zecca 79. For Giovanni's account of the establishment of the new gold coinage, see his *Cronica*, vi. 53.
- 91 *Libro della Zecca*, pp. 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 42.
- 92 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1280, 17 luglio. Passa di Finiguera, who lived in Por San Piero, was an influential popolani figure in Florence. A consigliere in September 1256 and an official at Montaperti, he was later a sindaco of the Parte Guelfa in 1277 and 1278, a Guelf member of the Quattordici in 1282, and a prior of the commune in 1284, 1287, 1290, 1291, and

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1295. Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e popolo grasso*, pp. 174, 176, 219, 220. Another partner of the Antella had been Geri Cardinale, who had been a representative of the Antella in Genoa before 1280. Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 261. Geri was prior of Florence three times in the period 1282 to 1300.
- 93 Guido dell'Antella, 'Ricordanze di Guido di Filippo dell'Antella e de' suoi figliuoli e discendenti', ed. F.Polidori, *ASI*, 1843, pp. 5-24. The same ricordanze appears in A.Castellani, *Nuovi Testi Fiorentini del Dugento*, 2 vols., (Florence 1952). The original manuscript can be found in ASF Mss. 74.
- 94 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1296, 5 giugno. Drudelo di Baldense dell'Antella was witness to this act.
- 95 ASF Arte del Cambio, 6, f. 10v, 1299/1300, 18 genn. Giovanni di Lamberto was already a socio of this company in 1298. ASF Diplomatico, S.Maria sul Prato, 1297/8, 1 genn.
- 96 ASF Cambio, 8, no fol., 1301/2, 5 febr.; 9, f.1, 1314, 3 giugno. Donato also acted for the Cambio guild and the commune as sindaco for the liquidation of the Mozzi company. ASF Mercanzia, 1030, f.51v, 1314/5, 10 marzo. He was also an official of the Mercanzia for the winding up of the Pulci company, ASF Mercanzia, 1034, f.129, 1322, 22 dic., and of the bankrupt Cornacchini in 1329, Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 181.
- 97 ASF Mss, 542, no fol.
- 98 ASF Arte della Lana, 25, f.5.
- 99 Guido dell'Antella, *Ricordanze*, pp. 5-6
- 100 ASF Cambio, 7, no fol., 1300/1, 27 genn.; 8, no fol., 1301/2, 5 febr.; 9, f.2, 1314, 3 giugno.
- 101 ASF Cambio, 10, f.4, 1319/20, 14 marzo.
- 102 ASF Cambio, 55, f.63v, 1323/4, 27 genn.
- 103 ASF Cambio, 10, f.19v, 1328/9, 13 marzo.
- 104 ASF Provv., 12, ff. 12r-13v, 1303, 10 sett. See also Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 90.
- 105 ASF Cambio, 10, f.22v, 1324, 12 dic. For Lotto's

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attendance at council meetings of the Cambio guild in 1328 and 1329 see ASF Cambio, 55, ff. 15, 93v; 56, ff. 3, 8v, 17v, 22.

- 106 ASF Lib Fab, 13, ff. 132, 133, 1328, 9 agosto.
- 107 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 426, 481.
- 108 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 784, for the branch in Naples in 1278; Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 623, for the branch in Nimes in 1281, when Baldo and Guido di Filippo dell'Antella were imprisoned as part of the commercial rivalry between Florentine and Genoese merchants in Nimes. Nimes was the collecting point for all goods exported from and imported via Aigues Mortes, so especially for export of wool and cloth to Florence; and Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 645, for the Antella in Paris in 1300. The Antella company was still represented in France in 1310. Florentine political exiles, for example the Whites, who had settled in France took reprisals against various Florentine companies, and confiscated cloth destined for Florence owned by the Spini and the dell'Antella. Davidsohn, *Storia*, v. pp. 528-9.
- 109 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 235, 242.
- 110 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Ugucione, 1296, 5 giugno.
- 111 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B2126, f.113, 1303, 19 agosto.
- 112 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii., 151. Macci debts totalled 142,315 lire.
- 113 A.Sapori, *Una Compagnia di Calimala ai primi del Trecento*, vol. vii, Biblioteca Storica Toscana a cura della R. Deputazione Toscana di Storia Patria, (Florence 1932), pp. 274-5.
- 114 A.Sapori, *Una Compagnia di Calimala*, p.262.
- 115 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 831.
- 116 Lami, *S.Ecclesiae Florent. Monumenta*, (Florence 1758), i. 438.
- 117 ASF Provv., XXIV, f.63v.
- 118 ASF Mss., 542, no fol.
- 119 ASF Cambio, 11, no fol. Maso was an official of the

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Mint in 1340, as Taddeo also had been in 1337, *Libro della Zecca*, pp. XXXIII, 65.

- 120 ASF Cambio, 12, no fol.
- 121 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Caprini, 1341, 14 luglio.
- 122 ASF Cambio, 17, f.7, 1341, 31 maggio. For details of banking transactions between Taddeo and the Covoni company in the period 1336 to 1340, see A.Sapori, *Libro giallo della compagnia dei Covoni*, (Milan 1970).
- 123 ASF Balie, 2, ff. 8-8v, 1342, 26 ott.
- 124 ASF Lib Fab, 26, f.46, 1346, 11 aprile; Provv., 34, ff. 37-37v. See also A.Sapori, 'Il quaderno dei creditori di Taddeo dell'Antella e compagni', *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi*, III (1925), pp. 159-180.
- 125 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Caprini, 1341, 14 luglio.
- 126 ASF Cambio, 43, f.62v, 1349, 12 maggio.
- 127 ASF Cambio, 12, no fol. Simone was an official of the Mint in 1362-1363, *Libro della Zecca*, p.LXXVII.
- 128 ASF Cambio, 12, no fol. Thomaso, like Simone, was also an official of the Mint in 1361, *Libro della Zecca*, p.LXX
- 129 G.Lami, *S.Ecclesiae Florent. Monumenta*, (Florence 1758), ii. 716, 1217, 18 maggio.
- 130 ASF Arte della Seta, 6, no fol.
- 131 ASF Mss, 542, no fol. These are the only members of the guild from the family until Bernardo Portinari in 1418.
- 132 ASF Lana, 1333, 24 dic.
- 133 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. pp. 838, 812.
- 134 ASF Diplomatico, S.Spirito, 1290, 13 nov. Here Grifo di Assalto and Salto di Segna, descendants of Torrigiano, repay 5,000 lire to Manetto and Ricovero di Folco from a loan of 10,000 lire. This shows that the two branches of the family were still in close financial contact, with interlinking commercial ties.
- 135 ASF Diplomatico, Mercatanti, 1300/1, 22 febr. In 1303

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- and 1304 Michele and Bartolo Benci were both *soci* of the Portinari. G.Filippi, *L'arte dei mercanti di Calimala in Firenze e il suo piu antico statuto*, (Turin 1888), p.51.
- 136 Barbadoro, *Finanze*, p.472. The highest amount advanced was 2,900 florins by the Spini. The Cerchi lent 850 florins.
- 137 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, M293 (II), f.99, 1305/6, 16 marzo.
- 138 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. reg. 507, p.97, 1306, 1 sett.
- 139 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. reg. 654, p.128; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, ii. pp. 649, 661, 1314, 9 febr. and 27 maggio; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Biagio di Boccadibue, 3, f.3.
- 140 T.H.Lloyd, *Alien Merchants in England in the High Middle Ages*, (Brighton 1982), pp. 172, 201.
- 141 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, pp.229-230.
- 142 T.H.Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge 1977), p.139.
- 143 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.193.
- 144 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.184.
- 145 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.195.
- 146 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.231.
- 147 Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, p.174.
- 148 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, pp. 172, 186.
- 149 ASF Diplomatico, R.Arcispedale di S.M.Nuova, 130, 1348/9, 7 febr., mentions the sum of 5,600 florins which the king of England still owed to the account of the Portinari.
- 150 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, p.188.
- 151 Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, p.188; ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1340, 20 ott.
- 152 ASF Mercanzia, 136, no fol., 1322, 28 sett.

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- 153 ASF Cambio, 55, f.48, 1323, 24 nov.
- 154 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B1525, ff. 188-188v, 1348, 10 nov.; Ser Salvi Dini, 1338, f.140; 1341, ff. 132, 152, 159, 164; Diplomatico, S.Lucia di Firenze, 1332, 4 ott.
- 155 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 569; ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1268, 7 dic.
- 156 BNF Gargani 1609, no fol. Ricovero di Folco was a guarantor for the Cerchi in 1295, and Grifo di Assalto de Portinari was a witness to a sale of land by Cerchio de Cerchi in 1298, ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1297/8, 4 genn.
- 157 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Manni, 1284, 31 agosto.
- 158 ASF Diplomatico, Riformazioni Atti Pubblici, 1280, 27 agosto.
- 159 ed. G.Mancini, 'Testamento di Folco di Ricovero Portinari', *ASI*, v.48, 1911, pp.249-258.
- 160 *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, (Rome, 1960-1983), vol.23, p.686, under Cerchi, Cerchio.
- 161 Saponi, *Crisi*, (Florence 1926), p.255
- 162 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 337.
- 163 'Testamento di Folco di Ricovero Portinari 1287/8, 15 genn.', where Folco records that Bice took with her to her marriage a dowry of 500 florins.
- 164 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vii. 373; Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, pp. 58, 61, 62.
- 165 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B1950, Ser Biagio di Boccadibue, f.46.
- 166 Saponi, *Crisi*, pp. 243-244.
- 167 G.Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.15; *Delizie*, ix.38.
- 168 Saponi, *Crisi*, p.255; I.del Lungo, *Beatrice nella vita e nella poesia del secolo XIII*, (Milan 1981), p.160.
- 169 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 663; Saponi, *Crisi*, p.255; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. pp. 188-189; A.Mariani, *Notizie sulla nobile famiglia Portinari*, (Florence

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- 1879), pp. 12-13.
- 170 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 725. Earlier, in 1314, various members of the Portinari were held in prison in London, along with other Italian merchants and bankers, and considered responsible for the debts of the bankrupt Pulci-Rimbertini company in England. Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 715.
- 171 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 337.
- 172 Y. Renouard, 'Le compagnie commerciale fiorentine del trecento', *ASI*, xcvi (1938), pp. 64, 165, 166. Puccio di Grifo was matriculated in the Lana guild in 1333, ASF Lana, 1333, 24 dic.
- 173 ASF Diplomatico, S.M. Nuova, 1340, 20 ott.
- 174 Biblioteca Riccardiana 2009, f.320.
- 175 Biblioteca Riccardiana 2040, f.151; 1884, f.154; 2009, f.320.
- 176 A. Saponi, *Libro giallo della compagnia dei Covoni*, p.42 and passim.
- 177 ASF Cambio, 11, 1345.
- 178 ASF R. Arcispedale di S.M. Nuova, 130, 1345/6, 16 febr. and 1348/9, 7 febr.; Notarile Antecosimiano, B1525, f.53v, 1347, 18 sett.
- 179 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), f.151, 1356, 9 maggio. Barna married Gostanza di Pigello di Manetto. Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), f.54, 1353/4, 5 febr. The dowry of 300 florins was paid by Accerito in 1356, *ibid.*, f.151, 1356, 9 maggio.
- 180 For a discussion on the church's teachings on usury and the merchant see Saponi, *The Italian Merchant in the Middle Ages*, especially pp. 21-28; J. le Goff, 'The Usurer and Purgatory', in *The Dawn of Modern Banking*, pp. 25-52, and B.N. Nelson, 'The Usurer and the Merchant Prince: Italian Businessmen and the Ecclesiastical Law of Restitution, 1100-1550', *Journal of Economic History*, supplement 7, 1947, pp. 104-122.
- 181 R. de Roover, 'The Story of the Alberti Company of

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- Florence, 1302-1348, as Revealed in Its Account Books', *The Business History Review*, xxii (1958), p.46.
- 182 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vii. p.54; E.Borsook, *The Companion Guide to Florence*, (Fourth edition, London 1979), p.94.
- 183 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p.371.
- 184 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. p.23.
- 185 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1291, 30 agosto.
- 186 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1285, 24 aprile.
- 187 Prou, *Les Registres de Honorius IV*, (Paris 1888), reg. 521, 1286, 23 May.
- 188 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Mani, 1288, 23 giugno.
- 189 ed. G.Mancini, 'Testamento di Folco di Ricovero Portinari', *ASI*. v. 48, 1911.
- 190 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vii. p.99.
- 191 G.Pampaloni, *Lo Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova*, (Florence 1961), p.6. Portinari bequests were often made in favour of S.M.Nuova. In his first will Francesco di Stagio left the residue of his estate, after provision for his niece's marriage, restitution for usury and debts, and 200 florins which were to be distributed among the poor, to the hospital of S.M.Nuova, ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1357, 29 marzo. In a subsequent will which he drew up sixteen years later, he still specified as heir S.M.Nuova, ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1373, 11 sett. In 1374 his sister Iacopa left 150 florins to the hospital, *ibid.*, 1374, 11 luglio.
- 192 'Testamento di Folco di Ricovero Portinari.

Chapter Two: Politics

- 1 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 9; ASF Diplomatico, Badia, 1245, 16 agosto.
- 2 P.Santini, *Documenti dell'antica costituzione del Comune di Firenze, Appendice*, (Florence 1952), n.15, p.42, 1254, 1 and 3 febr.; Guasti, *Capitoli*, XXIX,

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- 348; XXVL, 261.
- 3 ASF Mss., 534, no pag.
 - 4 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1254, 27 aprile; Santini, *Documenti dell'antica costituzione, Appendice*, n.139, p.364.
 - 5 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 439; Santini, *Documenti dell'antica costituzione, Appendice*, n.55, p.170, 1255, 27 sett.
 - 6 Davidsohn, *Storia*, ii. 700.
 - 7 Salvemini, *Magnati*, p.226; *Delizie*, ix. 21.
 - 8 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, p.54. Cerchio's fellow signatories included Benghi del Fornario Rossi, Rodolfo di M.Rinaldo Pulci, Mainetto Rimbertini, Filippo di Amideo Peruzzi, Pietro di Benincasa, Venetico dei Medici, Giugno dei Giugni, Dolce and Bello dal Borgo, Amieri Cose delgi Amieri, Ruggerino Minerbetti, and Iacopino Calcagni. Raveggi makes the point that in the complete list of the mallevadori to the treaty, the number of popolani merchants who put their names to it far outnumbered noblemen and knights belonging to the traditional Ghibelline families.
 - 9 Davidsohn, *Storia*, ii. 705; *Delizie*, ix. 35, 1261/2, genn.
 - 10 E.Jordan, *Les origines de la domination angevine en Italie*, (Paris 1909), p.348, 1264, 28 maggio; M.J.Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urban IV*, (Paris 1900), reg. 574. These other companies included the società of Dolce dal Borgo, Cambio Bellicozzi, Ildebrandino di Bellincione, Ildebrandino del Bene, Duccio Vinciguerra, Cambio di Filippo, Giovanni di Rosso, Lamberto degli Abati, Bardo dei Frescobaldi, Ghino Frescobaldi and Ricco dei Bardi. Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, p.59. Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urban IV*, reg. 661, 1264, luglio.
 - 11 Martene et Durand, *Thesaurus*, II, col.208
 - 12 G.Salvemini, *La dignita cavalleresca nel comune di Firenze*, (Florence 1896), p.200.
 - 13 O.Bratto, *Liber extimationum*, nn. 183, 374, 402. The

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only Cerchi *socio* to suffer any serious reprisals after the Guelf return was Bindo di Galigaio dei Macci, brother-in-law of Cerchio, who, despite having sworn allegiance to the pope against Manfred in 1265 as a Cerchi *socio*, was exiled from Florence in 1268. Exile was the most severe of the anti-Ghibelline measures taken by the Guelfs. ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, Perugia, 1265, 19 maggio; *Delizie*, viii. 278.

- 14 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. pp. 459-460. See also ASF Provv., 11, f.71v, 1289/90, 8 febr., for claims for compensation for horses lost at the battle of Campaldino being made by Vieri de Cerchi, Baschiera della Tosa, Filippo Adimari, and Bindo Adimari.
- 15 Salvemini, *La dignita cavalleresca*, p.119.
- 16 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 523.
- 17 G.Villani, *Cronica*, vii. 14; Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, rub. 135, 1266, 11 nov.; Davidsohn, *Storia*, ii. 832.
- 18 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 99; S.Terlizzi, *Codice diplomatico delle Relazioni di Carlo I d'Angio con la Toscana (1265-1285)*, (Florence 1950), p.221, n.408, 1272, 11 febr. Charles here petitions 'Tadeo, comiti Montisferetri et Urbini, vicario di Firenze', and advises him that 'Oliverius de Cerchi, cittadino fiorentino, si e rivolto a lui per protezione contro i suoi nemici ed enuli, qui semper ad nocumentum nituntur, e percio, conoscendo la costante devosione e fedelta eiusdem Oliverii alla Corona e al comune di Firenze, vuole che esso, in qualita di Vicario, non permetta che gli sia recata alcuna molestia nella persona e nei beni che possiede in Firenze, specialmente super domibus seu turri, que havere dicitur in Florentia in sexto Porte Sancti Petri et populo: essendo sua intenzione che sieno difesi nei loro diritti tutti quelli che sono fededi alla chiesa, alla Corona e al Comune di Firenze, purché non abbiano aderito ai suoi nemici da quando egli esercita l'ufficio di rettore'.
- 19 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, pp.141-142.
- 20 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 146, 1273, 2 maggio.
- 21 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, p.140; *Delizie*, ix. p.105.

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- 22 *Delizie*, ix. pp. 89, 92; *Capitoli*, XXIX, cc. 340r-341r.
- 23 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1280, 8 nov.
- 24 Giovanni di Gherardino was prior 15 December 1285 to 15 February 1286, and again from 15 April to 15 June 1288, Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, rub. 167, 174. Uliviero di Gherardino was prior 15 April to 15 June 1292, Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, rub. 191.
- 25 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. 565.
- 26 ASF Diplomatico, Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1283, 18 maggio; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 379; N.Ottakar, 'La condanna postuma di Farinata Uberti', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1919, p.162.
- 27 Gherardi, *Consulte*, i. 199, 1285, 3 aprile.
- 28 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, ii. 225.
- 29 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. 566.
- 30 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, ii. 230.
- 31 Gherardi, *Consulte*, i. 408, 1290, 16 giugno; ii. 206, 1291, 20 giugno; ii. 145, 1291, 18 agosto.
- 32 Gherardi, *Consulte*, ii. 88.
- 33 Gherardi, *Consulte*, ii. 102.
- 34 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 237-238.
- 35 For a detailed study of the period 1280-1292, and especially for an analysis of the debate of the 24 November 1292, see Chapter 1 in J.Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280-1400*, (Chapel Hill 1982), pp.17-42.
- 36 Gherardi, *Consulte*, ii. 223.
- 37 Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*, p.41.
- 38 Salvemini, *Magnati e Popolani*, p.390; Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*, p.47. The restriction concerning the 'continuous engagement in trade threatened the eligibility of many members of the aristocracy who had no direct personal involvement in trade, banking or manufacture, even though nominally members of a guild.

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- 39 Salvemini, *Magnati e Popolani*, p.26.
- 40 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, pp. 265-266. Salvemini calculated that of the one hundred and forty magnate families a half came from the city and a half from the Florentine conatado. There are then three major categories definable:
a) rural lords and landowners belonging to the contado feudal nobility
b) major urban landowners, for example the Cerchi after their purchase of the Conti Guidi properties
c) Calimala merchants and bankers, such as the Cerchi, Bardi, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Mozzi, Pulci, Scali and Spini. Salvemini, *Magnati e Popolani*, pp. 26-27. The Cerchi were not the only family with powerful allies and European connections: the Mozzi were closely connected to the kings of France, and the Scali to the papacy.
- 41 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Rinuccini, 1295, 25 nov.
- 42 ASF Provv., 9, f.24r, 1298, 3 ott.; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. 570, 1299, 11 febr.
- 43 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. 571, 1300, 1 luglio.
- 44 Barbadoro, *Consigli*, p.20, 1301, 12 luglio.
- 45 Barbadoro, *Consgili*, p.15, 1301, 30 giugno.
- 46 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, ii. 242.
- 47 See, especially, Salvemini, *Magnati e Popolani*, and also for example R.Caggese, *Firenze dalla decadenza di Roma al Risorgimento d'Italia*, (3 vols. Florence 1912).
- 48 Compagni, *Cronica*, i, 22.
- 49 ASF Diplomatico, San Domenico nel Maglio, 1282, 23 dic. Here Corso Donati was instigating litigation against the Domenican church of San Iacopo a Ripoli, and was being supported in his claim by Consiglio di Uliviero de Cerchi.
- 50 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 37; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, I 42 (II), no pag., 1329, 7 sett., and 1329/30, 9 genn.
- 51 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 741 and iv. 31.
- 52 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 37.

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- 53 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. 736; ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1295/6, 10 febr.
- 54 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 20.
- 55 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 42; ASF Provv., 7, ff. 22v, 37, 1296, 31 dic. and 1296/7, 17 genn.
- 56 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 90; Villani, *Cronica*, viii. 41; Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, rub. 221.
- 57 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 22.
- 58 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 25; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 181.
- 59 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 22.
- 60 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 21; Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, rub. 222.
- 61 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 157.
- 62 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 21; Villani, *Cronica*, viii. 83.
- 63 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 157.
- 64 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 23.
- 65 Compagni, *Cronica*, ii. chapters 9-23.
- 66 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. pp. 291-292; ASF Diplomatico, Riformagioni, Atti Pubblici, 1302, 5 aprile; Diplomatico, Mercatanti, 1302, 10 dic.; Notarile Antecosimiano, 82126, ff. 87-88, 1302, 11 dic.; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, pp. 69-70, 1302, 10 dic. See R. Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: the theme of exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, (London 1983), especially pp. 69-76 for his excellent analysis of the condemnation and exile of Dante, with each of the various stages and procedures itemised. We can expect that the actual sentencing of members of the Cerchi and Portinari families would have been along similar lines.
- 67 Barbadoro, *Consigli*, p. 113, 1303, 7-8 agosto; ASF Provv., 5, ff. 62v-63v.
- 68 Compagni, *Cronica*, iii. 7.
- 69 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. pp. 307-308, 1305, 22 ott.
- 70 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 313, 1305, 22 ott.

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- 71 BNF Spoglio Strozzi, II.IV., 380, ff. 175, 181.
- 72 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, L76, f.96, 1314/5, 18 marzo.
- 73 BNF Gargani, 565, no fol.
- 74 ASF Lib. Fab., 15, f.89v; BNF Spoglio Strozzi, II.IV., 376, ff. 384-385. Nero di Carnone, Tomaso di Jacobo, Anichino di Carbone, Alosio di Vieri, Ciampolo di Vieri, and Niccolo di Vieri were all present in Pisa in 1336.
- 75 ASF Lib. Fab., 20, f.20v, 1342, 31 marzo; CCE I bis, f.89, 1342, 30 dic., where the sentence on Bonifazio di Messer Viero was cancelled; and Balie, 2, f.29v, and CCE I bis, ff. 143-143v, 1342/3, 25 genn., for sentences on Iacobo, Ubaldino and Sandro, sons of Messer Bindo de Cerchi.
- 76 BNF Cl.25, 396, f.61.
- 77 Barbadoro, *Consigli*, p.234, 1305, 31 ott.
- 78 S.La Sorsa, Compagnie di Or San Michele, p.131, 1309/10, febr.-giugno.
- 79 Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, pp.11-12.
- 80 ASF Mss., 542, no fol.
- 81 ASF Cambio, 12, f.75v, 1356, luglio.
- 82 ASF Mss. 534 and 440, no fol., 1359, 2 maggio.
- 83 ASF Mss., 534 and 440, no fol., 1351, 7 luglio and 1357/8, 23 genn. He also participated as advisor in the Consiglio of the Podesta in 1353, 1358 and 1359: ASF Lib. Fab., 32, f.37v, 1353, 22 aprile; 35, f.28, 1358, 27 ott., 35, f.95v, 1359, 9 nov. He was one of the officials appointed to check for errors in the Monte in 1357: ASF Mss. 534 and 440, no fol., 1357, 4 agosto.
- 84 ASF Mss., 534 and 440, no fol., 1355, 2 sett.
- 85 ASF Mss., 534 and 440, no fol., 1358, 26 giugno.
- 86 ASF CCE 45, f.82v, 1352/3, 28 genn.; 47, f.116v, 1353, 15 maggio.
- 87 ASF Deliberazioni dei Signori e Collegi (Ordinaria Autorita), 12, f.15; Brucker, *Florentine Politics*,

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p.193.

- 88 ASF Mss., 439, 1361, ott.
- 89 BNF Gargani, 565, no fol.
- 90 ASF Ceramelli-Papiani, 1426, no fol.
- 91 ASF Mss, 542, no fol.
- 92 See chapter one, Dell'Antella and business.
- 93 *Delizie*, vii. 160.
- 94 G.Villani, *Cronica*, vi. 183
- 95 *Delizie*, ix. 23; Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, (Florence 1978), p.47.
- 96 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 20; Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, p.47.
- 97 Rosso was ordered to stay in the confines of the Florentine contado, but as this was deemed to begin at the walls of the city, this was not a very onerous sentence. *Delizie*, viii, 247.
- 98 *Delizie*, viii, 218.
- 99 *Delizie*, ix, 92.
- 100 Ottokar, *Comune*, p.18; Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, p.216.
- 101 Gherardi, *Consulte*, i. 313.
- 102 Gherardi, *Consulte*, i. 215, 1285, 9 maggio; 303, 1285, 26 sett.
- 103 J.M.Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*, p.44
- 104 Gherardi, *Consulte*, ii. 618.
- 105 BNF Spoglio Borghini, XXV, 44, f.25; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. pp. 451-452.
- 106 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. pp. 480, 570. The fact that Davidsohn's authority for the presence of Giovanni at

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the siege of Brescia is a 'Registro Ghibellino' of 1377 casts further doubt on his interpretation.

- 107 Guido dell'Antella, *Ricordanze*.
- 108 W.M.Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy*, (Lincoln, Nebraska 1960), p.220; Bonaini, *Acta Henrici VII*, (Florence 1877); Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 470.
- 109 See chapter one, the dell'Antella and business for their involvement in the family's business.
- 110 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G364, II, f.160v, 1302, 24 maggio; ASF Cambio, 8, no fol., 1301/2, 5 febr.; 9, f.1, 1314, 3 giugno.
- 111 ASF Mercanzia, 1030, f.51v, 1304/5, 10 marzo; ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Ugucione, 1309/10, 28 febr.; 1311, 5 aprile; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, i. p.119, 1303, 10 sett.; ii. p.510, 1311, 5 aprile.
- 112 ASF Mercanzia, 1034, f.129, 1322, 22 dic.
- 113 ASF Lib Fab, 12, f.100, 1323/4, 7 febr.; f.185, 1325, 29 marzo.
- 114 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 181.
- 115 ed. R.Fantappie, *Libro della Zecca*, In M.Bernocchi, *Le Moneta della Repubblica Fiorentina*, (Florence 1974), pp. 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 42.
- 116 ASF Provv., 14, ff. 121r, 124t, 125t, 1312, 18 agosto.
- 117 ASF Provv., 14, ff. 135r-136v, 1313, 10 ott.
- 118 BNF Gargani, 107; ASF Provv., 22, f.11, ASF Lib. Fab., 12, f.205, 1325, 8 luglio; f.211v, 1325, 3 sett.; f.212v, 1325, 14 sett.
- 119 BNF Cl. 25, 393, f.30, 1325, 14 sett.; ASF Provv., 22, f.9.
- 120 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e Popolo Grasso*, p.216; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, ii. p.697, 1303, aprile-giugno; p.701, 1306/7, febr.-aprile; p.706, 1313/4, febr.-aprile.
- 121 ASF Lib. Fab., 13, f.128, 1328, 6 luglio.
- 122 ASF Lib. Fab., 13, f.141v, 1328, 29 ott.

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- 123 ASF Mercanzia, 4116, f.93v, 1320/1, 28 febr.; ASF Provv., 18, f.1r, 1321, 11 sett.; ASF Provv., 17, ff. 65t, 80r, 86r, 87r, 87t, 88r, 1320/1, 10 febr.; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, i. 95, 1303, 27 maggio; ii. 403, 1308, 21 sett.
- 124 Gherardi, *Consulte*, ii. 618; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, i. pp. 35, 37; ii. 448, 1309, 11 luglio
- 125 Barbadoro, *Consigli*, ii. 264, 1313, 21 giugno; ASF Lib. Fab., 12, f.190, 1325, 30 aprile; ASF Mss., 269, 1332, 1 dic.
- 126 Barbadoro, *Consigli*, ii. 703-704; ASF Lib. Fab., 16, ff. 145, 146v, 1334/5, 12 febr.
- 127 ASF Lib. Fab., 12, f.195v, 1325, 1 giugno.
- 128 ASF Sig. et Coll. Ord. Aut., I, f.44v, 1331, 24 nov.; I, f.62, 1331, 28 nov.
- 129 ASF Carte Stroziana, II, 55, ff. 128-128v; Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 669.
- 130 C.Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, (Florence 1887), p. 55, 1340, 29 aprile.
- 131 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.116, 1340/1, 8 genn.
- 132 BNF Gargani, 106, no fol.
- 133 ASF C.C.Uscita, I, f.15v; CCE 2, f.11; CCE 4, f.82; CCE 6, ff. 85v-86.
- 134 ASF CCE 14, f.11; CCE 15, ff. 78v-79v; CCE 16, f.101v.
- 135 ASF Lib. Fab., 26, f.97v, 1346, 26 ott.; CCE 20, f.2v, 1346/7, 6 marzo.
- 136 ASF Lib. Fab., 29, f.42, 1349, 19 maggio.
- 137 ASF Tratte, 59, f.181.
- 138 G.degli Azzi, *Relazioni tra la Repubblica di Firenze e l'Umbria nel secolo XIV*, 2 vols., (Perugia 1904), i. p.53, n.185, 1351/2, 5 genn.
- 139 ASF Cons. Prat., I, ff. 76, 77, 78v, 83, 1354, 17, 23, 30 maggio and 6, 10 giugno; ff. 89, 96v, 3, 7 luglio.
- 140 ASF Mss., 269, 1356, 16 giugno.

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- 141 Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, p.97, 1357, 3 luglio.
- 142 ASF Lib. Fab., 26, f.17v, 1345, 9 dic.
- 143 ASF Balie, 3, f.32v, 1346, 24 maggio.
- 144 ASF Lib. Fab., 29, f.9, 1348, 21 nov.
- 145 ASF Lib. Fab., 30, f.12, 1349, 16 ott.
- 146 ASF CCE 40, f.155; CCE 41, f.193, 1350, 14 sett.; CCE 41, f.214v, 1350, 25 ott.; D.Marzi, *La Cancelleria della Repubblica Fiorentina*, (Rocca S.Casciano 1910), p.690, 1350, 14 agosto.
- 147 ASF CCE 45, f.84v, 1352/3, 29 genn.
- 148 ASF Lib. Fab., 32, f.78v, 1353, 5 dic.
- 149 Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, p.135, 1358/9, marzo.
- 150 Marzi, *Cancellieri*, p.632, 1341, marzo.
- 151 ASF Lib. Fab., 26, f.51v, 1346, 24 aprile.
- 152 BNF Spoglio Borghini, XXV, 44, f.83v.
- 153 ASF Mss., 269, 1330, 1 dic.; Sig. et Coll. Ord. Aut., I, f.68v, 1331, 21 nov.; Mss., 269, 1334, 1 dic.
- 154 ASF Lib. Fab., 16, ff. 159, 179, 1335, 26 aprile and 19 giugno.
- 155 ASF Mss., 269, 1336, 1 giugno; Lib. Fab., 17, f.56, 1338, 4 sett.; Lib. Fab., 17, f.159, 1339, 19 ott., Lib. Fab., 19, f.62v, 1340, 22 agosto.
- 156 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, f.98, 1338/9, 12 febr.
- 157 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, f.185, 1339, 30 dic.
- 158 ASF Lib. Fab., f.185v, 1339, 30 dic. The other officials with him were a Barone, a del Bene, a Bordoni, a Medici and an Albizzi. Taddeo held this post again in 1342. ASF Lib. Fab., 22, f.23v, 1342, 30 agosto.
- 159 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.2, 1340, 29 marzo. His colleagues

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were Niccolo Guicciardini, Bartolomeo Acciaiuoli, Soldo Strozzi, Laurentio Butti, and Iacobo Biliotti.

- 160 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.15v, 1340, 29 aprile.
- 161 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.101, 1340, 28 nov.
- 162 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.209v, 1341, 5 luglio.
- 163 ASF Dup. Provv. 3, ff. 21r-22r, 1342, sett.; M.B.Becker, 'A study in political failure: the Florentine magnates 1280-1343', *Medieval Studies*, 27 (1965), pp. 246-308, p.269; J.M.Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus*, pp. 128-129.
- 164 ASF Balie, 2, ff. 8-8v, 1342, 26 ott., and f.20, 1342, 14 dic.
- 165 ASF CCE, I bis, f.28, 1342, 24 nov., and f.161, 1342/3, 9 febr.
- 166 ASF Balie, 2, f.59v, 1342/3, 29 genn.
- 167 Becker, *Florence in Transition*, i. p.173.
- 168 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, f.63v, 1338, 16 ott.
- 169 A.Sapori, *Libro giallo della compagnia dei Covoni*, (Milan 1970), ff. 225, 239, 1339, 1 dic. and 1340, aprile.
- 170 ASF Provv., 32, f.29, 1342, 21 giugno.
- 171 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.145, 1340/1, 25 febr.
- 172 ASF Lib. Fab., 14, f.40, 1329, 29 nov.
- 173 ASF Lib. Fab., 14, f.58v, 1330, 26 marzo.
- 174 ASF Mss., 269, 1332, 1 agosto and 1335, 1 dic.
- 175 ASF Lib. Fab., 16, f.188, 1335, 7 sett.; 17, f.51, 1338, 26 agosto.
- 176 ASF Lib. Fab., 21, ff. 55, 65, 1341/2, 15 febr., 20 marzo.
- 177 ASF Lib. Fab., 16, f.191, 1335, 2 ott.; Tratte, 59, f. 43v, 1337, luglio.
- 178 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.40v, 1340, 1 luglio.

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- 179 ASF Lib. Fab., 19, f.122v, 1340/1, 24 genn. His colleagues were Piero Machiavelli, Lotterio Davanzati, Simone Tornaquinci, Laurentio Jacobini, and Nerio di Lapo Adimari.
- 180 ASF Balie, 2, f.34v, 1342, 21 dic.
- 181 Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p.17.
- 182 ASF Lib. Fab., 15, f.24v, 1331, 7 agosto.
- 183 BNF 25, 193, f.274, 1332/3, 29 genn.; BNF 25, 393, f.272, 1336, 12 dic.
- 184 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, f.36v, 1338, 20 luglio.
- 185 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, f.74v, 1338, 24 nov.
- 186 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, f.84v, 1338/9, 7 genn.
- 187 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, f.199v, 1339/40, 10 febb.
- 188 ASF Lib. Fab., 17, ff.211v, 214v, 1339/40, 6 marzo; Diplomatico, Acquisto Caprini, 1341, 14 luglio.
- 189 ASF Mss. 269, 1341, 1 agosto.
- 190 ASF Tratte, 59, ff. 90v, 92; BNF Cl. 25, 393, f.38.
- 191 ASF Lib. Fab., 23, f.42, 1344, 27 agosto; Mss. 269, 1344, 1 sett.; CCE 9, f.67.
- 192 ASF Tratte, 138, f.30.
- 193 ASF CCE 11, ff. 7, 27v.
- 194 ASF Lib. Fab., 26, f.37, 1345/6, 12 marzo.
- 195 ASF Lib. Fab., 26, f.90v, 1346, 13 sett.
- 196 ASF CCE 16, ff. 103v, 105, 1346, 15 luglio.
- 197 ASF Lib. Fab., 26, f.108v, 1346, 28 nov.
- 198 ASF Lib. Fab., 28, f.3, 1346/7, 18 febb.
- 199 ASF CCE 20, f.7v; CCE 21, ff. 37v, 52v; CCE 23, f.33; CCE 24, ff. 42, 51-51v; Diplomatico, Riformazione, 1347, 22 nov. and 18 dic.; CCE 25, f.101v; CCE 26, f.125v, 1347/8, 29 febb.; Marzi, *Cancellieri*, p.665, 1349, 5 dic.; ASF CCE 38, f.75v, 1350, 27 aprile; BNF

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- Cl. 25, 393, ff. 334, 335, 336, 1353, 17 sett., 1354, 7 giugno, 1354/5, 11 gen.; BNF Gargani, 107, no fol.
- 200 ASF Mss., 269, no fol.
- 201 ASF Tratte, 5, 1351, 23 giugno.
- 202 ASF Mss., 269, no fol.
- 203 ASF Lib. Fab., 31, f.12v, 1351, 23 giugno.
- 204 ASF Tratte, 59, f.174.
- 205 ASF Carte Strozzi, II, 59, f.58.
- 206 ASF Con. Prat., I, f.10, 1349, 13 nov.; Con. Prat., I, f.69, 1354, 23 aprile; BNF Cl. 25, 393, f.48, 1354, 12 nov.; ASF Con. Prat., I, f.121, 1354, 17 nov.; f.140, 1354/5, 10 genn.; f.157v, 1354/5, 14 febr.; Con. Prat., 2, f.160v, 1359/60, 20 genn.; G.Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, pp. 76, 152, 176-7.
- 207 Davidsohn, *Storia*, ii. 405; vii. 77; ASF Ceramelli-Papiani, 170, no fol.
- 208 *Registres d'Urbain IV*, reg. 2732.
- 209 ASF Diplomatico, Carmine di Firenze, 1308/9, 18 marzo; Notarile Antecosimiano, 03, ff.81v-83, 1299, 26 luglio.
- 210 BNF Gargani, 107, no fol.; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, 02 (II), f.39, 1302/3, 15 marzo; Notarile Antecosimiano, 82129, f.2v, 1319, 15 sett.
- 211 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, 02 (I), f.78, 1308, 16 maggio.
- 212 ASF Diplomatico, Badia, 1319, 10 giugno; BNF Gargani, 107, no fol.
- 213 Orlandi, *Necrologio de S.M.Novella*, i.38.
- 214 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, P152 (II), f.37v, 1327, 12 dic.
- 215 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B1523, f.29v, 1342, 24 nov.; B1524, f.117v, 1346, 17 giugno. This appears to be the same man, but he is referred to variously as either Francesco di Neri or Francesco di Simone. See

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- also ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B1525, f.92, 1347/8, 4 genn., where Francesco di Neri is referred to as a canon of a church in the diocese of Fiesole.
- 216 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B1525, f.163, 1348, 7 ott.
- 217 Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, p.138. His father, Simone di Neri, brother of Filippo di Neri, the bishop of Florence, has a chapel named after him in the church of San Pancrazio in Florence, ASF Mss., 626, f.196. The final member of the family we know to have joined the church was Bartolomeo di Simone di Nero, who was canon of one of the major Florentine churches in 1356. BNF Gargani, 107; ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B1529, f.101.
- 218 C.Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore - la costruzione della chiesa e del campanile*, (Florence 1887), p.55.
- 219 S.La Sorsa, *La Compagnia di Or San Michele*, (Trani 1902), p.129, 1303/4, febr.-giugno.
- 220 ASF Lib.Fab., 30, f.77v, 1350, 11 sett.; La Sorsa, *Compagnie di Or San Michele*, c.159.
- 221 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Polverini, 1334, 23 dic.
- 222 Cerrachini, *Cronologia*, p.105; BNF Gargani, 107; ASF Diplomatico, S.Giovanni Battista, 1342/3, 4 marzo; Mss. 625, f.1118; Ceramelli-Papiani, 170; Diplomatico, Riformagioni, Atti Pubblici, 1341, 8 giugno.
- 223 ASF Lib. Fab., 13, f.25v, 1326, 23 sett.; BNF 25, 393, f.29.
- 224 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 1148.
- 225 ASF Lib. Fab., 14, f.33, 1329, 24 ott.; Lib. Fab., 19, f.97v, 1340, 17 nov; Cerrachini, *Cronologia*, p.105.
- 226 BNF Gargani, 1609, no fol.
- 227 *Delizie*, vii. 175; G.Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, (Florence 1960), p.12, 1201, 29 marzo.
- 228 BNF Gargani, 1609, no fol.
- 229 ASF Arte della Seta, 6, no fol.
- 230 ASF Capitoli, f.30; Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.15.

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- 231 *Delizie*, ix. pp. 21, 33.
- 232 Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.13.
- 233 *Delizie*, ix. 92.
- 234 Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.14.
- 235 Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.14.
- 236 ASF Provv., 5, f.87r, 1295, 12 aprile.
- 237 ASF Mss., 542, no fol.
- 238 ASF Capitoli, 39, f.199.
- 239 Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2009, f.115v.
- 240 S.La Sorsa, *Compagnia di Or San Michele*, p.127, 1299, giugno-ott.
- 241 *Delizie*, ix. pp. 86, 92, 1280/1, 8 febr.
- 242 *N.Ottokar, Comune*, p.85; Gherardi, *Consulte*, i. 72.
- 243 Ottokar, *Comune*, p.18; Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.13; Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, pp. 58, 61-62.
- 244 Gherardi, *Consulte*, i. p.136, 1282/3, 29 genn. for the election of the Quattordici. See *ibid.* i.215, 1285, 9 maggio, in discussions on the currency of Florence.
- 245 ASF Mss., 542, no fol. He had also been consul of the same guild in 1280.
- 246 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 856; ASF Provv. 1, f.73, 1288, 31 marzo.
- 247 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 91.
- 248 Pampaloni, *Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.15.
- 249 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 672.
- 250 They were jointly taxed at 65 florins, which compares with the 50 florins at which Guido and Neri dell'Antella were assessed, 40 florins for Oliviero de Cerchi, 50 florins for Naddo di Messer Gherardino Cerchi, 80 florins for Lapo Cerchi, 30 florins for the

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- heirs of Berto di Messer Gherardino Cerchi, 150 florins for the heirs of Messer Lapo Cerchi, and 40 forins for Lippo di Messer Gherardino Cerchi. BNF Cl. 25, 396, ff. 61, 67.
- 251 ed. G.Mancini, 'Testamento di Folco Portinari', pp. 249-258, 1287/8, 15 genn.
- 252 Barbadoro, *Consigli*, i. 226, 1305, 2 ott.
- 253 S.La Sorsa, *La Compagnia di Or San Michele*, p.132, 1310, ott.
- 254 *Pampaloni, Il Palazzo Portinari-Salviati*, p.15; *Delizie*, ix. 38.
- 255 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1315, 6 nov.; ed. R.Piattoli, *Codice Diplomatico Dantesco*, (Florence 1940), doc. 115. This document reiterates those Bianchi still in exile in 1315 and includes 'Omnes de domo Portinariis exceptis Manetto, Folchetto, Serugalo, Torixano, Puccio, Sena, Andrea, Portinario et Francischo fratribus, Accerito filio Manetti, Andrea ol. Renzii, Benocio, Iohanne Manetti, Gerardo Falchi et Andrea Rencii, omnibus de Portinariis'.
- 256 See Cerchi and Politics section.
- 257 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, L76, f.109, 1317/18, 9 genn.
- 258 ASF Provv., 1323-24, f.3.
- 259 BNF Gargani, 1609, no fol.; ASF Riformazione, 4, 320; Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1884, f.29.

Chapter Three: Marriage

- 1 S.Cohn, *The laboring classes in Renaissance Florence*, (New York 1980).
- 2 *ibid.* p.23. This is in an analysis which incorporates all elements of society.
- 3 *ibid.* p.50.
- 4 There were only three Cerchi magnate households remaining in 1378.

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- 5 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.37.
- 6 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.degli Angeli, 1294/5, 31 genn.
- 7 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e popolo grasso*, p. 202.
- 8 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 22
- 9 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.35
- 10 See Appendix 1, Cerchi marriage profiles.
- 11 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iii. pp. 239, 308.
- 12 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Ugucione, 1295/6, 10 febr. Unfortunately only a fragment of the document remains. There is enough to show that the pact took place, but not enough to have any idea of its terms, its extent, or its signatories.
- 13 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 22.
- 14 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e popolo grasso*, pp. 85-86, 208-209.
- 15 ibid. p. 112.
- 16 Compagni, *Cronica*. i. 22.
- 17 See Saponi, *Crisi*.
- 18 Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi e popolo grasso*, pp. 43-44.
- 19 Jordan, *Les Registres de Clement IV*, reg. 86.
- 20 ibid.; and Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p.371.
- 21 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. p.182. Imiglia is buried in the Church of San Francesco di Siena, and therefore either returned to the parental home when widowed (no date), or else her body was returned to her native city for burial there by her own family. Either way, the parental family here took precedence over the marriage family.
- 22 It was not unusual for men to look for marriage partners from outside the city, and some of these

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wide-spreading marriage connections produce interesting cross ties. The Contessa Margherita Alberti da Mangona (probably a member of the Conti Guidi family) was married to Messer Benuccio de Salimbeni of Siena. Their daughter was married to Piero di Gualterotto de Bardi (marriage active in the 1320's), Saponi, *Crisi*, p.247. Caterina, daughter of Messer Vieri di Torrigiano de Cerchi was married to Piero's brother, Filippo de Bardi, which therefore gives us marriage links between the Cerchi, the Bardi, the feudal Conti Guidi, and the Sienese patrician and banking family of the Salimbene.

- 23 Compagni, *Cronica*, i. 25.
- 24 Guido dell'Antella, *Ricordanze*. Davidsohn says that after Ghita's death Guido married the daughter of a Volterranean merchant at Nimes. This is not possible because, according to the continuation of the *Ricordanze* by their son Sandro, Ghita did not die until 1325, while Guido had died in 1314. Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. p.367.
- 25 In the fifteenth century a citizen was excluded from significant office by law until at least the age of thirty: R.Trexler, *Public life in Renaissance Florence*, (New York 1981), p.391.
- 26 After Simone's death Nera married another Antella man, Sandro di Azzo dell'Antella. See Appendix, dell'Antella Marriage Profiles, under Benci.
- 27 Trexler, *Public life*, p.11.
- 28 Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, pp. 182, 199, 216, 348.
- 29 There was another marriage between the dell'Antella and the Albizzi: Cianghella di Simone di Neri dell'Antella was married to Pepo di Antonio di Lando Albizzi, later a leader of the conservative Albizzi faction. But their marriage took place in 1340, before the split in the oligarchy, and Cianghella died within the first year of their marriage.
- 30 Saponi, *Crisi*, pp. 243-244.
- 31 *ibid.* p.248.
- 32 *ibid.* p.274.
- 33 *ibid.* pp. 262, 264.

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- 34 *ibid.* p.260.
- 35 *ibid.* p.261.
- 36 *ibid.* p.270.
- 37 *ibid.* pp. 266,257, 260-1, 263-4.
- 38 *ibid.* p.273.
- 39 M.Luzzati, *Giovanni Villani e la sua compagnia dei Buonaccorsi*, (Rome 1971), pp. 26, 29, 113. See also his 'Ricerche sulle attivita mercantili e sul fallimento di Giovanni Villani', *Buletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, vol. 81 (1969), pp. 173-235.
- 40 ASF Mss 542, no fol.; Notarile Antecosimiano, A183, ff. 23-23v, 1341.
- 41 Barbadoro, *Finanze*, pp. 560-561.
- 42 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. pp. 400-401.
- 43 Becker, *Florence in Transition*, ii. p.109.
- 44 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. p.414; *Storia*, vii. p.32; BNF Spoglio Strozzi, II-IV, 380, f.282.
- 45 ASF Ceramelli-Papiani, 170, no fol.
- 46 Davidsohn, *Storia*, vii. p.57.
- 47 See the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Laurenziano XI, plut. XXVII dextr. which contains a fourteenth century copy of the two *Vita* of Umiliana by Fra Vito da Cortona and by Ippolito da Firenze. See also F.Cionacci, *Storia della Beata Umiliana de Cerchi*, (Florence 1682);
- 48 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, n.3, 1332/3, 4 febr.
- 49 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, n.4, 1333, 4 maggio.
- 50 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, n.7, 1345, 10 luglio.
- 51 'Testamento di Folco Portinari'. In the same will Folco made more bequests to other female relatives.
- 52 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, n.2, 1323, 9 nov.

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- 53 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1368, 3 luglio.
54 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, n.83, 1382, 18 nov.
55 Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1983, 42, 1348.
56 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.degli Angeli, 1363, 4 aprile;
Arcispedale di S.M.Nuova, 60, f.352v.

Chapter Four: Land

- 1 G.Villani, *Cronica*, v. 39.
2 G.Villani, *Cronica*, xii. 18.
3 For a reconstruction of a map of the city in the second half of the thirteenth century with an attempted definition of the major property owners, see F.L.Carmody, 'Florence: Project for a Map', *Speculum*, XIX, 1944. An important work on the urban expansion of the city in the thirteenth century is that by Franek Sznura, *L'espansione urbana di Firenze nel Duecento*, (Florence 1975).
4 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1280, 8 nov.
5 ASF Diplomatico, S.Apollonia, 1288, 21 agosto.
6 Davidsohn, *Storia*, II, 463.
7 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani 133, 1280/1, 31 genn.
8 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1280, 29 luglio.
9 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1285, 3 sett. (attached to document dated 1280, 29 luglio).
10 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano N223 (1372-1377), ff. 213-214.
11 M.Barbi, 'L'Ufficio di Dante per i lavori di via S.Procolo', *Problemi di critica dantesca*, (Florence 1975), ii. pp. 385-413; ed. R.Piattoli, *Codice Diplomatico Dantesco*, (Florence 1940); G.Pampaloni, *Firenze al tempo di Dante. Documenti sull'urbanistica*

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fiorentina, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Fonti e sussidi, iv. (Rome 1973).

- 12 ASF Provv. 1, f.113v; Provv. 2, ff. 62v-63, 66v, 83v, Provv. 4, ff. 33v, 34r.
- 13 G.Villani, *Cronica*, viii. 26.
- 14 ASF Provv. 19, ff 50v-52, 1322, 6 dic.; BNF Gargani, 564, no fol.
- 15 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1319.
- 16 ASF Diplomatico, S.Croce, 1274/5, 21 febr.
- 17 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 165, 1285, 8 ott. This is a copy of Arrigo's will, in which he leaves the house to the convent of Monticella near Santa Croce, with the proviso that his aunts Banca and Ravenna, and his mother Ermellina, should be allowed to live there, as well as all the female descendents of his brothers who are *pinzochere*, or lay-sisters, of Santa Croce.
- 18 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1287/8, 2 febr.; Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1287/8, 3 febr.; *Capitoli*, 40, n.7.
- 19 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1291, 30 agosto.
- 20 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, B 2126, ff.87-88, 1302, 11 dic.; Davidsohn, *Storia*, IV, 291.
- 21 ASF Diplomatico, Mercatanti, 1302, 10 dic.
- 22 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv, p.1054.
- 23 ASF Estimo I, f.172
- 24 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1306.
- 25 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, L76, f.70v, 1308, 19 nov.
- 26 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1314, 8 dic.
- 27 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1328, 11 nov.
- 28 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, G167(I), ff.106v-107, 1313, 26 agosto; Diplomatico, S.Giovanni Battista, 1318/9, 24 genn.; Carte Cerchi-Canigiani 133; Carte Cerchi-Canigiani 83, n.2, 1323, 9 nov.

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- 29 ASF Diplomatico, S.Croce, 1274/5, 21 febr.
- 30 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani 133, 1350, 7 maggio.
- 31 See above note 140. ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133.
- 32 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133.
- 33 Saponi, *Libro dei Covoni*, pp. 195, 211.
- 34 ASF Diplomatico, Dell'Antella, 1328, 4 agosto.
- 35 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133; Riccardiana 1983, f.138v, 1360, 15 agosto.
- 36 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, G838 (III), f.41, 1350, 30 luglio.
- 37 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1352/3, genn.
- 38 M.J.Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urban IV*, (Paris 1900), reg. 1123, 1264, 26 mars.
- 39 ed. P.Santini, *Documenti dell'antica costituzione del Comune di Firenze, Appendice*, (Florence 1952), p.84.
- 40 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1272, 6 maggio.
- 41 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1275, 30 ott.
- 42 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1279, 19 dic.
- 43 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. p.315
- 44 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1332/3, 9 marzo.
- 45 ASF Diplomatico, Cestello, 1333/4, 23 marzo; Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 93, inserto 3.
- 46 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1350, 30 aprile.
- 47 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1350, 4 maggio.
- 48 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, G838 (IV), f.188, 1356, 14 dic.
- 59 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, giugno.
- 50 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1274, 25 maggio.

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- 51 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1291, 30 agosto.
- 52 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1298, 19 giugno.
- 53 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1332/3, 9 marzo.
- 54 M.J.Guiraud, *Les Registres d'Urban IV*, reg. 1123, 1264, 26 mars.
- 55 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1268, 7 dic.
- 56 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1270, 15 luglio.
- 57 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Caprini, 1306, 11 giugno.
- 58 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, L76, f.70v, 1308, 19 nov.
- 59 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, L76, f.82v, 1311, 19 luglio.
- 60 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1312, 19 dic.
- 61 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1314, 2 aprile.
- 62 ASF Diplomatico, Vallombrosa, 1323/4, 9 genn.
- 63 ASF Diplomatico, Cestello, 1334/4, 23 marzo; Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 93, inserto 3.
- 64 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133.
- 65 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1341, 7 giugno.
- 66 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1353.
- 67 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1361, 6 giugno.
- 68 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1362, 19 maggio.
- 69 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1282, 30 giugno; Diplomatico, Badia di Ripoli, 1288, 5 sett.
- 70 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, Rinuccio di Piero, f.51r, 1292, 2 sett.
- 71 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1297/8, 4 genn.
- 72 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1353.

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- 73 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, G838 (IV), f.44, 1353, 27 nov., where the farm is rented out for an annual rent of 32 florins, and *ibid.* f.53v, 1353/4, 6 febr.
- 74 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, L76, f.70v, 1308, 19 nov.
- 75 ASF Diplomatico, Badia di S.Fedele di Poppi, già di Strumi, 1283, 2 sett. NB the original document no longer exists, and this information relies on the early twentieth synopsis of individual documents in the Diplomatico which forms the catalogues to the collection.
- 76 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1336.
- 77 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 90.
- 78 ASF Notarile Antecosiminiano, R348, f.41, 1319, 31 agosto.
- 79 ASF Diplomatico, Cestello, 1333/4, 23 marzo.
- 80 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1338.
- 81 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii. 315.
- 82 ASF Capitani di Parte Numero Rosso, Ufficiale dei Beni dei Ribelle, (1329), ff. 12v, 13, 13v, 14, 29v, 30.
- 83 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1337.
- 84 ASF Diplomatico, Cestello, 1333/4, 23 marzo.
- 85 ASF Carte Cerchi Canigiani, 83, inserto 6, 1345, 9 luglio.
- 86 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, inserto 7, 1345, 10 luglio.
- 87 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1346.
- 88 E.Fiumi, 'Fioritura e decadenza dell'economia fiorentina', *ASI*, cxvi (1958), p.506. And even later, in 1369, Ugolino di Tomaso di Vieri and his brother Vieri owned a farm in the parish of Remulo, at the place called Castelare, which they rented out. ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1369, 29 nov.
- 89 Sacchiotti, *Novella*, 209.
- 90 Davidsohn, *Storia*, iv. 298.

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- 91 ASF Diplomatico, Ospizio di Camaldoli, 1277, 4 agosto.
- 92 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, inserto 5, 1340/1, 17 febr.
- 93 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1286, 2 aprile.
- 94 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1333.
- 95 ASF Diplomatico, Cestello, 1333/4, 23 marzo.
- 96 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Cerchi-Canigiani, 1337, 21 agosto.
- 97 ASF Diplomatico, Cestello, 1345, 12 luglio.
- 98 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1337.
- 99 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1268, 7 dic.
- 100 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1337, 21 agosto.
- 101 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, inserto 5, 1340/1, 17 febr.
- 102 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, inserto 6, 1345, 9 luglio.
- 103 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, inserto 7, 1346, 1 aprile.
- 104 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1275, 30 ott.
- 105 ASF Diplomatico, Riformagioni, Atti Pubblic, 1280, 27 agosto.
- 106 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1280, 2 nov.
- 107 ed. P.Santini, *Documenti dell'antica costituzione di Firenze, appendice*, Florence 1952, p.84.
- 108 ASF Provv. X, ff. 306-307, 1300/1, 13 marzo; Davidsohn, *Storia*, vi. 461; Barbadoro, *Consigli*, p.3.
- 109 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1272, 6 maggio; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iv. 277.
- 110 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1270, 15 luglio.

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- 111 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1280, 8 nov.
- 112 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1297/8, 4 genn.
- 113 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1312, 19 dic.;
ibid. 1314, 2 aprile.
- 114 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1328, 11 nov.
- 115 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, inserto 5, 1340/1, 17
febbr.
- 116 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), f.44, 1353, 27
nov; ibid. f.53v, 1353/4, 6 febbr.; ibid. f.188, 1356,
14 dic.
- 117 *Delizie*, vii. 160.
- 118 G.Villani, *Cronica*, vi. 79. But they are not mentioned
in any of Villani earlier listings of important
families, and here appear with the description of
'gente di piccoli cominciamente'.
- 119 *Delizie*, ix. pp. 31, 33; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, iii.
pp. 20-21.
- 120 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1280, 17 luglio.
- 121 ASF Diplomatico, S.Giovanni Battista/S.Bonifazio, 1282,
19 agosto.
- 122 ed. F.Polidori, 'Ricordanze di Guido di Filippo
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- 124 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, 02 (I), f.48, 1308/9, 16
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- 126 Guido dell'Antella, *Ricordanze*, p. 13.
- 127 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, B2129, f.71v, 1321, 21 nov.
- 128 ASF Diplomatico, S.Iacopo a Ripoli, under 1332, 24
luglio.
- 129 ASF Diplomatico, Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, 1326, 5
aprile.

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- 130 ASF Diplomatico, Dell'Antella, 1328, 4 agosto.
- 131 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1336, 17 agosto.
- 132 ASF Atti del Esecutore degli Ordinanze di Giustizia, 6, f.3, 1343.
- 133 ASF Diplomatico, Badia di Vallombrosa, 1339/40, 9 genn.
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- 135 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, A197, ff. 159-160, 1352, 4 nov.
- 136 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, T463, ff. 265v-266, 1360, 9 luglio.
- 137 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N226 (II), no fol., 1360, 5 maggio.
- 138 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.degli Angeli, 1363, 4 aprile.
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- 141 Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1983, ff. 134v-135.
- 142 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1298/9, 20 genn.
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- 144 *Ricordanze*, p.10.
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- 146 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1314, 28 sett.
- 147 ASF Diplomatico, Riformagione, 1316, 20 luglio.
- 148 ASF Diplomatico, Badia, 1321/2, 18 marzo.
- 149 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, R348, f.82, 1322, 13 nov.
- 150 ASF Capitani di Parte numero rosso, n.26, Beni della Parte, f.4v.
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- 152 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, A197, ff. 159-160, 1352, 4 nov.

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- 154 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N228 (I), no fol., 1362.
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- 157 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Novella, 1361/2, 9 marzo and 1364, 31 maggio.
- 158 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, P152 (II), inserto I, ff. 61-61v, 1328, 11 sett.
- 159 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, N228 (I), 1362.
- 160 ASF Diplomatico, S.M.Nuova, 1365. 12 agosto.
- 161 Fiumi, *Fioritura e decadenza*, ii. 506.
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- 173 Riccardiana 2009, f.231.
- 174 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G355 (III), ff. 54v-55, 1344, 23 dic.

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- 175 Riccardiana 2009, f.319v, 1346, 12 sett.
- 176 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, G838 (IV), ff. 155v-156, 1356, 19 maggio.
- 177 ASF Diplomatico, Acquisto Manni, 1288, 23 giugno.
- 178 Riccardiana 2009, f.411v.
- 179 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, F480 (II), f.49, 1319, 11 agosto.
- 180 ASF Diplomatico, S.Lucia di Firenze, 1332, 4 ott.
- 181 Riccardiana 2009, f.319.
- 182 Riccardiana 2009, f.478.
- 183 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Salvi Dini, 1343, 8 nov.
- 184 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Francesco Giunta da Paterna, 1344, 12 giugno.
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- 188 ASF Medici Avanti il Prinipato [MAP], 152, f.46v, 1355, 7 ott., *Ricordanze* of Folco di Conte de Medici.
- 189 See above, Portinari and Land.
- 190 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, F480 (II), f.49, 1319, 11 agosto.
- 191 ASF Notarile Antecosimiano, I42 (II), no fol. 1329, 7 sett.
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- 193 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1350, 7 maggio.
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- 198 ASF Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uggucione, 1341, 7 giugno.
- 199 ASF Diplomatico, Dono Canigiani-Cerchi, 1352/3, genn.
- 200 *Statuti dell'Universita de Studio Fiorentino*, p.148.
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- 202 ASF Diplomatico, S.Lucia di Firenze, 1332, 4 ott.
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- 212 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 83, inserto 7, 1345, 10 luglio.
- 213 ASF Carte Cerchi-Canigiani, 133, 1333.
- 214 ASF Diplomatico, Cestello, 1333/4, 23 marzo; ASF

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