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Medieval Italy

An Encyclopedia
Volume I
A - K

Edited by
Christopher Kleinhenz



Medieval Italy

First published in 2004, *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia* provides an introduction to the many, diverse facets of Italian civilization from the late Roman empire to the end of the fourteenth century. It presents in two volumes articles on a wide range of topics including history, literature, art, music, urban development, commerce and economics, social and political institutions, religion and hagiography, philosophy and science.

This illustrated, A-Z reference is a cross-disciplinary resource and will be of key interest not only to students and scholars of history but also to those studying a range of subjects, as well as the general reader.



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Associate Editors
John W. Barker
Gail Geiger
Richard Lansing



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

First published in 2004
by Routledge

This edition first published in 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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A Library of Congress record exists under LC control number: 2003007183

ISBN 13: 978-1-138-06326-6 (hbk)

ISBN 13: 978-1-315-16112-9 (ebk)

MEDIEVAL ITALY

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA

Volume 1

A to K

Christopher Kleinhenz, Editor

Associate Editors

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New York, NY 10017

Published in Great Britain by
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ISBN 13: 978-0-415-93929-4 (hbk) (set)
ISBN 13: 978-0-415-93930-0 (hbk) (vol 1)
ISBN 13: 978-0-415-93931-7 (hbk) (vol 2)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data.

Medieval Italy : an encyclopedia / Christopher Kleinhenz, editor.

p. cm. — (The Routledge encyclopedias of the Middle Ages) Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-415-93929-1 (set) — ISBN 0-415-93930-5 (v. 1) — ISBN 0-415-93931-3 (v.2)

1. Italy—Civilization—476–1268—Encyclopedias. 2. Italy—Civilization—1268–1559—Encyclopedias. I. Kleinhenz, Christopher. II. Series.

DG443.M43 2003
945 .03'03—dc21

2003007183

Cover photos: © Archivo Iconografico, S.A./CORBIS

Volume 1: Detail from Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Allegory of Good Government: The Effects of Good Government in the City*, 1338–1340.

Volume 2: Detail from Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Allegory of Good Government: The Effects of Good Government in the Countryside*, 1337

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INTRODUCTION

Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia provides an introduction to the many and diverse facets of Italian civilization from the late Roman empire to the end of the fourteenth century. To speak of “Italy” is, of course, anachronistic—a geographical rather than a political designation—given that Italy did not become a nation until the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the idea of “Italy” was present in the mind of Dante and Petrarch and many others who longed for the peace and stability that they presumed and hoped a nation-state would provide. The two volumes of this encyclopedia present articles, both long and short, on a wide range of topics that concern the civilization of medieval Italy: history, literature, art, music, urban development, commerce and economics, social and political institutions, religion and hagiography, philosophy, science, and so on. We have attempted to bring together in one convenient reference work all these aspects of Italian civilization; however, given the vastness and the complexity of the subject matter, we make no claim for completeness. We hope to have provided a well-balanced, informative, and up-to-date reference work that will serve the interests of students and the general public, as well as those of scholars in a variety of disciplines.

The entries in this encyclopedia range in length from about 100 words to more than 10,000. Shorter entries usually treat very specific topics; longer entries are intended to trace the history and development of individual cities and to explain and interpret major institutions, writers and works, cultural movements, and monuments. As much as possible, we have tried to provide an interdisciplinary focus, for that sort of integrative approach not only will make a topic more accessible to a larger audience but also will enable readers to see relationships and connections that might not be immediately apparent. Although scholars will generally be familiar with the basic information and bibliographies found in those articles in their own areas of expertise, they should find articles in other areas valuable for critical orientation, interpretation, and bibliography. The analytical index at the end of Volume 2 and the cross-references at the end of most articles will serve as indispensable aids to using the work.

Entries are arranged alphabetically, and individual entry titles are in either English or Italian, depending on what we considered the more common usage. The works of a specific author are usually discussed in the entry devoted to that author, although some general entries (e.g., Italian Poetry: Lyric) discuss in a chronological, topical, or synthetic way numerous authors, each of whom has a separate entry. Some problems emerged in the alphabetizing of personal names, and some inconsistencies may have been unavoidable. The guiding principle has been to list the person under the name that would be most natural or most familiar to most readers; thus Dante Alighieri is listed under D and Cino da Pistoia under C, while Giovanni Boccaccio is found under B and Guido Cavalcanti under C; Peter Damian is found under D, but Peter Lombard is listed under P. The bibliographies were prepared for specialists and nonspecialists alike and include, when appropriate, indications of primary sources (editions), translations, and a wide variety of secondary sources and critical studies, all of which provide a wealth of material for further reading and study. This encyclopedia also includes maps, illustrations for many entries, and an appendix listing popes and rulers.



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A work of this size (almost 1,000 entries) requires the cooperation and collaboration of many persons, and over the years—too many years, I should probably add, and our contributors will undoubtedly agree—I have accumulated many debts. I am very grateful to the many colleagues (192 in all) who gave generously of their time and expertise to write the articles that make up these two volumes. Their names are listed both at the beginning of the encyclopedia and after each of their entries. In particular, I thank my associate editors—John Barker, Gail Geiger, and Richard Lansing—who have provided invaluable assistance in the recruiting of contributors, in the editing of their articles, and in the writing of original entries for the encyclopedia. I also thank those colleagues who provided photographs: John Barker, Teresa Gualtieri Clarke, Gail Geiger, and Richard Lansing. I am very grateful to Lou Jordan and his staff (in particular, Christian Du Pont and Sara Weber) in the Department of Special Collections for placing at my disposal their very rich holdings during my several photographic expeditions to the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame. I am similarly indebted to the former and present curators—Robin Rider and Geraldine Laudati—of the Department of Special Collections of Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, for allowing me to take photographs of materials in their wonderful collection.

Work on the encyclopedia began with the encouragement and sure guidance of Gary Kuris at Garland Publishing and proceeded under the editorial supervision of Marianne Lown, Joanne Daniels, and Richard Steins. Most recently the project has benefited enormously from the support of Sylvia Miller and the expert editorial hand of Susan Gamer and their many assistants at Routledge. On a more personal note, I owe more than words can say to the support always generously given me by my wife Marge and our sons Steven and Michael, who can now, I believe, breathe a great sigh of relief, in the knowledge that this project is indeed truly and finally done. It is to them, for their love of Italy both medieval and modern, that I dedicate these volumes.

CHRISTOPHER KLEINHENZ



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Italy c. 600

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A

ACCIAIUOLI FAMILY

The Acciaiuoli, a great Florentine banking family, originated in Bergamo. They migrated to the Borgo Santi Apostoli, in the Florentine quarter of Santa Maria Novella, in the early twelfth century and obtained property in the Val di Pesa. The Acciaiuoli were *popolani* ("of the common people") and Guelph by political tradition, and they joined the Black Guelphs after the schism. Leone di Riccomanno, a doctor of law and one of Florence's fourteen *buoniuomini* of 1282, founded the bank and international commercial enterprise that soon ranked among the city's greatest. These businesses had branches throughout the Mediterranean and in England, France, and Germany. The Acciaiuoli served as papal bankers, and Acciaiuolo Acciaiuoli (d. 1341) began a fiscal and political relationship with the king of Naples that led to commercial monopolies, the post of seneschal for his famous son Niccolò (or Niccola, 1310–1365), and feudal lordships in Greece that the family finally lost in 1460 to the invading Turks. Angelo Acciaiuoli (1349–1408) rose quickly in the church to become bishop of Rapallo (1375), bishop of Florence (1383), and a cardinal (1385).

The bankruptcies of Edward III of England led to financial disaster for the family in Florence in 1345, and their fortunes and prestige never fully recovered, although they remained influential in the later trecento. Before that, however, they had been very active politically. Between 1282 and 1341, the family contributed seven standard-bearers of justice and five *buoniuomini* to the Florentine state and three consuls to the Calimala guild. From 1310 to 1342, family members served in the Signoria twenty-five times; Dardano di Tirigo (d. 1335), for one, was elected ten times between 1302 and 1334. Angelo Acciaiuoli (b. 1298) was bishop of Florence from 1342 to 1355 and was a leader in the overthrow of Walter of Brienne.

See also Acciaiuoli, Niccola; Florence

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JOSEPH P. BYRNE

ACCIAIUOLI, NICCOLA

The Florentine Niccola Acciaiuoli (1310–1365), a friend of Boccaccio, became grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples. Although writers sometimes refer to him as Niccolò, he himself used the spelling Niccola. He was born in the Val di Pesa to Acciaiuolo Acciaiuoli and Guglielmina de' Pazzi. Although his father was of illegitimate birth, the Acciaiuoli, a family of Black Guelphs, were one of the most prominent lineages in Florence, with thriving commercial interests throughout the Mediterranean.

At eighteen, Niccola Acciaiuoli married Margherita degli Spini, and in 1331 he was sent to represent his father's business in Naples. He entered the service of Catherine of Valois-Courtenay, princess of Taranto; became her lover; and was sent to administer her lands in Greece (1338–1341), where he won for himself the barony of Calamata. After the death of King Robert of Naples, Acciaiuoli arranged the marriage of Prince Luigi of Taranto to Queen Giovanna, possibly after assisting in the assassination of Giovanna's first husband, Andrew of Hungary. In 1348, Acciaiuoli was named grand seneschal ("grand" to distinguish him from other seneschals) and count of Terlizzi; and, after Giovanna's flight to Provence and return to Naples, he helped Luigi to establish control over the kingdom. In 1349, he traded Terlizzi for the county of Melfi and was also named captain general of the duchy of Calabria. An unsuccessful attempt on his life by followers of the queen in 1350 was followed by the liberation of Giovanna by the Marseillais. Giovanna and her husband were being taken back to Provence when Acciaiuoli

engineered their return. This proved definitive, and it put an end to the resistance of the queen's partisans. With Luigi of Taranto the sole holder of power, the grand seneschal in effect ran the kingdom. In 1354, he took back most of Sicily, although Messina resisted until 1356 and Catania held out successfully. Luigi of Taranto's defeat at the battle of Arcireale (20 June 1357) was unfairly blamed on Acciaiuoli by his enemies, but in 1359 Acciaiuoli was sent on a successful embassy to defend the kingdom against the claims to papal sovereignty that were being made by Pope Innocent VI. Innocent chose Acciaiuoli to negotiate the departure of the Milanese from Bologna in 1360, when he met Petrarch in Milan. Acciaiuoli returned to Naples in 1361 to find the kingdom threatened by marauding mercenary captains. Although he showed considerable personal bravery in surmounting this crisis—at one point he gave himself, his children, and his friends as hostages to a company of Hungarian mercenaries—Acciaiuoli continued to have enemies at court. In 1364, they accused him before Pope Urban V of having taken so many gifts that there was no money to make the usual payments to the papacy. The charges prompted Acciaiuoli to write a long autobiographical letter defending his actions to Angelo Soderini (26 December 1364).

Acciaiuoli died on 8 November 1365. His body was buried in a splendid tomb (attributed to Orcagna) in the Carthusian monastery of San Lorenzo (known today simply as the Certosa) outside Florence, whose construction he had sponsored after first mentioning it in an early autograph testament of 1338.

See also **Acciaiuoli Family; Naples**

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WILLIAM J. CONNELL

ACCOUNTING

See **Banks and Banking; Bookkeeping, Double-Entry**

ACCURSIUS

Many biographical details are in dispute regarding the greatest medieval glossator of Roman law. Accursius (also Acursius, Ac-

cursius, or Acursius; c. 1182–c. 1263) was born at Bagnolo near Montebuoni in the *contado* (district) of Florence to a family in modest social circumstances, perhaps even of recent peasant origin, that was nevertheless economically secure enough to pay for his legal education at the university in Bologna. Two brothers are mentioned in the sources: Bonus (or Donus, a notary) and Bonajutus. Accursius was also known as A. Fiorentino or A. da Bagnolo, but the sometimes alleged forename Francesco is without historical foundation. In a *Digesta* gloss he later jestingly explained "that it is an apposite name, because he [Accursius] hurries forward and assists against the darkness of civil law" (*quod est honestum nomen, dictum quia accurrit et succurrit contra tenebras iuris civilis*).

In Bologna, he studied mainly under the great jurist Azo; Jacobus Balduini was perhaps another of his chief teachers, a supposition that would place some of Accursius's studies in the years after 1213. Tradition places Accursius's promotion and the beginning of his teaching career c. 1215, and more specifically before 1221, when he was identified as *doctor legum* and a colleague of Azo and Hugolinus in a legal consultation. The dating of this collaboration has recently, however, been questioned, for it could have occurred as late as 1230. Considering Accursius's contemporary eminence among law professors, the number of his distinguished students was small: his own son Francesco; the canonists Vincentius Hispanus and—perhaps—Sinnibaldo Fieschi (later Pope Innocent IV); and probably his younger contemporary Odofredus, also a Romanist. During a teaching career that spanned forty years, Accursius also found time to be a practicing advocate who gave his clients expert legal opinions. There is some dispute regarding whether or when he became a citizen of Bologna; one later historian identifies him in 1252 as an associate of the *podestà* (podesta), a post held only by noncitizens. But Accursius's attested membership in 1248 in the Societas Tuscorum, a club comprising Bolognese citizens born in Tuscany, more plausibly indicates his possession of this status at least as of that date. His descendants certainly had Bolognese citizenship. Reports of Accursius's hostile rivalry with contemporary colleagues (e.g., Hugolinus and Odofredus) are fictions created later.

Accursius married twice; his first wife bore his eldest son Francesco (1225–1293), his second his remaining sons Cervotto (c. 1240–1287 at latest), Guglielmo (1246–1314 at latest), and Corsino (b. 1254). The disparaging rumors regarding Corsino's paternity were probably due only to the fact that Accursius was about seventy years old at the time. All the sons but Corsino became doctors of law, and two of them (Francesco and Guglielmo) also taught at Bologna. Accursius himself once expressed the opinion that sons of university doctors should receive preference in the filling of vacant chairs, a view that was sometimes put into effect at Bologna after the mid-thirteenth century.

During his career Accursius became quite prosperous. Part of his wealth certainly derived from his professorial stipend and the income from his legal practice. His town house in Bologna was eventually acquired by the city government and later integrated into the Palazzo Comunale. His country villa, "La Riccardina," was near Budrio; it was the center of an estate so large (271 hectares, or 670 acres) as to permit his sons and grandsons to receive portions of it upon his death. It later became a Franciscan convent. In later times, Accursius's great wealth earned him a bad reputation as a usurer and receiver of bribes from aspiring

academic examinees, a charge also made against his son Francesco. Some modern observers remain unconvinced of these charges, citing a lack of trustworthy evidence especially as regards Accursius himself.

Accursius retired from his university post after four decades, that is, c. 1255 or thereafter. One tradition, noting that a ruined house at Bagnolo was subsequently known as the *studium Accursii*, holds that he returned to the vicinity of his native city. Other historians more plausibly suggest that he retired to his property at Riccardina. Although portions of his masterpiece, the *Ordinary Gloss* (*Glossa ordinaria*) on the *Corpus iuris civilis*, had already been published decades before, it is almost certain that he continued to revise this work throughout his lifetime. As for his other pursuits during these years, one historian (Kantorowicz 1929) has suggested that Accursius now embarked on another monumental, albeit never completed, project: the preparation of a great encyclopedia of both laws, a *speculum iuris* predating that ultimately written by Guillelmus (William) Durandus. This suggestion rests, however, on an unconvincing reconstruction of the contents of Accursius's library, and at this point must remain an interesting conjecture.



Tomb of Accursius, Bologna. Photograph courtesy of John W. Barker.

Accursius's final years gave rise to another story—that in early 1263 he served in Florence as a resident “judge and assessor” subordinate to the podesta, dying there later that same year during his term in office. This account is inherently implausible, for why would an already rich and very famous man accept such a modest and modestly paid job? A simple confusion of names lies at the bottom of the problem—the Florentine judge and assessor was another juriconsult, Accursius Reginus (of Reggio Emilia). The date 1263 does, however, provide a *terminus ad quem* for Accursius's death, for in May of that year a document referred to his son Francesco as *condam Domini Accursi*. In documents, Accursius was last listed as alive in 1259; a Bolognese chronicle placed his death in 1260, but a document of 1262 listed Cervotto's name in a manner suggesting that his father was still alive. The early fourteenth-century historian Villani wrote that Accursius lived to be seventy-eight. Taken together with reports regarding his birth date, the time frame 1259–1263 for his death is the best available. It is presumed that Accursius died in or near Bologna; he was first interred near San Domenico, but his remains were later moved—at his son Francesco's request—to a monumental sepulcher at the apse of San Francesco, where this son was also ultimately interred. The gravestone there is probably from the original grave with the later addition (1293) of Francesco's name: *Sepulchrum Accursii Glossatoris legum [et] Francisci eius filii*.

Descriptions of Accursius's personal appearance and habits note his tall powerful build, pensive and serious facial expression, affability, modest lifestyle, fine manners, and taste for good but not ostentatious dress. He was a heartfelt Ghibelline, but his posthumous fame was such as to release his entire family, eventually, from the penalties enacted in 1274 by Bologna's triumphant Guelf government for adherents of that defeated party. The amnesty statute of 1306 identified him and Francesco as men “who have conferred such great honor of the city of Bologna, fathers and teachers of all scholars and students of civil law throughout the entire world” (*patrum et dominorum omnium scolarium et studentium in iure civili per universum mundum, qui tantum honorem fecerunt civitati Bononie*).

Accursius's fame as a scholar rests squarely on his *Ordinary Gloss* on the constituent parts of Justinian's *Corpus iuris civilis*. His other works are of far less consequence. The *Summa authentici* and *Summa feudorum* attributed to him by some scholars are considered by others to be the work of, respectively, Johannes Bassianus and Hugolinus. Also, the *Tractatus de arbitris* attributed to him is a work of his teacher Azo. Accursius edited several extravagant texts to the *Libri feudorum*, and (at least) eight expert legal opinions (*consilia*) of which he was the author or a coauthor are extant from the period 1230–1258. A letter written to Piero della Vigna is of doubtful authenticity, and various *quaestiones* are reported secondhand.

See also Azo; Francesco d'Accorso; *Glossa Ordinaria*; Roman Law; Innocent IV, Pope

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ADELAIDE

Adelaide (931–998) was the daughter of Rudolf II of Burgundy. Her intelligence and beauty—in addition to a tenuous Carolingian connection through descent from Welf (Wulf, Wolf), the brother of Judith, wife of Louis the Pious—made her a desirable marriage prospect. When Rudolf died in 937, Hugh of Provence, who dominated northern Italy and had earlier clashed with Rudolf, obliged Adelaide to marry Lothar, Hugh's son. By 945, Hugh's power declined and Berengar of Ivrea, another warlord, forced him from Italy. Berengar tried to marry Adelaide to his son, Adalbert, when Lothar died in 950. Otto of Saxony rescued and married her (951). This match was successful, and Adelaide was crowned empress with Otto in 962. She accompanied her husband during his six years in Italy (966–972). She was regent for her son, Otto II, and despite some friction when he became emperor, was his viceroy in Italy. When Otto III's mother, Theophano, died, Adelaide assumed the regency for her grandson. She spent her last years in Germany.

See also **Otto I**

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MARTIN ARBAGI

ADIMARI FAMILY

The Adimari were one of the noblest and most powerful of Tuscany's great medieval families. Originally Franks who took over Lombard land around Florence, the family stemmed directly from Count Adimaro (mid-tenth century), son of Marquis Bonifazio and brother of Tedaldo, founder of the Alberti clan. From their castle of Gangalandi and other strongholds, they controlled traffic on the Arno River, and Florence battled them to submission. By 1178, Bernardo Adimari was serving as communal consul in Florence. The Adimari had become leading urban nobles as well, with a group of towers and houses centered on Via Calzaiuoli, near the Baptistery; one tower, Guardamorto, reached a height of 70 meters (230 feet). They were active in commerce and banking, with offices in Genoa by the 1260s and in Treviso somewhat later.

By the thirteenth century, the Adimari were powerful politically, as Ghibelline-hating Guelfs, and members of the family served as podestàs (a *podestà* is a mayor or peacekeeper) in Tuscan towns such as Arezzo, Pistoia, and San Gimignano, as well as captains of the *parte Guelfa* (Guelf party) in Florence. Their continual feuding brought about their denunciation as magnates under the Ordinances of Justice in 1293.

Branches of the family included the Aldobrandini, Argenti, and Cavicciuli, who, in the later thirteenth century, were usually among the White Guelphs. A rare Black Cavicciuli took over the property of the exiled Florentine poet Dante Alighieri and opposed his return. Dante placed Tegghiaio Aldobrandi among the sodomites (*Inferno*, 6.79–81, 16.40–42) and, likewise, placed Filippo Argenti, of the “arrogant race,” *oltracotata schiatta* (*Paradiso*, 17.115), in hell (8.32–63).

Despite their decline in political power, the family remained large and rather wealthy (with thirty-three taxable households in 1378) through the fourteenth century.

See also **Florence**

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ÆTIUS, FLAVIUS

Flavius Aëtius (d. 454), sometimes called the “last of the Romans,” was born at the end of the fourth century in the Roman province of Lower Moesia on the Danube River. He was the son of the master of soldiers Gaudentius and an Italian noblewoman. He pursued a military career, and in his youth he served as a hostage first to the Visigoths and then to the Huns. Under the western usurper Johannes (423–425) he held the office of overseer of the palace. He was sent to recruit a large army of Huns, but he did not return to Italy with them until after the fall of Johannes, at which time he was able to make his peace with the new emperor, Valentinian III. Aëtius then served as master of soldiers, primarily in Gaul, during which time he became involved in a quarrel with another western general, Count Boniface. In 432, Aëtius was defeated at Rimini by his rival, who himself was mortally wounded. Aëtius then took refuge with the Huns, and with their aid he soon was restored to power. In 433, he became supreme master of soldiers; the title “patrician” was added in 435.

Aëtius spent most of his remaining years campaigning in Gaul. In spite of the virtual disappearance of the Roman army, he was generally successful in keeping the barbarians out of Italy by masterfully playing one barbarian group off against another. In 451, he used a coalition of Romans, Visigoths, and Franks to defeat the invasion of Attila and the Huns. In 452, however, he inexplicably failed to defend the Alpine passes against Attila's return, and only after the Huns had captured Milan and destroyed Aquileia were they compelled to withdraw.

Aëtius exemplifies the powerful generalissimos who, in the fifth century, truly controlled the western empire. During most of the second quarter of that century, Aëtius was the most powerful Roman of the west, the real “power behind the throne.” He held the consulate no fewer than three times, in 432, 437, and 446. Around 440, the senate in Rome honored him with a statue; its inscription is still extant. He was married twice, first to a daughter of the count of the domestics, Carpilio (her name has not survived), and second to Pelagia, the widow of Boniface. In the early 450s, his status was enhanced by the betrothal of his son Gaudentius to Valentinian's daughter, Placidia.

Eventually, however, Aëtius's preeminent position was his own undoing. In 454 Aëtius was murdered in the imperial palace by the emperor Valentinian himself: a Roman aristocrat later told the emperor that he “had cut off his left hand with his right.”

It may be that Aëtius's efforts delayed, for a time, the eventual fall of the western Roman empire. After his death, the western empire rapidly disintegrated and soon shriveled to an Italian core, which itself fell under barbarian control in 476.

See also **Valentinian III**

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RALPH MATHISEN

AGILULF

Agilulf (d. 616) was king of the Lombards from 590 until his death, following Authari. He had been duke of Turin before his accession and legitimized his position by marrying his predecessor's widow, Theodolinda.

During his reign, Agilulf solidified the Lombard conquest of large portions of northern Italy by making peace with the Franks and establishing a fairly stable boundary with the exarchate of Ravenna. The relative independence of the more southern duchies of Spoleto and Benevento was also confirmed. Thus the Lombard kingdom was established essentially as it was to remain until the eighth century.

Agilulf's court was increasingly influenced by Roman and Catholic forms, and a Roman historian, Secundus of Non (from the Trentino), resided there. He welcomed the Irish Columbanus and granted him land at Bobbio, where a monastery was established.

Agilulf was succeeded by his son Adaloald, whose reign inaugurated a period of dynastic strife that had both national and religious overtones.

See also **Authari; Benevento; Lombards; Ravenna; Spoleto**

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KATHERINE FISCHER DREW

AGRICULTURE

In medieval Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, farming practices were constrained by basic ecological facts that people found extremely hard to overcome. The uncultivated world of forest, marsh, and heath, although often feared as “wild,” had to be exploited for all the food and building materials it could provide because the success of agriculture was very uncertain. Medieval farmers, like farmers in all premodern societies, found it difficult to cope with the almost randomly occurring “good years” and “bad years” for crops. Cultivation methods were often too rudimentary to produce much in the way of a surplus, and if any surplus could be accumulated, storage techniques were often inadequate to prevent rotting and insect damage. Climate was the most unpredictable natural element. Abnormally low winter and summer temperatures (as in the cold period between A.D. 600 and 800) could have disastrous effects on even the most carefully tended crops, but comparatively warm times (as between 1000 and 1250) helped farmers to increase yields. Obvious regional differences in climate—as between Lombardy and Apulia—determined what crops could be attempted in the first place; but it is likely that microclimatic peculiarities, which are now becoming better understood as a result of archaeological investigations involving analyses of pollen and other plant remains, helped to define the agricultural character of a given area at a much more local level. Exploiting difficult terrain was also problematic, since it was hard to drain and dig large forested, marshy, or steep areas with hoes, spades, and very simple plows. The labor required was phenomenal; this explains why the vast majority of medieval people had to be agriculturists. Consequently, agricultural life was harsh and remained so between the millennium 400 and 1400, despite the changes in farming practices, technology, and economic organization that were taking place in Italy. (Real improvements in conditions had hardly taken place before the twentieth century.)

Still, agriculture was in many ways more richly diverse in medieval Italy than it had been in Roman times. This can be seen from the very wide variety of crops, many of which had not been cultivated in Italy in the Roman period. Most descriptions of medieval Italian agriculture stress, rightly, that its basis was cereals, vines, and olives, the classics of Mediterranean farming and diet. Cereals were widely grown, the choice of grain depending on the soil quality, terrain, rainfall, and so on. Predominantly, the farmers of the early Middle Ages grew the so-called poorer cereals (barley, rye, oats, millet, and sorghum); but olives were also common—in fact, they were present almost everywhere.

Cereals, vines, and olives may have been the most characteristic crops, but many other plants, edible and nonedible, were raised. Of staples, the chestnut was particularly important in hilly regions, especially in the Apennines; it was not a “wild” plant but was carefully cultivated and highly valued. Vegetables and fruits are not mentioned so commonly in the historical sources, but that may be because their presence was taken for granted. Certainly orchards were prized, and they were common near the northern lakes, in Romagna and the Marches. New citrus fruits—lemons, bitter and sweet oranges—were introduced into southern Italy from the east in the later medieval period. Other new exotics, like sugarcane, also appeared at that

time. Important plants grown for textiles and dyes included flax, hemp, madder, and woad in the north, and cotton and saffron in the south.

Stock raising has received rather less attention from historians than plant cultivation, but there can be little doubt that it had a crucial place in the medieval Italian economy. Animals provided fertilizer and energy for farming, both of which were in short supply from other sources. The commonest animals raised were pigs, sheep, goats, and cattle, supplemented by horses, asses, and poultry. Fish, too, were sometimes farmed. As with plants, techniques of animal husbandry varied across Italy. How animals were raised also seems to have depended on what products they were required for. According to the archaeologist Gillian Clark, evidence from many central Italian excavations indicates that dead animals were mainly used for meat and leather (primary use); that living animals were exploited for wool, hair, eggs, and milk (secondary use); and that stock-raising techniques varied accordingly (younger animals were intended for meat, older animals for wool and other products). Many farms seem to have kept a motley mixture of animals, but in the later Middle Ages specialized production of beef cattle began to become important in some areas, notably Farfa Abbey and the Arno valley in Tuscany, Apulia, and the lower Po plain. Animals were useful because their pastures were land that was often unsuitable for other purposes, but they could also be extremely labor-intensive when transhumance was involved—that is, when animals were taken on the great annual summer movements from plains to hills and back again. Transhumance was common in the Apennines, although not in the Alps. Apart from this movement, most Italian agriculture was suited to a sedentary settled existence and was organized accordingly.

There were many variations in the organization of agricultural production across Italy. It is likely that most agriculturalists lived on small holdings, in family units, often within the framework of a nucleated village settlement to form, in Pierre Toubert's phrase, a “complete peasant exploitation.” These peasant farmers produced food for themselves and their families, and sometimes a surplus that was either sold or given as rent to a powerful local lord. The relationship between peasants and lords took differing forms. Often, it is hard for historians to characterize such a relationship with any precision, because contracts between cultivators and noncultivators were usually not written down in the period before about 1200. Therefore, it is extremely hard to know to what extent the secular or monastic owners of large estates actually determined what was produced there, or if the peasants were given a free hand so long as they produced a surplus with which to pay the owner. Italy, like many other regions in medieval Europe, can be said to have had a “manorial system” (a rough translation of the Italian *sistema curtense*), particularly between about 800 and 1000. Nowadays, historians emphasize that such estates were organized locally in many different ways and were not self-sufficient as commonly as had previously been thought. This was because the agricultural economy—with the possible exception of some (not all) particularly isolated mountain farms—was never static and was never removed from the wider ecological and economic systems of Italian society.

Toubert proposed a helpful typology of earlier medieval Italian estate structures that has become the standard framework

for analyzing the organization of agricultural practice. Toubert suggests a threefold division of widely recognizable types:

1. "Pioneer" estates. These were pastoral and very often had no central demesne area (the part of the estate directly supervised by the owner's agent and farmed by slaves or semiservile workers and local peasants who worked there part-time as part of their "render" requirements).
2. More structured units, specializing in olive oil and wine, sometimes as cash crops for sale in local markets.
3. Classic estates, based on cereal cultivation, on rich soils with highly developed demesne centers.

Examples of each type have been found by historians all over Italy during most periods. Toubert's discussion is valuable because it provides a reminder that a degree of specialization in production was evident in Italian practice from the early Middle Ages on. This seems to have been particularly true in two contexts: monastic estates, where abbots often demanded cash-crop production of oil and wine and caused some land to be opened up to agriculture for the first time; and farms near towns, where, increasingly in the later period, specialized market garden crops were grown for urban sale.

It is not always easy to imagine, from the surviving texts, what these estates actually looked like on the ground. However, certain general points can be made. The cultivated landscape in most places was a combination of open (*terra aperta*) and enclosed fields (*clausurae*), in close proximity to uncultivated land. The proportions at any given time and place are almost impossible to work out. However, one can generalize by saying that in the earlier period there were more open fields, which were sometimes communally owned and worked by the village, whereas from the twelfth century on more enclosed fields appeared, especially around Milan, as more owners fenced off plots from communal use. This development spread to the rest of Lombardy, Liguria, and Tuscany in the thirteenth century and a little later to Lazio and Campania. Most of these changes seem to have taken place very slowly, with a consequent gradual change in the appearance of the landscape. Occasionally, more obvious changes took place more rapidly. There was probably more land under cultivation in Italy during the medieval period than at any earlier time, and this was largely a result of a new combination of efforts by the peasants and pressure from the monasteries. Vito Fumagalli has found that the monasteries of Nonantola and Bobbio caused new areas of the lower Po plain to be opened up for agriculture by deforestation and drainage as early as the first half of the ninth century. Their abbots pursued this as a deliberate policy by issuing special *libellus* contracts to peasants requiring them to undertake clearance as part of their contractual relationship with the community. Terms such as *novellae* (new plots) and *noviculta* (newly cultivated) also appear in charters from elsewhere in the Po valley.

The farmers had little in the way of new technology to aid them in transforming the landscape. Most of their basic tools were ancient and did not change for centuries. The most important technological change was the increasingly widespread use of the water mill from about 1000 on. It made the milling of flour much more efficient, as did the later introduction of the

windmill to Lombardy around 1300. New irrigation techniques borrowed from the Arabs aided the cultivation of rice and cotton in the south.

The study of medieval Italian agriculture is now entering a new phase with the increasing use of advanced archaeological techniques to analyze site data such as pollen, grain samples, animal bones, and farming implements, allowing a more precise picture of individual agricultural sites and their production in the medieval period. These new techniques are important because only through them can we determine how much of medieval practice was inherited from Rome and how much was true innovation. Perhaps even more exciting is "landscape archaeology." Landscape archaeology uses the field survey—pioneered in central Italy by teams from the British School at Rome—to analyze large areas and observe changes in land use and settlement patterns over a longer span of time than is possible with conventional historical methods. Notable among these surveys are those of south Etruria, the Biferno valley, and Farfa, which have given us more precise data than ever before about what was grown where.

See also **Land Tenure and Inheritance; Peasants; Revenues; Transhumance; Viticulture**

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ROSS BALZARETTI

AISTULF

Aistulf (d. 756) became king of the Lombards in 749 by overthrowing his brother Ratchis, presumably because Ratchis was not following an expansionist policy aggressively enough. Under Aistulf, the Lombards in 751 occupied Ravenna and moved toward Rome. Pope Stephen II appealed for aid to the Franks, who were indebted to the papacy because it had legitimated the new Carolingian dynasty. In 755, the Franks under Pepin I invaded, defeated Aistulf, and obtained an agreement that the Lombards would cede to the papacy all of the exarchate they had occupied. When Aistulf failed to carry out these terms, Pepin invaded again, in 756, and forced compliance. When Aistulf died there was a brief interregnum; he was then succeeded by Desiderius.

See also **Desiderius; Frankish Kingdom; Lombards; Pepin the Short; Ratchis; Ravenna; Stephen II, Pope**

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ALARIC THE VISIGOTH

Alaric (c. 370–410) was one of the Visigoths who were allowed to cross the Danube River into the Roman empire by the emperor Valens in 376. The Visigoths were the first group of barbarians to be allowed into the empire en masse, and their arrival marked the beginning of the "barbarian invasions." In reality, the Visigoths were more a motley conglomeration of ruffians than a discrete ethnic entity. They were augmented by accretions of renegades, deserters, slaves, dispossessed peasants, and other barbarian tribes.

Alaric himself first appears in history in the early 390s as a Visigothic military leader. In 394, he served in Theodosius's campaign against the usurper Eugenius, but then, unhappy about not receiving a sufficient reward, he revolted. Between 395 and 397, he and his Goths devastated Thrace and Greece, sacking several famous cities and on several occasions escaping destruction by the western general Stilicho. In 398 or 399, Alaric was granted the office "master of soldiers of Illyricum." In spite

of this honor he invaded Italy in 401 and besieged the emperor Honorius in Milan. In 402, he was defeated at Pollentia and again at Verona by Stilicho, who then allowed him to withdraw from Italy. In 407, Alaric was engaged by Stilicho in a plan to seize Illyricum for the west, but this scheme was frustrated by the revolt of Constantine III in Britain and Gaul (407–411).

After Stilicho was murdered in 408, many of his partisans joined Alaric, who had since moved into the province of Noricum on the northern Italian border. Then, when Honorius refused to pay Alaric for past services, the Visigoths invaded Italy once again in 408 and besieged Rome, having been promised assistance from a group of Visigoths and Huns led by Alaric's relative Athaulf. A long series of negotiations then ensued among Alaric, the senate at Rome, and Honorius, who by then was safely ensconced in Ravenna. The siege of Rome was alternately lifted and renewed several times as Honorius continued to delay, the main sticking point being Honorius's refusal to make Alaric master of soldiers. In 409, Alaric even allowed the senate to name a new emperor, Priscus Attalus, who then granted Alaric his desired rank. Finally, in 410, after being joined by Athaulf and attacked by imperial forces, Alaric returned to Rome, which he captured and sacked beginning on 24 August. As sacks go, this one was rather genteel. It lasted only three days, and the churches, at least, were generally left untouched. The damage was more psychological than material. For the first time in 800 years Rome had fallen. No longer could the city be called *Roma invicta* ("unconquered Rome").

After leaving Rome, Alaric and his men traveled south, hoping to cross to Sicily. Foiled in this endeavor when the Gothic fleet was wrecked, Alaric turned back north, and on this journey he became ill and died in Bruttium. He was said to have been buried in the bed of the Busento River after the stream had been diverted. His position then was taken by Athaulf, who, two years later, led the Goths into Gaul.

See also **Honorius, Emperor; Stilicho; Visigoths**

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RALPH MATHISEN

ALBERIC OF MONTE CASSINO

Alberic (fl. 1065–1100) was a monk, deacon, and teacher of grammar and rhetoric at the abbey of Monte Cassino under its great abbot Desiderius. Alberic's life offers few fixed dates. He was probably born in southern Italy and was at Monte Cassino (to which he may have come as an adult) by 1065. In 1078–1079, he successfully defended orthodox eucharistic doctrine against Berengar of Tours at a Roman synod; perhaps during the 1080s he composed a lost work, *Contra Heinricum imperatorem de electione romani pontificis*. He died before 1105 (when his name appears in two datable Cassinese necrologies) and was buried in Rome.

The chief primary sources for Alberic's life are the *Chronicon Casinensis* (3.35) and *De viris illustribus* (21), both by Peter the Deacon, a twelfth-century archivist and historian of Monte Cassino. Of Alberic's prose writings listed by Peter, those on music, astronomy, and dialectic are lost, as are *De virginitate sancte Marie* and his "very many" letters to Peter Damian. His rebuttal of Berengar, *De corpore domini*, has recently been identified. Five saints' lives are attributable to Alberic, and a homily and verses on Saint Scholastica (with her brother, Saint Benedict, buried at Monte Cassino); other hymns and *rithmi* named by Peter the Deacon are not by Alberic. Alberic helped Desiderius compile four books of *Dialogi* recounting miracles among the monks of Monte Cassino (*Chronicon Casinensis*, 3.63).

Alberic is best-known, however, for his writings on rhetoric and style, all of which reflect the needs of classroom teaching and an active writing community. The *Liber dictaminum et salutationum* named by Peter may refer either to one part of the *Breviarium de dictamine* (preserved in five manuscripts, only one complete), which in its present form combines grammatical and rhetorical material from various sources, or—though this is less likely—to the *Flores rhetorici* (also called *Dictaminum radii*, known from four manuscripts). The *Liber de barbarismo et soloeicismo tropo et schemate* draws on numerous texts, including Cassiodorus's massive *Expositio psalorum* and some distinctively Cassinese sources, to define and illustrate (chiefly from the Bible) a remarkable total of nearly 130 rhetorical figures. Finally, a work on syllable length bespeaks an interest in prosody, and Alberic may also have been responsible for a *Lexicon prosodaicum*, a systematic, alphabetized guide to metrical quantities in classical Latin poetry.

Debate about Alberic's importance in the history of medieval rhetoric, especially the beginnings of the *ars dictaminis*, has been handicapped, though seldom inhibited, by the fragmentary publication of his works. *Dictamen* means artistic composition in general, and both the *Flores* and the *Breviarium* concentrate on techniques of rhetorical ornament in prose. The term refers especially to letter-writing, however—an important literary genre throughout the Middle Ages—and these two works, as the first to contain instruction accompanied by sample salutations and model letters, presage the twelfth-century *ars dictaminis* with its many handbooks devoted to epistolary theory and model letters.

Alberic himself was a precocious student: in a recently discovered letter accompanying his *Passio sancti Cesarii* that exudes self-confidence and stylistic polish, Alberic declares that he is thirteen years old and has been engaged in *liberalibus studiis* for six years. Like most of his other hagiographical compositions, this one reworks an existing text (and as such represents a typical school exercise); it uses the *cursus* (techniques of rhythmic prose) and displays his characteristic exuberant delight in manipulating language.

See also *Ars Dictaminis; Monte Cassino, Monastery*

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CAROL D. LANHAM

ALBERTANUS OF BRESCIA

Albertanus (c. 1190–1251 or after), an author of legal treatises and addresses, was active in the political and professional life of the commune of Brescia in the first half of the thirteenth century. We know quite a lot about him from his appearances in official records (e.g., as a witness to a treaty or to a legal document) and from what he reveals in his own writings. A *causidicus*, or legal intermediary, perhaps with judicial powers (the precise function of this role is now unclear), he was regarded highly enough to be called on to serve his commune politically. On at least one occasion he was an aide to his fellow-Brescian Emmanuel de Madiis when the latter went to Genoa as *podestà*. In 1238, he was entrusted with the captaincy of the fortress of Gavardo, to defend it against the forces of Emperor Frederick II in the struggle of the Lombard League against the imperial campaign in northern Italy. He lost, but only after a vigorous defense against an especially vicious siege.

Albertanus was the author of three Latin didactic treatises and five "sermons"—spoken addresses delivered before his fellow *causidici* at meetings of their lay confraternity. These works became widely—in fact, explosively—available immediately after their creation and are to be found all across Europe; Albertanus's works were read and copied until the eve of Reformation. His first (and longest) work is *De amore et dilectione Dei et proximi et aliarum rerum et de forma vitae*, completed while he was imprisoned at Cremona in 1238. Here he first set out his notion that social transformation is to be achieved through voluntary personal commitment to a "rule," an idea which would permeate all his subsequent writing. A sermon he delivered in Genoa in 1243 provides a prototype for his *De doctrina dicendi et tacendi* of 1245. Structured according to the rhetorical "circumstances"

of classical tradition, this treatise examines the use of spoken discourse, especially among the legal profession, as a means of social empowerment. A third treatise, *Liber consolationis et consilii* (1246), denounces the threat to order afforded by the urban vendetta—the northern cities of Italy were frequently riven by lobbyists, and street fights between politically partisan groups were far from unknown. In this work, he sees social change as to be achieved through personal moral development. His final works comprise four more sermons, delivered to his legal confraternity in Brescia in or about 1250. In these short sermons, Albertanus develops and reiterates themes of his major works, and they may be seen as reflecting the maturity of his thought. The last sermon, with its topic of fear of the Lord (and perhaps also its lack of clear structure), suggests that these sermons were his swan song. There is no reason to believe that he wrote anything after them, and further attributions of authorship are undoubtedly false.

Albertano drew on familiar sources for his works, among them Seneca, Cicero, Justinian, Cato, Godfrey of Winchester, and the Bible. But he appears also to be the first writer to make use of the work of the Spanish convert from Judaism, Peter

Alfonsi, and may well be the first scholar to have assembled all twelve books of Cassiodorus's *Variae*. In this sense we can regard Albertanus as a precursor of the Renaissance book collector. The focus and synthesis of his writing, however, make it wrong to dismiss him as a mere compiler. His remedies for the social problems he met with professionally mark him as an early and insightful social theorist. His views on the consensual adoption of a secular rule (*propositum*) as a way of life and its potential as an engine of social change make him unique for the period. That he wrote as a layman is also remarkable. His beliefs about the role of the legal profession as a body with responsibility for social stability and development reveal an early understanding of the significance of the rise of an urban professional class. His sermons are among the earliest evidence we have of lay preaching and oratory.

More than 320 surviving Latin manuscripts, across Europe, indicate that Albertanus was one of the most widely read authors in the latter medieval period. *De doctrina* in particular is well represented in manuscript, and it also went through at least thirty-five printed editions by 1500. Among the subsequent writers who knew and utilized these works are Brunetto Latini, Chaucer, John Gower, the author of the *Fiore di virtù*, Christine de Pizan, and (arguably) Dante. Except for his sermons, Albertanus's work was translated into every major western European language, though sometimes at quite a distance from the original context. More than 130 manuscripts and numerous early printed editions are known of vernacular versions of his treatises; these include English, German, Italian, French, Catalan, Castilian, Czech, and Dutch versions. More research on his influence is needed.

Powell (1992) supplies a recent and authoritative discussion of Albertanus and his works and provides a starting point for contemporary scholars working in English. Some discussion, especially of vernacular versions, is added by Angus Graham (1996), who extends Powell's bibliography. Both supply further reading. Further literature in English is concerned largely with Chaucer's use of Albertanus. Details of Latin manuscripts are given by Navone (1994, 1998), though she lists only 243, and supplemented by Graham (2000a,b). The currently published Latin editions do not reflect the best critical edition, but adequate ones are provided by Sundby (1884, *De doctrina*, app., 475–509), Romino (1980), Fè d'Ostiani (1874), Ferrari (1955), and more recently by Navone. Ahlquist offers a welcome fresh edition of the four Brescian sermons (with English translation); and Marx has translated, from Sundby, a portion of the *Liber consolationis* (in Blamires et al. 1992, 237–242). All but two of the published vernacular versions are cited by Graham (1996), and there are further discussions and vernacular manuscript listings in Graham (2000a,b).

See also **Brescia**

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ANGUS GRAHAM

ALBERTINO MUSSATO

Albertino (1261–1329), the greatest Latin poet of his age, was born in Padua of lowly parentage. Orphaned at a young age, he had the responsibility of caring for three younger siblings—two brothers and a sister. (One of the brothers would eventually become the abbot of Santa Giustina, the great Benedictine monastery of Padua.) Early in his life, Albertino earned money by copying books for students at the university; later he became a notary and the son-in-law of the powerful Guglielmo Lemici, a very successful Paduan usurer. With the backing of the Lemici clan and his own natural abilities, he played a prominent role in Paduan public life, at home and abroad, in peace and war, from around 1310 to his final exile in 1325, when the Carrara family finally broke the influence of the Lemici. He died in exile in Chioggia four years later.

But it was not Albertino's successes as orator, statesman, warrior, or diplomat of Padua that make his name illustrious today. It is, rather, his remarkable achievements as a man of letters in the context of a late medieval Italian commune. Even before his emergence as a figure in Paduan political life, Albertino had become a member of a small group of scholars gathered around Lovato de' Lovati, an older Paduan judge. These men studied the Latin poets as an avocation. The existence of Carolingian manuscripts at the Capitular Library in Verona, and in the Benedictine abbey of Pomposa near Ravenna, made possible this learned diversion of the *cenacolo padovano* ("Paduan circle"). The members of the *cenacolo* were already familiar with the

traditional set of Latin poets, established earlier in the thirteenth century—Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius—and Lovato was the first to take the next logical step, composing original Latin poetry himself. Indeed, Petrarch recalled his achievement.

Albertino, following in Lovato's wake, composed poems that helped to rehabilitate some forms of Latin poetry. One example is his defense of such poetry against the strictures of a Dominican, Fra Giovannino. Another is his birthday elegy, in which he reviews his life and the highlights of his career, including his laureation. This may have been the first work since antiquity in which an author focused on his own day of birth for reflection and celebration.

In the 1320s, Albertino went to Siena in his capacity as a diplomat and on the way, near Florence, fell ill. The literary result of this illness was his poem *Somnium* ("A Dream"), recounting his concept of the afterworld, with particular attention to the nether regions. (Dante's *Inferno* was already in circulation at this time.)

Albertino also left us a bountiful harvest of Latin prose works, especially contemporary histories of Italy—*De gestis Henrici VII Cesaris* (*The Deeds of the Emperor Henry VII*) and *De gestis italicorum post Henricum VII Cesarem* (*Italian Events after the Death of Emperor Henry VII*). However, for all his learning and experience, his histories were no match for his poetry, or for the historical text that was at the root of Padua's self-understanding: Rolandino's *Chronicles of the Trevisan March*.

Albertino also studied the tragedies of Seneca with Lovato and composed introductions to the plays, as well as an explanation of tragic meters for the younger Marsilius of Padua, the author of *Defensor pacis*. In 1315, in imitation of Seneca and in connection with local history, Albertino wrote his finest and most lasting work, *Ecerinis* (*The Tragedy of Ecerinus*), about the tyrant Ezzelino III da Romano (1194–1259), the ruler of Verona. Like some of his contemporaries, Albertino saw an analogy between Ezzelino and the current lord of Verona, Cangrande della Scala. Albertino was familiar with the details of Ezzelino's career from Rolandino's *Chronicles*, which stressed the heroic, united, Catholic character of Paduan resistance. This was the story Albertino found ready to hand as he attempted to awaken his fellow citizens to the danger of renewed aggression by the Veronese. He was inspired to cast this tale in the form of a Senecan tragedy, *Thyestes*, and thus wrote the first tragedy since antiquity. It was for *Ecerinis* that Albertino was crowned with laurels, just as Rolandino had been crowned for the *Chronicles*. However, Albertino failed in his goal of awakening Padua, and Cangrande conquered the city in 1328. Because of his staunch political opposition to Cangrande, Albertino went into exile; he died at Chioggia on 31 May 1329.

See also **Ezzelino III da Romano; Lovato dei Lovati; Padua**

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JOSEPH R. BERRIGAN

ALBERTUS MAGNUS

Albertus Magnus or Albert the Great of Ratisbon (c. 1193 or 1206–1280) has emerged as one of the great encyclopedist theologians of the late Middle Ages. He entered the Dominican order at Padua in 1223; moved north to teach at the schools of Hildesheim, Cologne, and Ratisbon and then moved to Paris; but in 1248 returned to Cologne, where he organized the Studium General. In 1260, he was appointed bishop of Ratisbon; however, he resigned so that he could concentrate on his literary efforts. His most distinguished pupil was Thomas Aquinas, whose doctrines he later defended at Paris in 1277.

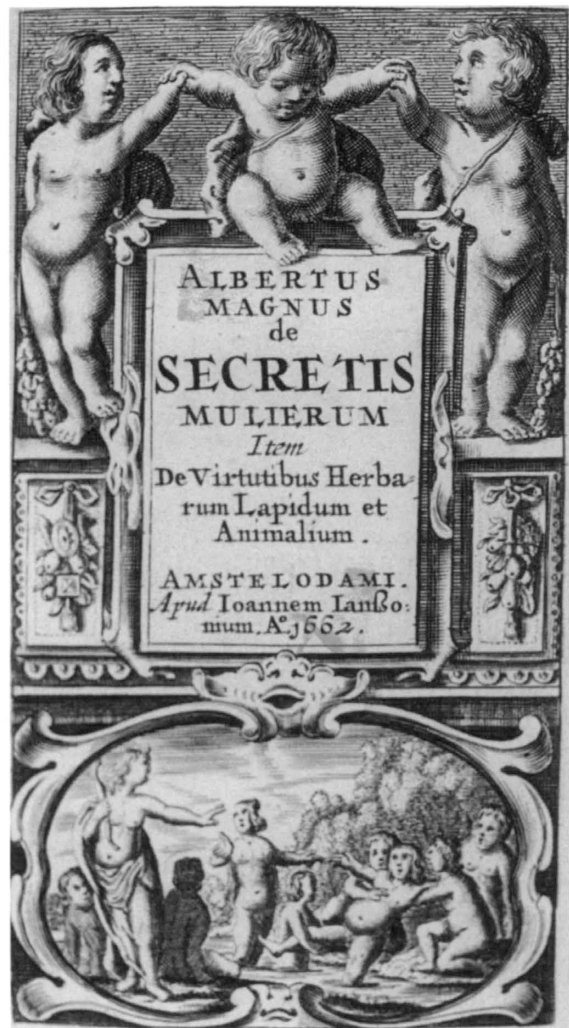
As a cleric, Albertus was interested in documenting the world around him according to the sanctity of tradition, but he departed from most of his predecessors and contemporaries by actually trying to test some of the legends he recorded in his vast works. His approach to the science of his time represented a major shift from the earlier tradition, which had been based entirely on authority. For example, he tested the story that ostriches like to eat iron by attempting to feed them some nails. To his surprise, the ostriches refused the iron, though they would, he testifies, eat small stones.

The works of Albertus are considered somewhat disorganized and are full of digressions, but they are very comprehensive: in scope, Albertus is exceeded only by Aquinas. Albertus's largest work (although incomplete) is the *Summa theologiae*. His other works include *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* and *Summa de creaturis*.

In general, Albertus often avoided the fantastic, preferring direct observation and straightforward commentary on nature;

for example, he describes how an herb or a fruit might affect the body, mind, or spirit rather than relating traditional allegories about it. His *Book of Secrets of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones, and Certain Beasts*, as its title suggests, has more to do with the benefits of herbs and stones and their therapeutic or culinary uses than with their symbolic value for moralizers. His comments are linked to the four humors, which medieval medicine inherited from Hippocrates, the chief physician of the ancient world. In his book *On Falcons, Dogs, and Horses*, Albertus is clearly interested in the hunt.

As a whole, Albertus's methodology, as expounded in *Metaphysicorum*, is based on a breakdown of knowledge into the medieval "trivium" and "quadrivium," numbers in themselves replete with symbolism. The trivium comprised the superior areas of learning (i.e., the three divine philosophical and theological subjects); the quadrivium pertained to more practical knowledge, such as music and geometry. Learned persons—in actuality, only the priesthood and the nobility—were those trained in both classes of information.



Albertus Magnus, *De secretis mulierum; item De virtutibus herbarum, lapidum, et animalium*. Amsterdam: Apud Ioannem Ianssonium, 1662. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

Albertus also had significant influence on artistic taste, through his commentaries on the feminine figure of Mary in *De laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis* (*In Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary*) and *Mariale, sive questiones super evangelium: De corporali puchritudine Mariae* (*Questions Concerning the Gospel: On the Corporeal Beauty of Mary*). Albertus also wrote about the sacramental altar and about what constitutes a reliquary and a sacred site.

See also Thomas Aquinas, Saint

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DARRELL D. DAVISSON

ALBIZZI FAMILY

The Albizzi represented the most conservative element within the merchant aristocracy of republican Florence. A long-established family who were first represented in the *signoria* in 1283, they attained their greatest commercial and political prominence in the second half of the fourteenth century. By 1350, the Albizzi had emerged as the leaders of a political faction which sought to dominate the *parte Guelfa* (Guelf party) and the Florentine government by restricting the major offices of both to members of the older families. Opposed to the Albizzi was a faction led by the Ricci that favored the inclusion in politics of new men, those recently risen to wealth and membership in the major guilds.

The rivalry between the Albizzi and the Ricci was regarded by the Florentines as such a threat to the republic that in 1366 both families were banned from holding office for ten years. In 1378, Piero degli Albizzi, whose wealth and political alliances had made him the dominant political figure, was dealt a severe blow by the reform-minded *balia* created in the wake of the *ciompi* (working-class) uprising. Piero and his male descendants were declared magnates subject to the political liabilities imposed on the nobility by the Ordinances of Justice, and he was exiled from Florence.

The Albizzi again became the leaders of an oligarchical faction in Florence in the 1380s, and once again their ambition threatened the stability of the republic as they and their new opponents, the Medici, sought to gain control of the machinery of government.

See also Ciompi; Florence

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E. HOWARD SHEALY

ALBOIN

The semilegendary king Alboin (d. 572) led the Lombards over the eastern Alps into Italy in 568. He had become king some years before, succeeding his father, Audoin, who was not a member of the old Lething dynasty.

Alboin's career before the descent into Italy is known primarily from old sagas. The Lombards, in league with the Avars, made war on the Gepids (who were living in the central Danube region). The Gepids were defeated, and their king, Cunimund, was killed by Alboin, who then took Cunimund's daughter Rosamund as his captive and wife. It is said that after the invasion of Italy, Rosamund conspired to have Alboin murdered in his bed because he had forced her to drink from a cup made from her father's skull. In any event, Alboin was assassinated in 572.

The invaders that Alboin took into Italy included not only Lombards but also a number of other Germans, including a large group of Saxons. The incursion seems to have taken the Byzantines by surprise. Cividale (Friuli) fell first and became the center of a first Lombard duchy (a frontier march). A number of *faræ* (kin groups) were left to organize the march; the remainder followed Alboin into the Po Valley, where Milan and Pavia (the latter only after a long siege) were occupied and became the center of the slowly emerging Lombard kingdom. Alboin was followed as king by Cleph.

See also **Byzantine Empire; Lombards; Milan; Pavia**

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KATHERINE FISCHER DREW

ALBORNOZ, GIL ÁLVAREZ CABRILLO DE

Cardinal Gil Álvarez Cabrillo (Carillo, Carrillo) de Albornoz (1302 or 1303–1367) was a soldier as well as a churchman. Albornoz's campaigns restored central Italy to the papacy in the 1350s and 1360s, after decades of control by local despots. This made possible the return of the papal court from Avignon to Rome in 1377, ending the Avignonesepapacy.

Born to an aristocratic Castilian family, Albornoz was marked early for an ecclesiastical career. After studying canon law at Toulouse, he became chaplain and counselor to King Alfonso XI. In 1338, he succeeded his uncle as archbishop of Toledo. Over the next decade Albornoz took a leading role in the wars of reconquest, gaining a considerable reputation not only as a soldier but as a diplomat.

Albornoz's relations with King Alphonso's successor, Pedro I (the Cruel), were strained. Fearing disgrace, Albornoz fled to the papal court at Avignon in 1350. By December of that year, he had renounced the see of Toledo and been made a cardinal. In 1352, Pope Innocent VI named him papal delegate and vicar-general to the papal states and to central and northern Italy. His mission was to regain control of these areas from the petty lords who had seized them after the popes left Italy for Avignon.

Albornoz fought two long campaigns in Italy. The first, lasting from 1353 to 1357, secured the papal states, the Marches, and Romagna, including the city of Bologna. The second, fought between 1358 and 1364, attempted to free papal territories from the influence of the Visconti and the Ghibellines of the north by extending papal power into Emilia and the southern reaches of the Po valley.

In 1357, Albornoz promulgated a set of laws for the lands he had conquered that was later known as the *Constitutiones aegidianae*. This became the basic legal code of the papal states and was not superseded until the Napoleonic era. *Constitutiones* attempted to regularize earlier laws of the region while reversing legislation that Albornoz considered prejudicial to ecclesiastical liberties. It also balanced strong papal government with a certain autonomy for towns, since Albornoz was concerned to avoid alienating these important allies against the troublesome nobility. Generally, Albornoz championed communal rights and the authority of communal assemblies against the privileges of the nobles.

During his campaigns in the papal states, Romagna, and the Marches, Albornoz made rapid progress and achieved quick success. He was not as fortunate in his subsequent operations in the north. These dragged on at enormous cost, with no assurance of victory. In 1363, a new pope, Urban V, decided to replace Albornoz and seek a negotiated peace. Albornoz was kept in Italy, however, as papal legate to Naples and Bologna. In 1365, he founded the Spanish College at the University of Bologna. He died in 1367, while accompanying Urban V on the first papal visit to Rome in more than sixty years.

Albornoz's victories made certain that the papacy could return to Rome in 1377, and his administrative and legal reforms provided the basis for papal government in central Italy for centuries. His achievements might be better recognized had not many of the political gains he made for the papacy been so quickly lost during the Great Schism of 1378–1417.

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THOMAS TURLEY

ALDOBRANDESCHI FAMILY

From Carolingian times to the late thirteenth century, branches of the Aldobrandeschi family controlled an enormous feudal

territory in western Tuscany. At first centered on Lucca, with holdings as far north as Parma, the family's power later shifted south to the Maremma. The Aldobrandeschi were probably of Lombard origin and may have been descendants of Liutprand's successor, King Ildebrandino, who reigned briefly c. 744. Family lordship was based on a combination of control over monastic lands and comital authority, from the late ninth century around Lucca. By the communal period, the main branch ruled the *contado* (district) between Siena and Orvieto as counts of Sovana, Pitigliano, Santa Fiora, etc. This *terra aldobrandesca* began to come under the control of Orvieto with a minor submission to the commune in 1168. In 1208, Orvieto arbitrated a testamentary dispute among four Aldobrandeschi heirs and gained further submissions in the process. Communal control increased in 1216 after another arbitration and the imprisonment of two Aldobrandeschi brothers for debt.

In 1251, family rivalries caused a defection to the Sienese, long rivals for control of the Aldobrandeschi lands; in 1259, a Sienese army ousted the haughty Umberto from his castle of Campagnatico and killed him (*Purgatorio*, 11.58–69); and in 1274, the northern portion, Santa Fiora, formally submitted to Siena. Throughout the fourteenth century, Siena absorbed these lands, eventually nullifying the authority and power of the Aldobrandeschi. In 1284, the southern portion was inherited by Margherita, who had married Guy di Montfort. Orvieto and Pope Boniface VIII dueled for hegemony, and in 1303 Orvieto gained the upper hand, with title descending to the Orsini family through Anastasia, the daughter of Margherita and Guy.

See also **Orvieto; Siena**

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JOSEPH P. BYRNE

ALESSANDRIA

Alessandria is a commune in the Piedmont region along the Tanaro River in the Marengo plain. The first settlement (c. 1164) was named Civitas Nova or Cesaria and was founded by the Ghibelline William V "the Elder," marquis of Montferrat, who drew together the leading citizens of four smaller communes (Rovereto, Bergoglio, Marengo, and Gamondio) with the intent of expanding his own sphere of interest. However, factions opposed to Montferrat grew in the new city and drew it into an alliance with Milan. In 1167–1168, with the assistance of "new men" and refugees from small towns in the vicinity, the city was renamed Alessandria in honor of Pope Alexander III. Alessandria was attacked by the imperial forces of Frederick I (Frederick Barbarossa) and William the Elder, who besieged it for six months in 1174–1175. In 1183, as a consequence of the Peace of Constance, the city reassumed its original name, Cesaria, a

name it held until nearly the end of the century. In 1198 it returned to Guelf control and was once again renamed Alessandria.

For the next 150 years, Alessandria was in a continual struggle with the neighboring cities of Casale and Genoa, while torn by internal strife between Guelf (Guaschi and Dal Pozzo) and Ghibelline (Lanzavecchia and Inviziati) family factions. It was also subject to depredations by William VII of Montferrat (1260) and by Charles of Anjou (1268). The Angevins (Robert of Anjou) and the Visconti contended for the city, and in 1348, the Visconti annexed it definitively for Milan.

The original town walls, consisting of earthworks, moat, and guard towers, were replaced at the beginning of the thirteenth century with stone fortifications and a bridge over the Tanaro River. These were reinforced and expanded in 1362 and served the city until the sixteenth century. Among the earliest ecclesiastical buildings are the churches of Saint Rocco (twelfth–fourteenth centuries), Saint Francis (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries), and Santa Maria di Castello (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries). The city's first cathedral, dedicated to Saint Peter, was demolished in 1805 by the French.

See also **Montferrat, Marquisate of**

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JOHN W. BARKER AND CHRISTOPHER KLEINHENZ

ALESSO DI GUIDO DONATI

Nothing is known of Alesso di Guido Donati's life except that he was a Florentine poet who lived during the second half of the fourteenth century. His collected poems comprise eleven madrigals and two *ballate* that are contained in the manuscript Magliabechi VII, 624 (fourteenth century), at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. Unlike the *ballate*, *Di te son servidor* and *Da poi ch'Amor più volte m'ha fallito*, Donati's madrigals are steeped in lively, realistic imagery and dialogue and treat conventional themes, especially the vicissitudes of amorous pursuit, in a daring and playful manner. Antonio Lanza has noted the "clearly hedonistic and fundamentally erotic" (1978, 142) tone of Alesso's poetry.

In the madrigal *Accese montanine*, for example, Alesso creates a humorous and innovative effect by artfully combining features of *stilnovo* and *scuola siciliana* style with references to the beginning of Dante's infernal journey (*deh la via mia smarrita m'insegnate: / tanto ch' i' torni al mio dritto cammino*) in order to represent the lover's conquest (*e io con baci sollazando seco*). In another madrigal, *Ellera non s'avvitola*, Alesso represents the euphoria of two lovers as they dare to embrace before the eyes of a dozing guardian: "*Abracciami, / risposile, / e, s'ella ci ode e grida, fuor cacciamola.*" *! E ciò dicendo volto a volto puosile / e colsi frutto del suo orto giovine* (vv. 7–10). The incisive representation of the lovers' actions and emotions (desire, and fear of being caught *in flagrante delicto*) is enhanced by the fluid development from the descriptive analogy that introduces the poem through the dialogue that occupies the central verses and finally to the narrative that concludes the poem. After reading these and other madrigals, such as *Cavando d'un cespuglio calcatreppi, Di rietro*

a un volpon che sen portava, l' mi son qui selvaggia pasturella, and Con lieve piè, come la pecorella, the reader will perhaps agree with Lanza, who believes that Alesso has been underrated.

See also **Ballata; Italian Poetry: Lyric**

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DARIO DEL PUPPO

ALEXANDER III, POPE

Pope Alexander III (Rolando Bandinelli, c. 1105–1181) was born in Siena. He received training as a theologian and canon lawyer and became a member of the faculty at the University of Bologna. He was made a cardinal by Eugenius III in 1150 and was appointed chancellor of the Roman Curia in 1153. During his academic years, he wrote a commentary on Gratian's *Decretum*; subsequently, as a cardinal, he wrote a theological



Pope Alexander III. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*). Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, p. 202v.

treatise, *Sententiae*, directed against the influence of Abelard. Under Pope Adrian IV he was the strongest opponent of Frederick I (Frederick Barbarossa) and an advocate of the papal alliance with the Normans. In September 1159, in a divided election, he was chosen pope, but a pro-imperial minority of cardinals chose a rival pope under the name Victor IV, blocked Alexander's investiture, and drove him out of Rome. Two weeks later, in Ninfa, Alexander was consecrated pope; he then began a series of protracted international negotiations over his status while Frederick continued to back a series of antipopes.

During a period of exile in France, Alexander began to build a series of alliances against Frederick that eventually enabled him to return to Rome in 1165. He became the focal personality in the organization of the cities and regimes of Italy against the imperial schemes of Barbarossa. The climax of the anti-imperial struggle came with the victory of the Lombard League at Legnano in 1176. Through the mediation of the Venetian republic, Alexander and Frederick became reconciled in a famous meeting in Venice in 1177.

It was in part Alexander's preoccupation with Italian affairs that allowed Henry II of England to pursue his struggle with Thomas Becket (c. 1118–1170) over the status of the English church; in 1173, Alexander canonized Becket. In 1179, Alexander presided over the Third Lateran Council, which established the principle of a two-thirds vote in papal elections. He also conducted brief, superficial negotiations with the emperor Manuel I Comnenus over the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. In Alexander's last years, renewed popular violence forced him to leave Rome, and he died in Civita Castellana on 30 August 1181. His struggle with Barbarossa is recorded in a cycle of frescoes by Spinello Aretino in the Sala di Balìa of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena.

See also **Frederick I Barbarossa; Legnano, Battle of**

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ALEXANDER IV, POPE

Pope Alexander IV (Rinaldo Conti, count of Segni, 1199–1261) was a nephew of Gregory IX and a patron of the Franciscan order and was elected pope in 1254 to succeed Innocent IV. He saw the Ghibelline cause revive under the leadership of Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick II. Although peace-loving, Alexander supported candidates to the thrones of both Naples and the empire who would oppose Hohenstaufen interests. He also excommunicated Manfred. Faced with unrest in Rome and Manfred's armed threat, he retired to Viterbo and Anagni. From his residences outside Rome he extended his patronage to the mendicant orders, defending their right to appoint the chairs of theology at the University of Paris. The Augustinian Hermits

were organized under the papal aegis. Alexander canonized Clare of Assisi in 1255. He also sought, though unsuccessfully, a reunion between the eastern and western churches; and he tried to organize a crusade against the Mongols.

See also **Manfred**

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AL-FARABI

Al-Farabi (c. 870–c. 950) was born at Wasij near Farab in Turkestan. He studied in Baghdad under the Nestorian philosopher Yuhanna ibn Haylan. In 942, he went to Syria, where he was welcomed at the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Aleppo.

Al-Farabi was called the “second master”—that is, second after Aristotle—a title indicative of Al-Farabi’s influence as a philosopher on the whole of Arabic and Latin thought in the Middle Ages. In the 150 years after his death, a period I. R. Netton (1992) has called the “age of Farabism,” Arabic philosophy was shaped directly and distinctly by his thought. Through his Arabic and Hebrew successors as well as Latin translations of some of his writings, al-Farabi’s influence on Latin medieval philosophy was equally notable.

Al-Farabi’s *Book of the Enumeration of the Sciences* is the earliest known Islamic work on the classification of the sciences. Two Latin translations under the title *De scientiis* were made in the medieval period, one by Dominicus Gundissalinus (Toledo, c. 1140) and the other by Gerard of Cremona (c. 1230). In this work al-Farabi analyzes the place and nature of all sciences, which he orders under eight headings: linguistic, logical, mathematical, physical, metaphysical, political, juridical, and theological disciplines, with extensive subdivisions for each category. These subdivisions are modeled after the earlier Aristotelian corpus, and the influence of Aristotle is also reflected in the primacy of logic. *De scientiis* in turn influenced Gundissalinus’s *On the Division of Philosophy* (*De divisione philosophiae*, c. 1150).

A similar but less elaborate treatise, *On the Origin of the Sciences*, was also translated into Latin (as *De ortu scientiarum*), probably by Gundissalinus. Another work ascribed to al-Farabi was a commentary on Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*; this commentary is preserved only in several Renaissance editions of the Latin translation by Hermannus Alemannus (c. 1256). At least in the early printed editions, al-Farabi’s *On the Intellect* was often attributed to Avicenna. It was read by medieval western scholars in a translation, *De intellectu*, which may have been made by Gundissalinus. This unique work sets out to discuss the various meanings of the term “intellect” in Aristotle and common Arabic speech, but it is especially important for its interpretation of the active intellect in Aristotle’s *On the Soul* (*De anima*). Like al-Farabi’s *Philosophy of Aristotle* (which, however, was not translated into Latin), this treatise expounds the Neoplatonist view of the active intellect as the end point of a ninefold hierarchy of emanating incorporeal intelligences. By contrast, *De intellectu* describes the

active intellect as a source of emanation of natural forms into the sublunar realm. The active intellect here also illuminates the human intellect in such a way that it can grasp concepts instead of mere general first principles. D. Salmon (1939) presents evidence for the existence of several other Latin translations of works by al-Farabi in the Middle Ages.

See also **Aristotle and Aristotelianism, Neoplatonism**

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ALFRAGANUS

Alfraganus is the latinized name of Abu’l-Abbas Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khatir Al-Farghani (b. late eighth–early ninth century). Alfraganus was born in Farghana (Transoxania) and rose to fame in Baghdad as an astrologer-astronomer and engineer to Caliph al-Ma’mun of the Abbasid dynasty (813–833). As an engineer, Alfraganus was responsible for the construction of the “Great Nilometer” in old Cairo, which was completed in 861. However, he achieved his greatest renown as an astronomer.

Several of Alfraganus’s astronomical works have not come down to us; these include *Book on the Construction of Sundials* and a commentary on the astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi, which was mentioned by al-Biruni and Ibn al-Muthanna and possibly provided the basis for the latter’s extant commentary on these tables. By contrast, Alfraganus’s *Elements* did survive and was popular both in the Arabic world and in the Latin west. *Elements* provides an unusually clear account of the mathematical astronomy of Ptolemy’s *Almagest* (second century C.E.).

In the *Almagest*, Ptolemy had given a thorough analysis of planetary motions and had derived models and parameters that could serve as a basis for accurate predictions of celestial motions. A set of individual mathematical models, however, did not necessarily constitute a satisfying cosmological model, particularly in comparison with the Aristotelian homocentric universe. Alfraganus’s contribution in *Elements* was to strip the *Almagest* of most of its mathematical content and offer a qualitative description of Ptolemy’s models, along with certain basic parameters relevant

for establishing the size of the universe. Thus an influential step was taken toward a generally acceptable synthesis of Ptolemaic astronomy and Aristotelian cosmology, in the form of a textbook that provided an excellent introduction to Ptolemy's mathematical astronomy.

Elements (known in the Middle Ages as *Compilatio astronomica*, *Liber de aggregationibus stellarum*, or *Liber 30 differentiarum*) was translated twice into Latin in the twelfth century, by John of Seville (1135) and Gerard of Cremona (before 1175). The first translation was printed in 1493 (Ferrara), 1537 (Nuremberg), and 1546 (Paris), the second only in 1910. A third Latin translation appeared in 1590 (Frankfurt); this was based on an undated Hebrew version by Jacob Anatoli. The Arabic *editio princeps*, with yet another Latin translation, appeared in 1669 (Amsterdam). The translation by John of Seville was particularly popular throughout medieval Europe, and it established an important tradition of introductory astronomy textbooks; the various *Theoricae planetarum* and Sacrobosco's *De sphaera* are part of this tradition. *Elements* was quoted as early as 1282 in the *Composizione del mondo* of the elusive Ristoro d'Arezzo; and Paget Toynbee (1895) identified several instances in Dante's work that show the poet's acquaintance with Alfraganus's treatise. Moreover, *Elements* was the topic of public lectures by no less an astronomer than Regiomontanus at Padua in 1464. Alfraganus also wrote several treatises on the astrolabe that survive in a number of Arabic manuscripts.

Only Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation of the *Elements* has had the benefit of a modern printed edition (Campani 1910). Sabra (1971) provides a bibliography of other printed editions, as well as references to bibliographies of the extant manuscript material. A detailed overview of *Elements* can be found in Delambre (1819).

See also **Arabs in Italy**

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ALLEGORY

Allegory—the term comes from the Greek *allos* (other) and *agoreuein* (public speech)—is an important means of writing and interpreting texts, which developed in various forms throughout the Middle Ages. Allegory is polysemous and challenges the reader to discover its multiple meanings.

In its simplest form, allegory is an extended metaphor in which the literal figures can be interpreted abstractly as well. This type, called reification allegory, was developed from the rhetorical tradition as exemplified by the Roman Quintilian (c. 35-100).

Typological allegory emerged from the tradition of biblical exegesis. Scholars of religion sought parallels between the Old and New Testaments: a woman, Eve, brought sin into the world but another woman, Mary, brought us salvation; David was a king as Christ would be; and so on.

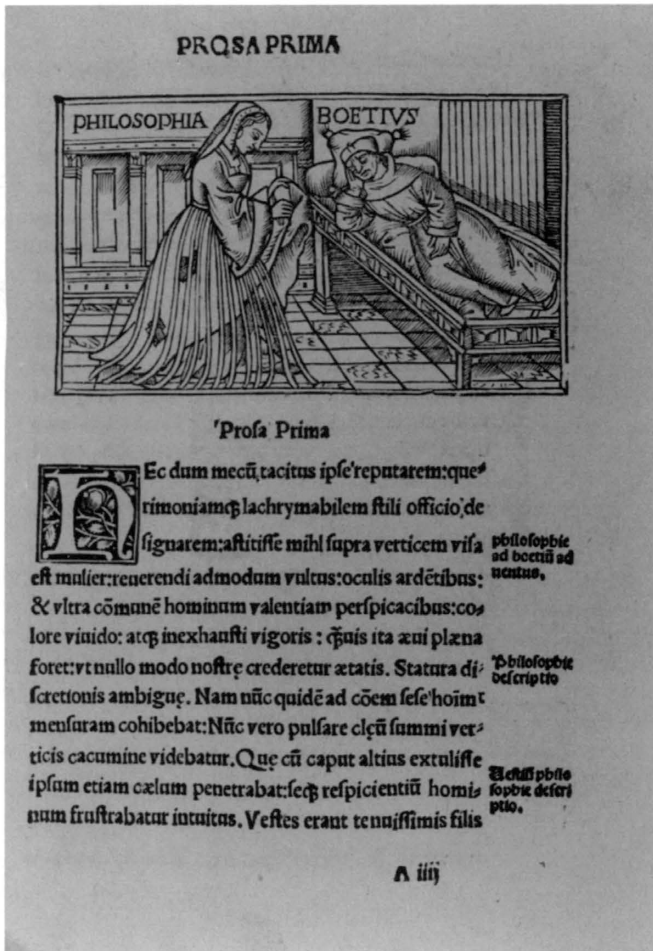
By the sixth century, another type of Christian allegory had emerged. This complex form has four levels of meaning, as later articulated by Dante in his *Convivio* and again in his *Letter to Cangrande*. These senses are (1) literal, (2) allegorical, (3) moral, and (4) anagogic. If we apply this to the biblical story of Jonah, the four interpretations are: (1) a man spent three days inside a great fish, (2) Christ spent three days in the tomb, (3) God will save us from peril, and (4) God's plan is salvation by Christ.

A fourth tradition in the Middle Ages was the allegorical interpretation of classical texts, such as those of Virgil and Ovid, to give them Christian meanings. This was a means of recuperating the content of "pagan" texts that were widely used as schoolbooks to teach Latin. French and English authors wrote moral glosses on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a literary tradition to which Boccaccio's *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri* belongs. Similarly, "scientific" descriptions of beasts or precious stones inherited from antiquity were given a Christian interpretation; for example, the pelican piercing its breast to feed its young became a symbol of Christ's supreme sacrifice.

Ovid's *Heroides*, meanwhile, gave rise to another strain of allegorical texts. From the Provençal lyric to the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, and most importantly in the *Roman de la Rose*, reification allegories sought to express the human emotions connected with amorous love. These texts, especially the *Roman*, had a clear influence on Italian authors. The late thirteenth-century Tuscan poem *Il fiore* omits the theological and scientific aspects of the French original, focusing instead on the erotic. This poem's attribution to Dante is still debated. The fragmentary verse *Detto d'amore*—by the same author, as is demonstrated by the similarity of its language—gives a larger role to the lady.

Most of the medieval Italian moral, didactic texts that use allegory are Tuscan, perhaps simply because there was a high level of literacy and book production in Tuscany. These texts include *Il detto del gatto lupo*, a strange little poem, generally considered allegorical, about a species of wildcat making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The animal encounters two knights of the Round Table, spends a night with a hermit, and then passes through a desert wilderness where he encounters many savage beasts.

More important (and comprehensible) is the uncompleted poem *Tesoretto* ("Little Treasure") by Brunetto Latini. In this shorter Italian vernacular version of his *Livre dou trésor*, the poet-protagonist, recently exiled, seeks refuge in nature and meets its



Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*. *Textus Boetij: Anitij Manlij Torquati Seuerini Boetij . . . consolatio philosophica*. Lyon: Simon Vincent, 1510. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

female personification, who rules the physical universe and who explains creation, the humors, the elements, astronomy, animal species, rivers, and seas. In the second section of this poem, Brunetto crosses a huge desert before entering a delightful land ruled by the empress Virtue, whose daughters are the four cardinal virtues. Each daughter elucidates the positive attributes she represents; for example, Justice discourses at length on the proper behavior for a knight. This poem also contains echoes of the *Roman de la Rose*, especially in the section concerning the male character Il Piacere (Pleasure). *Documenti d'amore and Reggimento e costumi di donna*, by Latini's near contemporary Francesco da Barberino, also use allegory for didactic purposes.

Perhaps the most intricate and most successful allegory ever created is Dante's *Comedy (Commedia)*. The author himself calls it his "strange allegory" (*Inferno*, 9:59–60). His poetic skill is capable of endowing even historical personages with symbolic significance. The pageant of the church scene at the end of *Purgatory (Purgatorio)* is an allegorical tour de force. Characters in his earlier *Vita nuova* such as the Lord of Love and Lady Compassion are analogous to figures in the *Roman de la Rose*.

Some of Dante's love poems are allegorical, in reality celebrating Lady Philosophy, not an earthly ladylove.

The poem *Intelligenza*, once attributed (unconvincingly) to Dino Compagni, is the work of a cultivated Tuscan contemporary of Dante. This lengthy didactic poem has as its subject a lady who symbolizes and personifies Intelligence. Its encyclopedic content is stretched across a slender allegorical web: the poet visits her and describes her court, which includes queens, lovely damsels, and courteous maids-in-waiting. One room of her palace is decorated with stories of Caesar, Alexander, the Trojan war, and the Round Table. The salon represents the human heart, the vaulted ceiling represents the mind, and the walls decorated with scenes represent memories. Expressed in courtly terms, the poet's desire to love and serve this lady is entirely appropriate.

One notices that the personified figures in these allegories are predominantly female: earlier examples are Boethius's Lady Philosophy and Saint Francis's Lady Poverty. This may be simply due to the fact that the Latin and Italian nouns expressing such abstract concepts are often feminine.

A final example is *La giostra delle virtù e dei vizi*, from the late thirteenth century; it was written in the Marches, perhaps by a Franciscan, in epic style. Two cities—Jerusalem and Babylon—engage in a military confrontation; the virtues are the armor that protects the warriors of the Holy City, who are pitted against a long list of enemies, the vices. Allegory also appears in the letters of Saint Catherine of Siena.

See also Brunetto Latini; Dante Alighieri; Francesco da Barberino; *Intelligenza*

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GLORIA ALLAIRE

ALTICHIERO DA ZEVIO

Altichiero (c. 1330–after 1390) was already an established painter in March 1369, when he is first documented in his native Verona. All subsequent documents relating to Altichiero refer to his activities in Padua. The earliest of these documents—dated April 1376—has to do with an altarpiece in a church at Polverara, near Padua. That altarpiece and another one paid for in 1382 are lost or untraceable, and no other altarpiece panels currently attributed to Altichiero are actually by him.

Works

The earliest surviving documented works by Altichiero are some frescoes in the chapel of San Giacomo (now San Felice) in the basilica di Sant'Antonio in Padua; this was the mortuary chapel of Lupi, a soldier and diplomat serving the ruling house of Carrara. The contract for the architecture and sculpture in the chapel was signed in February 1372 by Bonifacio Lupi and the Venetian Andriolo de Santi. The original ledger survives and records work in the chapel from 1372 to 1379. The painting appears to have been done during the last two or three years. Altichiero, the only painter recorded by name, was paid for his work in the chapel (and for the decoration of the sacristy, now lost) in 1379. It is clear from stylistic evidence that another artist, working independently and not from Altichiero's designs, executed some of the lunettes—the first four and the sixth—depicting the legend of Saint James the Greater. Except for some marginal figures, the remainder of the decoration is by Altichiero: the other scenes of Saint James, the panoramic three-bay Crucifixion, the votive fresco, and the Annunciation, Resurrection, and Man of Sorrows.

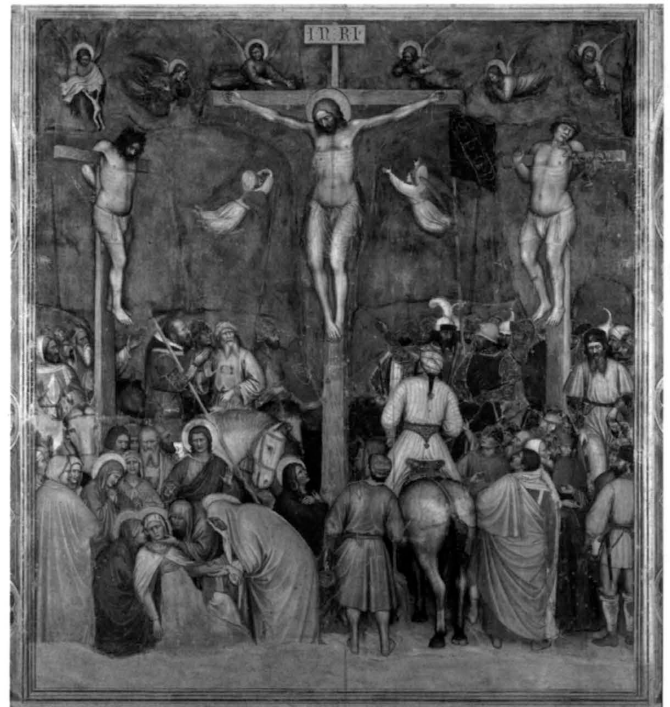
The identity of the other artist is a subject of controversy. He was probably the Bolognese painter Jacopo d'Avanzo (or Avanzi), who is mentioned by some of the early sources—including the earliest, Michele Savonarola (c. 1446)—as having worked in the chapel. This seems to be the artist who is cited in Bolognese archival documents from 1375 to 1384, but it could instead be a Jacopo di Pietro Avanzi, who was already dead in 1378. The artist Avanzo (or Avanzi) who represented the brotherhood of painters in Padua in March 1405 appears to have been a different person; this is also certainly true of a homonymous painter recorded in Vicenza in 1379, 1380, and 1389. The Bolognese Avanzo signed a Crucifixion (now in the Colonna Gallery in Rome)—the basis for the attribution of the Massacre of the Hebrews, detached from the church of Sant'Appollonia di Mezzarata in Bologna and now in the Pinacoteca there. Twelve miniatures now in Dublin, illuminating Statius's *Thebaid*, have also been ascribed to Avanzo, but they may be by a close follower. (In either case, they cannot be a clear reflection of the lost frescoes by Guariento in the Carrara Palace in Padua, as is sometimes claimed.)

After completing the chapel of San Giacomo, Altichiero decorated the nearby oratorio of San Giorgio, a barrel-vaulted structure modeled on the Arena Chapel. It became the resting place of Raimondino Lupi, who was Bonifacio's relative and, like Bonifacio, a soldier of Francesco da Carrara, lord of the city. The elaborate freestanding tomb has been much reduced. Documents show that the oratory was constructed by December 1379, possibly by May 1378, and that Altichiero finished his painting by May 1384. Other documents attest to his presence in Padua from July 1381 to 1384. The frescoes depict the legends of saints George, Catherine, and Lucy, with some scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary, and a votive image. Although it has been damaged by moisture, this is one of the most magnificent picture cycles of its century. The hand of Avanzo is not visible—we see only the hands of Altichiero and the expected assistants—nor is Avanzo mentioned in the documents. Yet it is sometimes claimed, on the basis of some of the early sources and an illegible inscription, that Avanzo's work is present.

The last record of Altichiero is a Paduan archival document of September 1384. At that time he was either in Verona or about to go there. The Florentine art historian Giorgio Vasari (1568) is the source of the tradition that Altichiero returned to Verona after working in Padua.

Vasari is the authority who tells us that Altichiero painted frescoes illustrating Flavius Josephus's *Jewish War* in the palace of the Scaligeri lords of Verona. Vasari writes that Avanzo also worked in the room, which he discusses before Altichiero's and Avanzo's Paduan works. This has given rise to the belief that the frescoes, for which there are no relevant documents, were done before Altichiero moved to Padua, for Cansignorio (1359–1375). Some portraits of Roman emperors and empresses survive and may be attributed to Altichiero, although these are not the subjects of the border medallions described by Vasari. They reflect a study of Roman coins, directly or indirectly through the illustrations of the *Historia imperialis* by the Veronese protohumanist Giovanni de Matocis (Mansionario). The rest of the decoration is lost, though some drawings may reflect it.

The early sources mention the undocumented *Sala virorum illustrium* (Room of Famous Men) in the Carrara Palace at Padua. The sources give conflicting attributions: Guariento; Altichiero; Avanzo; and an artist by whom no documented works survive, Ottaviano (Prandino) da Brescia. The decoration was destroyed by fire and repainted with an altered scheme. The portion of the portrait of Petrarch which alone survives of the original decoration suggests that Altichiero worked in the room. Historical and literary evidence shows that the frescoes could not have been begun before 1367 and had been completed, or nearly completed, by January 1379. The decoration was based on *De viris illustribus* (*On Famous Men*), begun by Petrarch,



Altichiero da Zevio (1330–1385), *Crucifixion*. Oratorio San Giorgio, Chiesa del Santo, Padua. Photo: © Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

finished after his death by Lombardo della Seta, and dedicated by both to Francesco da Carrara the Elder. The original program must have consisted of thirty-six figures of famous generals and statesmen from Romulus to Trajan, all but three of them Roman, with narrative scenes and inscriptions beneath; portraits of Petrarch and Lombardo in their studies; and a Triumph of Fame. Assisting with this reconstruction are illuminations from two manuscripts of *De viris illustribus* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Lat. 6069F and I) and one in Darmstadt (ms. 101). The Triumphs of Fame in the first two and an allegory of Padua and Venice in a third manuscript in Paris (Lat. 6069G) are often attributed to Altichiero, though it seems more likely that they were painted by his followers.

No sources or documents exist for the votive fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin on the tomb of Diamante Dotto, which was in the church of the Eremitani in Padua before it was destroyed during World War II, or for the votive fresco in the Cavalli Chapel in the church of Sant'Anastasia in Verona. Scholars unanimously attribute both to Altichiero, although they disagree on the dates. The first was probably painted around 1371, when Dotto died. The other was done before September 1390, when it was broken by another monument. It must have been painted after the chapel of San Giacomo in Padua, which its architectural background presupposes, and it may have been done after 1384, when Altichiero presumably returned to his native city.

Style and Influence

By about mid-century, the painters of Verona had absorbed the style of Giotto from nearby Padua, along with more recent Florentine and Siennese influences that seem to have been transmitted primarily through Riminese and Lombard intermediaries. With the exception of a polyptych signed by Turone and dated 1360, in the Castelvecchio, and some attributions based on it, the surviving works of this school are all anonymous.

Altichiero built on the local school, which had already naturalized the art of Giotto. Although he also knew the work of Maso di Banco and probably other Florentine followers of Giotto, he turned directly to the great example of Giotto's frescoes in Padua for the essentials of his own style. However, whereas Giotto's forms are abstract and timeless, Altichiero's figures are dressed in the costume of his time. Also, their features are more individualized than Giotto's, and the flesh tones are more softly graduated. Altichiero was more sensitive to nuances of light, color, and surface texture. His figures are smaller in scale than Giotto's, relative to their surroundings and to the picture field; they are more numerous; and their distribution is more random and lifelike. Despite these differences, Altichiero retains Giotto's sense of monumentality and human dignity. His architectural settings, which were inspired by the Carrara court painter, Guariento, are more spacious and complex than Giotto's. But unlike these artists and others of their century, Altichiero generally avoided showing a structure with its front wall arbitrarily removed to reveal the interior; he preferred views more truthful to optical experience.

Altichiero, like Giusto de' Menabuoi, was probably called to Padua to fill the vacancy left by the death of Guariento. Altichiero, Giusto, and Avanzo (whose frescoes in Sant'Antonio are close to Altichiero and were influenced by him) were the leaders

of a Giottoesque revival in Padua at a time when painting in Florence had stagnated, owing to a relaxation of Giotto's principles. Altichiero and, to a lesser extent, Avanzo had a dominant influence on painting and manuscript illumination in Padua and Verona that lasted to the beginning of the fifteenth century. This influence extended chronologically as far as Pisanello, Jacopo Bellini, and the Renaissance. Geographically, it extended beyond the Veneto as far as Austria and France, where the Limbourg brothers worked.

See also **Giotto di Bondone; Giusto de' Menabuoi; Guariento di Arpo;**

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BRADLEY J. DELANEY

AMADEO VI, COUNT OF SAVOY

Amadeus VI (Amadeo, 1334–1383), the son of Count Aymon of Savoy and Violante de Montferrat, was born at the family seat of Chambéry. Through earlier and subsequent genealogical and matrimonial ties, he was related to numerous royal and princely families of western Europe, and even Byzantium; but he belonged to a dynasty—the house of Savoy—that was, in the midst of terrible divisions, struggling to create the beginnings of a state in the rough, disconnected rural and mountainous territories in the western Alpine regions. Amadeo's grandfather, Amadeo V "the Great" (1285–1323), had begun drawing together territories in areas long disputed between the French crown and the German empire and caught in a tangle of conflicting feudal claims by local ruling families. The house of Savoy itself was divided between the main branch of Amadeo V's line and the rival Savoyard line of the titular princes of Achaëa.

Amadeo was only nine in 1343 when his father died and he succeeded to the still rickety titles. Under a responsible regency of feudal relatives, he continued to receive a solid education in both military skills and intellectual disciplines, which developed in him a genuine religious bent shaped by the highest ideals of chivalry. In his early years, both under the regency and after his majority was proclaimed (in 1348, when he was fourteen), Amadeo gained experience in balancing the pressures of the French crown, the independence of his Swiss subjects, and the disloyalty of separatist vassals. In 1352, he won his first military victory. At a tournament held during the following Christmas season, his elaborate use of green robes and trappings earned him the sobriquet "Green Count"—a name that would last and an identity that he would continue to cultivate deliberately. By 1360, through both military and diplomatic assertion, Amadeo had expanded his territories in the western Alps, including significant areas of present-day France and Switzerland, and thus consolidated the western regions of the nascent Savoyard state. In many of these regions, he remained a vassal of the French king, whose cousin he took as his first wife in 1355; it was only by a turn of circumstances that Amadeo did not participate in the battle of Poitiers the following year and thus escaped being captured there with his overlord.

Amadeo was drawn meanwhile to protect the interests of his southern holdings in the Piedmont. Through the marriage in 1350 of his sister Bianca to Galeazzo II Visconti of Milan (Bianca and Galeazzo II became the parents of the great Gian Galeazzo), Amadeo developed cordial relations with the powerful Visconti family, eventually consolidating power over territories he had held in vassalage to them. He accomplished an uneasy subjection of his cousin of the Achaea branch, Giacomo, whose territories he annexed and with whom he developed a long and bitter rivalry. This rivalry was extended to Giacomo's son Filippo, whom Amadeo was finally to destroy in 1368. In a campaign in 1363, Amadeo subjected his rebellious vassal the marquis of Saluzzo. Two years later, Amadeo entertained the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV, who confirmed Amadeo's title of imperial vicar over areas that corresponded to much of the old kingdom of Arles. This status was more symbolic than real, but it allowed Amadeo to play off his dependency on the French crown against his vassalage to the empire.

In 1364, Amadeo was caught up in schemes for a crusade being fostered by Pierre de Lusignan, the king of Cyprus. Amadeo formally "took the cross" and organized a crusading Order of the Collar, signaling his new ambition to distinguish himself in this sphere. However, he was drawn away from Lusignan's project by an idea of collaborating with Louis the Great of Hungary against the Turks, who were progressing in the Balkans. He was also distracted by the needs of the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos (Palaeologus), his first cousin through their shared Montferrat links; Amadeo might have seen himself as a distant pretender to John's title. Leaving his wife as regent, Amadeo set forth in the spring of 1366, sailing from Venice with a substantial military force. John was himself visiting the Hungarian court when Amadeo set out for Constantinople. The Green Count undertook some immediate military operations on his way, compelling the Turks to surrender the crucial port city of Gallipoli, and then making a demonstration against the Bulgarian king, who was preventing John's return to his capital.

Amadeo's limited resources prevented anything more than token local military operations. Nevertheless, on the basis of discussions held during the winter, Amadeo persuaded John to appeal directly to Pope Urban V for more aid against the Turks. John achieved few practical results from this, but Amadeo established his own stature as an international diplomat and a valiant crusader. Following his triumphant return to Italy in the summer of 1367, Amadeo personally attended Urban V on his arrival in Rome from Avignon.

In the following years, Amadeo was caught up in the tangle of northern Italian politics, which were strained by the bold new ambitions of the Visconti, directed especially against the lands of Montferrat. By July 1372, Amadeo joined a broad alliance against the Visconti—the coalition included Pope Gregory XI; the princes of Montferrat, Este, and Carrara; the queen of Naples; and the republics of Genoa and Florence. Accepting the command of the allies' forces, Amadeo broke the Visconti's siege of Asti and, in concert with the league's other commander, John Hawkwood, discomfited the enemy forces. In the spring of 1374, satisfied with his record, Amadeo withdrew from the league and became reconciled with the Visconti; but relations between the house of Savoy and the Visconti continued to be precarious. Through complex manipulations, Amadeo was able to annex considerable areas of Montferrat lands, although Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who was in power by 1378, retained Asti.

As he consolidated the Savoy lands, Amadeo began to develop orderly institutions for his nascent state. The Great Schism of 1378 brought the election of the French counterpope Clement VII, a cousin of Amadeo. Clement was naturally recognized gladly by Savoy, which benefited from his resolutions of some jurisdictional disputes. By 1380, Amadeo became concerned about the expansion of the latest war between Genoa and Venice; initially, this was a conflict over the Greek island of Tenedos, but it expanded into the "Chiogga war," with a scrambling of alliances that threatened the balance of power in northern Italy and encouraged the Visconti's aggression. Amadeo's offer of mediation was accepted, and his negotiation of the Peace of Turin (April 1381) established him even more firmly as a statesman of international stature. One faction in strife-ridden Genoa even offered Amadeo the protectorship of the city, with the title of doge. Meanwhile, with the Visconti momentarily checked again, Amadeo established his theoretical rights over Asti (though not actual control of it) and, more tangibly, secured possession of the important border city of Cuneo.

Amadeo is said to have dreamed of a new crusade, directly to the Holy Land. But his final adventure instead involved him in a scheme by Louis of Anjou to claim the throne of Naples, in collaboration with the efforts of Pope Clement VII to establish himself in Rome. In the spring of 1382, Amadeo set forth, marching through Italy into a badly mismanaged campaign that was foiled in part by John Hawkwood, who was now a Florentine captain in support of the Roman pope Urban VI, and Hawkwood's Neapolitan ally Charles of Durazzo. Over the winter, Amadeo's forces were ravaged by disease, which finally took his own life (on 27 February 1383). His remains were lovingly transported back to Savoy for burial.

Though he was an occasional patron of Guillaume de Machaut and Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch), Amadeo VI was a man of war and statecraft rather than of culture. Shaped at first by the traditions of chivalry, Amadeo learned to blend them with

the newer impulses of pragmatic realism. From his grandfather he inherited bare feudal elements which he began to fuse into a viable entity, balanced between the neighboring powers of France and Italy and acquiring prestige from his personal reputation. His grandson, Amadeo VIII, would further consolidate Savoy as a duchy, established in the natural capital of Turin and securely set on a course that would turn the once peripheral house of Savoy into a monarchy which would eventually unite Italy.

See also Gregory XI, Pope; Hawkwood, Sir John; Petrarca, Francesco; Urban V, Pope; Visconti Family

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AMAL FAMILY

See Theodoric

AMALASUNTHA

Amalasantha (also Amalasuinthia, Amalasuientha, Amalasuwintha; 498–535) was the daughter of Theodoric. In 515, she married Eutharic Cilliga (d. 522; he was the son of Veteric, her uncle). This marriage reunited people of Amalian blood. Emperor Justin I (c. 450–527, r. 518–527) recognized Eutharic as a brother in arms, and they were joint consuls in 519. It was expected that Amalasantha and Eutharic's issue—Athalaric and Matasuientha—would embody the central aspects of Theodoric's vision of leadership: pure Amalian blood and close ties to the Roman imperial system.

Upon the death of Theodoric, Athalaric (515–534, r. 526–534), a child of not more than ten, succeeded to the throne. Amalasantha, by then a widow, ruled as regent and later as queen mother until Athalaric died. When she tried to educate Athalaric in the Roman literary tradition that she considered important, the non-Amalian nobility, who formed a determined opposition, chose that moment to demand the right to train their king as a "Goth." Even before Athalaric's death, Amalasantha had set about freeing herself from the opposition of the nobles and securing some kind of recognition so that she could rule after her son. She eliminated several principal nobles and entered into discussions with Emperor Justinian. However, she could not rule without a male as king, and so, perhaps acting under the advice of the emperor, she offered the throne to her cousin Theodahad (d. 536; r. 534–536). The nobility supported Theodahad but rejected Amalasantha's idea that she herself would continue to rule in his name. She went into exile on an island in Lake Bolsena in Etruria, where she was murdered (probably on 30 April 535) by the relatives of the Gothic nobles whose lives she had declared forfeit.

See also Gothic Wars; Justinian I; Ostrogoths; Theodahad; Theodoric

THOMAS S. BURNS

AMALFI

A western spur of the Appennines reaching the coast separates the Gulf of Naples from the Gulf of Salerno, in the form of a continuous rocky bastion that falls steeply down to the sea and is ridged by a few deep, narrow canyons, formed by mountain streams heading seaward. Amalfi (with a population of some 6,000 around the year 2000) lies at the mouth of the funnel-shaped end of one such canyon, the Valle de' Mulini—a name referring to the numerous mills alongside the river that descends through the canyon and cuts through the city. Archaeological findings along the Amalfitan riviera include a number of villas from the Roman era, whose owners were attracted by the mild climate and the great beauty of the area. Most of the villas were destroyed by mudslides when Vesuvius erupted in A.D. 79 and were never rebuilt, and no established settlements have been found dating from before the founding of Amalfi in the sixth century.

There have been all sorts of fables about the origins of Amalfi, some enchantingly naive and some ingeniously devised to satisfy demands for historical realism. Interestingly, even in these fantasies the original settlers are always presented as merchants who found the site during their commercial travels. It is significant that no eponymous hero or saint is ever mentioned. In fact, like the patron saints of Venice and Bari, the protector of Amalfi, Saint Andrew, came to the city during a great expansion of its commercial routes, in the tenth century.

The first mention of Amalfi in recorded history is found in a letter written by Pope Gregory the Great in 596; from this letter we learn that a Byzantine stronghold existed there and had spawned a settlement large enough to warrant a diocese. A "castrum of Amalfi" is also mentioned by the geographer George of Cyprus in a work written between 591 and 603. The *castrum* (garrison town) was probably a base for the Byzantine fleet, which at the time maintained an active presence along the Tyrrhenian coast, and a defensive bastion against Lombard invaders who had penetrated the area and captured neighboring Salerno (625–649).

This revelation of the existence of Amalfi is followed by two centuries of silence, until 785, when Pope Hadrian I wrote to Charlemagne informing him that Amalfi, with help from Naples, had beaten back an attack by Duke Arichis II of Benevento, at the time the most powerful ruler in southern Italy. Thereafter, information about Amalfi becomes less sporadic, but it is still only episodic, allowing no more than a general outline to be drawn. In 812, an Amalfitan naval squadron was dispatched to assist the Byzantine commander in Sicily. In the winter of 838–839, Amalfi fell into the hands of Duke Sichard of Benevento, who forced many Amalfitans to move to Salerno but then was assassinated by his own people in July 839. Taking advantage of the ensuing confusion and panic, some Amalfitans avenged themselves by looting Salerno and destroying its walls; they then returned to Amalfi. The issue of Sichard's successor led to a long and bloody war which at the end split the great duchy of

Benevento apart. The Amalfitans supported Siconolf, Sichard's brother, and in a daring action freed him from the prison in Taranto where he had been held under an order by Sichard. When Siconolf became prince of Salerno, he showed his gratitude by granting a number of concessions to the large Amalfitan colony that remained there. Amalfi itself, which had commercial interests throughout southern Italy, soon came to terms with the other claimant, Radelchis of Benevento, who did not want it in his enemy's camp. The policy of neutrality, maintained strictly whenever possible, became traditional throughout Amalfi's history as an independent state.

The events of 839 marked a decisive moment for Amalfi. During the ninth century, its prosperity increased and its economic activities expanded. Its ships, with those of Naples and Gaeta, prevented the Arabs from gaining a foothold in Campania and then turned the Arabs away by defeating them at the battle of Ostia in 846. Amalfi's ruling families formed a web of marriage alliances with their counterparts in Naples, Salerno, Benevento, Capua, and the rest of the region. In 870, at the request of Emperor Louis II, Amalfitan ships rescued Bishop Athanasius, who was besieged by the duke of Naples, Sergius II, on a small island off the port of Naples. In 871, Amalfitan ships managed to bring desperately needed supplies to Salerno, which was besieged by an Arab force.

Arab mercenaries had first been introduced into southern Italy by Naples, to counter Sichard's aggression in the early 830s. They then became an indispensable tool of ambitious or fearful local rulers. Emperor Louis II fought valiantly but in vain to eradicate these mercenaries from the region. When he died in 875, his Carolingian successors withdrew from southern Italy. From then until 915, bands of Arab marauders raided the coasts of Campania and Latium and pushed deep into the interior, looting, killing, and leaving desolation behind them. Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi, however, actually benefited by offering shelter to the Arabs, selling them supplies, and buying their booty. The entreaties and condemnations of Pope John VIII (r. 872–882) were of no avail. Only the return of a strong Byzantine initiative early in the tenth century led to an alliance that finally,

in 915, stormed and destroyed the Arab camp at the mouth of the Garigliano River. There is no evidence that Amalfi was among the Byzantine allies.

Until violent changes convulsed southern Italy in the second half of the eleventh century, the leaders of Amalfi steered a course of neutrality and cooperation that provided stability at home and safety for its merchants and commercial colonies abroad. The arrival of the Normans in the first quarter of the eleventh century, however, had upset a delicate political equilibrium. At first, the Normans were satisfied with their role as mercenaries in the service of local magnates; but as their number increased, with new recruits attracted by reports of successes, their goals changed. Ambitious, seeking riches, and no longer content to be soldiers of fortune, the Normans turned against their former employers, seizing their holdings and establishing in southern Italy a feudal kingdom that, in wealth and vitality, was unequaled in western Christendom.

Amalfi and Salerno had been enabled to develop from obscure fortresses to strong and very rich cities because of their close economic and social ties. They also had a common destiny when they fell. Amalfi was forced to accept Robert Guiscard as overlord in 1073, and Salerno fell to him in 1076 after a bitter struggle. Amalfi managed to regain its freedom for brief intervals until a final attempt was put down in 1131 by King Roger II.

Traditionally, Amalfi is referred to as a "maritime republic." The term is of modern coinage, and its implication of some form of popular governance does not correspond to historical reality. Early in the history of Amalfi a magistrate, called a *comes*, was chosen from among the noble families. During the ninth century, various men attempted but failed to seize power permanently, until Manso was able to establish a dynasty that persisted from 898 to 958. Its last ruler, Mastalo II, was assassinated by Sergius, the leader of a revolt, who in turn established a dynasty that ruled until Amalfi fell to the Normans in 1073. Evidently, until the establishment of the Manso dynasty the nobles of the duchy had participated in the choice of the head of state; and even during the dynastic period their general interests and will could not be opposed or ignored for long with impunity.



Duomo with bell tower, Amalfi. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

From prehistory through the late Roman empire and beyond, trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean had always been dominated by eastern merchants. As late as the seventh century Syrian merchants, *Syrici mercatores*, were still numerous and well entrenched in the markets of Merovingian France and in Rome. Then they disappeared, as a result of a new alignment of forces reacting to the Islamic conquests. Their absence disrupted and radically changed a trade network that had operated for centuries. Soon, however, they were replaced by merchants from Campania and Venice among whom Amalfitans played a seminal role.

Geography was clearly a factor in the destiny of Amalfi. Its narrow territory offered scanty resources, and no large-scale movement of goods was possible because the area had no roads and could be reached only by sea or by difficult mountain trails. Thus maritime activity was not a matter of choice but a matter of survival. During their two centuries of historical anonymity, the Amalfitans had not been idle. When Amalfi reappears in documents, it is no longer an obscure *castrum* but a well fortified, prosperous town with considerable shipping, and its merchants are already dominating the commerce of southern Italy. This is indicated by a peace treaty of 836 between Duke Sichard of Benevento and Naples: although its text has been lost, one entire chapter dealt with "How the Amalfitans should conduct their commerce" within the duchy, which at the time covered most of southern Italy.

Amalfi's commercial fortune has traditionally been explained in terms of its ties with the Byzantine empire, which allowed Amalfitans a quasi-monopoly on imports of expensive silk cloth, precious ornamental and ceremonial vestments, jewels, *objets d'art*, and other luxuries—items in great demand in western markets. Papal records, monastic chronicles, and reports of gifts from or to emperors, princes, and dignitaries bear ample testimony to this. On the other hand, it may seem difficult to explain where the Amalfitans got the gold needed for such purchases, since they had no wares that were in particular demand in Byzantine markets. For an answer, one must look at the needs of the rapidly expanding cities of North Africa, which were an ideal market for goods the Amalfitans could provide: agricultural products, linen cloth, hemp, naval stores, possibly slaves, and especially wood: all wood products, from household utensils to building materials, as well as wood for naval construction, which was sought especially by Arab rulers. It was from these markets—where, as in the Byzantine empire, only gold circulated—that the Amalfitans drew the gold which let them buy medical and aromatic spices, pigments and fixers, and many other items besides eastern luxuries. Such items were much sought after in Italian markets, particularly in Rome and as far north as Pavia. Notably, when western Christendom, after the reforms of Charlemagne, adopted the silver standard, only southern Italy was able to maintain the circulation of gold; and the Amalfitan *tari*, an imitation of the Arab quarter-dinar, circulated widely through the region from early in the tenth century until well into the fourteenth.

The most surprising aspect of Amalfi's trade was that the city itself was not its hub. The port of Amalfi was small and had no hinterland, and communications with the interior were so difficult that only highly valuable items—expensive silks, jewels, Oriental rugs, and the like—were brought there, besides foodstuffs and other necessities that could be shipped in with the

necessary margin of profit. All the goods exported on the first leg of the triangular trade had to be procured where they were available and then shipped directly to their destination: an overseas market. The procurement of export commodities and the distribution of imports from overseas were carried out by colonies of Amalfitan merchants, organized wherever there was a suitable market. Their extraordinary ubiquity and success are proof of the important role they played. Aside from their large establishments in Salerno and Naples, Amalfitan colonies could be found in many places in Italy (Rome, Benevento, Capua, San Germano, Aversa, Bari, Barletta, Trani, Molfetta, Venosa, Giovinazzo, Monopoli, Brindisi, Reggio, Messina, and Palermo); in Africa (Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria, and Cairo); in the Middle East (Acre, Laodicea, and Antioch); and in the Byzantine empire (Durazzo, Almiro, and Constantinople). Amalfitan monks had a monastery on Mount Athos; and when the crusaders entered Jerusalem, they found several Amalfitan establishments that had been there for more than seventy years and were being maintained with alms collected in Amalfi. One of these was the Hospital of Saint John, from which sprang the Order of the Knights of the Hospital (or Knights Hospitallers), later of Rhodes and then of Malta.

Ibn Hawqal, a shrewd merchant from Baghdad, visited Amalfi in 972 and gave this description:

Then there is Amalfi, the richest city in Lombardy, the noblest and most illustrious for her condition, the busiest and wealthiest. The territory of Amalfi borders with that of Naples, which is a beautiful city, but less important than Amalfi.

When Amalfi was incorporated into the Norman state, it was exposed to hostility generated by the aggressive policies of the rulers, which led to the sack of the city by the Pisans in 1137. Unable to match the resources and naval power of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, Amalfi began a slow decline into provincial anonymity; and on 24 November 1343, a sea storm destroyed most of the medieval city. Amalfi would not be rescued from its backward, decrepit condition until the advent of modern tourism, spurred by the construction of the famous Amalfi Drive.

Few buildings from medieval Amalfi survive today. However, the cathedral of Saint Andrew preserves certain elements of its twelfth-century architecture, although it was extensively rebuilt, primarily in the baroque style, in the eighteenth century and its most familiar aspect, its spectacular facade, is actually a nineteenth-century creation. Its most notable medieval feature is a pair of bronze doors commissioned at Constantinople around 1065 by Pantaleone, son of the Amalfitan merchant Mauro. These doors are contemporaneous with a similar set of bronze doors at San Salvatore in the nearby town of Atrani. The cathedral's bell tower, built in 1180–1286, is topped with multiple cupolas that are a fine example of southern Italian decorative style. Adjacent to the cathedral is the Cloister of Paradise, which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century; its interlacing arches richly demonstrate the Christian assimilation of Islamic architectural features.

See also **Arabs in Italy; Byzantine Empire; Benevento; Garigliano, Battle of; John VIII, Pope; Louis II, Emperor; Normans; Roger II; Salerno**

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ARMAND O. CITARELLA

AMBROSE, SAINT

In Italy in the mid-fourth century, the place of Christianity was secure. The threat posed by Julian the Apostate had passed; Christianity held a favored position and was making many converts. Bishops were gaining prestige, and they increasingly acted as imperial officials, with civic as well as spiritual functions. However, Christianity would not be fully established as the official Roman religion until Theodosius's decree at the end of the century, and meanwhile certain religious questions remained to be resolved. What was the role of the old state paganism, which was intimately connected with loyalty to Rome? Within the Christian congregations, what was to be the accepted Christology? Perhaps most important, what was the relationship between church and state to be in the west? These were central issues, on which Ambrose of Milan (339–397) exerted an abiding influence.

Ambrose was born in Trier in Gaul, into a distinguished Christian Roman family. His father, Aurelius Ambrosius, held the highest possible civilian rank, praetorian prefect of the Gauls. Ambrose had two older siblings: a sister, Marcellina; and a brother, Uranius Styruus. When Ambrose was an infant, his father died, and the family moved back to Rome. In 353, Marcellina dedicated herself to a life of virginity, receiving the veil from Pope Liberius. She continued to live at home, as was the custom among nuns in Rome at that time. Ambrose was strongly influenced by the piety of his mother and sister's Christian household.

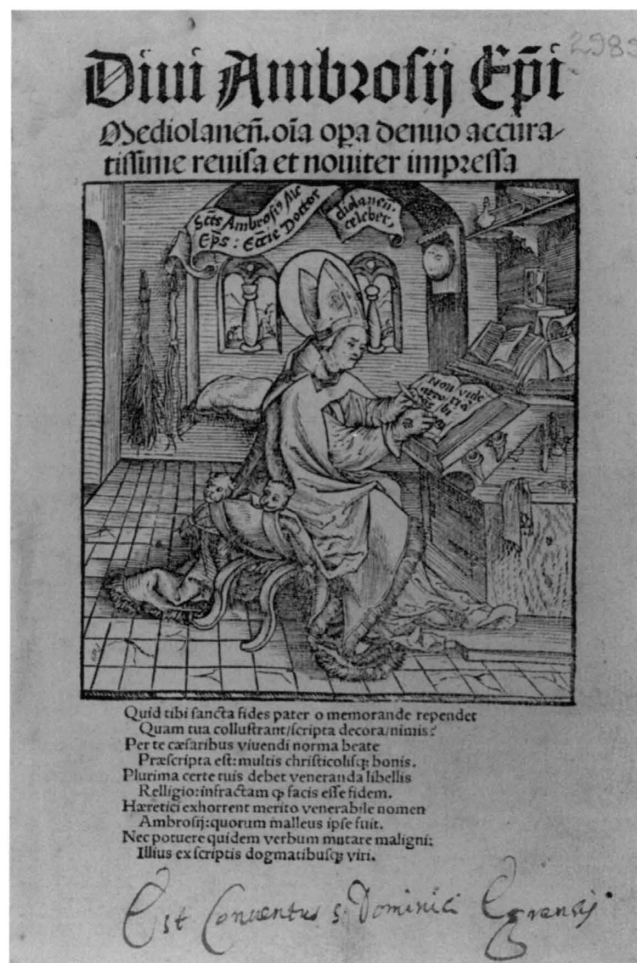
In addition to his instruction in Christianity, Ambrose received a classic Roman education in which grammar and rhetoric were emphasized. In his mid-twenties, he began work as a lawyer. Around 370, his success in his civil career was ensured by his appointment as governor of the province of Aemilia-Liguria, which included Milan.

That career was interrupted, however, when Milan became involved in a political and theological struggle between Arian and Nicaean Christians, who differed concerning the nature of Christ. The conflict had been precipitated by the death of Bishop Auxentius of Milan, an Arian, in 373; each faction wanted to capture the newly vacant bishopric. As governor, Ambrose used

his considerable rhetorical skills to try to calm the antagonists, and his personal popularity overcame the doctrinal controversy. The congregation set aside its differences and took up the cry, "Ambrose Bishop." Over Ambrose's protests, Emperor Valentinian confirmed the election. Thus, in 373, Ambrose was baptized and consecrated bishop by a Catholic (not an Arian) bishop.

During his long episcopate, Ambrose confronted several issues that shaped the future of the western church: he was victorious over Arianism; he influenced emperors, demonstrating the force of religious authority over secular power; and he helped break Italy's ties to the old state paganism.

As we have noted, Ambrose took office during a dispute between Arian and Nicaean Christians. By the mid-fourth century, although Arianism was largely on the wane throughout the empire, it still retained pockets of strength—as in the confrontation over the bishopric in Milan. In northern Italy, there were many Arian Goths serving in the armies. Furthermore, Empress Justina was an Arian. On the death of her husband, Emperor Valentinian, who had been orthodox, Justina tried to use her influence to strengthen the Arian cause. The situation was inten-



Ambrose, *Opera*. Paris, 1586. Reproduced from original held by Department of Special Collections of the University Libraries of Notre Dame.

sified in 378, after the Goths' victory at Adrianople, when more Arians entered Milan. These new Arians tried to take over a Catholic church for their worship.

Using his rhetorical skills and his popularity with his congregation to win his way, Ambrose repeatedly withstood Justina's efforts to support Arianism. He refused to obey a law extending liberty of worship to Arians, and he forbade Arians to convert the Catholic church for their own use. During the controversy, he wrote on religious matters in order to articulate the Catholic position. His theological tracts *Concerning the Holy Spirit* and *Concerning the Faith* educated Emperor Gratian in matters of faith and remained influential throughout the Middle Ages. Gratian's successor, the usurper Maximus, ended the Arian conflict in Italy by invading and forcing Justina to flee Milan. Ambrose's success in withstanding imperial pressure regarding Arianism set a precedent that far outlasted Justina and the dispute over the nature of Christ.

Ambrose soon became involved in a second controversy, concerning the state paganism that was entrenched in Italy. Under Ambrose's influence, Gratian was the first emperor to renounce the title *pontifex maximus*, and he passed laws that reduced state paganism from a public duty to a private belief. When Gratian died in 383 (or 384), a pagan party tried to reestablish the state's support of pagan temples. Ambrose opposed this party and continued to contravene any reestablishment of pagans' privileges. Emperor Theodosius yielded to Ambrose and in 391, forbade any pagan observances. Ambrose's uncompromising position helped bring about the end of formal state paganism in the west.

In his relations with Theodosius, Ambrose continued the policy he had established in his controversies with Justina. The bishop was the conscience of the empire, and his stand on paganism reflected that. Ambrose also challenged Theodosius over something that took place in Syria, thus claiming influence over matters outside his own bishopric. In 388, Syrian Christian congregations destroyed a Jewish synagogue at Callinicum. Theodosius ordered Christians to pay reparations to rebuild the synagogue, but Ambrose protested strongly, believing that no Christian should build a non-Christian place of worship. Because of Ambrose's popular support, Theodosius was again forced to yield. Ambrose's victory set another precedent for the future influence of the church in state matters, and for future expressions of anti-Semitism.

In 390, Ambrose again demonstrated the political strength of the episcopate. As punishment for a riot, Theodosius had ordered a massacre of 7,000 Thessalonian citizens. Ambrose excommunicated Theodosius for this command and required him to do penance; by this act, Ambrose finally and firmly established the principle that bishops are responsible for the moral health of rulers. Here too, Theodosius yielded to the principle.

After Theodosius died in 395, Ambrose was no longer so actively involved in imperial politics, but the relationship between church and state that he had established in Milan remained a precedent for bishops and popes throughout the Middle Ages. Ambrose's treatise *De officiis ministrorum* (*On the Duties of Ministers*), which considered the relationship between the individual, the church, and the state, was widely used as a text during the medieval period.

Ambrose is also remembered as one of the Latin doctors of the church for his influence on the formation of church doctrine. His contributions as a theologian derive not so much from origi-

nality of thought as from his clear presentation of ideas, including Platonic biblical exegesis, developed in the eastern empire. Because of his stand against Arianism, Ambrose was the first western writer who specifically articulated the doctrine of the Holy Ghost (in *De spiritu sancto*), bringing eastern thought on this subject into the western church.

Ambrose was often called "doctor of virginity" for his advocacy of chastity as the ideal Christian way of life. He wrote several tracts on virginity (*De virginibus*, *De virginitate*, *De institutione virginis ad Eusebium*, and *Exhortatio virginitatis*), and through these and his sermons, he contributed (with Jerome) to a growing veneration of virginity in general, and to the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary in particular.

Finally, Ambrose—who had a pastoral concern for accessible church services—made a substantial contribution to liturgical music in the west. He began by introducing the practice of having two choirs chant psalms alternately; then he set psalms to music. Also, he wrote hymns to be sung by the whole congregation (instead of the traditional soloist). He is considered one of the fathers of liturgical music because, although he was not the first to bring music into services, he popularized its use.

Ambrose was a man of high integrity and a strong sense of duty. He had come to the episcopate reluctantly; but once there, he never wavered from what he believed was virtue, and his actions left a powerful mark on western religion and society. His strong position as the spiritual leader of emperors set precedents that shaped relations between church and state throughout the Middle Ages. His doctrine moved Italy and the west toward the Nicene Catholic view. His writings on virginity helped develop the anticarnal philosophy that has characterized western Christianity; and he was among those who filled the churches with Christian hymns. Ambrose continued to be an active pastor until he became ill and died on Easter eve, 4 April 397. He is buried in Sant' Ambrogio in Milan.

See also Ambrosian, Chant; Milan

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JOYCE SALISBURY

AMBROSIAN CHANT

Ambrosian chant is the music indigenous to liturgy of the archdiocese of Milan. The term “Ambrosian” supposes an influence on the formation of this music by the great fourth-century bishop Ambrose. His biographer Paulinus, as well as his contemporary Augustine, tell us that in Milan, Ambrose introduced the singing of hymns and antiphonal chanting. A dozen hymns are said to be by Ambrose, but only four of these attributions seem secure, and the melodic tradition of all the hymns seems late. In the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, scholars were divided regarding the influence of the Ambrosian repertoire on other ancient western rites: some considered it the chant sung throughout Italy before the creation of the better-known Gregorian repertoire; some described it as an ancient body of chant from which were derived the other known non-Roman repertoires of the west (including the Gallican, Beneventan, and Mozarabic). A better understanding of the vibrant Italian chant tradition of the early Middle Ages has since led to a general view that the repertoire called Ambrosian is of a later origin than had been presumed, and that it was created under the influence of many other chant dialects. It is now frequently called “Milanese” chant—a term that reflects its origin rather than its supposed founder.

Sources

Milanese chant is the only non-Roman repertoire other than the Spanish to have survived complete and fully notated. Public worship was divided between a winter and a summer church, a practice reflected in the complete sources, which are arranged as books for summer or winter liturgies. The books contain music for both the mass and the hours of the canonical offices. Three manuscripts are most frequently consulted: (1) London, British Library, Add. 34209, and (2) Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare F. 2. 2, for the winter services; and (3) Bedero di Val Travaglio, San Vittore B, for the summer. All date from the twelfth century, and their melodies can be reliably transcribed. A large number of less comprehensive sources also exist, the earliest dating from the eleventh century. An edition was prepared in 1935 by Dom Suñol for modern church usage, but it includes inauthentic material. An edition of the winter book appeared as Volumes 5 and 6 of *Paléographie musicale*, consisting of a facsimile of London, British Library, Add. 34209, and a transcription of the manuscript into modern musical notation.

Roughly contemporary accounts describe an Ambrosian liturgy rich in ceremonial pomp and spectacle. A twelfth-century Milanese ordo presents these celebrations in some detail as regards performance of the chant and the varying size of singing forces. This ordo was written by Beroldus, who oversaw the candles used in the frequent processions of the Ambrosian rite. In his descriptions, Beroldus often details the number of singers employed for particular celebrations, the money they are to receive, the specific chants they are to sing, and the place in the church where they are to perform. At times, even dynamic indications are offered, as in the following description of vespers:

The archbishop or priest, standing behind the altar, kisses it, after which he begins Vespers saying *Dominus vobiscum*. Then the weekly *terminarius* lector softly sings the *Lucinarium* (on Saturday only the beginning and the verse), followed by the *Magister* of the schola with his boys, who also sing quietly. Then the lector begins again, followed by the chorus, all singing loudly.

Weakland (1966) noted a slightly later account of the Ambrosian liturgy by Landolphus, who describes a sevenfold repetition of an antiphon sung during processions on important feast days. Beginning with the sixth statement of the antiphon as the procession is just entering the building, Landolphus says: “The sixth time [the antiphon] is sung in the body of the church with great noise (*magno clangore*) and the seventh in choir with high, resonant tones (*vocibus altis atque sonoris*.” Weakland continues: “Frequent allusions are made by Beroldus to the fact that the verses of hymns and psalms were alternated between notaries and lectors or lectors and boys. [Landolphus] also indicates the repetition of the same piece by another section of the choir.” On special feast days, a surprisingly large number of singers were involved: by Weakland’s count a choir of 100 would not have been unusual.

The Repertoire

The chants of the Milanese Mass are often functionally similar to their Gregorian counterparts, but the genre titles are usually different from Roman and Frankish practice. The *ingressa* serves the role of the more familiar introit, but it differs from the introit in that it is not processional in function and thus has no psalmody associated with it. No separate Kyrie was sung in Milan; rather, the Kyrie was an addendum to the Gloria. The *psalmellus* is analogous to the Gregorian gradual. Because the Milanese retained the ancient practice of having three readings at the mass rather than two (as in the Franco-Roman rite), a chant called the *post-epistolam* followed the second lection, and the *post-evangelium* was sung after the reading of the gospels. The familiar Credo, Offertorium, and Sanctus followed, but there is no Milanese counterpart to the Agnus Dei. The *confractorium* was sung before the faithful took communion; the *transitorium* followed as the final chant. (No *Ite missa est* exists in the Milanese repertoire.)

The Milanese melodies, like the Old Roman and Beneventan melodies, are often quite elaborate. In particular, the office responsories marked with the rubric *cum pueris* (or *cum infantibus*) contain highly decorative melismas or *melodiae*; some fifteen sets have been identified. Bailey (1987) has shown that these expansive melismas were often reused in other chants as well. Because Milanese chants are frequently ornate, it is often difficult to discern relationships between them and Roman and Gregorian counterparts with the same texts. There are clear associations, however. Huckle (1956) saw a closer relationship between the Milanese mode 2 graduals and their Gregorian counterparts than is evident from comparisons with the Old Roman versions and suggested that the Milanese melody derives from the Gregorian. Huglo (1956) cites some 360 pieces for both the mass and the office that were adopted from the Gregorian repertoire as transmitted in northern Italian sources. Bailey found that all the cantus (or tracts) of the Milanese repertoire are variations on a single type-melody, which is itself related to Old Roman and

Beneventan melodies; he also sees common melodic ground between the Milanese alleluias and their counterparts in Rome, Benevento, and the Gregorian tradition.

See also **Ambrose, Saint; Beneventan Chant; Gregorian Chant; Liturgy; Old Roman Chant**

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ANACLETUS II, ANTIPOPE

When Pope Honorius II died in 1130, a rivalry between the Frangipani and Pierleoni—two Roman families—immediately surfaced once again, and this conflict was mirrored in the College of Cardinals. In a disputed election, the Frangipani faction

elected Gregorio Papareschi as Pope Innocent II, while the Pierleoni faction elected Pietro Pierleone as Pope Anacletus II. A schism developed when neither Innocent nor Anacletus would resign. Anacletus managed to hold on to the city of Rome, and he also had the support of the Normans of southern Italy. In return for this support, he recognized Roger II, the Norman king, as king of Sicily by hereditary right. The schism was not healed until the death of Anacletus in 1138.

See also **Frangipani Family; Normans; Papacy; Pierleone Family; Roger II; Rome**

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ANAGNI

Anagni—one of the historic towns of the Ciociaria in the modern province of Frosinone—sits above the Sacco River valley on a rocky height in the hills southeast of Rome. The people of the ancient town fought and were conquered by the Romans in the fourth century B.C.E. (see *Aeneid*, VII.684: “dives Anagnia”). By the fifth century C.E. Anagni had already been designated a bishopric, and it became a site of considerable importance for the medieval church as an official country residence of the popes, as it had been for several Roman emperors, who often took advantage of its relative proximity and its relatively healthy air. In the twelfth century, Thomas Becket was received by the canons at Anagni as he fled Henry II. At the Council of Anagni in



Cathedral with statue of Pope Boniface VIII, Anagni. Photograph courtesy of Christopher Kleinhenz.

1160, Pope Alexander III pronounced the excommunication of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa along with the antipope Victor IV. Imperial representatives signed the preliminary *pactum anagninum* (1176) at Anagni after the defeat of imperial forces by the Italian Lombard League at the Battle of Legnano.

It was in the thirteenth century that Anagni earned the title “city of the popes.” Four thirteenth-century popes came from Anagni: Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241), Alexander IV (r. 1254–1261), and Boniface VIII (Benedetto Caetani, r. 1294–1303); Dante calls Boniface *quel d’Alagna*, “the one from Anagni,” in *Paradiso* 30.148. This small town therefore witnessed much of the intrigue that developed from the growing struggle between pope and emperor. Pope Gregory IX was host to Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in 1230 in the Conti family palace, which in 1295 became the palace of the Caetani, the clan of Boniface VIII.

Boniface remained attached to and supportive of his native city. He had a delicate constitution, and so he often retreated to his residence in Anagni to escape the stress of his turbulent reign and to scheme against recalcitrant European monarchs and Roman nobles. When his struggle with Philip IV (the Fair) of France reached a crisis in September 1303, Philip’s minister Guillaume de Nogaret and the exiled Sciarra Colonna went looking for Boniface in his palace at Anagni. According to legend, Boniface donned the papal robes and ascended the throne to await his assailants, whose action became known variously as the “outrage” or “slap” of Anagni. For three days the pope’s enemies laid siege to the palace and held Boniface hostage. He was eventually rescued by sympathetic townspeople, but he died shortly thereafter in Rome.

The palace can still be visited today, along with the nearby Palazzo Trajetto, which was Boniface’s original residence. Also of interest in the medieval quarter of Anagni is the Palazzo Comunale (1159–1173) by the architect Jacopo da Iseo. There is a fourteenth-century statue of Boniface in the loggia of the cathedral (1071–1105, with thirteenth-century additions), which has significant thirteenth-century pavement mosaics by a member of the innovative Cosma family. The cathedral treasury contains a wealth of items from Boniface’s papacy, including an elaborate red silk cope.

See also **Boniface VIII, Pope; Caetani Family; Colonna Family; Dante Alighieri; Papacy; Rome**

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ANCONA

Ancona is situated on the Adriatic coast of Italy, about 132 miles (212 kilometers) northeast of Rome, at the eastern end of the

central ridge of the Apennines. It is the principal city of the modern region of the Marche, or Marches. The name Ancona is from the Greek *anchon*, “elbow,” and was derived from the mountainous promontory that forms the only significant natural harbor in the central reaches of Adriatic Italy. The city itself rises from the harbor up a northward-facing natural amphitheater between headlands to the east and west. Ancona has been a prosperous hub of commercial activity for most of its history. It serves as the main port for the agricultural products of its rugged but intensely cultivated hinterland. Merchants from medieval Ancona carried the region’s grain, wine, olive oil, and salted meat to urban markets in northern Italy, the eastern Adriatic, and the eastern Mediterranean. Medieval Ancona developed a silk industry, which flourished into the twentieth century. Throughout the Middle Ages, Ancona remained a viable commercial force despite the persistent efforts of Venice to remove it from competition.

Ancona was probably founded c. 390 B.C. by Dorian exiles from the tyranny of the elder Dionysius of Syracuse. It became an ally of Rome in the mid-third century B.C. and a *municipium* after the “Social War” of 90–88 B.C. In imperial times Ancona traded actively with Illyria and was the home port of a Roman naval fleet. With the collapse of the western empire in the fifth century after Christ, Ancona came under the protection of the emperors in Constantinople. Under Byzantine rule, it was the southernmost city of the Maritime Pentapolis—Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia, and Ancona—and was subject to the exarchate of Ravenna. Heavily fortified, Ancona underwent many sieges throughout the Middle Ages. In 539, it held off an attack by the Ostrogoths; in 551, with the help of a Byzantine fleet, it thwarted Totila’s attempt to take it; in the late sixth century, it repelled the Lombards. Unable to protect the Pentapolis directly, the Byzantine empire placed these cities under the duke of Spoleto in 728. Lombard kings quickly moved into the region, but they relinquished Ancona and several nearby cities to the papacy in 739 and 757. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious included Ancona in the territorial grants that they made to the papacy in 774, 781, and 816–817.

In 848, Saracens sacked Ancona after a long siege. The city rebuilt its defenses and became ever more heavily fortified as the centuries passed. In 876, Ancona acknowledged the overlordship of the pope. Emperor Otto III granted the eight counties of the Pentapolis to the papacy in the late tenth century; however, attempts by the papacy to rule Ancona failed, despite an interdict in 1059. Emperor Henry IV granted a march around Ancona to a Guarnerius c. 1090, and it remained in the hands of imperial designates until the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, the city itself fended off imperial control. Emperor Lothar III failed in his attempt to take the city in 1137. Ancona accepted Byzantine protection from the German emperors and Venice in 1155. It withstood a brief siege by Frederick I Barbarossa in 1167, but imperial and Venetian military and naval forces returned to besiege the city in 1173–1174. The heroic and successful defense of Ancona by its citizens gave rise to many popular legends. Pope Alexander III granted near-autonomy to Ancona, a status confirmed by the Peace of Venice (1177).

Ancona was a semiautonomous commune from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. It was populous, prosperous, and usually strong enough to protect its maritime interests. Merchants from Ancona, many of whom were Jews, competed aggres-

sively with the Venetians for business in the cities of the eastern Adriatic and established colonies in Constantinople, Acre, and Alexandria. The city negotiated commercial treaties with dozens of trading partners. Ancona routinely paid an annual census to its papal overlord and thus was never fully independent, but its government functioned much like those of other Italian communes, with a council of citizens and a public magistracy. It minted its own silver coinage, the *anconetano* or *agontano*, which circulated widely and became a model for other coinages in central Italy. Ancona was instrumental in the codification of the *statuti del mare* that regulated navigation in maritime Italy. The many substantial stone buildings in modern Ancona that date from the Middle Ages testify to the uninterrupted prosperity of the medieval city. These structures include the Duomo San Ciriaco (eleventh–thirteenth centuries), several other large churches, the Palazzo del Comune (thirteenth century), and the Loggia dei Mercanti (fourteenth century).

The ability of Ancona to deny Venice a monopoly over commerce in the Adriatic provoked the Venetians to attack it in 1183, 1229, 1257, 1274–1278, and 1428. The outcome of these wars was more or less favorable for Ancona, but by the beginning of the sixteenth century the city had been gradually forced to yield much of its commercial position to Venice. A continuing weakness of Ancona was its inability to extend its territorial control into the Marches. The papacy resumed lordship over the March of Ancona under Innocent III (1198–1216), who granted it in fief to Azzo IV d'Este in 1208. The Estensi held it until 1233, when Pope Gregory IX replaced them with a papal rector. Frederick II sent his son Enzo to seize the Marches in 1239, and imperial vicars governed them until the emperor's death in 1250. Manfred of Sicily controlled the Marches from 1258 until his death in 1266, when the papacy reasserted its claim.

Papal jurisdiction over the Marches in the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century was often little more than a legal fiction, but Ancona was still unable to push its influence into the Marches. Its chief obstacle was not the papacy but the intense opposition of its nearest rivals, the middling and smaller walled cities of Fermo, Iesi, Legato, Macerata, Osimo, Pesaro, Recanati, and Senigallia. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, Ancona fought numerous inconclusive wars with its neighbors. From one conflict to the next, alliances shifted, turning allies into enemies and back again. These wars prevented the Adriatic Marches from developing a regional identity strong enough to contest the claims of a resurgent papacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

During the early decades of the Avignon papacy (1305–1378), several *signori* established lordships in the Marches, including a brief Malatesta *signoria* in Ancona. In the 1340s and 1350s, Cardinal Albornoz recovered much of the Romagna and the Marches for the papacy. Revenues from the city were an important factor in the successes of the papacy during the mid-fourteenth century. Indeed, Ancona paid as much as half of its communal revenues as tribute to the church from the mid-fourteenth century until its full incorporation into the papal state in the sixteenth century. In 1357, Albornoz convened the Parliament of Fano, at which he issued the *Constitutiones marchiae anconitanæ* that served as the basic law of the papal state until the time of Napoleon.

Ancona continued to negotiate independently with its trading partners and competitors into the sixteenth century, but the political and fiscal subordination of the city to the papacy was an accomplished fact by the end of the papal schism in 1417. Occasionally, strongmen such as the Ferretti could dominate local government and had a fairly free hand in the *contado*, but papal rectors collected taxes from the commune throughout most of the fifteenth century. In the 1430s, the *condottiere* Francesco Sforza took control of Ancona and the March. The March returned to direct papal jurisdiction in 1446, but Sforza continued to dominate the city into the 1450s. The papacy suppressed what remained of the communal autonomy of Ancona in the sixteenth century. Significantly, the papal keys appeared on the reverse of the *anconetano* under Pope Julius II (1503–1513). In 1532 Pope Clement VII, who was financially pressed, sold the revenues of the populous and prosperous city to Cardinal Benedetto Accolti for 20,000 gold *scudi*, and the pope ordered his legate to take and rule the city directly. Except for the brief Napoleonic interlude, Ancona remained an integral part of the papal state until the forces of the kingdom of Italy captured it in 1860.

See also Álboroz, Gil Alvarez Cabrillo de; Alexander III, Pope; Coins and Mints; Exarchate of Ravenna; Ferrara; Frankish Kingdom; Frederick I Barbarossa; Frederick II Hohensoufen; Gregory IX, Pope; Henry IV, Emperor, Innocent III, Pope; Lombards; Otto III; Rimini; Venice

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ANDALÒ DI NEGRO

The Genoese astronomer Andalò di Negro (c. 1260–1334) is also known as Andalone Negro or Andalo de Nigro. According

to Sarton (1947), Andalò owes his fame to the “enthusiastic, incompetent, and uncritical praise” of his most illustrious pupil, Giovanni Boccaccio. However, Andalò was well trained in the Ptolemaic and Arabic schools of astronomy and was also a successful diplomat. In 1314, he negotiated for Genoa an advantageous treaty with Alexius II Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond (the Turkish town of Trabzon on the Black Sea). Four years later, when Genoa became part of the domain of King Robert of Anjou, Andalò joined the Angevin court in Naples. It was there that he taught astronomy and astrology to Boccaccio. Boccaccio, in fact, transcribed Andalò's *Tractatus sphaerae* in his *Zibaldone medicea laurenziana* (Plut. XXIX, 8), and used Andalò's *Introductorius ad iudicia astrologie* (unedited) as his primary astrological source for his own early works. Besides these two treatises, Andalò also wrote a dozen other works, including several tracts on the relationship between medicine and astrology, one on the astrolabe, one on the theory of planets, one on the distances of all the other planets from Earth, and one on the *Almanach* of Profatius Judaeus.

As the leading astronomer in both Genoa and Naples, Andalò, through his teaching, spread Ptolemaic Arabic astronomy in these two important cultural centers. Scholars concur that his knowledge of contemporary astronomy was thorough and precise, as are many of the corrections he made to some important astronomical texts of his time. Thus Andalò is sometimes seen as a precursor of the scientific experimental methods that would become prominent in the fifteenth century. As for his astrological philosophy, Andalò believed that the judgments of astrology were not necessary but contingent: they depended as much on the disposition of the patient as on the actions of the agent. In the words of Thorndike (1934), Andalò “serves to illustrate the point that the occult arts and sciences were then supported by men of the highest education and learning and not merely by the vulgar and charlatans, and that astronomy and astrology were indistinguishable then.”

See also Astrology; Boccaccio, Giovanni; Magic

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ANDREA DA BARBERINO

Andrea da Barberino (c. 1371–c. 1431), a son of Jacopo di Tieri de' Magnabotti from Barberino in Val d'Elsa, was a prolific writer and compiler of chivalric narratives in Tuscan prose. Andrea lived and wrote in Florence, where he owned a house. His

vast cycle of nine works is modeled on French and Franco-Italian epics in the Carolingian cycle but also shows the influence of the Arthurian romance cycle. In addition to his published writings listed below, there are two other texts probably written by him—*La storia del re Ansuigi* and *Storia di Rinaldo da Montalbano*, both still unedited—and his *Prima Spagna*, which has been lost. His best and most original work, commonly known as *Guerrino il meschino*, has been printed numerous times, but there is still no reliable edition.

According to contemporary scribes, Andrea recited his narratives in the piazzetta San Martino in Florence; but they were also intended for private reading, as is clear from the author's appeals to the “reader” and from numerous extant manuscripts. Manuscript evidence and library inventories reveal a range of readers from shoemakers and tradesmen to kings and princes. Although his texts were best-known in Florence and Tuscany, *Guerrino* circulated in many other areas, including Ferrara, Bologna, Venice, Umbria, and Naples, and it was translated into French and Spanish in the early sixteenth century. Andrea's works were still being published and copied after the great chivalric epic poems by Boiardo and Ariosto had appeared.

In contrast to the French epics on which they were modeled, Andrea's narratives have a less austere and more human tone. Although Andrea says that he translated these works from French, and this statement is supported by philological studies, his process of translation was not slavish. Instead, he freely adapted the material, expanding, abbreviating, and innovating as he worked. Despite the prevalence of *ottava rima* in narratives of Carolingian material, Andrea seems to have selected prose as more appropriate to his purpose: he wanted to create an epic cycle more closely related to actual chronicles than to fictional material. Accordingly, he strove for verisimilitude, providing extensive genealogies for the heroes, linking all the works chronologically in a vast cycle, furnishing dates for the events portrayed, and including realistic details. However, even though he is concerned with pragmatic descriptions, his prose remains fresh and interesting and his language attains a certain gentility. In some scenes he creates suspense rather successfully. His occasional humorous touches are mild and tasteful, never crude or burlesque. While many of the characters and episodes in Andrea's works were already commonplace in the semipopular *cantare* literature of the time, his style is more learned than that of other *cantastorie*. Like the *cantari*, his “histories” present abundant action and adventure; but his characters, unlike those in the typical *cantari*, are sensitively drawn and psychologically nuanced.

Because of his huge output, his distinctive voice, and his long popularity, Andrea's work holds an important place in Italian cultural and literary history. Although his prose lacks the virtuosity of the Renaissance epic poems, his influence on later chivalric authors was nevertheless greater than has previously been recognized.

See also Cantare; Carolingian Material in Italy; Ottava Rima

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