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BUCCIO DI RANALLO AND HIS FOLLOWERS: CHRONICLERS OF L'AQUILA,
1254-1529

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Buccio di Ranallo and his Followers: Chroniclers of L'Aquila, 1254-1529

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This dissertation examines a series of seven chroniclers and a diarist of L'Aquila, who wrote about local events in verse and in prose between the early fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. The city is located in central Italy, but was at the northern end of the kingdom of Naples (the *Regno*). L'Aquila's first chronicler, Buccio di Ranallo, began by going back to the city's foundation in 1254 and then continued to 1362. Subsequent writers carried on the narration almost continuously until Vincenzo Basilii concluded with a description of L'Aquila being subjected to a penalty of one hundred thousand ducats in 1529. Like a biography, L'Aquila's chronicle tradition covered the city's life from its birth to its near extinction.

I believe that the Aquilan chronicles can be compared with those in northern Italy. For a long time, however, the opposite view has been influential, though less so in recent years. This argument has held that a city in the *Regno* could not have civic consciousness by the very fact of it being part of a monarchical state. Rather than focusing on the court, the Aquilan writers primarily discussed events relating to the city. Buccio's description of L'Aquila's origins, which had value for subsequent writers, emphasized the inhabitants'

unity and examined the qualities of their leaders. He and the later chroniclers continued this internal political theme by assessing the effectiveness of the city's local administration and its ability to cope with threats. They described complex forms of civic leadership, showing participation in decisions variously by the commune, *signori*, patrons, and royal captains. The narrations after the mid-1330s also revealed that local crises arose periodically, due to factionalism and the impact of uncertainty at the national level. Finally, just as chroniclers in northern Italy sometimes looked to their cities' overriding powers, the Aquilan authors portrayed the city negotiating its relationship with the monarchy. While they found that the relationship was usually balanced during the Angevin era, the writers could be critical of the monarchs, especially later, and even depicted the citizens having recourse to the papacy for support.

Acknowledgments and Dedication

I should like to thank Prof. Samantha Kelly for her generosity, help, and support in enabling me to complete this project. The warmth and interest that she showed to me ten years ago made it an easy decision for me to choose Rutgers for my doctoral studies. I never expected that she would devote as much attention as she has to furthering my education. I also owe thanks to her and to Prof. Rudy Bell, Prof. James Masschaele, and Prof. Alessandro Vettori for agreeing to be members of my committee. Their suggestions have enriched the end product immeasurably. I am particularly grateful to the history department for its willingness to take on a mature student on a part-time basis. The highest praise is meant in saying that I have always felt that I have been treated in the same way as any other student.

During my research I had access to L'Aquila's civic archives (Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila). I want to thank its director, Dr Paolo Buonora, and his staff for their courtesy and assistance. This dissertation would have been impossible without the understanding of my family. To my wife, Meredith, and our sons, Roland and Alexander, I offer my deepest thanks and appreciation for the fine gift that they have given me. Their patient support has enabled me to pursue my dream.

I dedicate my work to the memories of the three hundred and nine victims of the earthquake that struck L'Aquila on April 6, 2009.

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Maps



Map 1: Italy. L'Aquila is half the distance from Rome (73 miles) as from Naples (146 miles), and 199 miles from Florence.

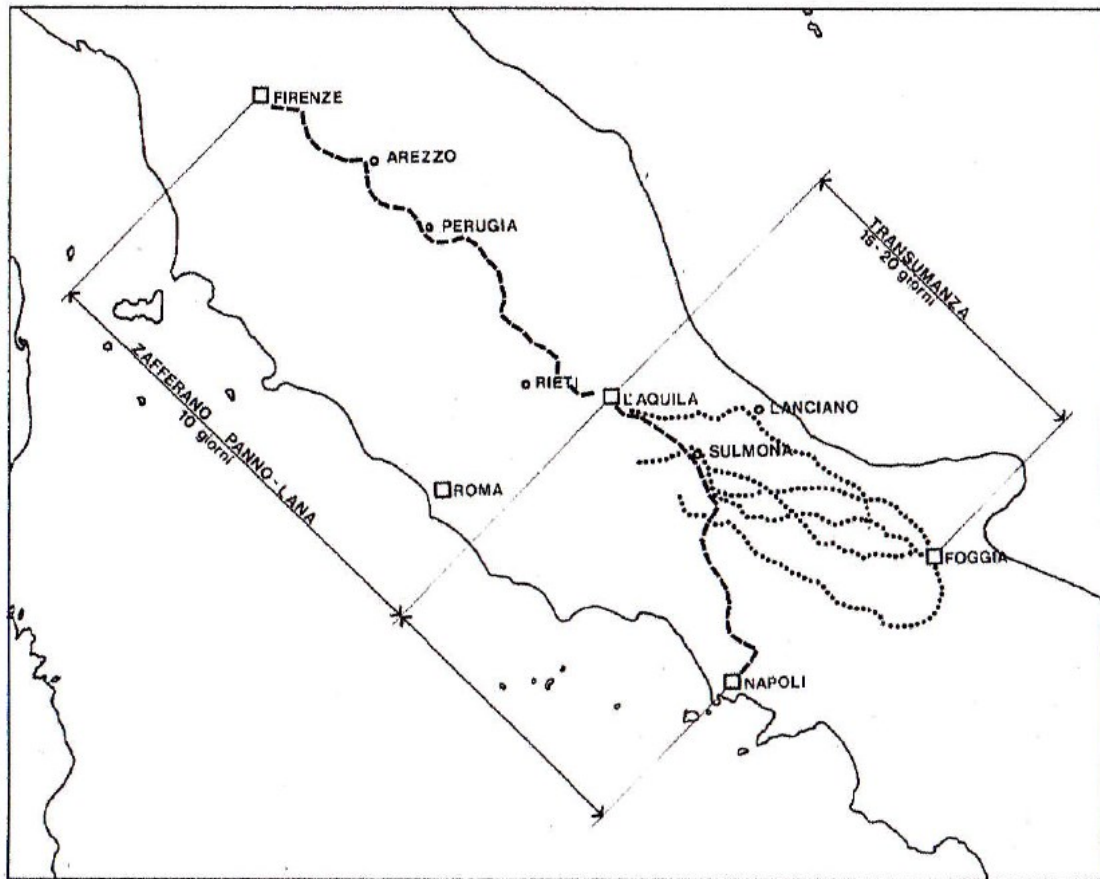
Source: The New York Times. *Italy Map*. April 6, 2009.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/06/world/europe/06italy.html?_r=0>



Map 2: Italy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. The city of L'Aquila (called "Aquila") lay thirty miles from the northern end of the Kingdom of Sicily, which from 1282, in effect, was the Kingdom of Naples.

Source: "Italy in the XII & XIII Centuries" in *Muir's Historical Atlas*, R.F. Treharne and H. Fullard, eds. (London: George Philip and Son Limited, 1976), 23.



Map 3: La Via degli Abruzzi. The broken line represents the route that connected Florence to Naples via Perugia, L'Aquila, Sulmona, and Capua (the Via degli Abruzzi). In 1328 Balduccio Pegolotti, a Florentine representative, described doing the entire journey in twelve days (six to L'Aquila). Production and exchange in L'Aquila centered on raw wool, cloth, and saffron. The dotted lines show the major sheepwalks between Abruzzo and Apulia. Flocks from L'Aquila had the longest distance to travel, taking about three weeks to cover the one hundred and twenty-five miles, in late summer and returning in May. Source: Clementi, Alessandro and Piroddi, Elio. "Fig. 50. La Via degli Abruzzi." *L'Aquila*. (Rome-Bari: Editori Laterza, 1986). 55.



Fig. 1: View of L'Aquila.

Source: Hotel San Michele. "L'Aquila." 2015. <<http://www.stmichelehotel.it/en/laquila/the-city-018.html>>



Fig. 2: Basilica of Santa Maria di Collemaggio. The basilica, which was begun in 1288 and lies just outside the city, has since 1327 held the relics of St Peter Celestine, one of L'Aquila's patron saints.

Source: M. Pesolillo. *Basilica di Santa Maria di Collemaggio*. March 31, 2007.

<http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%27Aquila#/media/File:Laquila_collemaggio002.jpg>



Fig. 3: Earthquake damage. Earthquakes have occurred frequently in L'Aquila, causing much loss of life and extensive damage. The church of Santa Maria of Paganica, built in about 1308, suffered greatly in the earthquake of 2009.

Source: Tarantino, Alessandra. 29. *Santa Maria Paganica Church*. Associated Press Photo. April 7, 2009. <http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2009/04/the_laquila_earthquake.html>

Buccio di Ranallo and his Followers: Chroniclers of L'Aquila, 1254-1529

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the first chronicle of L'Aquila, by Buccio di Ranallo (Buccio), and to identify to what extent the themes present in it reappeared in a set of almost continuous subsequent writings by seven other local writers. The series began and ended with descriptions of the inhabitants' relationship with the imperial monarchy – Buccio opening with Conrad IV's approval of the city's foundation in 1254 and Vincenzo Basili concluding with Charles V's viceroy, Philibert of Orange, extorting one hundred thousand ducats from the Aquilans in 1529. Located at the far north-eastern end of the kingdom of Naples (the *Regno*), L'Aquila was during the intervening period the second or third largest city in population in the realm and had a *contado* of over fifty communities in a twenty mile radius.¹ As the chroniclers carved out a sense of civic identity, they paid particular attention to how L'Aquila managed its relations with the crown. From the city's beginning the monarchs maintained it in the royal demesne and permitted immigration, except following its destruction by Manfred in 1259. After Charles I of Anjou authorized L'Aquila's re-foundation in 1266 and awarded it the counties of Amiterno and Forcona, the writers emphasized the city's control and enlargement of the *contado* until its infeudation a few months after Vincenzo finished his chronicle. In between, each chronicler followed local events in turn, even overlapping at times, apart from a break between narrations in 1424-42. This interval coincided with the change of rule over the *Regno* from the Angevins to the Aragonese and from prior long

¹ Ginatempo, Maria and Luca Sandri, *L'Italia delle città. Il popolamento urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento (secoli xiii-xvi)* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1990), 161, 190 – L'Aquila had a population of probably twenty thousand in the 1320s and seven to eight thousand in 1450. Only Naples and, in 1450, Capua exceeded it.

and consistent portrayals of the city's receipt of royal favor to henceforth those of its increasing oppression.

Buccio, born in about 1290, was for several decades the sole chronicler of Aquilan events. He started his account with events just before the city's foundation. He used the first person from 1310, possibly starting his "Chronicle" in 1355, and ended abruptly in 1362, the year before his death. Buccio wrote in the central Italian vernacular in alexandrines (consisting of twelve syllables) in twelve hundred and forty-nine quatrains, interrupting his usual format with twenty-one sonnets that exhorted and harangued his fellow citizens at dramatic moments in L'Aquila's history.² Antonio di Buccio picked up the narrative thread in 1363 also in alexandrines in his "On the Matters of L'Aquila," which was almost as long with nine hundred and sixty-one quatrains. It ended in 1381 with a description of the departure of the city's captain upon receiving news of Joanna I's surrender to Charles of Durazzo in Naples. Antonio also composed "On the Coming of King Charles of Durazzo in the *Regno*" in one hundred and thirty-five octaves, covering the rivalry between Joanna and Charles from 1378 to 1381 and local events from the city's change in loyalty to the king until early 1382. After recording his disappointment about a new tax imposed by Charles, Antonio indicated that he intended to cease writing

² De Matteis, Carlo, ed. *Buccio di Ranallo. Cronica* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2008. Commentary - Terenzi, Pierluigi. "Buccio di Ranallo" in G. Dunphy, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 221; De Matteis, Carlo. *Civiltà letteraria abruzzese* (L'Aquila: Textus, 2001), 62-100 and *Buccio di Ranallo: critica e filologia* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1990); Colapietra, Raffaele. *Cultura e società all'Aquila tra angioini e spagnoli* (Messina: Sicania, 1993), 5-115; Mutini, Claudio. "Buccio di Ranallo." *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 14 (1972): 777-783; Giammarco, Ernesto. *Storia della cultura e della letteratura abruzzese* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1969), 42-53; Mutini, Claudio. "La 'Cronaca Aquilana' nella poesia di Buccio di Ranallo." *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo e archivio muratoriano*, 74 (1962): 175-211; De Bartholomaeis, Vincenzo, ed. *Cronaca aquilana rimata di Buccio di Ranallo di Popplito di Aquila* (Rome: Forzani, 1907), vii-lxi.

in octaves and to return to quatrains, but no record exists of him having done so. Born before 1350 and probably still alive in 1419, he seems to have commenced both vernacular works in or after 1379.³

Niccolò di Borbona's "Chronicle of the Matters of L'Aquila" also began in 1363 in the vernacular, but he extended his narration to 1424 and employed a simple form of prose. While his first thirteen paragraphs overlapped with Antonio's verses, he gave greater attention to the local effects of natural disasters and a peasant uprising. Using thirty-eight paragraphs, Niccolò was L'Aquila's only chronicler from 1382 to 1421. For his final twenty-nine paragraphs, he covered the events leading up to and during the siege of the city by Braccio da Montone, a Perugian *condottiere*, in 1423-4. Braccio's siege was the sole subject of a fourth work, the anonymous vernacular "War of L'Aquila" in five hundred and thirty-two octaves. The fifth work about Angevin rule, though not a chronicle proper, was the diary in Latin of L'Aquila's bishop, Jacopo Donadei. It is similar in subject-matter to the Aquilan chronicles, offering commentary on local events and their relation to larger historical dynamics in the *Regno* from 1407 to 1414.⁴

³ Antonio di Boetio volgarmente Antonio di Buccio di San Vittorino dell'Aquila. "Delle cose dell'Aquila" in L.A. Muratori, ed. *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (Milan, 1742), VI, 708-824; Gelmini, Simona. "Antonio di Boezio. Della venuta del re Carlo di Durazzo nel Regno e Delle cose dell'Aquila e il suo lessico." *Studi di Lessicografia Italiana*, 10 (1989): 5-123. Commentary - Terenzi, Pierluigi. "Antonio di Buccio" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*, 107; De Matteis, *Civiltà*, 117-8; Colapietra, *Cultura*, 120-128; Giammarco, *Storia della cultura*, 66-68; Sabatini, Francesco. "Antonio di Boezio." *Dizionario*, 3 (1961), 377.

⁴ Niccolò di Borbona. "Cronaca delle cose dell'Aquila, dall'anno 1363 all'anno 1424" in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, VI, 853-876; De Matteis, Carlo, ed. *La guerra dell'Aquila. Cantare anonimo del XV secolo* (L'Aquila: Textus, 1996); Palatini, Leopoldo. "Iacopo Donadei e suoi diarii." *Bollettino della società di storia patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, No. 26, 13 (1901). Commentary - Pio, Berardo. "Niccolò da Borbona." *Dizionario*, (2013). Terenzi, Pierluigi. "Niccolò di Borbona" and "La guerra dell'Aquila" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*, 1141 and 988; De Matteis, *Civiltà*, 119; Colapietra, *Cultura*, 129-138; Giammarco, *Storia della cultura*, 68, 354.

Francesco d'Angeluccio's "Aquilan Chronicle" began in 1442 with Alfonso V of Aragon's entry into L'Aquila a month after his conquest of Naples.⁵ Born in about 1430, Francesco wrote seventy-two paragraphs in vernacular prose, covering local events up to L'Aquila's revolt of 1485 and inserting in 1464 two sonnets about a huge snowfall. Alessandro De Ritiis (1434-97/8), a Franciscan, wrote his "Chronicle of the City of L'Aquila" in Latin prose, covering from the civic attack on Antrodoto in 1370 to 1497. After translating and abridging Niccolò on local events in 1370-1424 (with fuller detail on Braccio's siege), Alessandro inserted various items relating to his order and visiting preachers in 1431-56, translated and largely followed Francesco to 1485, and then carried on the narration in some detail until shortly before his death.⁶ The last Aquilan writer in the series, Vincenzo Basilio, was from the same town in the *contado* as Alessandro. His very simple "Chronicle" in vernacular prose covered from the time after the arrival of the royal commissioner in 1476 to the prince of Orange's levy in 1529. The few events that he described before 1496 mostly followed Alessandro.⁷

There are several indicators that these texts constitute an Aquilan chronicle tradition.

Their contents and titles attached to them indicate a consistent focus on the city. All but

Alessandro and Donadei, who of course was not a chronicler proper, used the local

⁵ Francesco d'Angeluccio. "Cronaca Aquilana. Dall'anno 1442 fino al 1485" in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, VI, 887-926 – also includes description of events in 1436 when the *condottiere* Francesco Piccinino raided the *contado* (p.906 and fin to p.888). Commentary - Terenzi, Pierluigi. "Francesco d'Angeluccio" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*, 631-2; De Matteis, Carlo. *Quattrocento Letterario Aquilano* (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2011), 167-191; Sabatini, Francesco. "Francesco d'Angeluccio." *Dizionario*, 3 (1961).

⁶ Cassese, Leopoldo, ed. "La 'Chronica civitatis Aquilae' di Alessandro de Ritiis" in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 27 (1941): 151- 216 and 29 (1943) 185-268. Commentary - Terenzi, Pierluigi. "De Ritiis, Alessandro." in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*, 514; Cherubini, Paolo. "De Ritiis, Alessandro" in *Dizionario*, 39 (1991).

⁷ Vincenzo Basilio da Collebrincioni. "Cronaca" in Pansa, Giovanni. *Quattro cronache e due diarii inediti* (Sulmona: Colaprete, 1902), App. IV, 65-89. Following the text are brief notations by Simone Caprini on 1539-64 (pp.89-92). Commentary - Terenzi, Pierluigi. "Vincenzo di Basilio" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*, 1483.

vernacular and together they constructed an almost continuous narrative across several centuries, in works often of great length. Antonio's references to the founding chronicle of Buccio, and Alessandro's abridgment of the works of two predecessors' accounts, indicate a conscious effort to maintain a local historical tradition. Wider awareness of this tradition is reflected in two further abridgments of Buccio's and Niccolò's works in the fifteenth century that show that they carried weight among Niccolò's near contemporaries.⁸ Finally, the survival of Buccio's chronicle as a result of copies made of it by Francesco and by Alessandro and of later transcriptions,⁹ and the preservation of recopying of other chronicles until their printing in the eighteenth century or later, attests to their perceived value by subsequent generations.¹⁰

The idea of a tradition is most clearly seen in the express acknowledgments by Antonio and Niccolò of their roles as Buccio's successors. Antonio indicated: "I read a book in

⁸ "Cronachetta anonima delle cose dell'Aquila dall'anno 1055-1414" in Pansa, *Quattro cronache*, App. I, 3-7 – abridged Buccio and Niccolò, adding the names of Norman and Staufen monarchs; Bernardino da Fossa. "Cronaca" in Pansa, *Quattro cronache*, App. III, 41-61 – Bernardino (1420-1503), an Observant Franciscan, abridged Buccio and Niccolò, covering 1254-1424.

⁹ Terenzi, "Buccio di Ranallo," 221 – by Francesco d'Angeluccio in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, cod. 77 and by Alessandro De Ritiis in L'Aquila, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Aquilano, S-72, part 2, fol. 2r-79v.

¹⁰ In the eighteenth century Anton Ludovico Antinori (historian) located and Ludovico Muratori published Buccio, Antonio, Niccolò, Francesco, and the Anonymous. On the current locations of known manuscripts of Buccio's chronicle (all six dating from the second half of the fifteenth century through the eighteenth century), see De Matteis, *Buccio*, lxi-lxviii – Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Pl.77; L'Aquila, Archivio di Stato, S-72; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, xv. F.56; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, V.E.576; L'Aquila, Archivio di Stato, Ms.88; private source.

On the current locations of the manuscripts of the next four chroniclers, see Terenzi, "Antonio di Buccio," 107 – no earlier manuscript survives; Terenzi, "Niccolò di Borbona," 1141 and "Francesco d'Angeluccio," 632 – in the same manuscript as the transcription of Buccio in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, cod. 77; Terenzi, "La guerra dell'Aquila," 988 – in a fifteenth-century manuscript in codice Antonelli, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. 3061.

On the publishing and current locations of the manuscripts of Donadei, Alessandro, and Vincenzo, see Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 9 – located by Antinori and published by Amaduzzi; Terenzi, "De Ritiis, Alessandro" 514 – the autograph with a transcription of Buccio is in L'Aquila, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Aquilano, S-72, part 1, fol. 130r-236v, and was published in 1941-3; Terenzi, "Vincenzo di Basilio," 1483 – published in 1902, no earlier manuscript survives.

my days, which spoke about L'Aquila... I found that this book was [by] Buccio de Ranallo of L'Aquila... He died in the mortality of 1363... And I, Antonio di Buccio, wish to follow all the events of our city".¹¹ Besides Antonio's connection in beginning his narrative in the year after Buccio's ended, both chroniclers gave pride of place to their city: "The account will be of L'Aquila" (Buccio) and "All my speaking will be of L'Aquila" (Antonio).¹² Niccolò paid homage to Buccio and noted the restriction of his narrative to Aquilan events: "Our Lord blessed God having made known his will, he recalled the blessed memory of our venerable citizen Buccio di Ranallo, author and describer, making chronicle... of the times of our city of L'Aquila... up to his death in 1363".¹³ He also used the same word as Antonio and Buccio, "his book," to refer to his predecessor's work.¹⁴ The Anonymous, that is, the author of "War of L'Aquila," placed himself in this tradition by alluding to L'Aquila's history in its earlier chronicles, for instance in promising to "rhyme in the Aquilan way" and in describing it in terms earlier chronicles had made virtual topoi.¹⁵ His conclusion did the same, citing "true writings" about the city's foundation and in comparing the civic siege defense operations to those

¹¹ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711, vv2-7: "*Io lessi uno libro nelli giorni mei, Lu quale de Aquila fececia diceria... Et quisto libro trovai che Buczu de Ranallo De Aquila... Lu quale morio la mortarità l'anno 1363 fa il conto... Et io Antonio de Buczo vollio secotare tutti li comenenti della nostra Citade.*"

¹² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 4, v3: "*El conto sarrà d'Aquila*"; Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711, v8: "*De Aquila sarane tutto lo mio parlare.*"

¹³ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 853: "*Avendo el nostro Signor benedetto Dio fatta la sua volontà, e rechiamatose a se la benedetta memoria del Venerabile nostro Citadino Buccio de Ranallio de Aquila, Autore, & descrittore facendo Cronicha... delli tempi della nostra Citade de Aquila... infino alla sua morte nelli anni 1363.*"

¹⁴ Ibid.: "*lu sou libro*"; De Matteis, *Buccio*, 3, v1: "*quisto libro mio*" (this my book); Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711, v3: "*quisto libro.*" For Buccio's title, the editor used the 1493 copy of Buccio: "*Cronica*" (p.ix). For Niccolò the fifteenth century manuscript used "*Cronaca*" as a title, while the text referred to Buccio's "*Cronicha*." The word "chronicle" does not appear in Antonio; he used "*scritto mio*" (my writing) (v9). The Anonymous called his work "*un canto*" (a song) - De Matteis, *La guerra*, 5, cl.6. Alessandro used "*cronicis*" (chronicles) - Cassese, "Chronica," 27, 165. Francesco and Vincenzo did not refer to their own or other works.

¹⁵ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 5, cl.5: "*allu modo aquilanu io rimarò.*" The author also emphasized a generational connection in referring to his work as being in "*lingua materna*" (mother tongue) (ibid.).

in 1347, 1383, and 1415, which implicitly relied on the earlier narratives of Buccio and Niccolò.¹⁶ Finally, Alessandro called himself Buccio's successor.¹⁷

There are several reasons why Buccio's views can be considered as fairly reflective of those of the rest of the citizens. The best proof is the popularity of his account. Some evidence of a wide reception can be gleaned from the number of copies of his *Cronica* (fifteen) that Antinori found among families of wealthy merchants in the eighteenth century. Six of these still survive.¹⁸ Indicators point to Buccio being knowledgeable about the local events presented in his chronicle. In 1310, when he affirmed that his eye-witness accounts began, there would have been many alive who could personally have related to him their recollections of the previous forty-four years since the city's re-foundation.¹⁹ Suggestions that he did not start writing his chronicle until after the restoration of the commune in 1355 do not include his sonnets, which were probably composed in 1338-62 and inserted at intervals later in his work.²⁰ Comparisons against contemporary sources by his editors show that Buccio was "usually well informed".²¹ Authorial interjections

¹⁶ Ibid., 201, cXI.41: "*vera scrittura*"; p.201-3, cXI.42-4.

¹⁷ Cassese, "Chronica," 27, 165: "*Secuntur cronice de Aquila, scilicet ad Buciu de Ranallo*" (The chronicles of L'Aquila follow, namely compared with Buccio de Ranallo).

¹⁸ Clementi, Alessandro. *Storia dell'Aquila dalle origini alla prima guerra mondiale* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1998), 85. On philological and linguistic criticism of Carlos de Matteis's 2008 edition that drew on the six surviving manuscripts of Buccio, see Formentin, Vittorio. "Sfortuna di Buccio di Ranallo." *Lingua e Stile*, 45, no. 2 (2010): 185-222. For a review of the edition and conclusion that De Matteis "reconstructed a convincing frame of Aquilan culture of the era," see Coluccia, Rosario. "Besprechungen." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 127, no.1 (2011): 195-200.

¹⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 74, v237: "*si como è scrito e dicto per Buccio de Ranallio*" (as is written and spoken by Buccio di Ranallo) in 1310. On Buccio's shift from the third person used to 1309 to the first person thereafter and his new richness in detail, see p.xli.

²⁰ 1355 – ibid., xliii, based on p.3, v2: "*li altri che regerando*" (others ruling again) and "*li boni... volere né tirando*" (the good not wishing for any tyrant) – though the verse could refer to the inhabitants after the foundation. On sonnets as dating before the composition of the chronicle – p.xvii; De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, xxx: the sonnets were probably composed "under the pressure of the events of the day."

²¹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 9, fn20; De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, xxii: "The exactness of the chronicler, in narrating matters of his own region, is revealed as perfect, where control can be exercised."

related that in 1354 he attended several assembly meetings and implied that he participated in the civic council.²² He did not align himself with any of the factions in the city's internal struggles, as far as we can tell, and, as a minor landowner, he betrayed equal distrust of both the *popolo* and the nobility.²³

The Aquilan chroniclers' names provide some information about their origins, since it was a local habit to follow a personal name with a patronymic and place of origin.²⁴ The location, usually a community in the *contado*, was either the person's birth-place or that of his ancestors before emigrating to the city. In this way Buccio was from Coppito, Antonio from San Vittorino, Niccolò from Borbona, Donadei from Roio, Francesco from Bazzano, and Alessandro and Vincenzo both from Collebrincioni.²⁵ Despite their identification with the *contado*, their knowledge about events in the city suggests that they were fully integrated in civic life. Further support is found in that Buccio, Antonio, and Niccolò took the city's side in describing its crushing of two peasant revolts.²⁶

Although records indicate that the places of origin of Buccio and Antonio were the same

²² De Matteis, *Buccio*, xliii.

²³ Ibid., xlii-xliv – he did not figure among the merchant-artisan class represented by the corporations of the *Arti*, and he distrusted the *popolo* and the aristocratic factional leaders. A notarial instrument of 1364 described the sale by Buccio's daughter of a portion of a mill inherited from him and the application of the proceeds for the salvation of his soul, indicating that he was a land-owner of modest wealth and so a member of a class with conservative attitudes and that he died soon after his last chronicle entry in 1362.

²⁴ Gelmini, "Antonio," 5.

²⁵ Mutini, "Buccio," 777 – the notarial instrument of 1364 specified: "Buccio di Rainaldo di Gentile di Poppleto [Coppito] dell'Aquila"; the places for Antonio, Niccolo, and Vincenzo appear in the titles to their works; Donadei - Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 1; Alessandro - Cassese, "Chronica," 27, 154.

²⁶ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 30-1, v95: "*tucta la villanallia salliero in gra' superbia*" (all the peasants rose in great pride) in 1266/7; Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 141: "*uno granne peccatu*" (a great sin) – peasant revolt in 1370; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 854: "*li Cittadini armati..., e no vedeano altro modo, li corséro adosso*" (the armed citizens, not seeing another way, rode and attacked them) in 1370.

as those of two prominent faction leaders, Bonagiunta and Lalle Camponesco, the writers did not show any special favor in depicting them.²⁷

Little else is known about the Aquilan writers. The only information that Antonio gave about himself was that he helped in the city's defense in 1365 and performed two official trips for the city (to Rome in 1369 to request absolution for abuses during a civic raid on Antrodoco and to Apulia in 1372 to obtain grain during a shortage).²⁸ Nothing is known for certain about Niccolò. Antinori named him as the author, because in the manuscript containing his chronicle there was also a brief poem to St Bernardino that specified "this was rhymed by Cola di Borbona" and because the chronicle opened with an invocation to St Nicholas of Bari, who bore the same first name. The poem has been dated to between 1450 and 1456. But, since the poem's language and style are very different from that of the chronicle, the common attribution has been questioned.²⁹ The "War of L'Aquila," which has been dated to between 1450 and 1460, is considered anonymous but may have been composed by Cola di Borbona.³⁰ Donadei was a supporter of Ladislaus during the

²⁷ Bonagiunta - De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 106: "*de Popleto de Aquila*" – in the royal register for 1332; Lalle - Antinori, Antonio Ludovico. *Annali degli Abruzzi* (Bologna: Forni, 1971), XI, 395: S. Vittorino, source not given.

²⁸ Gelmini, "Antonio," 5-6. Based on his participation in the city's defense in 1365 (Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 717, v48), he was born before 1350. A notarial instrument named him as a judge in a civil case in 1419. The dating to in or after 1379 is based on his reference near the beginning of each work to Charles of Durazzo as "*Carlo della Pace*" (Charles of Peace) and the duke did not receive this appellation until after his role in the Peace of Treviso in that year (p.6) – *ibid.*, 34, I.7 and Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 714, v25.

²⁹ De Matteis, *La guerra*, xx-xxii – after 1450 as the poem refers to Bernardino as a saint, before 1456 as the poem implied that Giovanni da Capestrano was alive. De Matteis called Antinori's attribution of the chronicle to Cola as "quite weak"; extract from the poem in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, VI, 851: "*A Cola de Borbona chesta rimata*"; Pio, "Niccolò" – "the events happened, according to the author, many years before the drafting of the work" seems to refer to the victory over Braccio in Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 873: "*multi anni sono, che no fo il simile fatto*" (there have been many years that similar was not done) – but this statement could also be looking back from 1424.

³⁰ De Matteis, *La guerra*, xxii; on its dating between 1450 and 1460, see p.xviii – based on Carlo Dionisotti's dating of two sources for the poem ("*Spagna*" and "*Orlando*").

dynastic dispute, since Boniface IX, who crowned Ladislaus as king, also recognized Donadei as bishop, in 1401.³¹ Francesco involved himself in public life as a syndic or consul for the wool guild and was named as present in council proceedings in 1467. Alessandro became a Franciscan at age twelve and from 1469 was many times guardian of the monastery of St Bernardino in L'Aquila. Nothing is known about Vincenzo.³²

By 1996, all of these works were available in printed editions, though these editions are in some cases a century or more than two centuries old.³³ Historical analysis of them, however, is largely confined to the editors' prefatory comments. They have never been studied as a *corpus*. In the most recent reference to them collectively, in 2011, Carlo de Matteis limited his remarks to one sentence: "In all of these authors there is alive the awareness of belonging to a body of citizens of glorious tradition that had to be preserved, whereby municipal pride and behavior warn moralistically and in a deprecatory way against all that can impair or threaten the solidity of the civic community".³⁴ L'Aquila's chronicle tradition warrants a detailed case study and constitutes a basis for comparison against others found elsewhere in Italy.

An important aspect of the Aquilan chronicle tradition was the way that it depicted the city's relationship with the crown. Scholars of Buccio, however, have focused not on this

³¹ On Donadei's background, see Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 5.

³² Terenzi, "Francesco," 631-2, "Alessandro," 514, "Vincenzo," 1483.

³³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 3-386; Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711-824; Gelmini, "Antonio," 32-66; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 853-876; Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 11-32; De Matteis, *La guerra*, 3-204; Francesco d'Angeluccio, "Cronaca," 887-926; Cassese, "Chronica," 27, 165-216 and 29, 185-268; Vincenzo Basili, "Cronaca" 65-89.

³⁴ De Matteis, Carlo. *Quattrocento letterario aquilano. Restauri e recuperi* (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2011), 69. Even in a short chapter on the Aquilan chronicles, the author gave a summary of each one without seeking to identify a common theme in Colapietra, Raffaele. *Dal Magnanimo a Masaniello. Studi di storia meridionale nell'eta moderna*, (Salerno: Edizioni Beta, 1972), 317-61.

but on his yearning for “the ideal of civic concord” (De Matteis),³⁵ his desire for “unanimity” and his “moralistic laicism” (Raffaele Colapietra),³⁶ his “figure of the honest citizen” (Ernesto Giammarco),³⁷ his central theme of “the struggle against the nobles” (Claudio Mutini),³⁸ and his will that it be “a narrowly local chronicle” (Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis).³⁹ As for the other chroniclers, scholars have indicated that Antonio was “lively and perspicacious” (De Matteis), was, “like Buccio, an enflamed supporter of communal liberty” (Simona Gelmini), “limited himself to pure chronological facts” (Giammarco), and expressed his “love for the commune” (Francesco Sabatini). Niccolò’s work is “deprived of any literary impulse” (Giammarco) and gave “particular attention to deeds of political-military character and to natural calamities” (Berardo Pio). The Anonymous revealed “originality in his religious elements” (Giammarco) and “knowledge and literary practice of scriptural and devotional motifs that seemed to go beyond normal ballad-singer practices” (De Matteis). Finally, Francesco was “emblematic” of the civic intellectual middle class, Alessandro projected an “image of civil and cultural death,” and Vincenzo’s work was a “skeleton-like collection” (Colapietra).⁴⁰

L’Aquila’s geography and history:

L’Aquila lies seventy miles north-east of Rome, at an altitude of some twenty-three hundred feet by the river Aterno. It is surrounded by Apennine peaks that have deep

³⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, xl.

³⁶ Colapietra, *Cultura e società*, 24, 31.

³⁷ Giammarco, *Storia della cultura*, 290.

³⁸ Mutini, “Cronaca Aquilana,” 180.

³⁹ De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca aquilana*, xx.

⁴⁰ De Matteis, *Civiltà*, 117; Gelmini, “Antonio,” 12; Giammarco, *Storia della cultura*, 335, 344, 358; Sabatini, “Antonio di Boezio,” 377; Pio, “Niccolo”; De Matteis, *La guerra*, xv; Colapietra, *Dal Magnanimo*, 347, 357, 358.

plunging valleys and with a *contado* that extended to the tallest mountain south of the Alps, Gran Sasso d'Italia. The citizens in the period of the chronicles had economic interests and social ties bound to the harsh natural conditions. For three summer months their sheep grazed in the rich highland meadows before being taken annually by transhumance to Apulia for the winter and returning in the following May. Close relations developed among the owners through the needs for various herds to travel together for mutual protection and for negotiations with landowners on route and at the destination. Wealthy merchants in the city monopolized the leases of the grazing lands and the purchases of wool, resulting in a fracture between the city and the *contado* from at least the later fourteenth century. Sales of raw wool and locally-made cloth went primarily to merchants from regional towns and, to a lesser extent until the fifteenth century, to Florentine houses. The mountainous solitude attracted Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries to the area. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the Celestinian monastic order began establishing houses as well. Among their number was Peter of Morrone, initially a hermit, who was consecrated as Pope Celestine V in 1294 and later became the city's holy protector.⁴¹

L'Aquila's region, Abruzzo, was long an area of transition between northern and southern Italy.⁴² It included the counties of Amiterno and Forcona, which, being north of

⁴¹ Berardi, Maria Rita. *I monti d'oro. Identità urbana e conflitti territoriali nella storia dell'Aquila medievale* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 2005), 87-91, 117 – L'Aquila (2,343 feet) lies in a valley surrounded by the chains of the Sirente (5,961 feet) and Mt. Velino (6,316 feet) on one side and the chains of Gran Sasso (9,554 feet) and Laga (6,243 feet) on the other; Clementi, *Storia dell'Aquila*, 45-46; Marino, John A. *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 18 – southern Italian transhumant systems have pre-Roman foundations, decayed in the early medieval period, and revived in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

⁴² Costantini, Massimo. "Economia, società e territorio nel lungo periodo" in M. Costantini and C. Felice, eds. *Storia d'Italia. L'Abruzzo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 2000), 40, 53. Recently, the plural term "Abruzzi"

the river Pescara, lay at the southern end of the Carolingian duchy of Spoleto, but, being south of the river Tronto, were later at the northern end of the kingdom of Naples. The results were that Otto I included the two counties in his donation to the papacy in 962 and that the Normans divided them into fiefs with numerous castles (*incastellamento*). Papal bulls reveal a close connection between the papacy and the inhabitants of the counties, who complained about the abuse that they suffered from the local feudatories. In 1229 Pope Gregory IX authorized their “liberation” from Frederick II’s rule to become part of the papal demesne and to build a city at a place called Acculi.⁴³ With the consent of Emperor Conrad IV, who possibly wished to use it as a bulwark against his feudatories, L’Aquila was founded in 1254. Two years later Pope Alexander IV encouraged the citizens to defend their “freedom” against King Manfred. In 1259, however, the feudatories persuaded the king to destroy the city. The site remained vacant for seven years until the inhabitants renewed their request to Charles of Anjou, who had come to the *Regno* at the pope’s request and who, having bested Manfred’s army at Benevento in 1266, became the first Angevin ruler of the realm. In the same year as his coronation Charles authorized the city’s re-foundation and thus initiated a long period of royal favor to L’Aquila.

has become singular again - “Premessa,” p.xix. Felice, Costantino. “Dagli Abruzzi all’Abruzzo: l’identità sfuggente” in *Storia d’Italia. L’Abruzzo*, 1077 - the modern department is composed of three provinces, Ultra I (Teramo), Ultra II (L’Aquila) and Citra (Chieti), which have preserved intact, except for some small changes, the political and territorial identity from the Norman-Swabian era represented by Frederick II’s establishment of the the justiciarate of Abruzzo (“*Aprutium*”) and first divided by Charles I in 1273 into two, Ultra and Citra, split by the river Pescara.

⁴³ Redi, F. “L’Aquila prima dell’Aquila e il mito federiciano” in M.R. Berardi, U. Dante, S. Mantini, and F. Redi, *Breve storia dell’Aquila* (Pisa, Pacini Editore, 2008), 5-7 – “Acculi” is a toponym for an abundance of drinkable water. Archaeological excavations in L’Aquila in 2004 revealed the site of a monastery at the north-western extremity of the city; records show that the monastery was consecrated in 1193. Under Conrad the place received a similar name “*Aquila*” (eagle), the imperial symbol, and in 1939 it became “L’Aquila.”

Several scholars have identified reciprocal benefits in the relationship between the crown and L'Aquila – for the former in defense⁴⁴ and fiscal tribute,⁴⁵ and for the latter in maintenance in the royal demesne and in receipt of economic privileges,⁴⁶ protection from noble jurisdiction,⁴⁷ possession and expansion of a large *contado*,⁴⁸ and encouragement to the ruling oligarchy.⁴⁹ Attaching less significance to the crown's mediation (but not mutually exclusive), some writers have emphasized the influence on L'Aquila of structures and political-social mobility in central Italy,⁵⁰ the weakness of the monarchs in their dealings with the Aquilans,⁵¹ and the degree of urbanism and commerce in Abruzzo.⁵² Rather than confining herself to the traditional hierarchical duality of “center and periphery,” Isabella Lazzarini has drawn attention to the late medieval territorial state as comprising a “multiplicity of forces,” each with its own connections inside a politically-complex order.⁵³ In the case of the L'Aquila described in

⁴⁴ Bocchi Francesca, Manuela Ghizzoni, and Rosa Smurro. *Storia delle città italiane. Dal Tardoantico al primo Rinascimento* (Turin: UTET, 2002), 147.

⁴⁵ Vitolo, Giovanni. “Il regno angioino” in G. Galasso and R. Romeo, eds. *Storia del Mezzogiorno* (Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986), IV, 34.

⁴⁶ Galasso, Giuseppe. *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese (1266-1494)* (Turin: UTET, 1992), 853. But at the beginning of the fifteenth century L'Aquila's “liberties” did not differ from those of other southern cities of the era – Pontieri, Ernesto. *Il comune dell'Aquila nel declino del medioevo* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1978), 38.

⁴⁷ Kelly, Samantha. *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 153.

⁴⁸ Berardi, *I monti d'oro*, 126; Vitolo, Giovanni. *Tra Napoli e Salerno. La costruzione dell'identità cittadina nel Mezzogiorno medievale* (Salerno: Carlone, 2001), 17; Corrao, Pietro. “Mezzogiorno e Sicilia fra Mediterraneo ed Europa (secoli xi-xv)” in M. Gallina, ed. *L'Italia mediterranea e gli incontri di civiltà* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2001), 145; Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 853.

⁴⁹ Colapietra, Raffaele. “Abruzzo Citeriore, Abruzzo Ulteriore, Molise” in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, VI, 31. Kelly, *The New Solomon*, 153.

⁵⁰ Tabacco, Giovanni. “Regimi politici e dinamiche sociali” in S. Gensini, ed. *Le Italie del tardo medioevo* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1990), 41-2; Corrao, Pietro. “Mezzogiorno,” 145.

⁵¹ Clementi, *Storia dell'Aquila*, 42.

⁵² Tramontana, Salvatore. *Il Mezzogiorno medievale. Normanni, svevi, angioini, aragonesi nei secoli xi-xv* (Rome: Carocci, 2000), 151.

⁵³ Lazzarini, *L'Italia degli Stati territoriali*, 170. Guarini, Elena Fasano. “Center and Periphery” in J. Kirshner, ed. *The Origins of the State in Italy 1300-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 74-96 - describing the application of the term “center and periphery” in different ways, including to the origins of the modern state, the nature of the territorial state, social dynamics within ruling classes, patronage, and the response of subject cities to external stimuli.

its chronicles, these forces included the city's powerful families (especially the Camponeschi)⁵⁴ and its exiles, local feudatories, foreign mercenaries, court factions, and papal interests.

While privileges by the monarchs to L'Aquila survive from 1294 and were especially frequent under Robert and Joanna I, documents and archaeological work have revealed several features of the city that are not associated with the crown. The cathedral and bishop's palace were under construction in 1256 and 1258, and the civic palace was completed before 1289. Dominican, Franciscan, Cistercian, and Augustinian monasteries and churches also date from the thirteenth century. Masonry and decoration employed the same alternating two colors, white and pink, that were common in towns in southern Umbria and Tuscany, notably in the chess-board effect of a fountain with ninety-nine channels and the mosaic in the fascia of the church at Collemaggio. Celestine's grant in 1294 of an annual indulgence to penitents at the church (located in the *contado* just outside the city and honoring his consecration there) and the related fair attracted many foreign pilgrim-merchants. A Venetian master fitted the bells in the cathedral in 1305. The bishops of L'Aquila from 1312 to 1342 were from Lucca and Florence, who thus had the capacity to call skilled craftsmen from their native towns after the earthquake of

⁵⁴ A study of Aquilan civic requests to the Aragonese kings concluded that a "local elite" was "very active" in seeking privileges to improve its own position and that twenty-five of eighty-one requests to Alfonso related directly to the Camponeschi, in Terenzi, Pierluigi. "Una città *superiorem recognoscens*. La negoziazione fra L'Aquila e i sovrani aragonesi (1442-1496)" in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 170 (2012): 632, 647. The family's close ties with the city appeared also under Joanna II in 1415, when her commissioners' settlement with "the city and men of L'Aquila" included requirements for two of the Camponeschi to attend the queen and to be expelled from it, if they failed to observe a separate agreement with her, in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, VI, 866.

1315. Finally, L'Aquila's statutes, enshrining a guild-based government from 1355 and surviving in a copy of 1404, have been compared to those of Tuscan communes.⁵⁵

L'Aquila often departed from its loyalty to the crown, but was rarely alone in doing so. Twice in the fourteenth century the city acted in anticipation of invasion from the north. Declaring for the monarchs' opponents, it held out for several months until their armies arrived. It supported King Lewis of Hungary in 1347 (after Andrew, Joanna I's husband and Lewis's brother, was murdered in 1345), and was then joined by the rest of the *Regno*. Lewis left the following year, and Joanna returned as queen. In 1382 L'Aquila favored Louis I, duke of Anjou and Joanna's adopted heir, who brought an army from Provence. Louis and later the regents for his son exercised control over Abruzzo, Naples, and Taranto in Apulia until King Ladislaus gradually recovered the entire kingdom by 1399. Ladislaus forced L'Aquila to surrender in 1393, but the city rebelled again in 1395, 1398, 1399, 1401, and (against his sister Queen Joanna II) in 1415-16. In these revolts it aligned itself with one or more local feudatories. In 1423 L'Aquila declared for Louis III, Louis I's grandson, when Joanna awarded the city to Braccio da Montone, a Perugian *condottiere* and he began to besiege it. After Braccio's ally, King Alfonso V of Aragon, attempted a coup against her, she turned against both of them and sent a relief force to L'Aquila. She also reconciled with Louis III, who became her adopted heir.

⁵⁵ Buildings - Berardi, *I monti d'oro*, 155-163. Statutes - Gaudioso, Matteo. *Natura giuridica delle autonomie cittadine nel "Regnum Siciliae"* (Catania: Casa del libro, 1952), 125: "[L'Aquila's] government was founded on guilds, resembling the constitutions of Tuscan communes"; Pontieri, Ernesto. "Premessa" in Clementi, Alessandro. *Momenti del medioevo abruzzese* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1976), 11: "The constitutions of Tuscan communes were a model for it [L'Aquila]" – in the purpose to contain the collision of factions, the limit to productive corporations, the use of selective criteria, and the organization with councils and an executive collegial magistracy.

Following Joanna's death in 1435, civil war broke out between Alfonso and René of Anjou, Louis III's brother, whose supporters were again clustered in Abruzzo and Naples. L'Aquila rejected Alfonso until he completed his conquest of the kingdom in 1442. The city joined many barons in again declaring for René and revolting against Ferrante, Alfonso's son, in 1460-4, but it surrendered a year before John, René's son, gave up the struggle. The focus for L'Aquila's subsequent revolts was in 1485-6 Pope Innocent VIII, who supported the barons and the city, and thereafter the French kings, who assumed the Angevin claims to the *Regno* in invading it (Charles VIII in 1494-5, Louis XII in 1500-3). By 1503 the *Regno* was in Catalan-Aragonese hands and was quiet during the War of the League of Cambrai of 1508-16, except as a source of funds. During the War of the League of Cognac of 1526-30 local supporters of the French, with help from the Orsini family, seized control of L'Aquila, until expelled by Charles V's viceroy, Philibert of Orange, in 1529. He imposed a huge penalty of one hundred thousand ducats on the city. Despite his death in the following year at the siege of Florence, his successors also enforced the infeudation of the *contado*, mostly to Spanish captains.

The Aquilan chroniclers' construction of civic identity:

The Aquilan chroniclers employed primarily political themes in articulating civic identity, which they developed along four lines. Buccio's desires for civic peace and unity, strong resistance against tyrants (the local feudatories and Manfred), a close relationship with the crown, and the support of the papacy were all evident from the start of his chronicle. He began by describing the request to the pope by the inhabitants of the two counties, begging him to appeal to Conrad to found L'Aquila owing to the

feudatories' oppression. After its destruction, he depicted Manfred as the enemy of both the church and of the former citizens and repeated their entreaty to the papal legate. Buccio made Charles the key figure by portraying the king overruling the feudatories' objections and authorizing the re-foundation of the city with the two counties as its *contado*. As evidence of the new citizens' cooperation with the king, Buccio presented them entering into formal agreements with him and working with his agents, the captains, to build the city's defenses and infrastructure. During the following seventy years he depicted a generally balanced relationship as the citizens fought on royal service and the kings provided captains whose acts benefited the city and grain at time of famine. Buccio did not even allude to Charles I's well-known harsh fiscal governance or to the proximity of disturbances in conjunction with the Vespers rising. The narration, however, did not employ idealized terms, as Buccio occasionally showed the Aquilans performing deeds that the monarchs punished and the kings acting in ways that he did not consider 'proper.' On one occasion in 1294 the citizens even had to have recourse to the pope, Celestine, to intervene with the king on their behalf.

For a decade from 1336 Buccio assigned the role of tyrants to three faction leaders, who opposed each other. They took over that function from the local feudatories, who had gradually accepted the city's existence. The author portrayed the rivalries among the faction leaders as among powerful families (the Camponeschi, the Pretatti, and Bonagiunta), rather than as disputes between the *popolo* and the nobles that occurred in many other cities. He called them tyrants, as they subverted the city's peace and unity. Not only did their violence to each other ensnare the citizens, but their manipulation of

the council to win control undermined communal procedures and enabled the victor to impose burdens on the collective. Since the winner, Lalle Camponesco, assumed the city's lordship (*signoria*) without civic or royal approval, Buccio continued to regard him as a tyrant. Only when Lalle eventually acted to the civic benefit did the chronicler change his mind. Buccio seemed frustrated by the crown's initial failure to remove Lalle and by its elimination of the *signore* in 1354 after the citizens had come to appreciate him. But he showed that the murder was to civic advantage when soon afterwards Joanna I and her husband Louis agreed to the citizens' request that L'Aquila was to have a new magistracy consisting of five representatives of the principal guilds (the Five).

The chronicles confirmed the restoration and maintenance of the city's satisfactory relationship with the crown during the following seventy years until the last reference to an Angevin as monarch, Joanna II in 1424 eleven years before her death. All five narrators of this period expressed admiration for one or more of the monarchs at various times. Buccio and his follower, Antonio, portrayed the citizens working with Joanna I and Louis against incursions of foreign mercenaries, the monarchs again making awards and providing well-received captains to L'Aquila, and the citizens performing military service on behalf of the crown. Antonio and Donadei identified reasons to support Charles III and Ladislaus. Above all, Niccolò and the Anonymous described at length Joanna II sending to the city a large force to relieve it from the thirteen month siege of Braccio 1423-4 and a combination of civic and royal troops defeating the *condottiere* outside the city walls. As before 1336 the chroniclers did not use idealized terms to depict the city's relationship with the Angevins, as each of the five writers at limited moments

also criticized the monarchs. There was even a difference of opinion between Niccolò on the one hand and Antonio and Donadei on the other about how the city should regard Charles and Ladislaus.

The three earlier themes were also prominent during this period. Braccio naturally filled the role of tyrant. Pope Martin V persuaded Joanna II to send help to the Aquilans and provided his own force as well. Threats to civic peace and unity often appeared as critical owing to recurring factionalism and corruption in the civic council and threats by the city's exiles. Nevertheless the writers were mostly consistent in favoring the Five as an institution and in the way that they presented Lalle's son (Lalle II) and grandsons (especially Antonuccio). The Camponeschi, who, at least in the chronicles, did not aspire to install a *signoria*, served as informal civic patrons. While they mostly pursued interests that coincided with those of the city, including commanding L'Aquila's forces in the crown's service, they sometimes seized the initiative in civic affairs implicitly to their own advantage and were the subject of criticism for using force to secure their will. Other records indicate that the monarchs viewed the family and the city as a joint unit. During Braccio's siege the chroniclers praised Antonuccio and his brothers for taking the lead in delivering a riposte to the *condottiere*, organizing the defenses, and leading the Aquilan sortie.

The civil war that lasted with periodic fighting from 1378 to 1423 presented opportunities and problems for the chroniclers. Like the war between Joanna I and King Lewis of Hungary in 1346-52, the struggle between Joanna and Charles of Durazzo (Charles III) in

1378-81 was within the Angevin house. This remained true even as the war continued with Louis of Anjou and his family (the Provençals) against Charles's son Ladislaus and daughter Joanna II (the Durazzeschi), since both sides relied on their descent from Charles II. In one sense, therefore, in showing loyalty to one of the members of the royal family (Lewis, Joanna I, the Provençals), often at deep cost to the city, the chroniclers implied that the citizens simply preserved their bond with the Angevins. At the same time, the writers had to deal with the opposition of the monarch or claimant. They did so by focusing on the Aquilans making the defense of the city a priority and uniting in this duty. It is clear that the civil war caused the chroniclers anxiety, since they were either silent on the process for choosing between the royal factions or depicted the Camponeschi making the determination on the citizens' behalf.

The last three Aquilan chroniclers, Francesco, Alessandro, and Vincenzo, showed continuity with their predecessors in the ways that they maintained the earlier themes. They portrayed the city's relationship with the crown, the desire for civic peace and unity, papal intervention, and the existence of tyranny. But there was a significant change in that matters affecting these themes were largely outside the citizens' control. The chroniclers described the Aragonese kings, like the Spanish and the emperor after them, desiring to exert greater power over L'Aquila, demanding more of its resources, and not even allowing the citizens the chance to serve them. Characterizing their new rulers as abusive, they often turned, as in the past, to the Angevins (the Provençal line, the Durazzeschi being extinct), who were now merely claimants, and to their French relatives. By the conclusion of the chronicles the Angevins and the French, the

Camponeschi, and the papacy were all overwhelmed and, for the time being, tyranny prevailed. This, though, was not the whole story. Francesco omitted a huge increase in Aquilan transhumance that responded to Alfonso's customhouse reforms at Foggia in 1447 and to a vacuum in the supply of raw wool due to a decline in English exports and that lasted until competition from Castile grew in the 1480s and 1490s.⁵⁶ The resulting increase in civic wealth coincided with the three chroniclers devoting much more space than their predecessors to spiritual matters, culminating in 1520 in Vincenzo reporting sightings of St Peter Celestine.

The chronicle in Italy:

A strict definition for the word "chronicle" is a record or register of events in chronological order. In practice, it was used in medieval times to describe any work with historical subject-matter, whether events in the past or contemporary with the author's time.⁵⁷ Chronicles had different origins from annals, which were year-by-year records of events. Annals are thought to have derived from interlinear notes entered in Easter tables in monasteries from the seventh century to calculate the correct date for Easter.

Gradually, the annals' texts expanded, but the essential feature of inscription by year remained. Chronicles, on the other hand, evolved from ancient traditions and were conscientious works of historians, who, following Eusebius, the fourth century bishop of Caesarea, attempted to reconstruct the chronology of the past. Through time the distinctions between annals and chronicles became blurred, so that by the thirteenth

⁵⁶ Marino, John A. *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 20-3.

⁵⁷ Given-Wilson, Chris. *Chronicles. The Writing of History in Medieval England* (Hambleton: Palgrave, 2004), xix.

century they were both seen as having the purpose to record events in order. Early medieval writers also distinguished between the chronicle and another genre, history, in assigning brevity to the former and length, the search for causes, and the rules of rhetoric to the latter. But for many this separation was increasingly meaningless, so long as they continued to use chronology to structure their narrations. A contrast, however, remained with saints' lives, which celebrated the saints' virtues instead of following their deeds sequentially.⁵⁸

Early medieval historiography can be classified in three forms: universal, national, and local histories. Universal works developed from Eusebius giving expression to history as a dynamic in advancing the cause of God, rather than emphasizing its effects. Eventually, the form embraced time from the beginning of the world and every people.⁵⁹ Responding to a need for national self-affirmation and for non-Roman sources, histories of the origins of Germanic peoples became prominent from the seventh century. Notable works included the histories of the Goths by Isidore of Seville and of the Franks by Fredegar and, in the eighth century, of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon.⁶⁰ Within a universal dimension local histories developed from lists of bishops and their deeds, especially the sixth century *Liber pontificalis* on the popes and John the Deacon's history of Neapolitan bishops to 872. A change in style became evident in the tenth century, when Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, wrote a history about his missions for Otto I that not merely

⁵⁸ Guenée Bernard. *Histoire et Culture historique dans l'Occident medieval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), 203-6.

⁵⁹ Allen, Michael. "Universal History 300-1000: Origins and Western Developments" in D. Deliyannis, ed. *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 22, 36.

⁶⁰ Pizarro, Joaquin. "Ethnic and National History, c500-1000" in Deliyannis, *Historiography*, 43-4, 58-62; Capitani, Ovidio. "Motivi e momenti di storiografia medioevale italiana: secc. v-xiv" in *Nuove questioni di storia medioevale* (Milan: Marzorati, 1969), 704.

portrayed pride for the warlike virtue of the Germanic peoples but expressed scorn towards the Romans.⁶¹

The era of Gregorian papal reform and the struggles against the emperors had a marked impact on the development of chronicles in Italy. The Benedictine abbey of Montecassino, which had a tradition of history-writing, promoted church reform combined with the issuance of polemics against the emperors and an admiration for the nationalistic spirit of the Normans, as seen in the eleventh-century works of Amatus of Montecassino, William of Apulia, and Geoffrey Malaterra. In the twelfth century, after Roger II established a monarchy, history-writing about the Normans centered on the court and described the relations between a ruler and his people.⁶² While Amatus and Geoffrey were monks and William a poet, the work of history-writing in the south passed primarily to intellectuals and notaries, such as Alexander of Telese and Falco of Benevento, and as Montecassino kept a narrow horizon. At this point a contrast remained between ‘history’ and ‘chronicle,’ since the “*ystoria*” of Alexander, an abbot, had a clear narrative and overarching themes and the “chronicle” of Falco, his contemporary, was a less ambitious set of annals that recorded events year-by-year.⁶³ In the north at this time the emergence of communes resulted in a wide-spread adoption by cities of annals for

⁶¹ Ibid., 755-8.

⁶² Ibid., 762-3; Brown, T.S. “The Political Uses of the Past in Norman Sicily” in P. Magdalino, ed. *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 194. Montecassino lies ninety miles south of L’Aquila. Its affiliated houses in Abruzzo also produced chronicles, including S. Vincenzo al Volturno, S. Maria di Farfa, and S. Clemente a Casauria (near Popoli) - De Matteis, Carlo. *Civiltà letteraria abruzzese* (L’Aquila: Textus, 2001), 15-16.

⁶³ Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his Brother Duke Robert Guiscard* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 5-7; Loud, Graham A. “History Writing in the Twelfth Century Kingdom of Sicily” in S. Dale, A. Williams Lewin, and D. Osheim, eds. *Chronicling History. Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 36.

historiographical purposes, perhaps reflecting that writers, when not anonymous, were mostly notaries, like Falco in the south, or office-holders. Political interests had long enriched annals by them noting events about the Carolingian and later kings and their support of the monasteries. The civic annals recorded instead the succession of local consuls, but provided limited patriotic information about the city's events as well.⁶⁴

From the mid-thirteenth century, after the propagandistic quality of tracts in civic confrontations with the Staufen, Italian historiography became more varied and complex. Over five hundred chronicles were written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of which at least three-quarters were by lay writers.⁶⁵ They learnt to master history and obtained material from reading the universal histories of the Dominicans Vincent of Beauvais and Martino Polono, which had wide diffusion in Italy.⁶⁶ Two important civic chroniclers were themselves Dominican, Jacopo da Varagine, the author of the popular "Golden Legend," and Galvano Fiamma, who wrote histories of Genoa and Milan.⁶⁷ A defining trait of civic chronicles was a strong focus on the city. The variety of texts can be explained partly by anxiety to hand down a record of events and partly by a wish to circulate writings for personal use. In turn, this intent stimulated a range of authors, including clergy and friars, notaries and chancellors, judges, merchants and artisans,

⁶⁴ Coleman, Edward. "Lombard City Annals and the Social and Cultural History of Northern Italy" in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 5.

⁶⁵ Cammarosano, Paolo. *Italia medievale. Struttura e geografia delle fonti scritte* (Urbino: Arti Grafiche Editoriali, 1991), 292.

⁶⁶ Zabbia, Marino. *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento. Nuovi studi storici*, 49 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1999), 3-5.

⁶⁷ Dotson, John. "The Genoese Civic Annals: Caffaro and his Continuator" in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 70 – Jacopo structured his history in twelve thematic parts; Capitani, "Motivi e momenti," 792 – Galvano's work had "encyclopedic qualities."

nobles, and doctors.⁶⁸ Diaries provided an outlet for more spontaneous voices.⁶⁹ Civic chroniclers in the *Regno* and Sicily, though far fewer in number than in the north owing to the attraction of the court, similarly concentrated on the city and had equally diverse backgrounds.⁷⁰

The complexity of civic chronicles is apparent in a variety of ways. As a result of cities' territorial expansion, the geographic area of narrations enlarged to include areas belonging to the dominant city regarding their subjugation, rebellion, and fortification. The chronological span ranged between a brief well-defined arc, such as a war or a tumult, to the distant past, including the city's origins, its holy patron, or an old devastation.⁷¹ Some chronicles were official (Caffaro in Genoa, Rolandino in Padua, Dandolo in Venice). In Florence Louis Green found that "Giovanni Villani's view of the past lacked the objectivity of perception; yet it can be said that his relationship to it marked the first step towards such a detachment".⁷² Florentine chroniclers also held "primacy in writing denunciation and moralistic and political invective,"⁷³ if in the fourteenth century "it is difficult to find a chronicler outside Tuscany who was skilful in

⁶⁸ Lazzarini, Isabella. *L'Italia degli Stati territoriali. Secoli xiii-xv* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003), 16.

⁶⁹ Vasina, Augusto. "Medieval Urban Historiography in Western Europe, 1000-1500" in D. Deliyannis, ed. *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 335.

⁷⁰ Chroniclers in the south and Sicily showing degrees of civic consciousness at the time of the Angevins outside L'Aquila were a notary (Domenico da Gravina), a lay patrician (Bartolomeo Caracciolo-Carafa), a friar (Michele da Piazza), a lay supporter of the *popolo* (*Annales siculi*), and a judge (Bartolomeo di Neocastro).

⁷¹ Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 300-2.

⁷² Green, Louis. *Chronicle into History. An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-Century Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 6.

⁷³ Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 311.

writing”.⁷⁴ A discussion of the extent of civic consciousness in chronicles will be made in the conclusion.

While civic chronicles continued into the sixteenth century, humanistic historiography emerged in the fifteenth century, showing awareness of the rediscovery of classical authors. Sometimes called ‘high’ historiography, it was developed and commissioned in the courts of Aragonese Naples, Rome, and northern Italy and in the Florentine chancery to depict the life of the prince or the exemplary history of the republic using classical literary techniques. But these forms were not entirely new in the fifteenth century, since in the south dynastic history was prevalent in the twelfth century under the Normans and in the north in the early fourteenth century Albertino Mussato of Padua portrayed the evil of lord Ezzelino along lines similar to those employed by Seneca on tyrants, and Ferreto de’ Ferreti of Vicenza flattered the lordship of the Scaligeri.⁷⁵

From the start of civic chronicles, writers had to make two particular decisions, whether to write in Latin or in vernacular and whether to write in verse or in prose. The use of Latin long retained appeal as the language of “serious history”.⁷⁶ It remained the language of formal communication, and educated Italians evidently had close ties to it. The Florentine chroniclers, however, were mostly less sophisticated and wrote in the vernacular for audiences of men like themselves, trained for business careers and

⁷⁴ Scavo, Rosanna. *Storia della storiografia dalle cronache comunali all’ illuminismo* (Bari: Archivio di Stato, 1997), 25.

⁷⁵ Lazzarini, *L’Italia*, 19-20; Capitani, “Motivi e momenti,” 782, 792.

⁷⁶ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 138-9.

experienced in the ways of the world but outside the ambit of learning.⁷⁷ In giving the title “New Chronicle” to his work, Giovanni Villani showed awareness of its novelty as the first serious vernacular history of Florence.⁷⁸ In Venice the chroniclers were patrician in background. The earliest chronicles there were in Latin, until Martino da Canal, who was in the service of the doge, wrote in French, listing events up to 1275. He explained that he chose it, because it was the most commonly understood language in Europe at that time. Andrea Dandolo, who became a doge in 1343 and whose chronicle extended to 1280, used Latin, and for some time the vernacular, used by Nicolò Trevisan (a governor of Crete) on events to 1366, did not displace it.⁷⁹ In Genoa, not only did Jacopo da Varagine write in Latin but so too did his successor a century later, Giorgio Stella, a chancery official and a correspondent with the Florentine humanist and chancellor Coluccio Salutati.⁸⁰ In two cities with significant autonomy in the fifteenth century, Perugia and Brescia, the deciding factor was contact with humanists. In the former, the chronicler Pietro Angelo di Giovagnie had no contact and wrote in the vernacular; in the latter, the chronicler Elia Capriolo had a humanist education and wrote in Latin.⁸¹

The audience seems also to have been important for southern and Sicilian writers in choosing between Latin and vernacular. In the Angevin era, a notary, a judge, and a friar

⁷⁷ Green, *Chronicle into History*, 3. Giovanni Villani (c.1280-1348) was a partner in the Peruzzi firm in 1300-8, became head of a guild, and in 1345 was involved in the bankruptcy of the Bardi firm.

⁷⁸ Clarke, Paula. “The Villani Chronicles” in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 113.

⁷⁹ Melville-Jones, John. “Venetian History and Patrician Chroniclers” in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 202; Scavo, *Storia*, 23 – Martino’s use of French was considered a symbol of patriotism, because it was the most suitable language to make the fame of Venice run throughout the world.

⁸⁰ Epstein, Steven A. *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 251.

⁸¹ Pietro Angelo di Giovanni. “Cronaca Perugina Inedita.” *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l’Umbria*, IX (1903): 141-380; no contact with humanists – Cochrane, *Historians*, 126. Brescia – Giansante, Mirella. “Capriolo, Elia” *Dizionario*, 19 (1976).

all used Latin, while a lay patrician, who shared the values of the provincial nobility, employed Neapolitan idioms.⁸² Six of the eight Aquilan chroniclers wrote in the central Italian vernacular verse used by their listeners and indicative of civic identity and of demand from a reading public.⁸³ The Anonymous, like Buccio in his hagiography of St Catherine of Alexandria, noted the existence of seventy-two languages. Rejecting any inferiority in his choice as “I am not French nor am I Tuscan,” he promised that “to rhyme I am a light and a lantern”.⁸⁴ Only the ecclesiastical Aquilan writers, bishop Donadei and friar Alessandro, chose Latin.

Concerns about truth in history-writing limited the appeal of verse over prose, though verse appeared quite early. Two early twelfth century anonymous Pisan histories stand out: one in seventy-three rhythmic strophes on the Pisan raid on al-Mahdiya in north Africa in 1087 and an epic poem of over thirty-five hundred hexameters (*“Liber Maiorichinus”*) about a war in which the Pisans participated against Majorca in 1113-15. The poems represented Pisan triumphalism and proof of divine favor, but, though classical allusions filled the poems, there was no effort to obtain a classical past for the city. In contrast, Pisan annals were later in prose, as were those in the city’s principal

⁸² Notary – Domenico da Gravina’s *“Chronicon de rebus in Apulia gestis”*; judge – Bartolomeo di Neocastro’s *“Historia sicula”*; friar – Michele da Piazza’s *“Historia sicula”* with Sicilian inflexions and proverbs (Fodale, Salvatore. “Michele da Piazza” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 74 (2010)); patrician – Bartolomeo Caracciolo-Carafa (Kelly, *Cronaca di Partenope*, 50).

⁸³ On reading in the Middle Ages, see Petrucci, Armando. *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy. Studies in the History of Written Culture*. Trans. by C. Radding. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 138-140.

⁸⁴ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 5, I.5: “*non so’ francioso e né so’ toscanu... de rimare so’ lum’ e renterna [= (glossary) lanterna]*.” On Buccio in St Catherine, see fn5.

rival, Genoa.⁸⁵ A little earlier in the south William of Apulia also wrote his epic in hexameters.

The small number of examples of verse chronicles in the thirteenth century include the epics of Bonifacio da Verona on events in Perugia and Stefanardo da Vimercate on the rivalry between the Torriani and the Visconti in Milan.⁸⁶ Giovanni Codagnello of Piacenza on Frederick II's north Italian campaign and Gerardo Maurisio of Vicenza on Ezzelino's tyranny also inserted rhythmical verse in their prose compositions.⁸⁷ From about 1230, communal historians began increasingly, if still to a modest degree, to cite Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Lucan, testifying to the chroniclers' training in grammar, understanding of poetry as a means to convey ideas and emotions, and awareness of relatively sophisticated audiences.⁸⁸ Perugian literary life, however, may not have been advanced, since the commune entrusted the prestigious task of writing the celebratory poem to a foreigner, Bonifacio, who did not have an immediate successor.⁸⁹

The trend towards using the vernacular also had an impact on the production of verse chronicles. Two are known from the thirteenth century. The *Cronachetta Pisana*, written in 1279 probably by a merchant about Pisan events, used the same verb forms repeatedly.

⁸⁵ Wickham, Chris. "The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives" in Magdalino, *Perception of the Past*, 173-9; Scalia, Giuseppe. "Pisa" in *Quattordicesimo convegno di studi. Il senso della storia nella cultura medievale italiana (1100-1350) – Pistoia, 14-17 maggio 1993* (Pistoia: Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'arte Pistoia, 1995), 105-125. Verse was also adopted for an epic on the war between Milan and Como after Como's destruction in 1127 and for descriptions of Frederick Barbarossa's campaigns – Kleinhenz, Christopher. *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 610.

⁸⁶ Cochrane, *Historians*, 125; Saltamacchia, Martina. "Stefanardo da Vimercate" in G. Dunphy, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Brill Online, 2015).

⁸⁷ Kleinhenz, *Medieval Italy*, 611.

⁸⁸ Witt, Ronald G. *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 445-7.

⁸⁹ Galletti, Anna Imelde. "Considerazioni per una interpretazione dell'Eulisteia" in *Archivio storico italiano*, 128 (1970): 306, 322-5.

The literary historian Giorgio Petrocchi has suggested that Pisa's Ghibelline orientation may have encouraged imitation of southern Italian poetic styles associated with Frederick II's court in Sicily.⁹⁰ Bartolomeo di Neocastro wrote a verse chronicle in 1283-5 on Charles I's siege of Messina and war with Peter of Aragon that has not survived. In his longer Latin prose work covering 1250-93, Bartolomeo explained that he changed format in response to his son's request for a more intelligible text.⁹¹

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries verse chronicles remained small in number. The four most prominent, like the Aquilan works, were all in the vernacular. Bartolomeo di ser Gorello, a notary, who wrote during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, described Arezzo's origins and its periods of freedom and subjugation at the hands of its neighbors.⁹² The Florentine Antonio Pucci, a town-crier, put part of Giovanni Villani's chronicle to verse in his *Centiloquio*.⁹³ Bonamente Aliprandi, in the service of the Gonzaga family and covering Mantua's events from its foundation to 1414, did the same with his predecessors' works while expanding the role of Virgil, the city's native son.⁹⁴ Alessandro Stregghi, a council member, wrote in the 1430s about Lucca from its origins to the fall of Paolo Guinigi as *signore* and Milan's involvement in local affairs.⁹⁵ The first three works were in triplets, and the last in octaves. Mention should also be made of another literary form, the secular biography. Adam de la Halle, who accompanied his

⁹⁰ Morreale, Laura K. *Chronicle and Community in Northern Italy, 1270-1360* (Fordham University: doctoral dissertation, 2004), 227; Petrocchi, Giorgio. "La toscana nel duecento" in *Letteratura italiana, storia e geografia* (Florence: Einaudi, 1982), 189-245.

⁹¹ Tomei, Angela. "Bartholomaeus of Neocastro" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*.

⁹² Morreale, Laura. "Bartolomeo di ser Gorello" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*.

⁹³ De Matteis, Carlo. *Buccio di Ranallo. Critica e filologia* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1990), 114.

⁹⁴ Bratu, Cristian. "Aliprandi, Bonamente" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*.

⁹⁵ Boggi, Flavio. "Stregghi, Alessandro" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*.

patron to the *Regno* in 1283, composed a *chanson de geste* praising Charles I in alexandrine verses (*“Le roi de Sicile”*).⁹⁶

For adopting alexandrines in his main narrative and sonnets in his insertions, Buccio was accused of “provincialism” by Ernesto Giammarco and Claudio Mutini.⁹⁷ But Carlo De Matteis called him “bold” in his need to be selective in his narrative material. He found that the application of alexandrines mostly to works of a proverbial vein (even in France but also in a contemporary Abruzzese manuscript) suited Buccio in his overall aim to confer on his chronicle the value of an example based on the experience of history and popular wisdom. Where Buccio went beyond the anonymous authors of the widely-circulated proverbial works was in his use of political rather than abstract dimensions.⁹⁸ His chronicle also had a connection with his poem on St Catherine.⁹⁹ Its opening description of the city’s foundation resembled his legend in narrating exemplary heroism in the service of faith confirmed by a series of proofs.¹⁰⁰ Buccio’s insertion into his work of the sonnet also served his political-social needs, as its rhythmical structure favored rhetorical discourse and pedagogy.¹⁰¹ Until then in Italy it was used mostly for love and comic poetry.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Dunbabin, Jean. *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2011), 271.

⁹⁷ Giammarco, *Storia della cultura*, 49; Mutini, “Cronaca Aquilana,” 194.

⁹⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, xiii-xv.

⁹⁹ De Matteis, *Civiltà*, 62-3 – bearing the copyist’s date of 1330, using couplets with lines of seven syllables, and reflecting both religious traditions (associated with Montecassino and Jacopo da Varagine’s “Golden Legend”) and expressions of national lay literature (Brunetto Latini’s *“Tesoretto”*, the Dantesque *“Detto d’Amore”*, and Jacopo Alighieri’s *“Dottrinale”*).

¹⁰⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, xii.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, xvii.

¹⁰² De Matteis, *Civiltà*, 67 and *Buccio*, x – sonnets were used for political and moral purposes also by Nicolò de’ Rossi in Treviso, Pietro de’ Faitinelli in Lucca, Pieraccio Tedaldi in Florence, Folgore in San Gimignano, and Marino Ceccoli in Perugia; Mutini, “Cronaca Aquilana,” 175: “sonnets with a strong

Suggestions can also be made to explain the verse decisions made by Antonio and by the Anonymous. In addition to stating that Buccio wrote “wisely,” Antonio’s flattery extended to imitating his use of alexandrines.¹⁰³ Just as verse history continued to be employed for works of a biographical nature, Antonio’s chronicle of L’Aquila can be termed an “autobiography” of the city.¹⁰⁴ For his epic-narrative “The Coming,” he employed the octave, a poetic form widely used in French *lais*, in Franco-Venetian literature, and in Boccaccio in his mythological poems.¹⁰⁵ *Chansons de geste* remained popular throughout the middle ages.¹⁰⁶ The Anonymous’s “War of L’Aquila” was the longest use of the octave in a historical-political setting since its first appearance in Antonio Pucci’s “War between the Florentines and the Pisans from 1362 to 1365” (277 octaves).¹⁰⁷ “War of L’Aquila” followed both chivalric and religious traditions, as well as earlier Aquilan works. Epics with structure and style similar to those of the “War of L’Aquila” included “*Spagna*” and “*Orlando*,” whose survival in numerous manuscripts indicated the frequent recitation of battles of Charlemagne’s era. The Anonymous’s use of religious elements showed familiarity with scriptural texts, hagiographical legends, lyrical and dramatic *laude*, and sacred theater. His tale of resistance against Braccio echoed that against companies of adventure in the Aquilan chronicles.¹⁰⁸

political feeling”; Giammarco, *Storia della cultura*, 290: “the sonnets were written before the chronicle and then placed between it.”

¹⁰³ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 711, v4: “*sapiamente*.”

¹⁰⁴ Communal chronicles as “an autobiography, a sort of self-representation of civic identity” – Cardini, Franco. “Gli intellettuali e la cultura” in G. Cherubini and I. Barbadoro, eds. *Storia della società italiana* (Milan: Teti, 1986), 370.

¹⁰⁵ Giammarco, *Storia della cultura*, 68; De Matteis, *La guerra*, xii.

¹⁰⁶ Ainsworth, Peter. “Legendary History: History and *Fabula*” in Deliyannis, *Historiography*, 411.

¹⁰⁷ De Matteis, *La guerra*, xiii – next longest was “The Lament of Bernabò Visconti” (171 octaves) in 1385.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, xiv-xviii.

Method and organization:

One of three general methods can be applied to chronicle analysis, approaching it as the product of an author, as a self-contained unit, or as the product of an interpretative community.¹⁰⁹ Since so little is known about the Aquilan chroniclers, the first method is not available. In order to bring focus to this work, the second method, adhering closely to the narratives' texts, will be adopted. But it will be supplemented by reference to the context, the third method, in the case of the authors' silences (recognizing the materials available to them and their readers' values and cultural setting).

This dissertation has four chapters, divided chronologically. The first three chapters cover depictions of L'Aquila's relations with the Angevin dynasty from 1266 to 1424, and the fourth describes those with the Aragonese, the Spanish, and the emperor from 1442 to 1529. This format has been adopted in order to reflect the much more detailed nature of narrations about the Angevins than for the subsequent rulers and a span that is twice the length for the former than for the latter.

The first chapter, which includes Buccio's description of the foundation of the first L'Aquila in 1254 and its destruction by Manfred in 1259, covers the city's golden age up to 1335. In it Buccio was the sole chronicler of events, portraying the fostering of civic consciousness and a time that was a model for later depictions of the city's cooperation with the crown and of civic unity. The second and third chapters present crises for the chroniclers as to how to show uncertainty in government and new forms of it. In the

¹⁰⁹ Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, "Introduction," in *Chronicling History*, xvi.

second chapter, which covers from 1336 to 1354, Buccio had to decide how to depict extreme factionalism and then the unauthorized installation of Lalle's *signoria*. He also had to cope with a dispute over the right to the throne between Joanna and Lewis, which affected the city when Lalle offered his support to Lewis. In the third chapter, from 1355 to 1424, the commune was restored and continued without interruption, but dynastic rivalries dominated the period. These impacted L'Aquila at first when Louis of Durazzo hired foreign mercenaries, who passed close to the city; in 1378-81 Joanna's posture in the Great Schism empowered Charles of Durazzo (Louis's son) and the city's exiles, who supported him; at several points in 1382-1423 the Durazzeschi ordered attacks on L'Aquila for its support of the Provençals, and Joanna II, in effect, granted to Braccio the city's *signoria*, which the Aquilans rejected. Only when Braccio's ally, Alfonso, attempted a coup against Joanna II did she shift to helping the Aquilans. Buccio and his first four successors faced difficulties in determining how the city should stand during all this change. The fourth chapter offers a contrast to the preceding chapters. While the last three chroniclers were, like their predecessors, concerned about the city's relationship with the crown, they portrayed it as no longer beneficial but consistently and increasingly abusive, from the occupation of L'Aquila by Alfonso I in 1442 to that by Philibert, prince of Orange in 1529.

CHAPTER ONE

The Forging of Civic Consciousness, 1254-1335

Buccio's purpose, announced at the start of his chronicle, was to write about "our government of L'Aquila".¹¹⁰ He followed it with a general warning ("the bad oppressing, the good rising up") that applied not just to the feudatories who opposed the city's foundation in his opening story but implicitly also to all those in authority over the Aquilans in his subsequent narrative.¹¹¹ It was a message to civic rulers, royal agents, and even monarchs of Aquilan steadfastness that he developed in proceeding to describe the forging of civic consciousness. But, far from sanctioning revolt against the crown, Buccio showed the Aquilans finding support from the kings and captains and of reciprocating when the monarchs most needed it. The kings twice protected the inhabitants of the counties of Amiterno and Forcona in northern Abruzzo from the feudatories' oppression – Conrad IV in 1254 and Charles I in 1266. They gave the inhabitants permission to build a city, but the first lasted only until 1259, when Manfred gave way to the nobles' requests to have it razed, and then the site lay dormant. Saying nothing about the city's initial existence, Buccio's account essentially began with the re-foundation. His work carried such weight that at least two later medieval Aquilan chroniclers explicitly invoked him as their predecessor and model and placed particular emphasis on his narrative of the city's foundation. Antonio described reading Buccio's book about "the deeds of L'Aquila" and in particular "I know Buccio called to mind how L'Aquila was made".¹¹² Niccolò identified Buccio's chronicle as giving "memory of the first and second building of

¹¹⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 3, v1: "*del nostro stato d'Aquila*."

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3, v2: "*opremenno li cactivi, li boni sollevando*."

¹¹² Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711, v3: "*li facti de Aquila*"; v4: "*sapio Buczo si memorione Da che fo fatta Aquila*."

L'Aquila and of the times of our city of L'Aquila, as is found clearly written by his book".¹¹³

The attention drawn by Buccio's successors to his depictions of the foundation and re-foundation, is significant, because his record expressed his concept of the basic elements of Aquilan identity and of the appropriate ways in his view as to how the city should conduct its relationships with a series of actors: the local feudatories, the king, and his agents in L'Aquila (the captains). Until 1336, when, as we will see, the rise of the factions and the eventual dominance of a single lord (*signore*) disrupted the political balance at the heart of Buccio's concept, he described the city consolidating its civic values and maintaining an ideal balance with the other powers in and around it. That does not mean that the citizens enjoyed peace. Competition and violent struggle were accepted, even necessary, features of civic identity for L'Aquila, as for almost all medieval Italian cities. But these were decades in which L'Aquila enlarged its *contado*, expanded its commerce, developed its fighting capabilities, and avoided serious instances of internal discord, and in retrospect both Buccio and the chroniclers who followed him would look back on this period as a sort of golden age.

Buccio began in 1254 by focusing on the inhabitants of the two counties. He imbued them with admirable qualities ("magnanimous and with lofty and great heart"), despite "the many impositions that the tyrants [the feudatories] placed on them".¹¹⁴ The

¹¹³ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 853: "*memoria della prima edificazione, e della secunda, e delli tempi della nostra Citade de Aquila, sicomo per lu sou libro si trova manifesto scritto.*"

¹¹⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 4-5, vv4-5: "*lle multe graviczzi che li tiranni li puneano... mangianimie d'alto e grande core.*"

chronicler celebrated their desire for “liberty,” a term redounding with significance in northern Italy and elsewhere and here qualified to show their continuing loyalty to the crown: “in order not to be vassals, they sought liberty and did not wish for a lord if not [royal] majesty”.¹¹⁵ In underlining an important lesson for the future, he employed direct speech to give the inhabitants’ and his response (labeled “a high enterprise”) to the presence of tyrants: “ ‘Oh, we will put them under or we will die from grief’ ”.¹¹⁶ Another key feature of his foundation narrative was his description of an institution that he later regarded as essential for the city, assemblies. He described the use of a predetermined place (San Vittorino) and time (by night) (“they often took counsel”), but indicated that repercussions from a lack of unity could be very serious, since the feudatories, learning of the plot from a participant (“a Judas, traitor, and assassin”) at one of the secret meetings, killed several of the inhabitants.¹¹⁷ Buccio’s characterization of them as “martyrs” seemed to justify his subsequent depiction of “a great tumult” by their relatives and the rest of the inhabitants (“the people”), who killed or chased away the lords. As a reminder of their impositions and an additional reason for the revolt, he returned to his original trope: “no tyrant was left”.¹¹⁸

At this point Buccio enlarged the scope of his narrative to describe royal intervention in the inhabitants’ favor and the establishment of a fundamental civic ideal, peace. He

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 4, v3: “*per non eser vassalli cercaro la libertade, e non volere singiore se nno la magestade.*” In the thirteenth century, Assisi, Parma, Reggio, Bologna, Florence, and other communes abolished serfdom - Jones, Philip. *The Italian City-State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 366. On “free towns” established elsewhere then in Europe, see Bartlett, Robert. *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 167.

¹¹⁶ De Matteis, Buccio, 5, v5: “*O li mecteremo socto o moreremo a dolore.*”

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 5, v6: “*Più volte consellianose... Juda traditore e ascisino.*”

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 6, vv10-2: “*tucti martoriare... gra’ rimor [= (glossary) tumulto]... lu populu... né tirando ci lassaro.*”

accomplished this by specifying the appointment of representatives (another important civic institution), who went to Rome to ask for the pope's intercession with Conrad. In framing the request for a pardon as "excusing our men for making their defense," Buccio sought to lessen the gravity of the inhabitants' violent actions against the established order.¹¹⁹ For the envoys' prime goal, permission to build a city, he had them couch it to the papal chancellor as "peace and quiet to us".¹²⁰

The story of the foundation served to introduce the other significant players in L'Aquila's history. The feudatories as "such great lords" were remote from the inhabitants and as "tyrants" were inclined to oppress them.¹²¹ Buccio depicted them as outsiders and excluded from Aquilan identity that in turn solidified by being defined in opposition to them. The distance separating them served him in showing that the inhabitants were right to oppose tyrants no matter how mighty they were and in emphasizing the importance of civic unity due to the lords possessing superior resources ("fortresses").¹²² The king (not called emperor, though Conrad's actual title) acted 'properly' in hearing the petition, rectifying the injustice, and in bestowing his "favor".¹²³ Since he "granted the city" when the inhabitants sought "liberty," he implicitly assisted them to escape from the feudatories by granting them emancipation and transfer of jurisdiction within the kingdom to direct rule in the demesne.¹²⁴ Mention of the grant of "documents" indicates that royal agents promptly carried out the king's wishes and the inhabitants' desires.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 7, v14: "*li amasciaduri*"; p. 8, v18: "*scusanno li nostri per far lor defenzione.*"

¹²⁰ Ibid., 7, v15: "*a nui pace e quiete.*"

¹²¹ Ibid., 5, v5: "*tanti singiuri*"; p. 4, v4: "*li tiranni.*"

¹²² Ibid., 6, v12: "*fortelliczi.*"

¹²³ Ibid., 8, v19: "*lla grazia.*"

¹²⁴ Ibid., 8, v19: "*concedesse la terra.*"

¹²⁵ Ibid., 8, v20: "*le carti.*"

The pope, whose successor forty years later performed a similar function, interceded from care of the inhabitants and a desire to advance peace. He also represented a way for them to counter-balance the royal tendency to favor the feudatories.

In addition, Buccio used his foundation narrative to set up a moral framework. It was necessary, even though the founders were worthy of praise: “the account will be of L’Aquila, magnificent city, and of those who built it with great wisdom”.¹²⁶ He located in their behavior the reason for the divine in allowing Manfred’s destruction of the first city (and a warning for the second): “the judgment that God granted us for having taken [the site] wrongly,” perhaps meaning that they did not make due payment.¹²⁷ Buccio presented himself as a reliable witness by indicating that “I have seen *vendetta* on many,” while allowing: “Again it could be fortune or destiny that must go for us, neither more nor less, or by the great sins committed in the territory, or by an influence brought with the help of divine God”.¹²⁸ The re-foundation, of course, represented a second chance, a re-birth, with biblical undertones.

Manfred took on a role that was opposite that of how a king should act. Instead of listening to the pope, he acted “against the church with force and tyranny”.¹²⁹ He surrounded himself “with evil men of the *Regno*,” and responded to their request that “he

¹²⁶ Ibid., 4, v3: “*El conto sarrà d’Aquila, mangifica citade, e de quilli che lla ficero con gran sagacitade.*”

¹²⁷ Ibid., 11, v25: “*iudizio como di mal tollicto che Dio ci concedio.*”

¹²⁸ Ibid., 12, vv26-7: “*n’agio veduto far mennecta [= (glossary) vendetta] de multi. Ancora potio essere fortuna over distino, che sci devesse annare per muj, né più né mino, oi per illi gra’ peccati facti nellu terrino, oi l’adusse influenza dell’auto Dio divino.*”

¹²⁹ Ibid., 10, v23: “*contra della clesia, con forza e tirannia.*”

destroy L'Aquila".¹³⁰ As a result, in calling Charles of Anjou's invasion a "*vendetta*" against Manfred, Buccio supported his use of the term on the grounds of both national and local offenses, and directly linked the earlier oppression of the feudatories to the need for the city's re-foundation.¹³¹ His portrayal of Charles's personal characteristics in a sympathetic manner restored the 'proper' image of a king: "called by the church," victorious in battle at Benevento in 1266 "by his great zeal," concerned for peace (by proclaiming burning for anyone who did not lay down his arms and return home), "full of many graces," striving to increase "the divine cult," and "a paladin".¹³²

The request for the second foundation contained more details than for the first, though some of the elements were similar. Charles's *persona* received more elucidation than Conrad's, if only because Manfred's destruction implicitly vitiated Conrad's approval after such a short interval. At both times Buccio described papal involvement, an association with peace, a representative of the inhabitants, and the feudatories' opposition. On the inhabitants' behalf the same papal chancellor as in 1254 approached Charles in Rome and secured his promise to re-build L'Aquila before he entered the *Regno*.¹³³ As soon as Charles had won the kingdom and placed it "in quiet peace," a representative approached him directly and repeated the request, but found himself in the presence of "nobles" who were "much to the contrary".¹³⁴ They called the inhabitants "wicked peasants" and made offers to the king of money and armed cavalry not to rebuild

¹³⁰ Ibid., 10, v23: "*co lli mali rendicoli* [= (glossary) *regnicoli*]"; p.11, v24: "*sconciasse* [= (glossary) *distruggere*] *l'Aquila*."

¹³¹ Ibid., 12, v28: "*mennecta*."

¹³² Ibid., 12, v29: "*dalla ecclesia chiamato*"; p.17, v45: "*per suo granne ardimento*"; p.17, v48 – burning; p.18, v51: "*de multe grazie pino... lo culto divino... u' paladino*."

¹³³ Ibid., 13, v30.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 19, v56: "*multo contraro... li gentili homini*."

the city.¹³⁵ Nevertheless Buccio had Charles make a direct connection with the inhabitants, when, on hearing from their representative of their treatment by the feudatories, “King Charles was moved to pity”.¹³⁶ This emotion, which evidently received Buccio’s respect, was enough to cause the king to approve the re-building, subject to a financial condition: “ ‘Find the money promised according to the terms’ ”.¹³⁷ Given the significance of the event, it is curious that the chronicler made an error over the date, calling it “1265, by what is truly heard,” while he presented it after the battle of Benevento which occurred in February 1266.¹³⁸

Buccio telescoped the two foundations through his storytelling skills. In having the inhabitants’ representative deliver a warning to Charles of the outcome for them if he refused their request (hangings and extortion), Buccio gave the spokesman credibility based on the author’s description of the feudatories’ abuse twelve years before and associated the king’s response with the original need for the city. He retained his focus by his omission of events for the first city and by not relating the oppression that evidently returned in the seven years before 1266 when L’Aquila did not exist. He, therefore, avoided having to say whether the harm then was to the same degree as before and kept his readers’ interest by not having to resort to repeated tales of the inhabitants’ suffering. The author also demonstrated the ongoing danger represented by the feudatories, due to their resources and their influence over the king (in 1259 inducing Manfred to have

¹³⁵ Ibid., 19, v57: “*lla ria villanaglia [= (glossary) villani]*”; offers – p.20, vv58-9.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 22, v66: “*Re Carillo... se mosse a pietate.*”

¹³⁷ Ibid., 22, v66: “ ‘*la moneta promessa per termine trovate.*’ ”

¹³⁸ Ibid., 24, v75: “*mille ducento e più sesanta cinque, per quello che vero sento.*” Benevento – Dunbabin, Jean. *Charles of Anjou* (London: Longman, 1998), 4. It seems unlikely that Buccio intended to refer to Charles’s meeting with the papal chancellor in 1265, as he implied that Charles forgot the promise that he made then.

L'Aquila razed and in 1266 coming close to swaying Charles). Interposed between the two foundations was a lengthy account of the battle of Benevento, which did not have any direct relevance to the inhabitants as none participated, but it established Charles as the coming hero and enabled the introduction of chivalric elements that enlivened the narrative. As in many foundation myths that sought to explain and legitimate origins, the founders of L'Aquila were virtuous and wronged and, after surmounting their tests, secured their justified objective.¹³⁹

The chronicle indicated that the Aquilans' resulting reciprocal bond with the monarchy was more than symbolic. It involved a formal agreement ("documents" in 1254, "a pact" in 1266), which presupposed the existence of separate royal officials responsible for preparing and for enforcing it.¹⁴⁰ Buccio specified that in 1266 "it granted the city to them [the syndics of the communities]" and that it delineated L'Aquila's *contado* in indicating that "there was much searching through [the counties of] Amiterno and Forcona" for the site for the new city.¹⁴¹ By showing Charles accept the inhabitants' request that they no longer be "vassals" of the feudatories, Buccio implied that the agreement placed the city and the *contado* in the royal demesne.¹⁴² He also noted that the

¹³⁹ On foundation myths and the general "longing for vivid historicising accounts," see Saul, Nigel. *Chivalry in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 43.

¹⁴⁰ De Matteis, Buccio, 8, v20: "le carti"; "lu pacto."

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 23, v69: "Illa terra [= (glossary) città] concedalij"; p.23, v72: "Assai gero cercando Amiterrno e Forcona."

¹⁴² Ibid., 21, v63: "li vasalli." Charles I's decree has not survived. For Charles II's reference in his 1294 diploma to his father's decree of 1266, see Berardi, Maria Rita. *I monti d'oro. Identità urbana e conflitti territoriali nella storia dell'Aquila medievale* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 2005), 122: "denuus reformator diffinivit, limitavit, concessit, attribuit et indulsit ex suo inspeximus privilegio plenius continetur" (a second reformer defined, limited, granted, assigned, and allowed according to his privilege that we have inspected and is included more fully).

For evidence of the size of the *contado*, see Charles II's decree of 1294 which listed communities in the city's jurisdiction that were all in its diocese and similar descriptions in Conrad's decree of 1254 ("ab Urno putrido usque per totum Amiternum") and Alexander IV's bull of 1257 ("omnes fere habitatores Furconis

new city was to have fifteen thousand households, each home was to be a standard size, and a fee was due the king of twelve *carlini* per house.¹⁴³ The need to monitor these requirements, supervise the building and defenses, and impose order as immigration began assumes that the king duly placed the immediate and heavy burdens on royal agents (the captains) installed by him in the area and raises issues of their accountability and of the degree of their cooperation with civic authorities. If resembling articles (*capitoli*) or surrender pacts (*patti di dedizioni*) negotiated by rulers of expanding territorial states in northern and central Italy, Charles's agreement separated L'Aquila's initial relations with the crown from traditional forms that accumulated over time in cities elsewhere in the *Regno*.¹⁴⁴

Buccio's account of the foundation contained in essence the themes that formed for him the backbone of Aquilan self-conception. The desire for "liberty" was clearly a central value, and in this period consistently meant freedom from local feudatories. L'Aquila's efforts to defend its *contado* against the local lords, and even to expand at their expense, were prominent. As regards the crown, Buccio could not and did not champion civic liberty. To be free from the feudatories meant being subject directly to the monarchy, by being included in the demesne. The initiative of the future Aquilans for the city's re-foundation and its ratification through Charles's benevolent concern for them exemplified a relationship of loyalty and mutual support that constituted for Buccio the template of ideal civic-royal relations. But "mutual support" certainly included, from Buccio's

et Amiterni, videlicet ab Urno putrido et Beffi ac rivo Gambario usque Cornu et Montem Regalem"), in Clementi, Alessandro. *Momenti del medioevo abruzzese* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1976), 102-3.

¹⁴³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 23, vv70-1.

¹⁴⁴ On pacts, see Chittolini, Giorgio. "A Comment" in W. Connell and A. Zorzi, eds. *Florentine Tuscany. Structures and Practices of Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 337.

perspective, well-defined limits on the powers of the captains against abuse by them. It also meant royal recognition of the duly elected communal government, and of its autonomy (within limits) to manage civic affairs. Evidence suggests that the Aquilans established their communal government on their own, without significant royal intervention, and Buccio was clearly very proud of its efficacy in taking care of the city's interests. For him, this was a moral responsibility. Maintaining internal peace, upholding justice, and placing the common good before private interests were the duties of L'Aquila's elected officials and indeed of the whole civic body from which it was elected. These were not explicitly religious ideals – and indeed L'Aquila's re-foundation seems to have been quite a secular affair (on a day and at an hour selected by astrologers and without any mention of a religious celebration).¹⁴⁵ But the duties certainly dovetailed with Christian values, and, when the opportunity arose, a few decades later to adopt as patron saint Celestine V, who had founded a church and monastery just outside the city walls at Collemaggio before becoming pope and received his consecration there, Buccio duly featured civic devotion to him as a supporting aspect of Aquilan self-conception.

Communal government was certainly the prime location for civic identity for Buccio and presumably for his fellow citizens. He often used “commune” (*Comuno*) to reflect the entire citizen body,¹⁴⁶ thereby showing familiarity with the term as used not only in northern and central Italy but also in northern Abruzzo at Teramo and Atri, whose

¹⁴⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 24-5, vv75-6: “*Li strolachi*” (astrologers). The citizens believed that the astrologers' absence in 1254 was another reason for the first city's demise (p.24, v73).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 28, v86 – assembly in 1266; p.46, v141 – not allowing wrong to the commune in 1293; p.53, v169 – a gift by the commune in 1293; p.42, v131 and p.61, v195 – attacks by the commune in 1268 and 1299; p.58, v186 and p.103, v333 – the commune accused before the king in 1294 and 1331; p.65, v209 – to the commune's benefit in 1308; p.75, v241 – promise by the commune in 1315.

citizens had negotiated communal forms with the monarchy since the early/mid thirteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Recent commentators have noted the attraction of the idea of a commune to medieval southern cities, where the collective status of being citizens was “something worth having” and the nature of the commune went “beyond juridical formalism and reached a pragmatic dimension”.¹⁴⁸ L’Aquila had immediate needs for such a body in order to ensure an orderly process in the city’s construction. At other times Buccio showed full inclusion by his use of “those who made L’Aquila,” “the host of L’Aquila,” and “the people” and by his employment of the first person plural from 1310, when he began being an eye-witness.¹⁴⁹

Buccio did not describe the commune’s various organs and their respective responsibilities in detail, presumably because he assumed that this information was well-known to his fellow Aquilans, but from his references and other sources we can detect its overall shape. He referred to both an inner council (“the twelve” or “the good men” (*boni homini*)) and a general council (*consillio*), as well as gatherings in assembly (*adunato*) and in great meeting (*grande parlamento*), public speech (*aringamento*), internal tax (*colta*), civil law judges (*iudici*), and syndics (*sinnici*) to the king.¹⁵⁰ The terms “*boni homines*” and “*parlamentum*” appeared in Genoa some two centuries earlier and their

¹⁴⁷ Gaudioso, Matteo. *Natura giuridica delle autonomie cittadine nel “Regnum Siciliae”* (Catania: Casa del libro, 1952), 121-3 – the Angevins left largely unchanged communal forms that had survived since confirmed in 1207 by Teramo’s bishop and in 1251 by cardinal Capocci as cardinal legate to Atri.

¹⁴⁸ Oldfield, Paul. “Citizenship and Community in Southern Italy, c1100-c1220.” *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 74 (2006): 334 – on Troia; Vitolo, Giovanni. “‘In palatio communis.’ Nuovi e vecchi temi della storiografia sulle città del Mezzogiorno medievale” in G. Chittolini, G. Petti Balbi, and G. Vitolo, eds. *Città e territori nell’Italia del Medioevo* (Naples: Liguori, 2007), 257 – on Taranto and Amalfi.

¹⁴⁹ De Matteis, Buccio, 27, v83: “*quilli che Aquila ficero*”; p.39, v121: “*l’osse d’Aquila*”; p.47, v143: “*lu populu*”; p.68, v220: “*la gente*”; p.73, v235: “*fecemoli*” (we made to him).

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 37, vv113: “*lli iudici*” in 1268; p.58, v185: “*Li boni homini d’Aquila*” in 1294; p.39, v119 and p.66, v210: “*lu consillio*” in 1268 and 1308; p.28, v86: “*adunato*” in 1266; p. 47, v144: “*grande parlamento*” and “*aringamento*” in 1293; p.111, v362: “*la colta*” in 1332; p.107, 348: “*iudici*” in 1330; p.81, v260: “*sinnici*” in 1318.

use spread to other cities.¹⁵¹ In Buccio the inner council had sufficient authority to meet with the king and the pope on vital matters when they visited the city in 1268 and in 1294 and the *parlamento* determined that the city would attack the local lords.¹⁵² Other sources reveal the existence of a civic palace (*palatium civitatis*) from at least 1289;¹⁵³ statutes (*statuti*) approved by council meetings in 1290 and 1315 (in Buccio from 1342);¹⁵⁴ a mayor (*camerarius*) from at least 1305;¹⁵⁵ and a council of *massari*, who from an early date administered civic common property located in the *contado*.¹⁵⁶ The statutes gave the mayor responsibilities for enforcing their provisions “for the good government of the city of L’Aquila” and for receiving various fixed penalties.¹⁵⁷

It appears that that the Aquilans themselves established the communal structure and that the crown informally ratified it afterwards. The chronicle gave Charles’s prior authorization as relating only to the physical act (“ ‘Rebuild L’Aquila’ ”), and, just as the inhabitants’ assemblies met before and after his assent without interference from his agents, the captain’s powers in 1268 were limited to convocation.¹⁵⁸ The royal registers

¹⁵¹ On Genoa, see Hyde, J.K. *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy. The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000-1350* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1973), 51.

¹⁵² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 37, v114 – on provisioning the king’s men at Tagliacozzo in 1268 and p. 58, v185 – on interceding to obtain pardon for the exiles in 1294.

¹⁵³ Filangieri, Riccardo and others, eds. *I registri della cancelleria angioina* (Naples: L’Accademia, 1950-2010), XXX, 50 and 57 and XXXVI, 113.

¹⁵⁴ Clementi, Alessandro, ed. *Statuta Civitatis Aquile* (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1977), 9 – the civic statutes approved by Robert in 1315 incorporated certain measures which from their importance to the inhabitants seem to come from an earlier period once the external danger was over, including the building of a church, lime-kilns, and houses in each *locale* in the city and regulating the distribution of water inside the city and the maintenance of the walls and roads, which Antinori, the eighteenth century historian, dated to 1290 based on documents since lost; De Matteis, *Buccio*, 169, v549.

¹⁵⁵ *Archivio di stato dell’Aquila, Archivio civico aquilano, Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, cc.7, 14, 18.

¹⁵⁶ Ludovisi, Idido. “L’organismo del Comune Aquilano nei secoli XIII, XIV, XV.” *Bollettino della società di storia patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, No. 19, 10 (1898): 3.

¹⁵⁷ Clementi, *Statuta*, XLVIII: “*pro bono statu Civitatis Aquile*.” Penalty payments to him included for blasphemy, contravening holy days, introducing obstacles in elections, and using incorrect weights for bread and meat (I, II, XXXIII, CCCXV, CCCXLII).

¹⁵⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 22, v66: “ ‘Refaite l’Aquila’ ”; assemblies – v68, p.28, v86, p.37, v113.

also suggest that, apart from ordering that L'Aquila's seals be destroyed in 1279, Charles did not object to the city's assumption of communal forms, since as early as 1270 or 1271 he referred to "the collectivity of L'Aquila".¹⁵⁹ Evidently realizing the benefits that accrued to the crown (familiarity with local conditions, efficiency, and goodwill), Charles increasingly relied on elected officials and recognized local customs throughout the *Regno*.¹⁶⁰ As a result, whether he intended it or not, he indirectly encouraged civic self-government.¹⁶¹ Scholars have divided over the juridical significance of royal approval of civic statutes.¹⁶² In the case of Robert's confirmation of L'Aquila's in 1315, a possible reason for it was that, as he did so at the citizens' request, it might have acted as a neutral enforcement of internal power-sharing or contained curbs of the captains' excesses.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Gaudioso, *Natura giuridica*, 51: "in derogacione regni honoris et nominis et ipsius regni status" (in derogation of the honor and name of the kingdom and of the government of the kingdom itself) - seals; Filangieri, *Registri*, VII, 29: "univ. Aquile."

¹⁶⁰ Galasso, Giuseppe. *Dal Comune medievale all'Unità. Linee di storia meridionale* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1969), 10, 72 and Galasso, Giuseppe. *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese (1266-1494)* (Turin: UTET, 1992), 409-12 - cities could elect officials including (from 1266) judges (subject to royal confirmation), (from 1272) one or two syndics to respond to citations by the court, and (from 1277) tax collectors. Charles I decreed in 1266 that judges and justiciars were to act "*prout consuetum est hactenus*" (as is accustomed until now). Trifone, Romualdo. *La legislazione angioina* (Naples: Lubrano, 1921), 111 – in 1289 Charles II required civic officials to perform annual appraisals and use them to apportion general subventions applicable to that city.

¹⁶¹ Catalioto, Luciano. *Terre, baroni e città in Sicilia nell'età di Carlo I d'Angiò* (Messina: Intilla Editore, 1995), 181-3.

¹⁶² Galasso, Francesco. *La legislazione statutaria dell'Italia meridionale* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1929), I, 208 – royal confirmation had only "formal value," as it was usually present and only rarely denied. But Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 429: "frequent were sovereign reservations on specific matters as were dilatory replies." Caravale, Mario. *La monarchia meridionale. Istituzioni e dottrina giuridica dai Normanni ai Borboni* (Rome-Bari: Editori Laterza, 1998), 189, 192: Charles II's approval of Naples' customs in 1306 was "additional," as Andrea d'Isernia, Robert's vice-protonotary until his death in 1316, stated that cities of the *Regno* possessed their own power to determine statutes (*potestas statuendi*) and that it was intimately bound to their *dominium* over their urban territory.

¹⁶³ *Archivio civico aquilano, Archivio di stato dell'Aquila, Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, c.14: "*factis iam et statutis prout nobis est pro parte ipsius Universitatis expositum*" (it was revealed to us on the part of the collectivity itself by statutes that have already been made) – so it does not appear that Robert made any amendments to the statutes. The copy of the statutes that survives dates from 1404, so the nature of the measures in 1315 is unknown.

With some important exceptions Buccio expressed his approval of the communal government's decisions and found them effective. He praised the founders for obtaining "such great liberty" and for their choice of site ("each man was in agreement" and "it was placed so well").¹⁶⁴ He also inserted his opinion with regard to L'Aquila's construction, calling it "this beautiful city" and expressing his "wish to commend" its fountain and four gates completed in 1275.¹⁶⁵ In the city's early decades, Buccio implicitly honored the civic leaders by relating that the commune's defenses against the feudatories, provisioning of Charles's men at Tagliacozzo, and request to the pope for intercession were all successful.¹⁶⁶ He did the same later too, but the difference was that as an eye-witness he now provided considerable detail as to how they implemented major council decisions. These included improving the city's water supply in 1308 by constructing channels from a spring in Santanza in the *contado*, hiring a master engineer, and agreeing on an amount to compensate the inhabitants of Santanza for their loss of water; providing advice in 1328 to Charles of Calabria when he inquired about local defenses against the expected invasion by Ludwig the Bavarian; and alleviating the effects of the famine in 1329 by appointing civic officials to search homes for hidden grain and to register existing amounts, organizing forced sales above set levels, approaching the king for permission to draw grain from Apulia, and having a notary register the quantity then made available to each citizen.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 28, v89: "*tante libertati*"; p.23, v72: "*on'omo s'acordone*"; p.28, v89: "*si be' la locaro.*"

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.: "*questa bella terra*"; p.44, v138: "*vollio comendare.*"

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 25, v78; p.40, v124; p.60, v193.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 66, vv210-2; p. 96, v310; pp. 100-2, vv323-8.

But some of the commune's acts contravened Buccio's notions of morality. When the founders decided to "emancipate the peasants," they made "great sin." Their admission of so many "least men" (*menuri homini*) into the city "displeased God," who punished it with internal strife and, in reaction to the hanging of the organizer of the entry, a peasant revolt.¹⁶⁸ Buccio also termed civic raids beyond the *contado* against Machilone in 1299 and Amatrice in 1318 as a "great sin" and explained subsequent earthquake and fighting in the *contado* as divine retribution.¹⁶⁹ He complained in 1316 that funds set aside for one hundred and fourteen towers produced only a hundred, using language that foreshadowed his criticism of corruption of councilors in the later 1330s: "we have often had such men".¹⁷⁰ Buccio did not use the word "sin" in 1328, when, making an unauthorized diversion from royal defense duties at Anticoli, "our men went from there to Sambuci; they put it to fire".¹⁷¹ It seems that he viewed the wrong as expiated, since their return to L'Aquila coincided with the feast of *Perdonanza* (an indulgence granted by Celestine to visitors to Collemaggio seeking forgiveness) and "no-one was missing" there.¹⁷² More problematic to him was the expected result of "evil" by a deserving segment of the population ("many poor people) who were starving and looted grain from a warehouse in 1329.¹⁷³ He allowed himself to hope that "perhaps L'Aquila will not be led to such a

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 26, vv81-2: "*liberar li villani... gra' peccato*" and p.29, v92: "*a Dio dispiacquero.*" Outcome – p.30-1, vv93-6.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 62, v197: "*gra' peccato*" – against Machilone; p.78, v250: "*più peccato*" – against Amatrice. Outcome – p.75, v240: "*Per lli granni peccati... Dio ci mandò una piaga de granni terramuti*" (For the great sins God sent us a calamity of great earthquakes) in 1315; p.119, v386: "*de chi à facto male le peccata so' purgate*" (the sins of who has done badly are atoned for) in 1333.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 78, v249: "*de quisti cotali omini ne avemo auti spissi.*"

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 97, v314: "*a Sammuci ne gero li nostri... missoroci lo foco.*"

¹⁷² Ibid., 98, v316: "*no nn'è mino niuno.*" On the grant of the indulgence (*intulgenza*) in 1294, see *ibid.*, 57, v182.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 104, v336: "*ria [= (glossary) male]*"; p.103, v330: "*multa gente povera.*"

path,” referring to a repeat of the existing famine that he regarded as punishment for “other madness”.¹⁷⁴

The commune generally did not receive blame from Buccio for not doing more to maintain the peace. At first, this objective materialized, since he showed the initial immigrants’ arrival in 1266 without any disturbance among them until after the building of the city. But the eruption of violence after the commune’s decision to admit the least men drew from him a pointed warning “about L’Aquila [that when] badly guided it cannot stay in peace”.¹⁷⁵ Turning this dictum around, he had some difficulty in reconciling several later episodes of internal fighting with the general praise that he gave to the commune. He did so only by refraining from criticizing it for not involving itself to end the violence, suggesting that his primary concern was to present good government.

Buccio found several ways not to blame the commune. One method was implicitly to assign responsibility for violence to outsiders. In 1294 these outsiders were the lords of the *contado*, whom he showed as participating in the fighting that occurred then.¹⁷⁶ Another way, used in 1307 and 1330, was to describe strong intervention by the captains during moments of discord fomented by factions (*parti*).¹⁷⁷ Since he noted that a faction had “large ranks, several warriors,” he implied that they were too powerful for the commune to deal with and were the responsibility of the captains, who had the duty and

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.: “*Forccia no saria l’Aquila conucta a tale via!*”; *ibid.*: “*altra follia.*”

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 28, v88: “*d’Aquila mal guidata che in pace non pò stare.*”

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 56, v178: “*Rogiani*” – also responsible for petitioning the king to have Nicola seized (p.54, v172).

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 63, v201 and p.70, v227: “*parte*” in 1307; p.105, v340 and p.109, v354: “*parti*” in 1330.

resources to enforce justice.¹⁷⁸ A third way in 1315 was to suggest that the commune made minimal peace-making efforts. He implied that the commune played a part after the earthquake when “many peace agreements were made concerning great animosity,” but that it then forgot its promise to build a church.¹⁷⁹ A fourth method in 1331-5 was to place blame on the weaknesses of the captains in failing to halt the violent disputes that broke out mostly among communities in the *contado* and to attribute the fighting to divine punishment for past civic sins, which therefore rendered any peace-making efforts by the citizens redundant.¹⁸⁰ It seems surprising that he omitted an instance of civic mediation between two factions that is described in a royal letter in 1335: “The collectivity... by service of its eager involvement... has taken steps to bring back to the unity of attractive peace”.¹⁸¹ Perhaps, since this reconciliation proved to be temporary, he wished to pass over its ultimate failure.

The executive power of the communal government resided in the captain (*capetano*), whom Buccio saw as an agent of collaboration with the city, not an antagonistic royal representative stationed inside it. The captain’s organizational skills jointly served the king and the citizens, as seen with the crown’s servants in the foundation. Above all, at L’Aquila the captain had to have military talent, in order to help defend the northern frontier for the monarch and to protect the Aquilans. The author attributed both these qualities to the first captain that he mentioned in 1268, when the citizens decided to assist

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 56, v179: “*un grande storo* [= (glossary) *schiera*], *paricchi de guerriaro*.”

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 76, v244: “*Fo facte multe paci de nimistate* [= (glossary) *inimicizia*] *granni*”; p.75, v241: “*no fo chi recordare*” (there was no-one who remembered).

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 110, v359; p.119, v386.

¹⁸¹ In the royal register, cited in De Bartholomaeis, Vincenzo, ed. *Cronaca aquilana rimata di Buccio di Ranallo di Popplito di Aquila* (Rome: Forzani, 1907), 90: “*universitas... studiose sue interposicionis ministerio... curavit reducere ad pacis amabilis unitatem*” – on March 26, 1335.

Charles I with provisions at Tagliacozzo and the captain acted as a facilitator and personally led the supply-train over the mountains.¹⁸² Buccio did not complain that L'Aquila was one of the first cities to have a captain,¹⁸³ that his powers extended to high justice over the citizens ("*cum plena potestate merii et mixti imperii*"),¹⁸⁴ that the kings did not delineate his duties,¹⁸⁵ or that royal communications regarding the city went to the captain and rarely to the citizens, except when calling for their attention.¹⁸⁶ Also, while the commune worked for structural limits to the captain's position (striving to enlarge the captain's duty to undergo an audit, to limit his term, and to exclude him from being a Neapolitan), Buccio couched his concerns in terms of individual moral behavior, praising good captains as models, criticizing the excesses of the bad.¹⁸⁷

What mattered to Buccio about the city's captains was whether they performed their jobs properly, as he understood them, namely cooperating with the citizens to benefit L'Aquila and serve the monarch. He gave praise to three captains who installed the city's

¹⁸² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 39, v121: "*L capetano... fece dare il banno, a pena de tradiscione, che ongi homo lu sequite*" (the captain had the proclamation given that, on pain of betrayal, each man follow him).

¹⁸³ Ludovisi, "L'organismo," 3 – along with Lucera, Aversa, and Amatrice. Elsewhere at first the king used provincial justiciars.

¹⁸⁴ Buzzi, Giulio. "Documenti Angioini relativi al comune di Aquila dal 1343 al 1344." *Bullettino della Regia Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria*, No. 1, Series 3a, 3 (1912): 35 – in a letter in the Angevin register dated August 1, 1343 from Joanna to Bartolomeo di Loffredo on his appointment as captain of L'Aquila. It is presumed that prior captains had identical powers, since in 1295 Charles II included the captain of L'Aquila in his instructions regarding the form of an audit applicable to "*officiales habentes merum et mistum imperium*" (officials having full powers of high justice) – Filangieri, *Registri*, L, 14.

¹⁸⁵ The Angevins were similar to Venetian central councils that issued commissions to administrators in Vicenza regulating salaries, fees, personal conduct, and hiring, but few specifics about their tasks. On Vicenza, see Grubb, James S. *Firstborn of Venice. Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 51.

¹⁸⁶ The king addressed the citizens directly just seven times in 1266-95 – Filangieri, *Registri*, IX, 90; XXVI, 170; XXX, 54, 68; XXXVIII, 254; XLIV, 229; L, 538.

¹⁸⁷ *Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, cc.6, 14 – granted petitions in 1305 for the captain and his officials to stay in the city after the end of his term until the audit's completion and 1315 to limit his term to six months; 1365 – Buzzi, Giulio. "Lettere della Regina Giovanna I al Comune di Aquila." *Bullettino della Regia Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria*, Nos. 1 and 2, Series 3a, 2 (1911), 22 – granted petition in 1365 to exclude the captain from being a Neapolitan.

defenses and infrastructure and implicitly utilized local labor under their direction. Thus Lucchesino, who organized the construction of the fountain and gates, was “full of every virtue”.¹⁸⁸ Guelfo of Lucca was “the very fine knight,” who in 1308 conceived the idea of a new water supply, proposed it to the council, assigned the work, and disciplined shirkers, while the city provided skilled laborers, women who did some of the carrying, priests who fetched lime and sand, and shop-keepers and minstrels who brought supplies and music.¹⁸⁹ Giovanni Coppola was “the esteemed knight,” who in 1309 had the square and the market paved.¹⁹⁰ Buccio was so impressed by Guelfo’s contribution that the captain passed his test for memorialization in history-writing: “Man must very much endeavor to do well, especially towards the commune in a way that he makes himself loved, not so much while he is living, to have himself praised, but he has himself recorded after his death”.¹⁹¹ The author regarded the achievements of these three royal officials as exceptional, since, in describing the completion of the city walls in 1316 and the organization of famine relief in 1329, he was silent on any parts then played by the captains.

Another way that captains could further civic and royal interests and receive Buccio’s praise was to maintain civic peace and enforce justice. Buccio appreciated the extensive steps that Guelfo took to restore peace in 1307: depriving Berardo of Roio of his property, chasing him from the city and the *contado*, and imprisoning many men of

¹⁸⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 45, v139: “*de onne virtù pino*”

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 65-9, vv207-224; p65, v207: “*lu cavalier sobrano*”; p.69, v221: “*tucta giva ne’ colli*” (all went in the hills).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 70, v228: “*u cavalero preiato*.”

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 70, v225: “*Assai deve acurarese lu omo a bene fare, spizialmente a Comuno che se lli faccia amare, no tanto mintri vive, per farese laudare, ma poi per lla soa morte se faccia ricordare*.”

Pizzoli, who were Berardo's allies.¹⁹² Buccio called Filippo di Sanguineto (near Chieti) "the good official" in 1330, because he forced into exile men of Paganica and of Bazzano who raided Bagno in the *contado*.¹⁹³ The qualities of the captain that the chronicler valued were his accessibility ("to make justice in L'Aquila, he made himself very available") and the depth of his examinations ("when he began to investigate, everyone trembled").¹⁹⁴

Not all captains were "good." Buccio indicated that the city's captain in 1292 was oppressive but that the people's leader (Nicola dell'Isola) constrained him: "he did not allow the captain to bully".¹⁹⁵ After the captain's successor (Gentile di Sangro) in 1293 was unable to carry out Charles II's orders and seize Nicola owing to the protection given him by the people, the chronicler implied that Gentile was complicit when "his enemies thought to have him poisoned".¹⁹⁶ Buccio bestowed the phrase "the despicable captains" on the unnamed officials for 1331-5.¹⁹⁷ He gave their principal characteristics as a reluctance to maintain the peace ("not pressing their hands to exercise justice over the Aquilans") when disputes flared up in the *contado*;¹⁹⁸ corruption (in 1332 "the captain

¹⁹² Ibid., 63-4, vv200-205.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 107, v347: "lu bono ofiziale."

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 105, v339: "per far iustizia in Aquila assai se fo proferto", v340: "Comenzanno a inchiedere, tucti quanti tremavano."

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 46, v141: "né allu capetano lassava soperchiare." This supports the view that in the *Regno* there was a noteworthy "capacity for resistance of cities against the encroachments of royal officials" in Tabacco, Giovanni. "La storia politica e sociale. Dal tramonto dell'Impero alle prime formazioni di Stati regionali" in *Storia d'Italia* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1974), II, 210-1.

¹⁹⁶ De Matteis, Buccio, 55, v176: "li nimici penzaro de farlu atossecare" – also implicitly party were the lords of Roio, who had petitioned the king to have Nicola seized (p.54, v172). Buccio suggested that Gentile had a motive to eliminate Nicola, even though Charles had given orders to bring Nicola to him, in p.49, v152: "llu re per traditor lu apella" (the king called him a traitor).

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 110, v359: "li vili capetani."

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 110, v359: "no premere mani de fare la iustizia de sopra a li Aquilani." Disputes: Collebrincioni and Paganica against Santanza, Roio against Lucoli, Paganica against Assergi, Preturo against Forcella, attacks by Barisciano and by Pizzoli against Vio and Coppito in pp.110-7, vv358-379.

had so much money that he seemed a foreigner there”);¹⁹⁹ and siding with one community against another (in 1334 “the house was guarded, the men [of Scopito] stayed inside in the hope of the court”).²⁰⁰ They abdicated from their responsibilities with sorry effects for the citizens: “Where force is superior, justice lies down!”.²⁰¹

By celebrating the ‘good’ captains and criticizing the corrupt and ineffective ones, Buccio treated them as part of civic government and applied to them the same standards. Although his descriptions of the captains and of communal decisions specified events in sum in only thirteen and ten years, respectively, out of a period of sixty-nine years, the remaining years were interspersed within the range of his chronicle, so we may assume that he would have depicted other occurrences had they been similarly exceptional or egregious. Buccio’s portrayal confirms Mario Caravale’s use of the term “diarchic regime” to describe civic government in southern cities, in which there were “two jurisdictions corresponding to two *dominia*” and “the line of demarcation ended by being entrusted to practices and customs, more than to written agreements”.²⁰² Scholars have assessed differently the degree of weight between the two. Privileging the role of captains in the kingdom, Raffaele Colapietra saw their strength as corresponding to that of the state and underlined their “ample penal prerogatives and functions of surveillance” and Matteo Gaudioso argued that, despite attempts to limit the powers of the captains, they remained “pre-eminent” in civic constitutions as “the symbol of royal power in the

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 114, v370: “*el capitano: tanti denari n’abe che vi parria strano.*”

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 117, v380: “*La casa era guardata, ca gente dentro stava a spene della corte.*”

²⁰¹ Ibid., 110, v357: “*dove la forza supra, la rascione si iace!*”

²⁰² Caravale, *La monarchia meridionale*, 184.

city”.²⁰³ Buccio’s depiction of cooperation between the commune and the captain and his use of common standards tend to support Alessandro Clementi’s interpretation of the captain’s role in L’Aquila’s statutes as making him “assume more the configuration of a civic magistrate than that of a royal magistrate” and Ernesto Pontieri’s conclusion based on Charles II’s diplomas that in L’Aquila “civic government circumscribed and qualified [the captain’s] powers in practice”.²⁰⁴

While at times Buccio accused both the commune and the captains of wrongful behavior, he made criticisms about ineffectiveness that were only implicit towards the commune (in failing to reconcile the factions) but were explicit towards the captains (in failing to exercise justice). When the ‘good’ captains were ineffective, or the captains were “despicable,” Buccio placed the blame less on them than on the kings, who had a responsibility to guarantee the captains’ rectitude. He showed Charles II as subject to malign influence in 1308, when he removed Guelfo prematurely: “*ser Berardo* and his faction made to obtain from the king that *misser Guelfo* should be discharged”.²⁰⁵ Buccio depicted King Robert’s attitude towards justice as changed in 1329 with the extinction of restraint on him: “When the duke [of Calabria] died, justice died; there remained King Robert, he did not punish malice, he settled all crimes for money”.²⁰⁶ The author

²⁰³ Colapietra, Raffaele. “Profilo dell’evoluzione costituzionale del Comune Aquilano fino alla riforma del 1476.” *Archivio Storico Italiano*, No. 1, 98 (1960), 10-34 (quotation on p.34); Gaudioso, *Natura giuridica*, 174-183.

²⁰⁴ Clementi, *Momenti*, 184; Pontieri, Ernesto. *Il comune dell’Aquila nel declino del medioevo* (L’Aquila: Japadre, 1978), 39.

²⁰⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 70, v227: “*ser Verardo e sua parte preseno a inpretare col re che misser Guelfo devessese cassare* [= *destituire*, per glossary]” - but the king excluded Berardo from L’Aquila for eighteen months.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 99, v321: “*Quanno morio lu duca fo morta la iustizia; remase re Roberto, no ponia la malizia, conpunia per denari tucte le malefizia.*” The Anonymous Roman and Petrarch drew similar contrasts

evidenced this in 1330 in explaining how easily the captain Filippo di Sanguinetto found himself circumvented: “Paganica and Bazzano, seeing that they could not overcome the strong captain, sent to King Robert and greased his palm; they settled for money”.²⁰⁷

Where Filippo asked his judges “How will I act, if I cannot punish such crimes?” and feared the king’s encouragement to factionalism (“I cannot leave justice to the factions”), Robert attached greater importance to the maintenance of a semblance of order (“L’Aquila was to return to the peace that had been”).²⁰⁸ When Filippo contemplated persevering with enforcing justice, he faced threats: “The other faction said, ‘It is not a matter that pleases the king, who wishes for peace in L’Aquila. He does not wish for disputes or exiles; who says to the contrary procures his own death’”.²⁰⁹ The timing of the appointments of the “despicable” captains, after the duke’s death and after Filippo, also implies that Robert was not merely careless in his selection of them but subject to inducement.

This depiction of the captains contrasts with a common theme in medieval narratives wherein the king’s servants are evil, but the king himself benevolent, so that, if only he knew what was happening, he would implement the appropriate remedies. An example is in Charles I’s preface to his decree in June 1282 two months after the outbreak of the

between Charles of Calabria and Robert – Kelly, Samantha. *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2003), 186-7.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 108, v350: “*Vedenno veramente Paganica e Baczano de no potere ronpere lu forte capetano, mannaro a re Roberto e unzòroli la mano; conpusero a denari.*” Filippo had added integrity to Buccio due to his status, as he was “*multo sperto*” (very experienced) – p.105, v339. In other sources he was grand seneschal, marshal of Provence, and marshal of Tuscany in 1329 when Charles of Calabria returned to defend the *Regno*, and later among Joanna’s regents, and probably Robert chose him as he was returning from Florence - De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 77.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 108, v352: “*‘In que modo farragio se tale malefizio punire no porragio?’*”; p.109, v354: “*‘la rascione alle parti io no posso lassare’*”; p.108, v351: “*tornasse in pace l’Aquila como fone.*”

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 109, v355: “*l’altra parte dicea: ‘Non è cosa che a re piaccia, ca vole pace in Aquila, no vole bria né caccia; e chi dice lo contrario, la morte soa procaccia.’*”

Vespers revolt, in which he excused himself and blamed his officials for it: “We, not being able to be present personally everywhere... inasmuch as, while greed attracts grasping minds and blind ambition seduces spirits, the rectitude of our orders is left behind and through the support of skilful subtlety is gone astray”.²¹⁰ This same belief underlay the expectation of correction in the twelve Aquilan complaints made to the kings about the captains’ excesses that appeared in royal registers and diplomas between 1271 and 1326.²¹¹ In that of 1292 Charles II showed that he was on the same side as the citizens: “as you were not able to tolerate their illicit burdens, necessary cause was given of revealing grievance about them in court”.²¹² Buccio’s characterization, however, suggested not the theme of good king: bad officers, but rather the king’s direct responsibility for the captains’ inadequacies and, tellingly, sometimes for injustices when the captain himself was striving to be just. This seems to denote Buccio’s strong sense of the king’s duty of care towards the city and his outrage when the king violated the expected bonds of mutual support.

Many of the issues involving the captains and inspiring Buccio’s critique of the king concerned disturbances in the *contado*. This connection makes sense. One pillar of Aquilan self-conception was the the crown’s support of the city, but another pillar was the maintenance and expansion of the *contado* with royal backing. For the first few

²¹⁰ Trifone, *La legislazione*, 77-8: “*ubilibet interesse personaliter nequeunt... quod, dum mentes avaras cupiditas allicit et animos ambitio ceca seducit, mandatorum nostrorum rectitudo relinquitur et per callide subtilitatis militias oberratur.*”

²¹¹ Filangieri, *Registri*, VI, 305 in 1271; IX, 101 in 1272; XXXVIII, 254 in 1292; XLIV, 272 in 1293. *Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, cc.6-7 in May 1305 (two); c.10 in Sept. 1305; c.15 in 1313; c.14 in Feb. 1315; c.17 in July 1315; c.18 in Aug. 1315; *Codice II dei privilegi Aquile*, v.35, c.13 in 1326. The number also suggests that the citizens hoped that, by being placed on watch, the captains would exercise their discretion not only lawfully but also more leniently.

²¹² Ibid., XXXVIII, 254: “*illicita... vobis eorum gravamina nequeuntibus tollere, exponendi de eis querelam in Curia materia necessaria data fuit.*”

decades of the city's life, the *contado* was important to Aquilans in providing immigrants and opposing the local lords who resided there, but, as the latter gradually became reconciled to L'Aquila's existence and some even moved to the city, the *contado* remained essential for its natural resources. Buccio showed the new city's connection with the *contado* by indicating that the first immigrants were those from communities that had opposed the feudatories and appointed syndics to approve the agreement with Charles and that the least men subsequently introduced were "all the least men that this countryside has had".²¹³ As before the foundation, he indicated peril to the new citizens: they at once "surrounded the city with ditches and wooden fences" and "had great fear, because the nobles (*gentili homini*) said that it would not last".²¹⁴ But that did not necessarily imply that the lords' antagonism extended to attacking the city.

Buccio's silence on interactions with the feudatories until 1293 seems to suggest that there was no serious physical threat.²¹⁵ The royal registers confirm that the lords mostly limited themselves to the *contado*. Their petitions to the king between 1270 and 1292 included five seeking jurisdiction over parts of it and seven asking for certain *castra* to be excluded from tax-sharing with L'Aquila. The claims came not only from the lords who had the social status of having held fiefs in the *contado* before Charles I placed it in the

²¹³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 23, v69: "*Illa terra concedalij, como petuta l'anno, e prennano casalina*" (it granted them the city, as they had sought, and they took homes); p.30, v93: "*tucti li menuri homini che 'sto paiese à 'uti.*"

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25, v78: "*represeero la terra con fussi e di sticcati*"; p.26, v80: "*aviano gra' paura, perché li gentili homini diciano ca no dura.*"

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 45, v139 specifies 1275, whereas the next verses describe Nicola's relations with the man who was captain in the year before Gentile di Sangro's appointment in 1293. Support for civic stability in 1290 may be found in evidence outside the chronicle suggesting that the city compiled its first statutes then.

demesne but also from at least three feudatories outside it.²¹⁶ Neither these cases nor even three petitions by the city against the lords mattered enough to the chronicler to merit attention, even though in 1362 Buccio was so interested in civic litigation that he devoted thirty verses to it.²¹⁷ Buccio's silence also suggests ambivalence towards royal policy concerning the *contado*. Between 1266 and 1293 he showed neither support from the crown against the feudatories nor to them against the citizens. His implied balance tallies with the royal registers. The kings granted only four *castra* in L'Aquila's *contado* to feudatories, and, though they approved six petitions by lords who opposed the city's assertions of tax sharing with their communities, they refused any more requests after 1276 and reversed their own earlier decisions by 1294.²¹⁸

Buccio expressed a need for physical safety from the lords only in 1293. Nicola dell'Isola, the people's leader, had demanded action against them and led a large civic contingent, because, as he argued, "these strongholds around make a great obstacle".²¹⁹ The resulting civic force destroyed five fortresses (*rocche*).²²⁰ Buccio showed his approval by referring to the ratification of the decision by assembly ("*grande parlamento*") and by calling the militia a "large and fine host".²²¹ The lords' threat may

²¹⁶ Filangieri, *Registri*, XIII, 65, 81, XXVII, 324, 500, XXXVIII, 68 (jurisdiction); VI, 219, 262, VII, 29, X, 82, XII, 205, XIII, 82, XXII, 28 (tax-sharing). Also three on labor control – *ibid.*, III, 237, 244, 252.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 88, 229, XII, 201; De Matteis, *Buccio*, 371-9, vv1193-1225: "*granne lite e quistone*."

²¹⁸ He approved all the lords' petitions, except where the outcome was pending investigation (Filangieri, *Registri*, XXVII, 324 and XXII, 28). For Charles II's re-confirmation of the demesne in 1294, see Colapietra, "Profilo," 10: "*civitas ipsa, quam in nostro semper demanio et dominio reservamus et volumus in perpetuum remanere*" (the city itself, which we reserve always and wish to remain forever in our demesne and dominion); the communities subject to the earlier petitions are included in a list of communities in the *contado* at the date of Charles II's decree in Clementi, Alessandro and Elio Piroddi, *L'Aquila* (Rome-Bari: Editore Laterza, 1986), 78-85.

²¹⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 47, v144: "*quesse rocche d'intorno fao granne impedimento*."

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 48, v147: "*Ocre, Leporanica, Pizzoli, Preturo, Varete [Barete]*" – included in a list of communities in the *contado* in 1294 in Clementi and Piroddi, *L'Aquila*, 78-85.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 48, v144, v148: "*Il'osste grossa e bella*."

have receded earlier, as he admitted that a strong motive for the raids was “plunder”.²²² This explanation might have been enough for him to depict the attack as sinful, as he did in similar attacks outside the *contado* in 1299 and 1318. Evidently, the difference was the location of the castles inside the *contado* and the removal of the power-base of the lords, whose oppression of the citizens had opposed the city’s ideal since before its birth. But the action against the lords relied on an unsubstantiated potential threat and on civic memories of ill-treatment last recorded in the chronicle three decades previously. More seriously, it jeopardized the city’s bond with the monarchy, which Buccio recognized by calling the destruction “unauthorized” and by describing Nicola and the citizens on their return shouting “ ‘Long live the king’ ”.²²³

After the destruction of the fortresses Buccio began identifying lords and communities in the *contado* separately and individually. His greater specificity helped in portraying them no longer as a collective danger to the city and in presenting his interest in the affairs of the *contado*. In his next mention of the *contado*, he described a “petition of the Rogiani” (meaning lords or men of Roio) to the king to have Nicola seized as a “traitor” (implicitly in revenge for inciting the attacks on the castles), but did not associate other lords with it.²²⁴ Buccio showed that the interests of the Rogiani thereafter shifted to participating in fighting in 1294 among communities in the *contado* (Paganica and Barete against Pizzoli, Bazzano, and Roio – again using “Rogiani”) and in 1307 inside the city against another prominent family: “in L’Aquila war was made again; the Rogiani and the Camponeschi

²²² Ibid., 48, v147: “*derruparo.*”

²²³ Ibid., 49, v149: “ ‘*Viva lu re.*’ ”

²²⁴ Ibid., 54, v172: “*petizion de Rogiani*”; p.49, v152: “*traditor.*” On Roio (also called “*Rogion Medium*,” “*Rogi Dimidii*,” and “*Castrum Rodii*”) in the *contado* in 1294, see Clementi and Piroddi, 82.

put the city in uproar” until expelled by the captain Guelfo.²²⁵ Here is evidence that the lords now identified with the city and sought to advance their interests in it rather than against it. Buccio confirmed the desire of the Rogiani (now called “*ser Berardo* and his faction”) to pursue opportunities in the city. In 1308 he specified the king’s time limit before “they could re-enter” it, implying that residence in L’Aquila was their wish; and in 1320 he showed their participation directly with the citizens, as well as his own reduced antipathy to them, by naming the city’s military commander against Rieti as “*Ser Nicola of Roio*,” according him an honorific.²²⁶ In Buccio’s writing after 1335, the Camponeschi, first named here, became one of the leading factions and eventually achieved lordship (*signoria*) over the city.

Communities in the *contado* received several positive mentions in a variety of ways. Bazzano had the distinction of marking the limit of Nicola’s escort of Charles Martel (Charles II’s son) on his departure from L’Aquila in 1293 (as it did in 1354 by Lalle Camponeschi when Philip, duke of Taranto left).²²⁷ Shortly afterwards, Bagno and Torre were places of refuge from hostility in the city for Nicola, whom the men of Paganica also defended.²²⁸ The city’s conquest of Machilone in 1299, the first outside the *contado*, occurred on the feast day of Bazzano.²²⁹ Pizzoli gave temporary safety to Berardo of Roio after his ejection by Guelfo in 1307.²³⁰ Santanza, implicitly acting from strength, negotiated a sum with the city to provide it with water from a local spring, provided that

²²⁵ Ibid., 56, v178; p.63, v200: “ ‘n Aquila refò guerra; Rogiani e Canponischi misse i’ bussa [= (glossary) *subbuglio*] la terra.”

²²⁶ Ibid., 70, v227: “*ser Verardo e sua parte... poctero rentrer*”; p.83, v266: “*Ser Nicola de Rogi*.”

²²⁷ Ibid., 54, v170; p.293, vv942-3.

²²⁸ Ibid., 54-5, v173-5.

²²⁹ Ibid., 61, v196.

²³⁰ Ibid., 64, v202.

it did not have to contribute to the costs of constructing the conduit in 1308.²³¹ Buccio also depicted flourishing local institutions, as the men of Santanza “deliberated”; Paganica and Bazzano each sent a “syndic” to the king, and Bazzano held “council”.²³² By assigning an economic cause to the fighting among many communities in 1330-5, the chronicler indicated that the *contado* had inherent value, as the discord related to the possession of the land: “Each community (*castellio*) willed its own border”. The issue concerned grazing rights for sheep before they went by transhumance to Apulia for the winter: “For the contest of the mountains there were many disputes, so that their beasts might be there in the summer”.²³³ Buccio framed the beneficiaries of these valuable rights (in this case, the Rogiani) as not just the residents but also those with interests inside the city, who implicitly relied on the sale of wool and cloth: “the quarrel of the Rogiani... was with the men of Lucoli for the grassy mountains”.²³⁴

These favorable views that Buccio expressed towards the *contado* sometimes extended to implying that its residents were part of “L’Aquila” and to being sympathetic towards them. In 1293, he showed that, although Nicola then lived in the *contado* at Torre, the citizens embraced him.²³⁵ In the 1330s, he characterized “the despicable” captains as failing “to exercise justice over the Aquilans” when they neglected disputes in the *contado*.²³⁶ Similarly, he portrayed a large fight between men of Pizzoli and men of

²³¹ Ibid., 66-7, vv212-3.

²³² Ibid., 67, v213: “*deliberaro*”; p.108, v351: “*lu sinnico*”; p.112, v365: “*lu consillio*.”

²³³ Ibid., 112-3, vv366-8: “*ongi castellio suo confine volea;... Per la gara de’ munti multe brie sonno state, acciò che lor bestiame sciano be’ statariate [= (glossary) estate].*”

²³⁴ Ibid., 113, v368: “*la bria de Rogiani... fo co l’luuculani per le montangie erbate.*”

²³⁵ Ibid., 55, v175: “*Avetanno inelle Torre*” (living in Torre).

²³⁶ Ibid., 110, v359: “*de fare la iustizia de sopra a li Aquilani.*”

Coppito in 1333 as “one of the most infamous matters carried out in L’Aquila”.²³⁷ But Buccio did not identify with Berardo in 1307, when Berardo “wished us to put him at the head”.²³⁸ Nor did he view Santanza as part of L’Aquila when it negotiated about its spring, “Santanza being unable to resist L’Aquila”.²³⁹ Still, he tried to see matters from the perspective of the *contado* residents, giving their direct speech (“We are ruined”) and having them identify the citizens impersonally (“them”) rather than in opposition (“us”) in saying “the men of Santanza did not wish to give them the water”.²⁴⁰

Less often, Buccio’s portrayal of the relationship between the city and the *contado* was unfavorable. After the foundation he revealed his class bias by reminding his readers that “he who pleases the peasant displeases the living God, because he is ignorant, coarse, and ungrateful” and by attributing the peasant revolt to “great pride” and a desire for “plunder”.²⁴¹ But the author did not return to this theme and even noticed in 1330 that “Paganica and Bazzano had many lawyers”.²⁴² He acknowledged that the city and the king added to the hardships of the *contado* and that this was a factor in the rural turbulence of the 1330s: “it was for the payment of internal tax (*colta*), for which the florins mounted”.²⁴³ The tax was inequitably distributed in certain communities, since they did not impose tax on the many recent land-buyers.²⁴⁴ Robert interfered by offering

²³⁷ Ibid., 117, v379: “Delle più laide cose che ’Aquila facte sone.”

²³⁸ Ibid., 63, v201: “ci volze fare a tucca [= (glossary) dargli di testa].”

²³⁹ Ibid., 67, v213: “No potendo Santanzia Aquila contrastare.”

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 66, v212: “ ‘Semo structi’ ”; ibid.: “Li Santanziani l’acqua dare no lli voliano.”

²⁴¹ Ibid., 29, v91: “chi piace allu villano dispiace a Dio vivente,... perché e ingiorante e grosso e dello sou sconuscente”; p. 31, vv95-6: “gra’ superbia... robba.”

²⁴² Ibid., 107, v348: “Paganica e Baczano avia multi abocati.”

²⁴³ Ibid., 111, v362: “era per la cota che montava firini.”

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 111, v363: “onne omo in sou castellio pagava ad ongi volta, da nullo altro castellio li era chiesta né tolta, dove che terra avessece” (every man paid tax in his own community and nothing was asked nor taken from him, where he held land).

redress for a substantial fee, implicitly favoring only the wealthy towns: the men of Bazzano “had the letter secured from the king, they obtained it at a great penalty”.²⁴⁵ Buccio evidently regarded this sale of justice, like the appointment of despicable captains, as a breach of the king’s bond with the city, which he thus extended to the *contado*, even though it benefited Bazzano. Robert’s insertion of himself in relations between the city and the *contado* compounded this breach, as did his apparent willingness to allow another community to claim the right of direct appeal to the court separately from the city in 1333: “Of Tornimparte I tell you that for this matter it never had any rest to have its own syndic”.²⁴⁶

Documentary evidence that the citizens gave priority to the maintenance and expansion of the *contado* supports its central place in the chronicle. A comparison of two royal lists of the communities in the *contado* in 1269 and 1294 shows that the boundaries of the *contado* set at foundation remained intact and that the citizens or residents made seven new settlements after 1269, which did not need the king’s approval as their locations were within the *contado*.²⁴⁷ By 1409 (the next date at which records survive) and probably before the Black Death, L’Aquila added four more settlements in the *contado*, as well as four outside it acquired between 1301 and 1334.²⁴⁸ Buccio and later chroniclers could well have had these achievements in mind when looking back on this period as a

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 112, v365: “*ficero da re la lectera inpretare a gran pena l’octennero.*”

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 113, v369: “*De Tornanparte dicovi che, pur per questa cosa, de fare loro sinnico giammai no abe posa.*”

²⁴⁷ 1269 - Filangieri, *Registri*, V, 122 – fifty-five in total. 1294 - Clementi and Piroddi, 78-87- seventy-one. Of those in 1269, only one (Cesura) was no longer present in 1294, implying significant continuity. Of the seventeen new names, ten reflected greater accuracy, as they were present in the *catalogus baronum* of 1176-89 (a list of vassals and their land – Takayama, Hiroshi. *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 165). The remaining seven appear to have been founded after 1269 by the citizens or residents of the *contado*.

²⁴⁸ Clementi and Piroddi, 78-87 – with two losses by 1409.

golden age. Notarial instruments explain Buccio's warm attitude towards the *contado*, as they attest to a flow of inhabitants from it to the city after its foundation and the continuation of links between those inside and outside the city.²⁴⁹ In each neighborhood (*locale*) in the city the immigrants dedicated their church to the same saint as the church of their community (*terra*) of origin in the *contado*, and the twin churches remained affiliated. Representatives (*massari*) of men inside and outside the city (*homines intus et extra*) met to administer common property situated in the *terra* of origin and to share related revenues by *locale* in proportion to the respective number of families *intus et extra*.²⁵⁰ Hints at this multi-centric social identity appeared in Buccio during the fighting in the *contado* in 1294 when "with Paganica was all their quarter," indicating that each quarter in the city had a close tie with a precise zone in the *contado*.²⁵¹

Some commentators have viewed this strong identification between city and *contado* as short-lived, though their evidence is spotty and Buccio's first-hand witness certainly contradicts such a view. Colapietra relied primarily on protests to Robert in 1319 by the syndics of several communities in the *contado*, but, since all had corresponding *locali* in the same quarter (St. George), score-settling among the citizens may have been the

²⁴⁹ Clementi, Alessandro. *Storia dell'Aquila dalle origini alla prima guerra mondiale* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1998), 244 – identified by Antinori (since lost).

²⁵⁰ Berardi, *I monti d'oro*, 96-8, 117-118; De Matteis, Angiola. *L'Aquila e il contado. Demografia e fiscalità (Secoli xv-xviii)*. (Naples: Giannini, 1973), 4. Each *terra* was a separate legal body (*universitas*) – Colapietra, "Profilo," 7. Ludovisi, "L'organismo," 21-2 – documents in Antinori distinguished between "*cives intra moenia*" (citizens within the walls) and "*cives extra moenia*" (citizens outside the walls), Joanna I's diploma of 1364 referred to "*habitantes omnes extra Civitatem*" (all those living outside the city) and to "*eius comitatum*" (its *contado*), and Ferrante's diploma of 1464 used "*oppida intra Aquilam*" (towns inside L'Aquila) – suggesting a trend away from treating the residents of the *contado* as equals of those inside the city.

²⁵¹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 56, v179: "*Con Paganica era tucto lu quarto loro.*"

underlying theme.²⁵² Clementi explained the city's control of the *contado* in economic terms as the preeminence over the peasants of the local merchant class and especially of large-scale merchant-traders.²⁵³ This may well be accurate for later centuries, when merchant-traders had a virtual monopoly over the vast grazing extensions of the mountains in the *contado* (long-term leases covering large areas, advance payments for fodder that acted as loans, advantageous control of the price of raw wool). For the period under consideration here, however, Clementi was able to cite few such examples.²⁵⁴ He referred to a provision in the city's statutes forbidding any community or its men from "daring to hold any clandestine meeting or make any illicit orders".²⁵⁵ But, even if this prohibition can be dated to 1315 rather than later in the century, there is hardly any other statute specifically regarding rural communities and none enabling the fixing of the price of wool.²⁵⁶

²⁵² Colapietra, "Profilo," 17 – relying on Caggese, Romolo. *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi* (Florence: R. Bemporad, 1922), I, 451: "unprecedented violence" but paraphrasing the Angevin register. Contrast the joyful submission to L'Aquila in 1318 of the rural inhabitants of a fief (Cituli) who rebelled against their lord, in Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, p.467. For later protests to Robert by Preturo in 1332 and Tornimparte in 1333), see Colapietra, "Profilo," pp19-20; but as in 1319 the lack of more protests seems significant.

²⁵³ Clementi, *Storia dell'Aquila*, 53-5.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 54-5, 246-7 – a lease in 1331 for one year of two-fifths of the grazing lands of Bagno, and in 1335 advances to four communities that sold fodder. On price control, see Clementi, Alessandro. *L'arte della lana in una città del Regno di Napoli (secoli xiv-xvi)* (L'Aquila: Japadre Editore, 1979), 8 – Antinori copied a notarial instrument of September 24, 1331 for the purchase of wool to be clipped from 2,800 sheep in May 1332 at the price and quantity per *rubio* (unit of volume) at which other wool was to be sold at that date – suggesting to Clementi an official price for raw materials, though it seems to me that setting a forward price did not depend on government or corporative intervention and could represent simply the September market price for May wool.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., xxxi and statute CLX: "[nulla Universitas cuiuscumque Localis Civitatis Aquile et districtus, vel aliqui homines ipsorum Localium] facere audeant conventiculam, seu ordinationes illicitas"; see also statute CCXLVIII-required the maintenance of roads of general interest at the expense of *universitates* crossed by them.

²⁵⁶ On the problem of dating the statutes, see Clementi, *Statuta*, ciii-cxi, 1fn1. On communities, the only reference to *universitas* in the index to *Statuta*, 519 is statute CC – no *universitas* is to be forced to buy the *gabella* (excise tax).

More recently, scholars on Italian communes have moderated the old idea of a complete administrative subjection of the *contado* to the popular commune. They have underlined the variety of local situations that hindered civic expansion, including the presence of territorial lords in the *contado* (in Lombardy, Emilia, and Piedmont but less so around Bologna, Florence, Perugia, and Verona), the competition of nearby centers (especially in the Marche), and geographic restrictions.²⁵⁷ In the south, the more than forty communities in the respective *contadi* of Capua and Cosenza enjoyed considerable autonomies, but those close to Naples were in substance part of the urban area by forming part of the civic parishes and those further away had distinct physiognomies.²⁵⁸ L'Aquila differed from many cities not only for its recent foundation but also because the area of its control did not match its diocese. It will be remembered that L'Aquila was created from the counties of Forcona and Amiterno. The diocese of Forcona continued with the bishopric transferred to L'Aquila, but the territory formerly comprising the diocese of Amiterno had long been dissolved and made subject to the bishop of Rieti in the papal states.²⁵⁹ Nor were conditions uniform inside L'Aquila's *contado*. Buccio later showed that, after civic factionalism took off in 1336, the local ties of the leaders, who all emerged from the *contado*, had direct impact on alliances that formed in opposition within it and with outside forces.

²⁵⁷ Franceschi, Franco and Ilaria Taddei. *Le città italiane nel Medioevo xii-xiv secolo* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2012), 154-6.

²⁵⁸ Vitolo, Giovanni. *Tra Napoli e Salerno. La costruzione dell'identità cittadina nel Mezzogiorno medievale* (Salerno: Carlone, 2001), 12-17.

²⁵⁹ Northern Italy – Jones, *Italian City-State*, 360: “Command of the city *territorium*, the feudally divided and socially restless *comitatus* or *episcopatus*, was a particular and, in course of time, overriding ambition of the communes, dictated first by motives of power... but also by sense of right.” Amiterno - Clementi, Alessandro. “Autonomie negli Abruzzi: alcuni esempi (secc. xiii-xiv)” in *La libertà di decidere. Realtà e parvenienze di autonomia nella normative locale del medioevo*, ed. Rolando Dondarini (Cento: SIACA, 1995), 76-7.

The frequent disturbances in the *contado* depicted by Buccio shed light on his civic ideal of “peace.” By focusing exclusively on the violent events there in the 1330s and staying silent on happenings inside the city, he delivered a warning about the proximity of the fighting. He also showed compassion for the suffering in the *contado* by calling one dispute the work of “fools and stupid men” and another “an ugly and wicked doing”.²⁶⁰ Some form of power-sharing is suggested by the absence in the chronicle of fighting inside the city between 1307 and 1335.²⁶¹ Signs of co-existence between different classes in Buccio appeared with the appointment of a nobleman, *ser* Nicola di Roio, as civic military leader in 1320 and the participation of the guilds in civic ceremonies on the translation of St Peter Celestine (the former pope) in 1327.²⁶² In view of the city’s connection with the saint, it is surprising that he did not mention that several of its mayors between 1313 and 1322 were Celestinian, implicitly chosen for their impartiality and desire for peace.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 111, v361: “*da’ paczi e dalli sciuni* [= (glossary) *sciocco*]”; p.113, v366: “*opera bructa e rea*.”

²⁶¹ Notarial instruments offer support of involvement in civic organization of a nobleman in 1317 (Berardo of Roio, “*vir nobilis*” and syndic - Clementi, *Statuta*, 34) and merchants in 1318 (Tommaso Abbate of Collebrincione, Edoardo de’Camponeschi, Riccardo and Gaglioffo, “*mercanti*” and syndics in Rivera, Giuseppe. “Catalogo delle scritture appartenenti alla confraternita di S. Maria della Pietà nell’Aquila.” *Bollettino della società di storia patria Anton Ludovico Antinori agli Abruzzi*, No. 25, 13 (1901): 8). For the Camponeschi in 1336 - De Matteis, *Buccio*, 122, v394. On the presence of nobles in the city in Buccio, see p.103, v331: “*ccasa de ser Corrado*” (house of *ser* Corrado) in 1329; for as early as 1300, see Charles II’s diploma refusing them tax exemption (unless they rendered service or paid the *adoa*) - *Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, c.10: “*nonnulli nobiles de ipsa civitate Aquila*” (some nobles of the very city of L’Aquila).

²⁶² Ibid., 90, v291: “*ciascuna Arte fece a san Piero lu presente*” – from Ferentino (Campagna) to Collemaggio.

²⁶³ Berardi, *I monti d’oro*, 37 – based on Celestinian registers. Alternative reasons were to honor St Peter Celestine, canonized in 1313, and the same as in Siena, where the frequent choice of one of the brothers of San Galgano reflected their business expertise and the hope that they would resist the temptation to spend the money of others – Lopez, Luigi. *Gli ordinamenti municipali dell’Aquila dalle origini al 1806* (L’Aquila: Marcello Ferri, 1982), 11.

The notion of “peace” had a specific meaning for Buccio, shared by his contemporaries elsewhere. Violence was more than acceptable if necessary to defend Aquilan “liberty” against encroachments, as in 1254 when the inhabitants “cut to pieces all [of the lords] who did not flee” after the lords’ murder of the initial conspirators.²⁶⁴ The same applied to ending sin after the founders admitted the “least men” and the citizens reacted to ensure that the instigator, Ramotto, “was hanged and there were many dead and wounded”.²⁶⁵ Unprovoked aggression against a neighboring community could also be acceptable. While the civic destruction of Machilone in 1299 was a great sin, Buccio did not criticize L’Aquila’s bishop in subsequently driving away the “noblewomen” of Machilone from a nearby convent, where they had become nuns after the sacking.²⁶⁶ Also calling the citizens’ burning and looting of Amatrice in 1318 a sin did not prevent the author from praising “such a great and fine host” and its “great warlike effort”.²⁶⁷ Royal service justified looting against Rieti in 1320, skirmishing with the men of Sulmona who had the same duty, the burning of Amatrice’s *contado* in 1323, and the diversion from Anticoli and the setting fire to Sambuci in 1329.²⁶⁸ On the other hand, violence against L’Aquila produced intense mourning following the poisoning of the people’s leader, Nicola, at Torre. The depiction of such deep grief probably reflected not just the citizens’ unity at their loss but anger at the Rogiani and the captain, who were implicitly responsible.²⁶⁹ Buccio agonized over the compromise of peace in place of justice in 1330.

²⁶⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 6, v11: “talliaro tucti a peczi chi no se nde fugio.”

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 30, v93: “fo appicato e multi morti e feruti.”

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 61, v195: “guasto” (destroyed); p.62, v199: “monache” (nuns), “jentili donne”; p.62-3, v199.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 78, v251: “l’osste tanto belle”; p.80, v256: “sforzatamente” [= (glossary) *con sì grande sforzo bellico*].”

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 82, v263; p.86, v276; p.89, v287; p.97, v315.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 55, 177: “Femene più de mille vi forono scapellate, a nnavasende pelanno [= (glossary) *strappandosi i capelli*] co lle guance gractate; li omini tucti jeano a tesste scappucciate, strillando come chi perde lu frate voi lu patre” (More than a thousand women were without caps, tearing their hair with

He criticized the king's order to the captain (Filippo) to desist from enforcement, but seems to have felt some sympathy for the victims' relatives in not pressing the matter: "Several good people placed themselves in this; the women accused, made settlement; they gave them money and they abandoned the inquiry".²⁷⁰

In articulating the pursuit of peace, as he understood the term, Buccio presented at times a divergence of interests between the city and the crown. While suggesting that the Aquilans reserved the right to oppose the lords of the *contado* who threatened them, he showed awareness that the kings depended on the feudatories as a whole for armed support, at least in 1328-9, when Ludwig the Bavarian started to move south from Rome against Robert. The chronicler did so by reporting the effects of the king's commands as witnessed in L'Aquila: "All the baronage of the *Regno* was assembled, so many were the men-at-arms who filled every street".²⁷¹ Other sources confirm that from 1266 it was unlikely that Charles I would choose to go against the lords' interests, since he then granted fiefs covering most of Abruzzo to his most loyal supporters (Frenchmen who had followed him across the Alps), and rewarded local nobles who served him.²⁷²

their cheeks scratched; all the men went with their heads uncovered, screaming as one who loses his brother or father).

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 109, v356: "*pusserosse a quisto paricchie bo' persone; le femene acusavano, fero composizione e deronoli denari e lassaro la quistione.*"

²⁷¹ Ibid., 93, v298: "*tucta la baronia del Regno fo adunata; tante erano le jente che inpiano ongi strata.*"

²⁷² Dunbabin, Jean. *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 83, 137 – the counties of Loreto and Chieti to Raoul de Soissons and Raoul de Courtenay, whose heiress in 1284 married Philip de Dampierre (son of the count of Flanders, awarded the county of Loreto by Charles, returned to Flanders in 1303). On the local nobles, Charles approved the marriage of the daughter of the count of Celano to Peter de Beaumont (chamberlain) (p.125) and made Richard Acquaviva of Atri a justiciar.

The clash of civic and royal interests concerning the lords came to the fore in 1294, when Buccio implicitly rejected Charles II's judgment on fighting in the *contado*. The author described how the king informed Pope Celestine V that he regarded the violence as "sin," for which he imposed a fine of two thousand ounces and exiled a large number of Aquilans. Buccio did not expressly disagree with Charles's determination, but came close to doing so. Without inserting himself, he used the direct speech of the Aquilan *boni homini*, the pope, and the king to raise the issue, as the civic representatives asked the pope to "recommend us to the king" and, at the pope's request, Charles waived the penalties due only to his "devotion" to Celestine.²⁷³ Despite showing that the king was opposed, the chronicler implicitly justified the internal fighting by naming the parties (the men of Roio, Bazzano, and Pizzoli against the men of Paganica and Barete) and the chronology (immediately after Nicola's murder).²⁷⁴ Since Buccio had earlier described the petition of the Rogiani to Charles to have Nicola seized, the author evidently believed that the men of Paganica, who were joined with men from "their quarter" but lost and "went outside [the *contado* and the city]," had sought revenge for Nicola's death but had been forced to go into exile.²⁷⁵ Given his depiction of the depth of civic mourning for Nicola, he certainly sided with the men of Paganica, showing that he believed the threat to order came from the lords rather than from the citizens.

Another divergence in civic-royal interests about peace concerned how Buccio portrayed the Aquilans envisaging their defensive role for the crown. Buccio was conscious of how

²⁷³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 58-9, vv184-9; v188: "*loro peccato*", v186: "*Recomannaci al re*"", v188: "*devoto*."

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 56, vv178-180.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*: "*lu quarto loro... ando fore gero*."

sensitive the northern border was for the Angevins, since he described the ease with which Charles I pierced it through Campania before Manfred engaged him at Benevento in 1266, Conradin reached Tagliacozzo (thirty-five miles from L'Aquila) in 1268, and Ludwig issued threats.²⁷⁶ Sources indicate that, after the scare of Tagliacozzo, Charles established a secure zone called “the Mountain” even closer to the border than L'Aquila.²⁷⁷ This military decision had implications for the Aquilans, as it reduced the city to a secondary or coordinating role in border defense, threatening its ability to make demands on the crown and to disregard royal constraints. For Buccio it also created a conundrum. Having just shown Charles II upsetting the ‘proper’ civic-royal relationship by supporting the Rogiani, he now had to decide how to depict L'Aquila violating its own ideal of loyalty to the crown when it overstepped its territorial boundaries and devastated two towns in the Mountain, Machilone in 1299 and Amatrice in 1318, incurring royal displeasure.

Buccio dealt with the problem of how to portray the Aquilans’ attack on Machilone by omitting the royal reaction. He, nevertheless, acknowledged that it was a “great sin,” not for its violence or because it interfered with Charles II’s defensive plans, but because the Aquilans “took it after an agreement that was not observed by them”.²⁷⁸ Since the

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 13, v32; p.31, v97; p.92, v297.

²⁷⁷ Berardi, *I monti d'oro*, 123-6, 153 and Ludovisi, “L’organismo,” 24 – he created the captaincy of the Mountain of Abruzzo (*Montaneae Aprutii*) embracing Amatrice, Accumuli, and Montereale (twenty to forty miles north of L'Aquila) to control the route to Ascoli Piceno (Marche) and Antrodoco and Leonessa (a similar distance north-west and west of L'Aquila) to control the routes to Spoleto, Cascia, and Norcia (Umbria) and Rieti, all destinations being then in the Papal States. Before 1299, adjacent to the border, the inhabitants of Machilone, Borbona, Santogna, and eight others united their *contadi* to form Laposta (thirty miles north-west of L'Aquila on the route to Norcia) and received a diploma from Charles II recognizing it as in the demesne - Clementi, *Statuta*, xxviii. “The Mountain” referred to the Gran Sasso, which at 9,554 feet high, is the tallest peak south of the Alps.

²⁷⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 62, v197: “*gra' peccato... presorolu per pacto ma no lli fo oservato.*”

chronicler did not mention any royal penalty, he did not have to indicate whether or not he agreed with it. Documents tell us that the Aquilans acted quickly to obtain a pardon (granted on September 24 after the conquest on August 1), made payment of one thousand ounces to the king for the concession of Machilone in 1301, and obtained grant of Laposta, also on the border, in 1304.²⁷⁹ Evidently, the citizens played on the crown's needs for funds as taking priority over its defensive requirements.

In the case of the Aquilans' raid on Amatrice in 1318, Buccio challenged the size of the penalty of six thousand ounces that Charles of Calabria as vicar initially imposed on them and showed that, even after Robert reduced it by two thousand ounces, he disagreed with any grounds for negative judgment against the city. Joining the rest of the citizens, he expressed shock at the amount of the original fine: "we held it [the decrease] as deserved".²⁸⁰ Buccio stated that the summons specified that the grounds for the accusation was "for the host that we made",²⁸¹ but his praise of its appearance and its valor indicated that he rejected this as a valid reason. Using the first person plural he showed that he supported the raid, as he was party both to the operation ("we went") and to the appeal ("we sent").²⁸² This stance coexisted with his recognition that the burning and looting were "sins" by the participants including himself ("we set fire," "we never

²⁷⁹ *Archivio civico aquilano, Archivio di stato dell'Aquila, Codice II dei privilegi Aquile*, v.35, cc.2, 3, 7. The Aquilans further undermined the Mountain by obtaining grants of Borbona in 1331 and Santogna in 1334, in Clementi, Alessandro and Maria Rita Berardi, eds. *Regesto delle fonti archivistiche degli annali Antinoriani (voll. III-XVII)* (L'Aquila: Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria, 1980), 50-1.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 81, v259: "avemoli per metro."

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*: "per l'osste che facemmo."

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 78, v250: "jemmo"; p.81, v260: "Mannammoci."

restored”) (unlike in 1294, when he had only the king apply the word “sin” to the Aquilans).²⁸³

Buccio’s reliance on the host’s qualities extended above all to its composition, which he set up as an ideal. By successfully opposing Amatrice, located in the captaincy of the Mountain, he, in effect, showed that, where the men of the town (helped only by Ascoli) and, by extension, the entire captaincy, were incapable of serious resistance, the Aquilans exhibited strength and organization skills that should justify it reoccupying the position of front-line defender in the border area and receiving recognition from the king for it.²⁸⁴

The author indirectly made this assertion by praising L’Aquila’s formation of a league against Amatrice, in which it occupied primacy (“L’Aquila and as many as all those who were helpers to this city”), enlisted support from regional cities (“Lanciano and Penne sent [men] to us, Chieti came with L’Aquila, and also Carapelle”), and appointed as “host captain” a leading feudatory, Corrado Acquaviva, while the lord of Cascia also sent troops.²⁸⁵ Buccio imputed virtue to the league by celebrating its number (“it would have been large at Rome”) and the splendor of its cavalry and infantry (“clear as crystal”).²⁸⁶ Notable here was L’Aquila’s request for the participation of the regional feudatories, which Charles identified, since he required that Corrado’s resulting “banishment last until we paid”.²⁸⁷ By their role Buccio implicitly showed the king how he should expect the

²⁸³ Ibid., 78, v250: “*peccato... abrusciammo... no la rennemmo.*”

²⁸⁴ Charles II had recently further strengthened the area between the border and L’Aquila, with the joining of several castles to form Città Ducale (named for Robert, and thirty-three miles west of L’Aquila to control the route to Rieti), which he placed in the demesne in 1308 - Berardi, *I monti d’oro*, 126.

²⁸⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 82, v261: “*Aquila e tucti quanti, quilli che a questa terra forono aiutanti*”; p.79, v253: “*A nuj mannò Lanciano e Civita de Penne, e Civita de Tiete pur con Aquila venne, e Carapelle ancora*”; pp.79-80, v254: “*misser Corrado dell’osste capitano... lu Casciano*”

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 78-9, v251: “*serria stata grossa a Roma... chiari como cristallio.*”

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 81, v259: “*durò la sbannisone fi’ che li conpusemmo.*”

lords of the *contado* to behave as well, in collaboration with the citizens in advancing royal goals.

Buccio's disagreements with the kings over their responses to clashes between civic and royal interests were apiece with his criticism of the kings' appointments of bad and "despicable" captains and sale of justice. He made one further complaint about royal action after the grain riot of 1329, when he depicted him either giving unclear direction about enforcing justice or inadequately controlling the captain. Buccio noted that Robert levied a penalty of two hundred ounces on the city and ordered an investigation (*inquisizione*) to determine the culprits and to impose additional fines on them.²⁸⁸ The author found fault in the inconsistent application of justice after the investigation, when some received fines that ranged between one florin for stealing a cup of grain and ten florins for a quarter of a cup and others did not suffer at all.²⁸⁹

On one occasion, in 1293, when Charles II did not act towards L'Aquila in a way that Buccio thought was 'proper,' he developed a contrasting model. For this he drew on the behavior of Charles's son, Charles Martel (himself a king, of Hungary, and vicar of the *Regno*, as Buccio noted). It concerned their respective reactions to the destruction of the lords' fortresses by Nicola and the citizens. We might call this juxtaposition that of an actual 'bad king' and a more desirable 'good king.' Buccio showed that the approach of Charles II (the actual king) towards Nicola and, by extension, towards all Aquilans was 'bad,' by describing Charles II's decision to send a force to L'Aquila under his son to

²⁸⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 103-4, v333-4.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 104, v334-5.

perform a targeted assassination: “King Charles ordered him to have *ser* Nicola dell’Isola killed by what way he could”.²⁹⁰ The ‘more desirable’ course adopted by Charles Martel was his openness to Nicola and to the citizens that resulted in him being unable to perform his task, because he was moved by the people’s affection for Nicola. Buccio then disclosed forces in the world that conspired to overwhelm a ‘good king,’ by relating Charles Martel’s silence when his father, “greatly reproaching him,” accused him of having the “the heart of a woman,” to which the latter was unable to respond.²⁹¹ Implicitly, wishing the ‘good king’ to have great inner strength, the author also delivered a warning to the citizens that they needed unity in case those around even a ‘good king’ influenced him against them. Charles II then dispatched Gentile, who apparently with the help of the Rogiani accomplished what his son had been unable to do.

Buccio differentiated between ‘the bad king’ and ‘the good king’ based in part on their respective personal characteristics but principally on the extent of each one’s accessibility and willingness to listen and reach a decision based on objective evidence. Where Charles II acted ruthlessly (by determining Nicola’s fate without due process), Charles Martel was “charming, honorable, and handsome”.²⁹² Buccio’s image of ‘the bad king’ was of one, who, though far away at court, succumbed easily to accusations by the lords of the *contado* and did not bother to seek to verify their false insinuations: “Those, who

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 50, v154: “*Re Carllo comannoli che uccidere facesse ser Nicola de l’Isula per quale via poctesse.*”

²⁹¹ Ibid., 54, v171: “*multo muctianno... core de femenella.*” Charles Martel “*no se muta né favella*” (did not move nor use his tongue). On the subordination of “the other,” see Spiegel, Gabrielle and Paul Freedman. “Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies.” *American Historical Review*, No. 3, 103 (1998): 677-704.

²⁹² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 50, v153: “*lizatro, onessto e bellio.*” Charles II was known as Charles the Lamé – Goldstone, Nancy. *The Lady Queen* (New York: Walker, 2009), 20; but Buccio did not mention this item of perhaps general knowledge.

wished him [Nicola] ill, accused him before the king, telling him that he was not held in love as much as *ser* Nicola was,... without *ser* Nicola he could not have money,... through *ser* Nicola L'Aquila had rebelled".²⁹³ The author implicitly warned that the result of 'the bad king's' partial forum was to validate conflict resolution by violence, since it transformed what should have been an order for an investigation into the facts into what Buccio recognized was "revenge" (*vendetta*).²⁹⁴ Later, ignoring Charles Martel who was a direct witness of the behavior of Nicola and of the Aquilans, Charles II remained inflexible and listened only to the Rogiani, who petitioned for Nicola's seizure.

Buccio's preferred mode of interaction between king and city appeared when the author instead had Charles Martel draw on the evidence of his own eyes and ears ("When he [Charles Martel] was near, he [Nicola] went out in front with those on horseback and with six thousand infantry. They drew close to him, making a festival and songs, as many as all shouting 'Long live the king of Hungary' ");²⁹⁵ on advice to him from his counselors ("He spoke to his counsel, 'What should I do?' [One replied,] 'Who accused him lied through his throat, because he is more loyal than pure gold.' ");²⁹⁶ on personal interaction with Nicola in a relaxed manner ("The king called him and said to him: 'My *misser* Nicola, you are to me too much accused by someone who is wicked' ");²⁹⁷ and on a determination of Nicola's loyalty derived from the views of the citizenry as a whole

²⁹³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 49, vv151-2: "*Quelli che male volzeli allu re lu acusaro, dicennoli che isso non è tenuto caro quanto e misser Nicola... senza misser Nicola no potea aver denaro... per misser Nicola l'Aquila se ribella.*"

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 52, v164: "*menecta.*"

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 50-1, v157: "*E quanno fu dapresso, isso li uscio inanzi con quilli da cavallio e con seimila fanti, apressarose a lluj, facenno festa e canti, 'Viva re d'Ongaria!' gridanno tucti quanti.*"

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 51, v158: "*disse al suo consillio: 'Que fare degio mo?' "*, p.52, v163: "*quale che luj acussassi ne mente per la gola, perché è più liale che nullo oro di cola.*"

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 52, v165-6: "*Lu re lu chiamò e disseli: 'Misser Nicola mio, tu m'èi troppo acusato d'alcuno ch'è rio.'*"

(“ ‘You would not be loved so by your people if you were not loyal’ ”).²⁹⁸ The concern of the Aquilans was not the physical distance between the court and the city but the mental approach of the kings, as summarized in Nicola’s advice to Charles Martel: “ ‘Sire, do not believe those who speak evil’ ”.²⁹⁹

The contrast between ‘the bad king’ and ‘the good king’ also covered each one’s views about the civic attitude to the crown. Buccio revealed that ‘the bad king’ acted on a presumption of civic inclination to disobedience, whereas, he suggested, that was not the case. He showed this by having Charles II assume that the Aquilans lacked the will to oppose their leader of the people, if he was indeed interfering with their tax payments to the crown and inducing them to revolt. Charles’s negative instinct with regard to their fidelity also recalled the same expressed in Buccio by his father in 1268, who had unfounded doubts about it during Conradin’s invasion, and so indicated a continuity in royal prejudice against the city.³⁰⁰ While the citizens’ open displays of loyalty towards the crown brought into relief Charles II’s distrust of them, ‘the good king’s’ actions offered hope that the sequence might be broken. Charles Martel’s acceptance of the procession and festivities on arriving at L’Aquila defused the tension and conferred great honor on the city.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ Ibid., “ ‘no sarristi amato sì dal populu tio se nno fussi liale.’ ”

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 53, v166: “ ‘Missere, no credete a mali dicituri.’ ”

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 35, v108: “no che certo fossene” (not that he was certain of it).

³⁰¹ See Visceglia, Maria Antonietta. *Riti di corte e simboli della regalità. I regni d’Europa e del Mediterraneo dal medioevo all’età moderna* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2009), 103, 108, 114 – a king’s rite of entrance aimed to reinforce the idea of his legitimacy and virtue and recited the ideal order of government founded on justice, but each important city also considered his solemn entry, whatever the occasion, a strategic moment to win his favor.

The author also demonstrated that the Aquilans expected a king to bestow honor on the city by describing Charles Martel at his departure participating in a gift giving ritual at great personal cost. Just as in Florence where a gift to a foreign dignitary was made towards the end of his visit, had sizable value to show the city as one of wealth and charity, and was delivered on behalf of the civic body, so in L'Aquila Nicola prepared the gift and sent it to Charles Martel but waited until the king announced the day that he was leaving to offer it, the gift was "a great present," and Nicola presented it not in his capacity as leader of the people but "on the part of the commune".³⁰² The Aquilans' motives were similar to those of the Florentines, whose purpose was to express the citizens' love but also to return to the recipient a token of what he had already given Florence by making the city more honorable through his visit.³⁰³ Charles Martel's decision not to exert any penalty meant to him that "I cannot return with anything other than shame".³⁰⁴ The disgrace that he felt was not only that pending before his father who had sent him but also applied to his immediate appearance before the citizens, to whom he could not reveal the reason for his coming (as he did not carry it out) but who, he knew, strongly suspected it. Yet he continued to "show goodwill to Nicola," and, when the gift was offered, "he took it" and later allowed Nicola and the citizens to escort his men and him out of the city.³⁰⁵

³⁰² Trexler, Richard C. *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 323-6; De Matteis, *Buccio*, 53, vv167-9: "u'gra presente... misser Nicola allora presto lu presentava da parte del Comuno."

³⁰³ Trexler, *Public Life*, 323, 325.

³⁰⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 53, v168: "con altro che vergongia no posso retornare."

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 53, v169: "a misser Nicola bona vollia mustrava... isso lu pilliava", p.54, v170: "Fine a Bazzano scorselu co' granne compangia, che era assaj maiure che quella che re avia" (Up to Bazzano he [Nicola] escorted him [Charles Martel] with a great company that was quite larger than what the king had).

Buccio thus used Charles Martel to show how he believed that a king should behave towards the Aquilans, in place of the author's reception of Charles II's closed-mindedness and denial of civic wishes. But the chronicler's unusually extensive use of direct speech conveyed an emotional attachment that overlooked the royal duty to exercise justice after Nicola led the citizens in apparently unprovoked attacks on the lords of the *contado* with booty in mind. For someone who was normally well-informed, Buccio ignored the records that show that it was Charles Martel not Charles II who took strong action against Nicola, suggesting his reliance on a rhetorical device.³⁰⁶

Civic expectation of honor from the crown, seen in the episode with Nicola, extended to more tangible gifts too. Buccio showed that, during the visits of Charles II in 1309 and Robert in 1310 to the city, the kings responded 'properly,' but within limits, when Charles donated a relic (some of Mary Magdalen's hair) to the local Dominican convent San Domenico that sacralized the city and Robert granted two civic petitions.³⁰⁷ Buccio implied that it was the crossing of the border that led each king to make the gift, by giving its occurrence after each safely arrived in the *Regno* from afar (Charles from Provence, Robert from central Italy – after being robbed at Cascia in Umbria). He thus turned the gift-giving into a desire for the kings to view L'Aquila more often as the

³⁰⁶ Schipa, Michelangelo. "Carlo Martello." *Archivio storico per le Province Napoletane*, 15 (1890): 50, 69-71 – Angevin registers indicate that Charles Martel came from Naples to L'Aquila for four days in July 1293, then, returning to Abruzzo in August for three weeks, gave further directions regarding L'Aquila, including have Gentile di Sangro, the city's former captain whom he appointed, and local nobles accompany him in influencing the cardinals who were in Rieti to elect a new pope. It was probably then that Nicola was killed, since in September Charles Martel gave orders to the justiciar and captain to punish renewed violence and killings. The royal officials were able to restore peace only with the confiscation of property and exile of sixty-four citizens. In April 1294 Charles II told the captain to summon those of Nicola's followers alleged to have committed robberies and in June instructed the captain to have the syndic brought before the master justiciar. The pardon came in August 1294.

³⁰⁷ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 72, vv230-1: "*lu corppu della beata Matalena trovone.. De' soi santi capilli a quisto loco donone*" (he found the body of the blessed Magdalene [in Provence]... He gave some of her holy hairs to this place); p.74, v238.

destination instead of a point on a journey.³⁰⁸ Also, while appreciative of the gifts, Buccio depicted them as lacking in certain aspects, hinting at undeserved withholding of royal favor.³⁰⁹ He did so by specifying that Robert neither fulfilled the ten-year pledge by Charles to maintain the church that the latter founded during his visit to house the relic, nor approved two of the four petitions submitted by the citizens when he came to L'Aquila.³¹⁰

Just as he indicated to the kings how they should act towards the city, Buccio cited three episodes to demonstrate the Aquilans' readiness to perform their military duty to the crown. The examples that he gave all took place under Robert, who faced threats on the northern frontier that exceeded that from Ludwig in 1328-9 described in the chronicle.³¹¹ The seriousness of the danger to the Aquilans became apparent in 1313, when men of Rieti, inspired by Henry VII's invasion of Italy, surprised them in carrying out a raid from the papal states inside L'Aquila and stealing its bell and marble lion (both important civic symbols, the lion being Amiterno's emblem and conveying consciousness of the

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 71, v229: "*di Provenza revenne*" (he came back from Provence); p.73, v235: "*foroli tolte some a Cascia*" (loads were taken from him at Cascia).

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 72, v231: "*multo se n'alegrone*" (there was much joy for them) – in 1309; p.74, v239: "*Una delle accectate fo, che bona me pare,...*" (one of those accepted was, which appears good to me, ...) – in 1310. The joy for the relic counters the argument that few outside court circles showed much attachment to Mary Magdalen, in Jansen, Katherine Ludwig. *The Making of the Magdalen* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 320.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 73, v233: "*abute le non ànno*" (they did not have them [the annual payments]); p.74, v238: "*quatro petiziuni a re per nuj fo' date; dello quatro le duj ne foro decretate*" (four petitions were given by us to the king; of the four two of them were decreed).

³¹¹ Threats came from the descent (*calata*) to Italy of Henry VII in 1310 and Ludwig in 1327-30, who both brought armies to oppose Robert, as well as in 1323 when Ludwig sent a force, in 1325-8 when the Ghibelline Castruccio Castracani of Lucca caused problems in Tuscany, and in 1330 and 1333 when John of Bohemia entered northern Italy – Abulafia, David. *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms 1200-1500, The Struggle for Dominion* (Harlow: Longman, 1997), 135-7, 142-3. Ongoing efforts to recover Sicily also meant that there was a risk that adventurers across the northern border might seek to take advantage of the situation.

city's pre-history).³¹² While the incident evidently embarrassed the Aquilans too much for Buccio to present the capture or to blame the king for leaving the city unprotected, in 1320 he implicitly recalled it in celebrating that they recovered the bell that "they used to call in Rieti 'the Aquilella' " and that "they shattered the lion, which had been L'Aquila's, and they held it dear".³¹³ He showed that the opportunity to take revenge arose from a royal request to attack Rieti, an instance of civic and royal purposes coinciding.

In both 1320 and in 1323 Buccio depicted the Aquilans doing their duty well beyond the city "by command of the duke [Charles of Calabria]," and indicated his view that this was appropriate by specifying himself in the contingents ("we took Rieti" in 1320 and "we went to Amatrice and burnt all of the *contado* that they have" in 1323).³¹⁴ He did not feel that the commissions required him to justify their purposes, but other sources based the reasons for them on Charles's desire to take his revenge on the Reatini for expelling his representative and to punish the Amatriciani for disobeying his orders and for internal factional disputes.³¹⁵ Since the service of 1320 was "another armed expedition with a large number of men-at-arms," Buccio evidently had in mind the raid on Amatrice in 1318, implicitly recalling the city's case for receiving defensive priority.³¹⁶

³¹² De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 60 – citing Antinori.

³¹³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 83, v263: "*chiamavano in Riete l'Aquilella*"; p. 85, v274: "*lu lione speczaro ch'era pur stato d'Aquila e tenianolu caro.*"

³¹⁴ Ibid., 82, v262 and p.89, v287: "*per comanno del duca*"; p.82, v263: "*pilliammo Riete*"; p.89, v287: "*jemmone alla Matrice..; lu contado che aveano tucto abrusciammo noi.*"

³¹⁵ Faraglia, Nunzio Federico. *Studi storici delle cose abruzzesi* (Lanciano: Carabba, 1893), 22-30 – 1320; De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 63 – 1323, citing Antinori.

³¹⁶ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 82, v262: "*un' altra armata... con gra' gente.*"

The attack on Rieti also enabled Buccio to depict the Aquilans' attitude towards other cities. Above all, he showed that they expected other cities to obey them, by having "our men" instruct the Reatini: " 'If you wish to preserve the city and its men, you must do what L'Aquila commands' ".³¹⁷ In this, his posture resembled that of many cities, but was able to support it by his portrayal of the victory over Rieti. Next Buccio displayed the Aquilans' confidence that they would receive royal backing against other cities even when they strayed, provided that they pursued the king's objective for them. He did this by including in his narrative of the conquest of Rieti descriptions of the Aquilans scuffling with and wounding the men of Sulmona, who were their allies against Rieti, during the attack and tearing down their flag (like the Aquilans' diversion in 1328 when they reduced Sambuci and devastated the area around Anticoli).³¹⁸ Buccio did not specify any repercussions from Robert either time, and indicated that, when the men of Sulmona complained to him, the king sided with the Aquilans on the grounds that the latter had contributed far more men and won honor. The author even used ridicule as a tool against the men of Sulmona, in having Robert offer them redress to go and besiege L'Aquila but, if they failed after a month, they were to pay a penalty of one thousand ounces. The counts and barons in attendance made fun of the men of Sulmona, who found relief in that the king did not put his sentence in writing.³¹⁹

In the third episode, in 1328, Buccio depicted the citizens acting in defense of the realm in the role that he implicitly had long suggested was how they could best serve the crown.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 84, v269: "*li nostri... 'Se volete la terra e li omini canpare [= (glossary) scampare], quel che comanda l'Aquila a buj convè' de fare.*" "

³¹⁸ Ibid., 86, v276; p.97, v314; p.98, v315.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 88, vv284-6.

He began by setting the chain of command: “The king had ordered that he [Charles of Calabria] come back when [Ludwig] the Bavarian came and that he make defenses”.³²⁰ Buccio described that, while Charles also then had the support of the barons and another army under Robert’s brother, John of Durazzo, “he had soldiers sent to the frontier and said that he would willingly see a review of the Aquilans”.³²¹ Here, although Charles had other troops available, Buccio portrayed his dependence on the Aquilans’ contribution, as he had Charles tell the counts present: “ ‘I would not be worried if anything bad comes to me from Rome, never have I loved L’Aquila as much as I love her now’ ”.³²² Implicitly, he felt able to trust the Aquilan soldiers in defense while he set up forward positions. Moreover, in July, when Ludwig reached Tivoli (east of Rome) and Charles moved closer to the border at Albe (guarding the routes east and south via Avezzano), Buccio showed that the duke was comfortable in stationing the Aquilans in a more advanced position at Anticoli. Maps indicate that Anticoli was across the frontier and just sixteen miles from Tivoli but thirty-six miles from Charles’s army. Presumably, Charles intended the Aquilans to hold up Ludwig if he took the road that led to a division in the route either south via Subiaco or north-east to L’Aquila (forty-four miles away). The chronicle showed that the Aquilans were away on duty for almost two months, as it mentioned that Ludwig stayed at Tivoli for some time before withdrawing and that the Aquilans then received leave to return home, arriving at the end of August.³²³

³²⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 92, vv296-7: “*Aviali comannato lu re che revennesse, ca nne venia lu Bavero e riparo facesse.*”

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 94, v301: “*li sollati mannati alle fontere avia, disse che mustra d’Aquila volenter vedria.*”

³²² *Ibid.*, 96, v308: “*‘di Roma no curarame che m’abenesse rio, mai non amai l’Aquila quanto mo l’amo gio.’*”

³²³ *Ibid.*, 97, v312 – Albe and Anticoli; p.98, v316 – returned home on the day of Perdonanza (August 29).

Buccio could have made criticisms about these deployments, but his investment in the ideal of royal-civic reciprocity kept him from doing so. The large fine on the Aquilans for raiding Amatrice was inconsistent with asking them to do the same five years later. The stationing of the Aquilan contingent at Anticoli in advance of Charles's troops not only exposed it to annihilation by Ludwig's much greater army but also removed the city's best defenders. Buccio was also silent on whether Charles articulated a legitimate basis for instructing the Aquilans to attack a papal city (Rieti) and whether the duke made any promise to save L'Aquila instead of staying south, if Ludwig turned on it.

The military service was one of several ways that Buccio depicted the citizens displaying loyalty to the monarchy, another prime location of civic identity. Further instances included cooperation with the 'good' captains and not standing in the way of the 'bad' ones, except in extreme circumstances (as by Nicola). The most notable example of civic loyalty in the chronicle was in 1268, when the author described Charles I at Tagliacozzo at his most desperate for assistance. Buccio inserted a break in the battle at in the evening, in which the king, observing that his troops had "great fatigue," rode with four men to L'Aquila to obtain provisions for them.³²⁴ Although the mission seems fanciful, it also appeared in Giovanni Villani.³²⁵ Buccio used unequivocal terms to couch the willing replies of the city's inner council to the king ("With a fine joyful face the response was to make every help and assistance that he knew how to ask for") and of its general council

³²⁴ Ibid., 35-6, vv106-9: "*granne fatiga*."

³²⁵ Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1990-1), VII, 27.

to the captain (“ ‘Let us go and help him’ ”).³²⁶ He emphasized the fullness of the aid by relating its promptness, the inclusion of provisions kept at home, the carrying of the burdens across mountains by both men and women and on their heads if they lacked pack-animals, and the timely arrival before battle re-commenced.³²⁷ Thus Buccio showed that the king could count on the Aquilans in adversity and even that he was dependent on their contribution (“If he had gone [into battle], he would have been the worse”), implying civic recompense for approving the city’s re-foundation and solidification of the bond with him.³²⁸

Expressions of the Aquilans’ loyalty to the crown appear at intervals in the chronicle. In 1268, when Charles arrived in secret at L’Aquila (fearing that it had changed sides), the guards, not recognizing him, told him “ ‘It is held for King Charles, to whom may God give life’ ”.³²⁹ Here Buccio not only delivered an implicit rebuke to the king for not having greater trust in the Aquilans, but also drew a contrast with the men of the nearby city of Albe, who praised Conradin (because they thought he had defeated Charles) and had to suffer the destruction of their city by the king as a result.³³⁰ In 1293, when the citizens gave the loyal cry after their unauthorized destruction of the lords’ fortresses, Buccio had them couple it with praise of the civic leader: “saying, ‘Long live the king and worthy Nicola’ ”.³³¹ In 1309 and 1310 the author portrayed “great festivities” in

³²⁶ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 38, v117: “*Co’ bella cera alegra fo resposto de fare onde aiuto e soccorso che sapia ademmannare*”; p.39, v119-20: “*ongi omo deia gire... ‘Iamolu ad agiutare.’* ”

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 39-40, vv121-6.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 40, v127: “*se nanti fosse gito sou pegio stato fora.* ”

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 36, v110: “ ‘*Per re Carllo se tene, che Dio li dia la vita.* ’ ”

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 43-44, vv136-7. But Giovanni Villani indicated that Charles had grounds for concern as the rebel barons had sent to Conradin false envoys from L’Aquila with fake keys to the city and gifts, in Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, VII, 27.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 49, v149: “ ‘*Viva lu re’ dicendo ‘e Nicola preiato!’* ”

honor of Charles II and Robert on their visits.³³² In 1320 at Rieti Buccio again had the victorious Aquilans bracket the monarch and the city in raising both their banners, but this time left their praise unbalanced by elaborating that of the city: “shouting, ‘Long live the king and sovereign L’Aquila, which is the best city that there is up to Tuscany: who rebels against it will have wool removed from them!’”³³³ He also made the Aquilan symbols dominant in describing the citizens bring back their bell on an ox-cart covered with scarlet cloth on which “sat white eagles (*aquile*),” in the same way as northern Italian communes used the ox-cart (*carroccio*) as an emblem of civic identity after a military victory.³³⁴ It seems then that Buccio viewed the bond between the city and the crown as similarly uneven.

A critical aspect of the ‘ideal balance,’ the city’s obligation to pay taxes, received very little attention in the chronicle, which suggests that Buccio saw it as a fact of life.

Contemporary views of the harshness of Charles I’s regime took into account the century-old tradition since William II that taxes in the *Regno* had a limit of fifty thousand ounces, which Charles I well exceeded every year and more than doubled three times before the Vespers revolt in 1282.³³⁵ Recent historians have referred to his “high

³³² Ibid., 71, v230 and p.74, v237: “*gra’ fessta.*”

³³³ Ibid., 85, v273: “‘*Viva lu Re*’” *gridanno ‘e l’Aquila sobrana, ch’ è migliore terra che sia infino in Toscana: chi a essa se rebella be lli tolle la lana!’*”; banners – p.85, v275.

³³⁴ Ibid., 83, v264: “*carro... li bovi*” (cart, oxen); p.83, v265: “*sedia l’aquile bianche.*” For mention of white eagles in L’Aquila’s statutes, see Clementi, *Statuta*, CV: “*armatura Civitatis Aquile, videlicet Aquila alba*” (the arms of the city of L’Aquila, namely the white eagle). On ox-carts, see Coleman, Edward. “The State of Research. The Italian Communes. Recent Work and Current Trends.” *Journal of Medieval History*, No. 4, 25 (1999): 392-3.

³³⁵ William II - Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 54; subvention amounts - Percy, William A. “The Earliest Revolution against the ‘Modern State’: Direct Taxation in Medieval Sicily and the Vespers.” *Italian Quarterly*, 22 (1981): 79-80 – based on a study of royal registers.

taxation” and “tight-fisted government”.³³⁶ The constitution of Honorius IV of 1285 fixed the maximum annual subvention for the *Regno* (including Sicily) at fifty thousand ounces. William Percy’s study concluded that after 1285 the general subvention for the mainland *Regno* “varied but little until the fifteenth century,” oscillating between forty and forty-five thousand ounces from 1290 to 1348.³³⁷ Fiscal officials in Naples performed apportionments by province and by city that apparently remained quite stable from Charles I’s time.³³⁸ Even so, L’Aquila seems to have benefited from abatements in its early years, indicating a policy decision to avoid the city’s collapse. In 1269 (and probably before) L’Aquila received a tax assessment of 565 ounces³³⁹ that was *pro rata* significantly below that for Aversa in 1294.³⁴⁰ L’Aquila’s smaller share seems to have come to an end during the 1270s (probably by 1277) and no later than 1289.³⁴¹ An indicator that the burden was manageable is found in the price that the citizens agreed to

³³⁶ Dunbabin, Jean. *Charles I of Anjou. Power, Kingship, and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 76. Abulafia, *Western Mediterranean*, 79; but tax levels were generally no higher than those charged by Frederick II and were not the principal cause of revolt in Sicily, which spread only to Calabria (ethnically tied to Sicily) - *ibid.*, p.74 and Abulafia, David. “The State of Research. Charles of Anjou Reassessed.” *Journal of Medieval History*, No. 1, 26 (2000): 108.

³³⁷ Percy, “Earliest Revolution,” 78.

³³⁸ Egidi, Pietro. “Ricerche sulla popolazione dell’Italia meridionale nei secoli XIII e XIV” in *Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di Giovanni Sforza* (Lucca: Baroni, 1920), 732-3; on the stability of the ratios, see Percy, “Earliest Revolution,” 73: “a progressive rigidification of innovation, common in institutional history.”

³³⁹ Filangieri, *Registri*, V, 122.

³⁴⁰ Aversa’s assessment of 448oz. in 1294 was 1.36% of the total subvention for the seven main provinces of 32,864oz. in Percy, “Earliest Revolution,” 80; applying the 1.36% to the total for the same seven provinces for 1269 of 48,846oz. in *ibid.*, p.79 gives 666oz. or 18% above the actual for L’Aquila in 1269 of 565oz; if L’Aquila’s population was double that of Aversa, L’Aquila should have been taxed twice 666oz or 1332oz. instead of 565oz. On population, see Ginatempo, Maria and Luca Sandri. *L’Italia delle città. Il popolamento urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento (secoli xiii-xvi)* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1990), 190 - populations at around the end of the thirteenth century/ 1320: L’Aquila 20,000, Aversa 10-11,000.

³⁴¹ 1270s – based on information in the royal registers in Filangieri, *Registri*, XX, XLIV, XLVI; 1289 - Martin, Jean-Marie. “Fiscalité et économie étatique dans le royaume angevin de sicile à la fin du XIIIe siècle” in *L’État Angevin. Pouvoir, culture, société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle* (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Boromini, 1998), 629: “voluntary” gifts of 1,000oz. by L’Aquila and 500oz. by Aversa. It seems that the basis for raising gifts was the same as for subventions (*ibid.*). These gifts were proportional to population sizes.

pay the king for the site of Machilone in 1301, one thousand ounces, which was the same as their “voluntary” gift in 1289.³⁴²

Although sparse, Buccio’s comments on the Angevin fiscal regime were mostly negative. In describing the re-foundation, he associated Charles I with tax demands, by having him require an initial settlement fee to be paid promptly: “‘Find the money promised within its terms’ ”.³⁴³ The author supplied sufficient details to calculate the amount as three thousand ounces.³⁴⁴ He implicitly complained that it was both hefty, representing half as much again as he gave for the fine that Charles II imposed in 1294, and disproportionate to the resources of the immigrants: “among all these men they did not have a paltry *provisino*”.³⁴⁵ In 1293 Buccio strongly implied that Charles II made unfair fiscal exactions, in explaining why the people loved Nicola more than the king: “he [Nicola] did not allow money to be paid unjustly”.³⁴⁶ In 1316, the chronicler showed that Robert ignored his father’s promise at San Martino, by shifting on to the citizens the financial and labor burden of building the walls (“much treasure went there”) and towers (“they cost five hundred ounces”).³⁴⁷ Buccio suggested that indirect taxes were previously high,

³⁴² Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 40.

³⁴³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 66: “*la moneta promessa per termine trovate.*”

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 23, v70: “*per ongi casolino a re ne sia asengiato dudici bo’ carllini*” (for each house twelve good *carlini* is to be assigned to the king); p.23, v71: “*Quinici milia fochi foro quilli che dero*” (fifteen thousand households were those that he gave); Musto, Ronald G. *Medieval Naples. A Documentary History* (New York: Italica Press, 2013), 200 – in 1324 there were sixty silver *carlini* to the ounce (a unit of account). $12 \times 15,000 = 180,000 \text{ carlini}$; $180,000 \text{ carlini}/60 = 3,000\text{oz}$.

³⁴⁵ 1294 - De Matteis, *Buccio*, 59, v186: “*dumila once*” (2,000 oz) - $3,000/2,000 = 1.5$; p.27, v84: “*fra tucti quisti non abero un vile proviscino*” – a *provisino* was a widely-circulated coin originally from Provins, in Champagne.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 55, v175: “*denaro a torto pagar non à lassato.*”

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 77, v248: “*ginci multo tesoro... custaro cinquecento once.*” At San Martino in 1283, the future Charles II agreed that cities had only to repair castles and walls, not provide the funds to build new ones – Cadier, Léon. *Essai sur l’administration du royaume de Sicile sous Charles I^{er} et Charles II d’Anjou* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1891), 92. The work was surely begun some time before 1316, even if the earthquake of Dec. 1315 caused the need for repair.

in calling it “good” in 1310 that, as a result of Robert’s acceptance of a civic petition, “the merchants could bring all their merchandise without paying *grascia* [a type of duty], exempt and secure in L’Aquila” and in implying that limited toll exemptions received in 1327 were commensurate with the citizens’ earlier “great service”.³⁴⁸

These duty and toll concessions, together with the approval of the re-foundation, and the reduction of the fine in 1318, do not seem substantial enough to warrant descriptions of strong royal favor that several modern historians have used.³⁴⁹ Buccio did not mention any inducements to immigrants in 1266 such as the fifteen-year tax exemption Robert granted at the foundation of nearby Cittareale in 1329,³⁵⁰ and the author’s wording in 1310 excluded exports in limiting the duty exemption to items of internal consumption.³⁵¹ On the other hand, Buccio’s description of Robert’s sale of justice in the 1330s did not necessarily mean that he saw the king’s fiscal governance as severe, and he implicitly portrayed Robert’s generosity during the famine of 1329. The king was then presumably responsible for the sale of grain to Aquilan civic representatives in Apulia at a below

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 74, v239: “bona... lli mercatanti poctissero menare tucte le mercatantie senza *grascia* pagare, *franche e secure in Aquila*”; p.92, v295: “per li granni servitij” – receiving “*ciò che petevamo*” (what we sought); for exemption in 1327 limited to tolls on animals coming to L’Aquila for internal consumption, see Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 50.

³⁴⁹ Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 853: “Jurisdictional and economic privileges (even minting money) and the reservation to the royal demesne contributed to making the city [L’Aquila] one of the leading municipalities of the *Regno*”; but Galasso also recognized that the Aquilans’ drive played an important part: “by the citizens’ initiative... the city’s material and economic structure was developed with great fervor” (ibid.). Other historians identifying royal favor include Vitolo, Giovanni. “Il regno angioino” in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, IV, 34-36: “the favors of the first and second Angevins did not fail to encourage [the inhabitants of L’Aquila]”; Gaudioso, *Natura giuridica*, 175: “The more arrogant and tenacious Abruzzese cities [including L’Aquila] ... had conditions of favor”; Faraglia, Nunzio Federigo. *Il comune nell’Italia meridionale (1100-1806)* (Naples: Tipografia della regia università, 1883), 104: “[the demesne cities of Abruzzo], favored by the kings.”

³⁵⁰ Berardi, *I monti d’oro*, 127.

³⁵¹ The extent of the grant in 1310 is unclear, since the use of terms (*dazi* and *gabelle*) varied. On them, see Coniglio, Giuseppe. *Il Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo V. Amministrazione e vita economico-sociale* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1951), 193-5.

market price (as they subsequently put it on sale in the city at twelve *soldi* per cup) at a time when prices reached twenty *soldi* per cup.³⁵²

Buccio also omitted a few other potential themes. He did not mention the Vespers in Sicily and Calabria in 1282, either to condemn the notion of revolt or to show sympathy for the oppression by royal officials. If he thought that the events were too far away to matter in L'Aquila, Charles I was not so sure, since the royal register gave the discovery just eight months later of a plot by Conrad of Antioch to "subvert the people of Abruzzo" and seize the fortress of Antrodoco in the Mountain.³⁵³ The distance from Sicily did not prevent Buccio from showing awareness of certain other matters vital to the crown that did not directly concern the Aquilans (Charles I at Benevento, Charles II in Provence and his death, Robert's coronation in Avignon, Charles of Calabria in Florence and his death, and Joanna's marriage).³⁵⁴ Another omission, though not exclusively, was the subject of commerce. Its significance to L'Aquila called for more references than to the indirect tax and toll exemptions in 1310 and 1327, the guilds in 1327, and an economic cause for the fighting in the *contado* in the 1330s. Other sources locate signs of the city's growth in the funds made available for extensive public works,³⁵⁵ the desire to make passage safe for merchants by curbing abuse by royal functionaries and feudatories in twelve royal

³⁵² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 100-1, vv322-6. Robert may be called "fiscally cautious" - Kelly, *New Solomon*, 187.

³⁵³ Filangieri, *Registri*, XXVI, 84: "*populum Apr[utii] subvertere*." Conrad's base was at Saracinesco (fifteen miles across the border in modern Lazio) - Runciman, Stephen. *The Sicilian Vespers: a history of the Mediterranean world in the later thirteenth century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1958), 244.

³⁵⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 13, v32; p.71, v229; p.73, v234; p.92, v296; p.116, v378.

³⁵⁵ Civic palace by 1289, paving of the square in 1305, building an aqueduct five miles long in 1304-8, sewer in 1312, walls, towers, and gates by 1316, and rebuilding the cathedral by 1327 after the earthquake - Berardi and Redi, *Breve storia dell'Aquila*, 41-4 and Berardi, *I monti d'oro*, 158, 161, 163.

diplomas,³⁵⁶ the establishment of a fair to coincide with Celestine's indulgence,³⁵⁷ and the issuance of sumptuary statutes.³⁵⁸ Commerce could well have been a source of civic pride as another element of Aquilan identity. For Buccio, instead, Aquilan identity was essentially about reciprocal relations between the city and the *contado* and between both and the crown.

Since Buccio promised in his first verse to “write in this my book about our government of L’Aquila,” it seems at first sight rather surprising that he rarely discussed its leaders by name.³⁵⁹ One of his successors, the Anonymous, in 1423-4 took a different course by providing a list of the five magistrates and the mayor every two months when they changed.³⁶⁰ Buccio did not have quite the same option, as even the inner council contained twelve men, so that identifying them all would have overwhelmed his work. He probably decided against singling out individual councilors in order to emphasize their equality. Even the mayor seems to have been a spokesman rather than a chief executive. That position fell more to the captains, whom at times he did name. The only two citizens that he described as having responsibility, apart from syndics, were Ramotto, who introduced the least men shortly after the foundation, and Nicola dell’Isola, the “people’s leader” against the lords of the *contado* in 1293.³⁶¹ Both occupied unofficial

³⁵⁶ *Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, cc.8, 9, 14-5, 16, 19, 21; *Codice II dei privilegi Aquile*, v.35, c.8; Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 50; Gasparinetti, Paola. “La ‘via degli Abruzzi’ e l’attività commerciale di Aquila e Sulmona nei secoli xiii-xv.” *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria*, 54-6 (1964-6): 37.

³⁵⁷ Gasparinetti, “La ‘via degli Abruzzi,’” 39.

³⁵⁸ *Codice II dei privilegi Aquile*, v.35, c.15 – in 1333.

³⁵⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 3, v1: “scrivere de quisto libro mio, del nostro stato d’Aquila.”

³⁶⁰ De Matteis, Carlo, ed. *La guerra dell’Aquila. Cantare anonimo del XV secolo* (L’Aquila: Textus, 1996), 21, 27, 49, 62, 76, 87, 113.

³⁶¹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 29, v93: “Ramotto co lli altri homini trasse de servituti, tucti li menuri homini che ‘sto paiese à ‘uti” (Ramotto, with other men, drew from servitude all the least men that this countryside has

positions and, perhaps not coincidentally, both died miserably (Ramotto hanged, Nicola poisoned). Buccio alluded to but did not expand on the meaning of the initial support that each one had. Ramotto, acting “with other men,” relied on internal cooperation to become the type of leader that “I despise”.³⁶² Nicola, previously “made a knight with honor” and usually called by Buccio “*ser Nicola*,” owed his favor to the king, whose personal sense of betrayal implicitly helped drive his subsequent actions against not only Nicola and but also the Aquilans as a body.³⁶³

Buccio’s depictions of the fates of Ramotto and Nicola suggest that personal aggrandizement was a concern for him, especially when, as in Nicola’s case, linked with royal support. That did not mean that he felt that the kings were trying to interfere in the running of L’Aquila,³⁶⁴ but that he seems to have feared that individual citizens might seek to enhance their positions through association with the monarchy, even if their connections with it could benefit the city. In the background, though not in the chronicle, was Charles II’s edict in 1295 that required all cities to elect men from among “the greater or more wealthy of the city” to perform appraisals and use them to apportion general subventions.³⁶⁵ His ruling gave L’Aquila’s appraisers substantial power, since in

had); p.46, vv140-1: “*ser Nicola de l’Isula... Era capo de populu*” (Nicola dell’Isola was the people’s leader) - as his title did not recur in Buccio, it seems he arrogated it to himself to be like a captain of the people in northern Italy.

³⁶² Ibid., 29, v89: “*io li despreio, tali omini ci menaro*” (I despise them, such men lead us).

³⁶³ Ibid., 46, v140: “*facto cavaleiro vangiato* [= (glossary) *bagnato*]” – referring to being sprinkled with holy water at the ceremony (fn); “*ser Nicola*” – in p.46, v140; p.49, vv151-2; p.50, vv154-5; p.62, vv161, 165; p.54, vv172-3; but just “*Nicola*” in pp.48-9, v149.

³⁶⁴ In Naples the kings served the emerging noble class with favors - Vitale, Giovanna. *Élite burocratico e famiglia. Dinamiche nobiliari e processi di costruzione statale nella Napoli angioino-aragonese* (Naples: Liguori, 2003), 186. But, as only *popolani* founded L’Aquila and as nobles moved there only slowly, their numbers were too small to form an elite by a cut (*serrata*) as happened in Naples with the Seggi. Still, Buccio’s recognition of an individual’s noble title shows that to him it carried status in L’Aquila.

³⁶⁵ Trifone, *La legislazione*, 130: “*maiores vel ditiores de terra.*”

the prior year he decreed that its city and *contado* be united for tax purposes.³⁶⁶ Buccio seems to have hinted at concerns about the concentration of influence in describing four citizens being elevated to knights by Robert on his visit in 1310 when most citizens were *popolani*, *ser* Nicolo di Roio being entrusted with military command by the city in 1320 despite his family's close ties to the monarchy, and *ser* Bonomo being employed as syndic both in 1318 to negotiate down the fine after the burning of Amatrice and again in 1329 to ask for grain.³⁶⁷ The author was rather more explicit about another citizen, Gaglioffo, in addressing the reader directly concerning a second request for grain in 1329: "it was written to Gaglioffo and he had it [the grain] sent. Now you understand well how it was paid for".³⁶⁸ Buccio evidently expected the reader to know of Gaglioffo's huge wealth and close ties to the king,³⁶⁹ which served Gaglioffo subsequently in the chronicle, when the poor sacked his warehouse and Robert punished not only the culprits but also the city.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ Colapietra, "Profilo," 10: "*civitas ipsa... non sicut olim per localium distincta vocabula censeatur vel taxetur disiunctim in antea per nostram Curiam... sed huiusmodi articulo localium suppresso vocabulo, pro ipsis omnibus Aquila de coetero nuncupetur*" (the city is not to be assessed or taxed as formerly by distinct designations of local places separately as before by our court, but with articulated designation of local places suppressed in this way it is to be named L'Aquila for all of them) - on September 28, 1294.

³⁶⁷ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 74, v237: "*fe' quatro cavaleri d'Aquila*" (made four knights of L'Aquila); p.83, v266: "*Ser Nicola de Rogi... triunfale che imperiale paria*" (*Ser Nicola di Roio*, triumphal that he seemed like an emperor) - on the connection of the Rogiani with the king, Buccio described their successful petitions in 1293 and 1308; p.81, v260: "*ser Bonomo*" in 1318 and p.101, v325: "*misser Bonomo*" in 1329.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 102, v327: "*fonne scripto a Gaglioffo e isso l'abe mannato, ora intennate bene como ne fo pagato.*"

³⁶⁹ Wealth - local confraternity archives named him in transactions in almost every year from 1318 until his death in 1335, when his estate included 3,540 oz. in golden florins, 8,951 sheep, and loans receivable from the Bonaccorsi of Florence - Colapietra, "Profilo," 14-15; Clementi, *Storia dell'Aquila*, 54. Ties - named as "*familiare*" to Robert's brother in buying rights to local customs duties in 1328, in De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 74; held license to provision royal troops in Abruzzo and at Rieti against Ludwig in 1329, including Robert's expectation that he would exercise influence over the citizens ("the purchase is to proceed without complaint of the faithful"), in *ibid.*, p.73; and he made bequests to queen Sancia and to Niccolò Acciaiuoli (the family's banker), in Colapietra, "Profilo," 15.

³⁷⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 103, v333: "*Tucto lo grano tolto de Gaglioffo era stato*" (all the grain that there was was taken from Gaglioffo); fine of two hundred ounces on the commune and fines on individuals - pp.103-4, vv333-5.

A further potential theme that received infrequent attention from Buccio was L'Aquila's religious devotion. It seems that he found it sufficient to articulate a strong ethical component as underpinning his sense of civic identity - the communal government and its moral uprightness. On the occasions that he specified religious devotion, the related events were highly significant. He described the citizens being "very joyful" in 1309 when Charles II donated a relic of Mary Magdalene and making "many vows" and doing "penance" after the earthquake of 1315.³⁷¹

The most notable displays of civic devotion were to Celestine on his visit to L'Aquila in 1294 and following his canonization as St Peter Celestine in 1313. Charles II brought him (then Peter of Morrone) on July 28, 1294 to be crowned pope in the abbey of St Mary of Collemaggio, just outside the city walls. Sources show that the king chose L'Aquila, because its location near the border and its size served his needs. The city's advantages were that it was both not far for the cardinals to travel from Perugia where the conclave had met and large enough to host them and their retinues, and so it would permit a prompt ceremony that would give little time for any objection to the election on July 5. Since Peter, an elderly Celestinian hermit then living in a cave near Sulmona and a compromise papal candidate promoted by the king, experienced panic attacks when told of the conclave's decision, he could be expected to be aided by his familiarity with the abbey, which he had founded, and by the city's mild climate. Charles wished to exercise his influence over Peter, whom he had met in April and knew that it would be easier to do

³⁷¹ Ibid., 72, v231: "*multo se n'alegrone*"; p.75, v240: "*multi buti* [= (glossary) *voti*]," p.76, v243: "*penetenza*."

so inside the *Regno* than in Rome, where he would face interference from the Colonna cardinals.³⁷² Following Peter's consecration on August 29, the king's protonotary, Bartolomeo da Capua, assumed the office of apostolic notary and drafted the most important documents of the papacy, which were issued even before the pope and the king left L'Aquila for Naples on October 6.³⁷³

Buccio celebrated Celestine for his holiness and for what he meant to the city: "He exalted L'Aquila".³⁷⁴ The author suggested that the citizens entered into a particular relationship with the pope, as they experienced "great joy" that began with his Christ-like arrival in the city following his consecration: "He rode into L'Aquila on a donkey; king Charles to his right, his son [Charles Martel] on the other side".³⁷⁵ Buccio portrayed the presence of the key elements to his narrative, the *boni homini* having a significant role (in approaching the pope to request his intercession), the king accepting the civic request, the making of "peace" (by the exiles on their re-entry), Celestine granting "indulgences," and the *boni homini* returning "very joyful".³⁷⁶ These achievements rested in the chronicle on the willingness of the citizens and the king each to make compromises. On one side "The Aquilans, seeing the love that he [the pope] had for them, [recognized that] it was

³⁷² Herde, Peter. "Celestino V" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1974), 405-7. The Colonna were aligned with Frederick of Aragon, who opposed Charles in Sicily.

³⁷³ Ibid., 408-9: on September 18 the pope created twelve new cardinals favored by Charles, including Peter of L'Aquila and on October 1 he confirmed the peace of Junquera desired by the king that transferred Sicily to the church by 1297 and then after a year back to the *Regno*. Charles II also inserted other men he trusted in the papal administration, including as court marshal to control access to the pope, as rectors of papal provinces, and as senator of Rome.

³⁷⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 61, v194: "*esaltata l'Aquila*."

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 57, v181: "*grandi alegrecze*"; p.58, v183: "*a cavallio intrò in Aquila inell'asino lu santo; re Carlo adestro lu, lu fillio dall'altro canto*."

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 58-9, vv185-8; p.59, v189: "*ficero la pace*"; p.60, v192: "*le perdunanze*"; p.60, v193: "*multo alegri*."

necessary to have them atone” for their acts,³⁷⁷ and on the other side Charles told the pope: “I thought to punish them for their sin to be an example to others, but let them be pardoned”.³⁷⁸ The saint’s presence sanctified the agreement, recalling the role of the pope in the foundation and helping to re-calibrate civic-royal relations.

Devotion to St Peter Celestine was visible at three later dates. In 1316, after hearing the preaching of Roberto da Salle (“a companion to St Peter”), Buccio indicated that the citizens changed their custom in promising not to eat meat on the day of the sabbath.³⁷⁹ They made “festivities” on foot and on horseback with “joy and dancing” on the saint’s translation to Collemaggio in 1327, and engaged in “singing” on the day of the indulgence before going there in 1328.³⁸⁰ By specifying that “each guild made a present to St Peter” at his translation while “we generally made the other expenses,” Buccio evidenced the classes coming together. Also, he showed that, though based on the differentiation contained in this excerpt he was not a member of the guilds, just by naming them he valued their social and possibly political role, which their assumption of leadership in the saint’s cult enhanced.³⁸¹ Besides giving the participation of the classes, Buccio also specified that “all the communities around came without fail”.³⁸² Since Collemaggio was located outside the city walls, this meant that there was no sense of rural subordination. Thus he gave the realization of his ideal - the entire city and the

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 58, vv184-6: “Vedenno li Aquilani lu amore che lli avia, pariali far devesse ”

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 59, v188: “io me crisci punirili dellu loro peccato ch  fosse isenplo a li altri: ma siali perdunato!”

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 77, vv246-7: “conpangio a san Petro.”

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 91, v292: “da pedi e da cavallo... festanno con alegrecze e ballio”; p.98, v316: “cantando.”

³⁸¹ Ibid., 90, v291: “ciascuna Arte fece a san Piero lu presente, l’altra spese facciamo nuj generalmente.” On saints conveying authority and honor to those controlling their cults, see Webb, Diana. *Patrons and Defenders. The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London: Tauris, 1996), 5-6.

³⁸² Ibid., 91, v292: “tucte le terre intornno v nnero senza fallio.”

contado uniting for a common purpose that, when necessary, benefited from cooperation with the crown, but as here did not depend on it.

In conclusion, Buccio's principal themes were his characterization of civic government and the way that it reflected Aquilan autonomy and values (taking care of the citizens, upholding justice and liberty, and fostering unity between the city and the *contado*); his views of the captains, who when 'good' promoted civic values and when 'bad' brought to light royal faults (making them a medium for the author's central city-crown relationship); his characterization of L'Aquila's rivalry with the local lords, in which the city was good and the lords bad, but where much of the narration reverted to the question of the crown's role (it should support the city); and his discussion of the direct civic-royal relationship (L'Aquila's willingness to contribute to defenses and taxes, but subject to its expectation that royal policy should not conflict with civic interests); and his depiction of papal support to the citizens that, when requested, prompted the monarchs to show favor to them. The thread to these topics was L'Aquila's relationship with the crown, which, Buccio showed, facilitated, or at least did not stand in the way of, the city's institutional development, appointed mostly 'good' captains, and gave some support to its maintenance of the *contado*.

In Buccio's view, the bond between L'Aquila and the Angevins, cemented by the city's re-foundation, placed an ongoing obligation on the citizens to show unconditional loyalty to the monarchy, even if sometimes they did not do what the kings wanted, but also entitled him on the citizens' behalf to make criticism when the kings did not act

according to his image of ‘proper’ royal behavior. While he exercised this right on several occasions (on justice, the captains, the feudatories, and defense), more often he depicted civic collaboration with the kings and their agents (building the infrastructure, royal service, and the crown generally not interfering in the city developing institutions and maintaining the *contado*). The bond also enabled Buccio to express desires for both the Aquilans and the crown. From the Aquilans he longed for deeper adherence to his idea of a moral code, inspired in part by his image of the ‘good’ king. From the crown, which was implicitly aware of the code’s constraint on the citizens, he desired greater reliance on them, as seen in him having Charles of Calabria put his approach into practice during the duke’s six month stay in 1328: “He sent our men, seeking that they should go to council, with him placing trust in them”.³⁸³ He even had Charles propose a solution to the implied frequent misunderstandings that arose due to the city’s distance from the capital: “ ‘My life will be this: in winter to stay in Naples, in summer to make festivities here; every year this city will be requested by me’ ”.³⁸⁴

³⁸³ Ibid., 96, v310: “*nostri manna cercanno c’anassero al consiglio, de loro se fidanno.*”

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 97, v311: “ ‘*mea vita serà questa: lu vernno stare a Napoli, la state ecco far festa; on’anno questa terra da mì sarrà richiesta.*’ ”

CHAPTER TWO

A Crisis of Representation: Factionalism and Lalle's *Signoria*, 1336-1354

The period from 1336 to 1354 saw a complete change from L'Aquila's prior history, as the city succumbed to factionalism and then in 1342 to the *signoria* of Lalle Camponeschi that lasted for twelve years, against a background of a fall in population by two-thirds and of related economic collapse arising from the plague in 1348. The crown also experienced instability following Robert's death in 1343. Since Joanna, his granddaughter, was only seventeen upon her accession, a regency under her grandmother, Sancia, was in place until 1344. Following the murder of Joanna's cousin and husband, Andrew of Hungary, in 1345, her Taranto and Durazzo ducal cousins (sons of Robert's younger brothers) competed for influence over her. By October 1346 she attached herself to Louis of Taranto and they married in August 1347. In late 1347 Andrew's older brother, King Lewis of Hungary (heir to Charles Martel), seized control of the northern provinces of the *Regno*, and in January 1348 Joanna and her husband fled into exile. In August 1348 they returned to retake the kingdom. Louis quickly captured Naples, but needed years to reconquer the rest of the *Regno*. He and Joanna marked their final victory with a double coronation in May 1352.³⁸⁵

Civic and national events intertwined, as Lalle was one of the first supporters of Lewis, who arrived in L'Aquila in December 1347 and rewarded Lalle with an office at court. It seems that in as early as 1346 the new *signore*, disliked by Joanna, sought to solidify his

³⁸⁵ Léonard, Emile G. *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), 347-364. Also on these events and on the spelling of Lewis, see Musto, Ronald G. *Medieval Naples. A Documentary History* (New York: Italica Press, 2013), lxix-lx.

internal position by obtaining assistance from outside the *Regno*, and to benefit opportunely from any success by Lewis against the queen. Never before had an Aquilan leader supported an enemy of the crown, despite the proximity of Conradin, Corrado of Antioch, Henry VII, and Ludwig. At first Lalle's decision brought hardship to the citizens, as they endured sieges by Joanna's followers, which ended only with Lewis's approach. Any benefit that they gained from the king disappeared when he left the *Regno* in 1348. Lalle had no alternative then but to return to L'Aquila, where he was able to resume his position. Joanna and Louis tacitly allowed him to do so in order to deter him from lending help to Lewis's troops still in the kingdom. Following their peace with the Hungarian, Lalle's position with the crown became precarious, though inside the city he won acceptance by his efforts in leading reconstruction after the earthquake of 1349. The citizens apparently regretted his death in 1354 when Louis's brother, Philip, had him killed, and, probably fearing the loss of their demesne status, they welcomed the monarchs' subsequent approval of the return of communal government to the city.

These events brought a crisis to Buccio as to how to represent civic identity. Until 1335 his approach was clear, as he generally approved of how L'Aquila's leaders governed the commune and of how the crown acted towards the city. Now he became more critical of both, but also found times of ambivalence and even of being able to offer praise. This range of reaction did not result simply from how his fellow citizens and he experienced the behavior of the city's faction leaders/ *signori* and of the monarchs. It also reflected his struggling with the disappearance of his former model, which identified the city's golden age with collaboration between L'Aquila and the crown. Previously, his model was

subject to the condition that the Aquilans and the kings should act ‘properly’ (as he saw it). But who represented the Aquilans when the civic leaders were no longer elected - sometimes abusing the people or acting independently of their wishes, but other times benefiting them? Even more confusing for him was the dynastic dispute. Which Angevin was the appropriate one for the city then to follow, and who should make the decision? These questions do not all receive clear answers in Buccio, but we can detect his general thinking by examining how he decided to change the way that he depicted happenings in L’Aquila.

Although Buccio’s narration of these years divides rather easily into two periods of factional chaos (1336-42) and Lalle’s *signoria* (1342-54), he saw all of the faction leaders as equally bad and as clearly distinguished from the virtuous, if hapless, citizen body. In the first period no leader achieved control of the city for more than a year at a time, while in the second Lalle, though unelected, remained consistently in command of it. In both the citizens appeared not as participants but as the victims of ongoing violence (among the factions in 1336-42 and afterwards between Lalle and the exiled Pretatti, joined to the queen’s supporters in 1346-7). The effects of the devastating plague and earthquake of 1348-9 reinforced the theme of civic suffering. The rivalry between the Camponeschi and the Pretatti resurfaced after the earthquake, when Lalle led an Aquilan force against the exiles’ base at Antrodoco, and from 1351 as Louis and Philip sought to secure a role for the Pretatti in civic government as a means of taming Lalle.

For a model, Buccio relied initially on the classic opposition of bad tyrants and good citizens. When Lalle declared for Lewis, the author portrayed the citizens rallying to the city's defense against the sieges by Joanna's supporters. After Lalle's rebuilding directives in 1349, Buccio's attitude towards him became more positive. Royal intervention was absent or half-hearted in the years of chaos when the citizens most desired it and opposed in 1351 as they had come to admire Lalle. From that year, when the narration specified communications between Louis and the Aquilans, Buccio depicted the presence of three centers of power (a triad of lord-city-crown), though its earlier existence can be inferred from the lack of mention of challenge to Lalle by Joanna and Louis after their return to Naples in 1348. Following Lalle's elimination in 1354, the city returned to its original binary relationship with the crown, but under an innovative form of government installed in 1355 and welcomed by Buccio. Again he was the only Aquilan writer covering this period.

a) Competition among the faction leaders, 1336-1342:

Though L'Aquila had known periods of internal fighting before, Buccio was conscious that 1336 marked the start of a completely new development. He marked the shift from the period 1331-5 with a direct assertion: "Of what I have said to you, all appears to me nothing with respect to the other harm that happened then".³⁸⁶ His explanation was the formation of factions (*parti*): "The factions were placed so generally, they have destroyed this city, so that every man feels them".³⁸⁷ Where the violence in 1331-5 took place

³⁸⁶ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 119-120, v388: "*De ciò che vi agio dicto tucto me pare niente aversso dell'autro male che poi fò convenente [= (glossary) accaduto].*"

³⁸⁷ Ibid.: "*missorose le parti sì generalmente, destructa ào questa terra che ong'omo se nne sente.*"

among various communities in the *contado*, now the stage was primarily the city, since the disputes were among “our eminent men (*maiurenti*) in L’Aquila”.³⁸⁸ Another change was his description of malfeasance within the city’s government in the misappropriation of civic funds to support private bands: “In times past, he who made the dispute used to pay for it, he collected the money and the commune had no expense; then it was not so, the commune had to pay”.³⁸⁹ A further novelty was his mention of the hiring of “foreign soldiers,” who were from elsewhere “in Abruzzo”.³⁹⁰ Buccio’s portrayals of the faction leaders’ siphoning of communal resources and their use of mercenaries resulted in the citizens appearing as quite helpless.

Buccio traced the growth of factionalism from what he called two “roots of evil”.³⁹¹ One was a dispute between certain communities in the *contado* that attracted, possibly as a pretext, two families on opposite sides, whose power Buccio implied by the insertion: “the Pretatti and the Camponeschi entered into these factions”.³⁹² Since the families’ respective allies, who came out in support, included not only further communities but also various individuals (Bonagiunta for the Pretatti, Mattarone for the Camponeschi), it seems that the fighting swiftly encompassed the city as well.³⁹³ Buccio did not give any background to the two families (though he had mentioned the involvement of the Camponeschi in fighting in 1307), but other sources indicate that they came from the

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 120, v389: “*nostri maiurenti ’n Aquila.*”

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 120-1, vv390-1: “*Lu tenpo nanti gito, chi la bria facea, isso se lla pagava,... li denari colleea de questo lu Comuno nulla spesa n’avea. Dapoi no fo cosci... lu Comuno pagasse.*”

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 121, v391: “*sollati forisci*”, p.122, v393: “*Abruczisci.*”

³⁹¹ Ibid., 121, v393: “*radici del mal.*”

³⁹² Ibid., 122, v394: “*Pretacti e Canponischi in queste parti intraro.*”

³⁹³ Ibid., 122-3, vv395-6.

same town in the *contado*.³⁹⁴ The connections between localities in the city and their corresponding communities of origin, noted in the first chapter, encouraged the spread of rivalries. Buccio's second root "came from Sulmona," where Lalle (the head of the Camponeschi) was in dispute with Restaino Cantelmi, son of the count of Popoli.³⁹⁵ Lalle and his men broke into the palace there and freed one of the Camponeschi followers who was a prisoner.

Modern historians have argued that the new conflicts were class-based rather than among families.³⁹⁶ This was the case in many southern Italian cities. In Salerno, Bari, Naples, Trani, and Sulmona, where commerce was heavier, the merchant classes were quite well-organized and had some success in their struggles with the nobles.³⁹⁷ It might well have been the case for L'Aquila too, as it seems that minor nobles and representatives of the *Arti* tended to support the Camponeschi, while the Pretatti were traditional rural nobility who looked to the court to advance their interests.³⁹⁸ The two families were already prominent through having won civic offices, royal awards, and important supporters.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 91; Antinori, Antonio Ludovico. *Annali degli Abruzzi* (Bologna: Forni, 1971), XI, 395 – from S. Vittorino.

³⁹⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 124, v399: "venne da Sermone."

³⁹⁶ Pontieri, Ernesto. *Il comune dell'Aquila nel declino del medioevo* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1978), 53; Panella, Antonio. *Pagine di Storia Aquilana* (L'Aquila, 1925), 106.

³⁹⁷ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 277. It seems surprising that Buccio did not use the terms "Guelf" and "Ghibelline." On their appearance in the royal registers, see De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 94 – in 1336 Robert accused the Camponeschi of drawing support "*de locis ghibellinis atque rebellibus extra regnum*" (from Ghibelline and rebel places outside the kingdom); Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 469-470 – the registers also used Ghibelline for internal enemies of the king in 1315 in Atri and Sulmona and in 1322 in Città Ducale.

³⁹⁸ Antinori, *Annali*, XI, 395; Pontieri, *Il comune*, 53; Berardi, *I monti d'oro*, 127 – a notarial instrument of 1318 called Edoardo de' Camponeschi and others "*mercanti*" (merchants).

³⁹⁹ Palatini, Leopoldo. "La Signoria nell'Aquila degli Abruzzi dalla seconda metà del secolo XIII al principio del XV." *Bollettino della società di storia patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, No. 24, 12 (1900): 202-3 and De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 100. Shortly before these events, Lalle Camponeschi was *podestà* of Foligno (near Perugia) in 1334, and Robert granted Todino Pretatti a fief in L'Aquila in 1330 and confirmed his purchase of a quarter of a fief in the *contado* in 1334.

Buccio had almost nothing to say about class divisions, and focused instead on showing that the factions were all opportunistic and untrustworthy. His only comment on social division among them was in 1338 when he had Lalle call Bonagiunta “this bad peasant”, nor did he characterize the factionalism as embracing the citizen body as a whole.⁴⁰⁰

Depictions of changing alliances and defections among all the factions received prominence. In saying that Mattarone later “revolted” against the Camponeschi, Buccio indicated that ties within factions were no longer regarded as firm.⁴⁰¹ Similarly, he gave Lalle’s contempt for Bonagiunta, in part because the latter separated from the Pretatti and developed his own independent force. For the faction leaders Buccio used a lexicon of “betrayal” and “sins” that reinforced the notion that not only their opponents but also the commune were victims.⁴⁰² He devoted two hundred verses (a sixth of his chronicle) to the recurring changes and breaches in alliances: in 1338 when Lalle joined with Bonagiunta to expel the Pretatti but then turned against Bonagiunta; in 1339 when the Pretatti and Bonagiunta made peace but then attacked each other; in 1341-2 when Bonagiunta allied with Lalle to defeat the Pretatti but chased away Lalle’s followers; and in 1342 when Lalle, after making a pact with the Pretatti, defeated Bonagiunta’s partisans in the *contado*, but refused the Pretatti participation in his rule of the city.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 128, v415: “*quissto mal villano*.” Bonagiunta was from Coppito in the *contado* - De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 92.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 123, v396: “*se revoltone*.”

⁴⁰² Ibid., 128, v413: “*tradiscione*”; p.138, v439: “*trademinto*”; p.139, v443: “*peccati*.”

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 122-186, vv394-588. References to *signoria* are in p.158, v511: “*Li fili de ser Todino l’Aquila singioravano*” (ser Todino’s sons ruled L’Aquila); p.168, v547: “*[Bonajonta] prese la singioria*” (Bonagiunta took the *signoria*); and implied in p.177, v573: “*Li ‘sciti prisero Aquila*” (the exiles took L’Aquila).

Although Buccio described each faction leader in turn gaining ascendancy over the city, he grouped them together in order to characterize them. In 1336: “Their wills were enlarged and they were very inflated [with pride]”.⁴⁰⁴ After recording their violence as directed primarily towards each other, he reserved his greatest criticism in 1340 for the subversion of communal procedures in “a work badly done in this our [council] chamber”.⁴⁰⁵ Implying that each leader operated to his own benefit in the same way, Buccio delineated their offenses by comparing them all to past tyrants: “There have always been in place the great rodents, who have made their own laws, and others have paid for them. The money that has been stolen cannot be counted”.⁴⁰⁶ His long-term perspective and moral understanding gave him solace: “In the end I have seen that, whoever has acted tyrannically and has done wrong to this commune has paid for it to Christ”.⁴⁰⁷ If possibly using a narrative device, he implied that his reasoning was not abstract but written in fear by adding: “I do not mention anyone”.⁴⁰⁸ His reference to tyranny recalled conditions prior to L’Aquila’s foundation and inside the city soon afterwards, when Ramotto and others admitted the least men, but this was his first evocation of it in seventy years, which suggests the strength of the influence of that early period on his readers and on him.

Further indication that Buccio viewed the factions as indistinguishable came in his portrayals of their organization, forces, and geographic range. Each drew on tight bonds

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 123, v397: “*Le vollie se grossaro e giano multo infati [= gonfiati, per glossary].*”

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 155, v501: “*un’ opera mal facta de questa nostra camera.*”

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 156, v502: “*Li grandi rodeturi sempre so’ loco stati, facti à llozo capituli e altri li à pagati; contar non se porria li denar furati.*”

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 156, v503: “*infine aio veduto che, cunca à tirannato e fa male a ’sto Comuno, Cristo ne ll’ à pagato.*”

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.: “*no mintovo chivelli [= (glossary) chicchessia].*”

(“Mattarone held for the Camponeschi,” Mattarone “with his relatives,” Todino “with his *familia*,” Bonagiunta and “the men of Coppito,” the Camponeschi “heads,” “Lalle had counsel made with all of his faction”) and militarily (“all came together, cavalry and infantry” in 1338, and “so many men came on foot and on horse” in 1341).⁴⁰⁹ In describing their support, Buccio used mostly “faction” (*parte*) for each of them, as well as “exiles” (*usciti*) for Lalle and his followers.⁴¹⁰ While Buccio occasionally utilized “men” (*iente*) and “troops” (*briate*) for Lalle’s followers, “host” (*oste*) and “great company” (*granne conpangia*) for the Pretatti, and “array” (*ponta*) for Bonagiunta’s men, the context does not indicate any difference in impact and suggests more that the author saw their use of violence as multi-faceted.⁴¹¹ Strife covered much of the *contado* as well as the city.⁴¹² Each of the leaders also had ties beyond L’Aquila with opposite groups: in Rieti (some for Lalle, its bishop for Bonagiunta), in Sulmona (Restaino Cantelmi for the Pretatti, others for Lalle), and even in Naples (Charles of Artois for the Pretatti and later for Bonagiunta, others for Lalle).⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 123, v396: “*da Canponischi tenia Mactarone*”, p.127, v411: “*col parentato sio*”, p.157, v507: “*co lla famellia*”, p.158, v510: “*Popletani*”, p.165, v540: “*li caporali*”, p.128, v415: “*Ser Lalle... fece il consillio fare con tucta la sua parte*”; p.127, v410: “*tucti vinnero in seme, cavaleri e peduni*”, p.160, v521: “*tanta gente venia da pedi e da cavallio*.”

⁴¹⁰ Faction – Pretatti – ibid., 122, v394; Camponeschi – p.122, v394; Bonagiunta – p.161, v523. Exiles – p.145, v466.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 127, v412; p.129, v420; p.139, v446; p.141, v453; p.128, v414.

⁴¹² Ibid. (*contado*) – in Barete, Cagnano, Roio, Paganica, Bagno, San Vittorino, Posta, Coppito, Preturo, Borbona, and Cascina; (city) – p.129, v419: the trebuchet stood by “*santo Massimo*” [the cathedral], p.131, v421: the dispute was great “*nu mercato*” (in the market-square), p.137, v437: they attacked “*questa terra*” (this city), p.160, v521: “*no capia na via*” (no way in the street), p.163, v532: “*nu mercato*” (in the market-square), p.164, v534: “*multi ci nne morero*” (many of them died here), p.164, v535: “*uscero Vangisci per paura d’altruj*” (the inhabitants of [the *locale* of] Bagno left [the city] from fear of the others).

⁴¹³ Ibid. (Rieti) – p.135, v428: “*volentero*” (willingly) for Lalle; p.169, v549 – bishop. (Sulmona) – p.124, v399 – Restaino; p.124, v400: “*multi omini*” (many men) for Lalle. (Naples) – p.125, v401 and p.144, v463 – Charles of Artois; p.126, v407: “*Assai gero per Napoli*” (they went much through Naples) for Lalle.

Since Buccio's language was so often about family, it seems that he viewed the rivalries as feuds that ensnared the citizens. While he did not specify that the feuds extended downwards into the citizen body, he implied that the faction leaders gave warning signals against providing help to their opponents. One visual message of vengeance for betrayal was Lalle's murder of Mattarone and fourteen of his relatives by setting fire to his house.⁴¹⁴ Another sign was the use of the term "*vendetta*" in connection with the king's justice (Lalle's faction "went to appeal before King Robert to make *vendetta*"), which shows that the faction leader was not above appropriating the crown to his goals and suggests that the public nature of the royal penalty was important.⁴¹⁵ Above all, Buccio depicted the citizens as innocent victims. They could not avoid the violence owing to the extreme weapons used: mangonels that hurled huge rocks, a trebuchet, and crossbows. The trebuchet stood in the market square and never paused. Lalle's men even occupied the bishop's palace.⁴¹⁶ Civic funds collected for St Peter Celestine's shrine and for the bridge at Pile went instead through misappropriation to pay for the soldiers. The faction leaders forced the citizens to stand guard duty for them one out of every three evenings even in the snow and rain. Men could not do their work and suffered repeated impositions for the costs of sentries and foreign mercenaries (*gente forese*).⁴¹⁷ Members of the factions also seized cattle, bread, and wine.⁴¹⁸ Of course, Buccio's images of civic virtue and of a splintering isolated to the factional families at the top must at some level have been false, as each side was dependent on support.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 127-8, vv412-3.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 126, v406: "*se gero a rechiamare denanzi a re Roberto per la menecta [= (glossary) *vendetta*] fare.*"

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 128-9, vv413, 418-9; p.134, v426.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 135-6, vv430-3; p.146, v472; p.172, v557.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 156, v502 and 161-2, vv526-8.

Through the use of a dramatic change in meter in 1338 Buccio revealed empathy with his fellow citizens, while exhorting them moralistically. Until then and for most of the rest of his chronicle he applied alexandrines, each in verses of four lines. This form, which suited works of a didactic-moral nature, was more common in the prior century and explains Gianfranco Contini's reference to him as "*dugentista ad honorem*".⁴¹⁹ Buccio now introduced into his work the sonnet, which until then in Italy was used mostly for love and comic poetry.⁴²⁰ By waiting for four hundred and twenty verses (a third of his chronicle), he drew significant attention to the sonnets' contents. In the first sonnet, he spoke "to those who are so upset, I run to you in love" and to "the foolish people, who always go directly to these prominent men (*grossi*), how many harmful examples do you see?".⁴²¹ Consistent with his narrative, he characterized the faction leaders as "wicked men," concerned only "to show perfect taste at war".⁴²² In the second, three verses later, he argued against those who acted against peace negotiations, and he urged remorse.⁴²³ In the middle of 1342 he inserted three more related sonnets: expressing a desire for peace; exhorting "to live by justice, but not so that malice is mingled here"; and recommending "not to act like those who have devoured this commune to enrich themselves," as "never was there a man who tyrannized whom God has not punished".⁴²⁴ While he did not

⁴¹⁹ Contini, Gianfranco. *Poeti del Duecento* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1960), I, xvii.

⁴²⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, x.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 130, sonnet I: "*a quilli che so' smossi... a buj recurro in caritate*", "*O gente sciocca... che annare dreto sempre a quisti grossi... Quanti più mali senpli ne vedete*." In total Buccio used twenty-one sonnets.

⁴²² Ibid., 131, sonnet I: "*isbenturati* [= (glossary) *sciagurati*],... *a guerra ad essere aticzati*."

⁴²³ Ibid., 132-3, sonnet II – the negotiators were a theologian sent by the king and a bishop.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 166-7, sonnet V; pp.170-2, sonnet VI: "*vivere a iustizia, ma no che sse ci mestechi malizia*"; pp.173-4, sonnet VII: "*no faccia como quilli c'ào ingloctito* [= (glossary) *inghiottire*] *quisto Communo per illi aricare*", "*mai no fo homo che qui tirannasse che Dio no ll'aia venuto punenno*." The devouring of the commune may also have been a metaphorical reference to the banquet that legitimized Bonagiunta's *signoria* described below.

advocate physical resistance, he sought a moral solution that might lead those facilitating the factions to change their actions.

Despite his appeals, he gave no hint that any faction member thought about civic welfare or whether many citizens felt like he did. Nor did he indicate whether the faction leaders' use of *vendetta*, which he seemed to blame for the length of the disputes, was as common at other levels of Aquilan society. Consequently, rather than reflecting actual experience, his concept of civic unity now appeared exclusively prescriptive: good citizens should not collaborate with the factions, but simply live a just life. His own wishes as expressed in the sonnets, and the wishes of the citizens as described in the narrative, coincided expressly only regarding the desire for peace. The citizens' will emerged in 1342, when they accepted Bonagiunta's request to send an embassy to the king requesting the readmission of the exiles to advance peace. A few months later, Buccio used the first person plural to show that the rest of the citizens and he were unanimous: "We waited for their coming [the return of Bonagiunta and the embassy] with what was needed".⁴²⁵ Since these reports of civic expression appeared four years after Buccio's own wish for peace in 1338 in his second sonnet, the rivalries appear to have had more support among the citizens until 1342 than he elsewhere implied.

In depicting the city's institutions as much weakened but remaining in existence, Buccio showed both the harmful effect of the faction leaders and the underlying strength of the communal model that had been in existence since the re-foundation. In 1339 he implied that the faction leader packed the council to his advantage but that its traditional form

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 165, v539; p.167, v543: "*aspectammo venissero con ciò ch'era mistero* [= (glossary) *bisogno*]."

continued: “the work of the statutes (*capituli*) cannot be related, as such stripping was never seen; the court stood full of people screaming, but it was worth nothing to them, they had to pay”.⁴²⁶ During the famine of 1340, Buccio’s detailed description of how “the council” implemented rationing procedures, using civic officials responsible for provisioning (*notari de ’grascia*), showed that, despite the power of the faction leader, the civic administration was strong enough to put into effect its memories of steps taken in 1329.⁴²⁷ He further evidenced the survival of civic institutions in giving in 1341 Bonagiunta’s reliance on “an assembly (*parlamento*)” to approve his proposed policy to have “the exiles readmitted”,⁴²⁸ in his fifth sonnet in 1342, a description of the citizens waiting for news “of the embassy of our syndics,” who Bonagiunta “had go to the king to beg that he have a general peace made in L’Aquila”,⁴²⁹ and later in 1342 council decisions, under Bonagiunta’s control, increasing fees for the use of ovens and mills and passing new statutes with penalties regarding women’s dress.⁴³⁰

Despite the strength of the faction leader, Buccio depicted the citizens having power as a body outside their institutions on one occasion in 1342. He used a ritualized setting to describe them displaying discontent with Bonagiunta’s assumption of the *signoria*. They countered the steps that Bonagiunta took in 1342 as he tried to build consent to his rule. Like lords in northern Italy from the mid-thirteenth century, he pursued this object by accentuating the chivalric and courtly aspects of his power, through holding a festival,

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 146-7, v473: “*L’opera de ’capituli non se porria contare, che mai no fo veduto siffacto scortecare; stava piena la corte de gente ad estrillare, ma no lli valia niente, lli convenia pagare.*”

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 147-9, vv476-485: “*lu consillio*” - discussions in council, organizing searches for grain, compulsory sales of surpluses to the commune, use of oaths, introduction of ration coupon (*cetola*).

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 162, v530: “*fe’ el parlamento*”, “*che remectia li usciti.*”

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 166, sonnet V: “*dell’amasciata delli nostri sinnici*”; p.165, v539: “*Fe’ gire l’amasciata allu re a precare, che pace generale ’n Aquila faccia fare.*”

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 169-170, vv551-4.

celebrating the recent receipt of knighthoods by three other Aquilans and himself, and cultivating a reputation for liberality by giving a lavish banquet.⁴³¹ His men stage-managed his elevation to *signore* to seem like a natural progression: “dancing” beyond the entrance to the city and “many people dressed in colored cloth” greeted “the knights on their return [from Naples] and we did them much honor”; there was a “great banquet” by the former royal palace with so much food that “more meat was wasted than was eaten” and “concerning the preparation it could not be surpassed”; and “after the festival ended, he took the *signoria*” which rested implicitly on his military strength, as “he had chased away one faction and the other”.⁴³² But the citizens did not affirm his presentation. They welcomed him not through fear or love but “through greed for peace” that they incorrectly thought he had secured in the capital, and the many *popolani* were not necessarily receptive to the courtly aspects of the festival, which worked better in northern Italy where the lords sought to tame their aristocratic opposition.⁴³³ Buccio showed the citizens revealing their opposition, when, implicitly realizing that he had not obtained peace, they disrupted the banquet and rejected its excess: “it did not go well in terms of order, so much [food] was stolen that to so many other people would be quite enough”.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ Northern Italy – Dean, Trevor. “The Rise of the *Signori*” in David Abulafia, ed. *Italy in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 121-2.

⁴³² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 168, v544: “*Li cavaleri rivennero facemmoli assai onore, danzanno... assai gente vestisse de panni de colore*”; v545: “*u’ gra’ comito... più carne fo perduta che no ne manecaro*”, v546: “*dellu aparicchio no fosse superato*”; v547: “*Poi che scortò la fesssta, prese la singioria, ca l’una e l’altra parte avia cacciata via.*”

⁴³³ Ibid., 168, v544: “*per gola della pace.*” Northern Italy – Dean, “Rise of the *Signori*,” 122.

⁴³⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 168, v546: “*no gio be’ per ordine, tanto ne fo furato, c’a tante altre genti foria be’ bastato.*”

Like the “despicable captains” of 1331-5, the captains of 1336-42 in Buccio failed to enforce justice and re-establish peace. In fact, they largely disappeared from the narrative. When they re-appeared, it was initially to indicate their powerlessness, as in January 1338. Then, even though Mattarone (a turncoat from Lalle to the Pretatti) had no fear “through his hope in the court”, the captain was unable to save him from being burnt to death by Lalle.⁴³⁵ By 1340 the captain appeared as a tool of the faction leaders: “the court accompanied them [the Pretatti] a lot through the city” against Lalle’s faction.⁴³⁶ Buccio even accused the captain in 1340 of corruption in profiteering from the grain shortage. Disturbing the efforts of communal officials to organize an equitable distribution, the captain arranged for those with money at hand to come outside the city to receive grain in exchange from sources unknown.⁴³⁷

In 1341-2 Buccio portrayed L’Aquila’s captains as directly under Bonagiunta’s control. Even during the Pretatti *signoria* “it was said to the captain how he should conduct himself”.⁴³⁸ He obeyed instructions received to detain as a strategem both Bonagiunta and Luca Pretatti in the interests of peace, so that, when Lalle’s men suddenly arrived as arranged with Bonagiunta, Luca could think only of fleeing.⁴³⁹ There was no pretense once Bonagiunta declared himself *signore*, as “the captain did what he [Bonagiunta] wished”.⁴⁴⁰ When Bonagiunta was prepared to offer a truce to Lalle in return for certain security, it was the captain (*ser* Nicola) who “made this pact with the exiles”.⁴⁴¹ After

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 127, vv411-2: “*per spene della corte.*”

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 134, v426: “*la corte aconpangiavali per la terra non poco.*”

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 149, v483: “*da parte del capetano*” (on the part of the captain).

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 160, v519: “*Fo dicto al capetano che modo ci tenesse.*”

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 160-1, vv520-4.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 168, v547: “*facia lu capetano ciò che illo volia.*”

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 175, v564: “*fece co lli usciti quisto pacto.*”

Lalle's men broke the agreement and killed a cleric in Preturo in the *contado* who was related to the *signore*, "the captain held it to his great personal shame".⁴⁴² A sign that the captains had long ceased to be relevant to the citizens was Buccio's omission of the single diploma from Robert during these six years, in 1338 when the king required L'Aquila's captains and their judges and notaries to stay at the end of their terms to be audited in person and not through substitutes.⁴⁴³ Evidently, the captains' rectitude was unimportant to the chronicler.

Buccio seems to have placed some of the blame on Robert for not doing enough to help the city, but, in contrast to his criticism of the king's interference in justice in the early 1330s and despite far worse conditions now, he did not use explicitly portray the king as at fault. While the author did not complain about the paucity of royal diplomas or the captains having inadequate resources, he alluded in 1340 to a wish for the selection of stronger captains like Guelfo of Lucca in 1307-8 by contrasting the citizens' suffering with their position "thirty years ago".⁴⁴⁴ He implied that Robert was oblivious to the factional violence in L'Aquila in most of 1336-7 in mentioning the crown only for tax collection.⁴⁴⁵ A particular concern appears to have been royal inconstancy. Buccio implied that it took Lalle's instigation in Sulmona, not in L'Aquila, to have Robert banish his faction and him in late 1337.⁴⁴⁶ He suggested further inconsistency by not mentioning

⁴⁴² Ibid., 175, v565: "*lu capitano ancora l'abe in gra' vitopero.*"

⁴⁴³ Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 51 – on November 9, 1338.

⁴⁴⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 155, v501: "*da capo de trent'anni.*"

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 125, v403: "*venne lu secutore e fece la terzaria*" (the executor came and took the *terzaria*).

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 125, v402: "*forono sbanniti*" (they were banished); Sulmona – p.124, v399; tax – p.125, v403: "*la terzaria.*" The use of exile as a weapon of justice was also common in northern Italy (where distances to borders were not great) - Shaw, Christine. *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 238.

similar action against the Pretatti and by specifying the king's closeness to them.⁴⁴⁷ His description of Robert's commutation of the death penalty to a fine of one thousand ounces and the forfeiture of a castle that he imposed on one of Lalle's supporters (Fidanza d'Andrea) recalled the passage in 1329 about justice suffering at the expense of the king's avarice.⁴⁴⁸ Above all, Buccio depicted Robert as unsympathetic to civic wishes after the *parlamento* of 1341 proposed the re-admission of Lalle and his men for the sake of peace (as in 1294): "the king stayed more firm with implacable purpose".⁴⁴⁹ The author showed that Robert's intransigence in 1342 over Lalle's exile had severe local repercussions, as it led the faction leaders to reconsider their options, with the result that first Bonagiunta established a *signoria* and then Lalle allied with the Pretatti to do the same.⁴⁵⁰

On the other hand, Buccio did show Robert taking steps to help the Aquilans, besides exiling Lalle, in sending two neutral ecclesiastics to negotiate peace (unsuccessful) and in having Fidanza seized in 1338, in ordering the Pretatti and Bonagiunta to make peace in 1339 (temporary), in releasing Fidanza to facilitate the possibility of a general peace in 1340 (upsetting the Pretatti, causing them to end the truce and to install themselves as *signori*), and in offering to readmit Lalle's followers provided that the heads of the family submitted to being hostages at Nola (near Naples) in 1342 (not accepted).⁴⁵¹ Although these steps failed, Buccio showed some understanding of the king's predicament.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 125, v404: "*l'altra parte collievali [= (glossary) colpire]... , c'aviano dalle corte sempre mai le spalle [= (glossary) aveva dietro le spalle la corte]*" (the other faction [opposed to Lalle] struck them, since they always had the court behind their backs).

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 145, v468.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 165, v538: "*lu re stava più duro conn entenzione prava [= (footnote) spietato]*."

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 165, v539; p.168, v547; p.175, v563; p.178, v577.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 131, v421-2 ; p.142, v457; p.146, v471; pp.157-8, vv505-521; p.165, v540.

Recognizing that the mediators in 1338 held “continuous negotiations,” the author suggested that they did not achieve their object as the Aquilans themselves did not have the will for it, since he urged his fellow citizens to penitence in his second sonnet.⁴⁵² Buccio also showed that Lalle’s breach of the terms of his exile made it harder for Robert to pardon him, in describing Lalle using Rieti as a base to carry out attacks in L’Aquila in January and April 1338 and spring 1341 and even at times relocating with impunity in Roio and Coppito in the *contado* and in Antrodoto in the Mountain and permanently in the city in November 1342.⁴⁵³ The fifth sonnet in 1342 indicated that the citizens attributed Robert’s lack of intervention in L’Aquila not to his fault but implicitly to that of the captain, and possibly their syndics, in inadequately communicating to him their suffering: “If the king knew of the will that we have for it, that this general peace be made, he would make it and we would be pleased”.⁴⁵⁴

This era of factionalism had significance for Buccio not just for the fighting but also for the efforts of the faction leaders to pursue their goals in Naples, either directly before the king or through a patron. He showed each of them going in turn in person to submit petitions to the king, as well as to spread lies and rebut allegations.⁴⁵⁵ Buccio also

⁴⁵² Ibid, 131, v421: “*continuo tractato*”; p.132-3, sonnet II: “*penetenza*.”

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 122, v410; p.136, v434; p.160, v520; p.177, v571.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 167, sonnet V: “*S’el re sapesse la vollià che avemone, che questa pace generale facciase illu fariàla e nuj contentaremone.*”

⁴⁵⁵ 1337 or early 1338 - *ibid.*, 126, v406: “*se gero a rechiamare denanzi a re Roberto*” (they went to appeal before king Robert) – Buccio named the appellants “*la parte delli morti*” (party of the dead) (*ibid.*) after deaths of their supporters at Paganica (v405), inferred as Camponeschi as they were opposed by Bonagiunta (v407), their rival (p122, v395); mid-1338 – p.142, v456: “*misser Todino... a Napoli era annato... inpretò una lectera*” (misser Todino [Pretatti] went to Naples... he obtained a letter); later 1338 – p.144, v465: “*misser Luca stava co’ re allora, tanto stricto e congiunto, c’a creder forti fora; lo più delle fiata stavano soli ancora*” (misser Luca [Todino’s son] stayed with the king then, so much in meetings and united that it would be difficult to believe it, they stayed alone many times); 1340 – p.157, v506: “*Messer Todino... cavalcao mantenente e gisene allu re*” (misser Todino rode at once and went to the king); 1342 –

demonstrated that the leaders found it desirable to have a patron, by indicating that, of eight petitions submitted by them to the king, four relied on the influence of Charles of Artois (Robert's illegitimate son) or his mother (Cantelma),⁴⁵⁶ of which three were approved, and that all four in which they did not participate failed.⁴⁵⁷ The author displayed knowledge about conditions at court in depicting Charles's power as high: "no official could at that time judge without the consent of Charles of Artois".⁴⁵⁸ The price that the leaders paid for the patronage is less evident. Perhaps Charles hoped to exert influence over Aquilan affairs, possibly in the same way as eminent Florentine figures were able to obtain important civic offices for their candidates in Volterra from 1394 in return for offering protection and furthering petitions at the political center.⁴⁵⁹ Buccio did not criticize Robert for being open to Charles's influence, which he found crucial to having the exiles back and establishing a universal peace in the city. His viewpoint appeared in his fifth sonnet, when he indicated that the citizens depended so much on this process that they turned directly to Charles: "[We] saying always to Charles, 'Take heed of us' ".⁴⁶⁰ In short, just as the locations of power within the city had multiplied, so too did those in the capital. The uncertainty about where authority resided, and with whom

pp.164-7, vv536-543: "*Bonaionta a Napoli nne gio... Fe' gire l'amasciata... Bonajonta se fece cavalero*" (Bonagiunta went to Naples, he had an embassy made, Bonagiunta was knighted).

⁴⁵⁶ De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 109-110 – daughter of Restaino Cantelmi, who held substantial interests around Sulmona and who was implicitly offended by Lalle's attack inside it in 1337.

⁴⁵⁷ Buccio gave Charles as involved in 1338 in objecting to Lalle's petition on the Paganica incident (for the Pretatti) and in seeking a pardon for Fidanza, in 1339 for obtaining leave for Bonagiunta to leave Naples, in 1342 seeking a pardon for Lalle (failed) (for Bonagiunta); but not as party to Todino's suit in 1338 for Fidanza's execution, Luca's accusations against Bonagiunta in 1338, Luca's desire to keep Fidanza imprisoned in 1340, and in Bonagiunta's complaint against Lalle's re-entry in 1342.

⁴⁵⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 126, v406: "*nullo ufficiale allora no potia iudicare senza volia di Carllo [d'Artus].*"

⁴⁵⁹ Fabbri, Lorenzo. "Patronage and its Role in Government: the Florentine Patriciate and Volterra" in William J Connell and Andrea Zorzi, eds. *Florentine Tuscany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 232-3.

⁴⁶⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 167, sonnet V: "*dicenno sempre a Carllo 'Studio prinnici.'*"

the ideal balance between city and crown should be sought, began with this part of Buccio's narrative and would intensify going forward.

This uncertainty may explain a subtle shift, already evident in Buccio's account of these years, in his attitude towards the factions. He seemed to have greater respect for Bonagiunta than for the other two, because in some respects the leader acted in ways that were in line with his own wishes for the city. Bonagiunta's attempt to save Fidanza's life with Cantelma's help in 1338 makes sense only if a larger reconciliation was their object. In 1340 Bonagiunta appeared as a public benefactor after council measures and royal assistance proved inadequate, when he supplied "great help" in apparently drawing on personal contacts and "had come from Spoltoro" (near Pescara) two hundred *salme* of grain, which he re-sold at the same rate as the council had previously set for sales to the poor.⁴⁶¹ In 1342, when he "had the embassy beg the king to have general peace made in L'Aquila" by pardoning Lalle, Bonagiunta attempted to fulfil civic desires expressed at the *parlamento* the prior year.⁴⁶² Legitimizing his authority was also on his mind later in the year, although the acclamation at the banquet was not entirely successful. His direction to the captain to oppose Lalle in the *contado* was in accordance with standing royal policy. As *signore*, he followed the weighty advice that he received from the bishop of Rieti: " 'Do not place direct tax (*colta*), if you wish to be loved' ".⁴⁶³ But Buccio directly criticized him for the fee increases ("an ugly and wicked work"), the compulsory sentry-duty, and the lack of peace ("If we do not have peace, we cannot endure" –

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 153, v499: "*grande aiutorio... fe' venir da Spoltorio.*"

⁴⁶² Ibid., 165, v539: "*Fe' gire l'amasciata allu re a preare che pace generale 'n Aquila faccia fare.*"

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 169, v549: " 'Cota [= (glossary) *colta*] no mectere, se boj essere amato.' "

suggesting that Bonagiunta gained from being *signore* and did not intend any more to try and persuade Robert to allow Lalle to return).⁴⁶⁴

b) Lalle's establishment and consolidation of his *signoria*, 1342-1346:

Buccio transferred the subtle praises for Bonagiunta, during his brief period of primacy, to Lalle when he took control in November 1342. Lalle (properly from the chronicler's perspective) rested his authority on the approval of peace and reconciliation by a formal civic assembly shortly afterwards: "They [Lalle and his corporals] had many people convene in the palace, they wished to have assembly (*parlamento*) in that place; this was the discourse: they wished to pardon and did not wish to remember anything bad [by their opponents]".⁴⁶⁵ Lalle seemed to agree to it by forbidding his men from "doing harm" in the city and the *contado*.⁴⁶⁶ Buccio devoted a sonnet (his usual medium for expressions of intense emotion) to exhorting Lalle to keep his word: "Watch that the pact is not broken, that you respect what you promised, that God is not deceived to your end". Winning over the citizens would also lead to Robert coming around to him: "Have all the people love you, and you will pass with the king".⁴⁶⁷

The chances of Lalle succeeding in this general peace were slim. He had contravened the king's order of exile by returning from Rieti and seizing control of L'Aquila, so that royal

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 172, v555: "*opera... bructa e rea*"; p.172, v557: "*fai guardare*" (make guard); ibid.: "*Se pace non avemo, no potemo durare.*"

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 179, v580: "*Ficero multa gente nel Palazzo adunare, ca loco parlamento illi voliano fare; lo parllare fo questo; voliano perdunare, e nullo male mereto voliano recordare.*"

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 179, v579: "*facenno mali.*"

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 182, sonnet IX: "*Guardate che lo pacto no sia ructo, che l'atengate poi che 'l promiseste, che Deo no sia gabbato a la pestucto [= (glossary) postutto]. E poi vi fate amare a tucta gente, e co llu re passarete.*"

displeasure was therefore quite probable. Further, Restaino Cantelmi reconciled the Pretatti with Bonagiunta, who remained at large in the *contado*, hired men, and continued to wreak havoc there in 1343-4 in attempting to regain control.⁴⁶⁸ Within a couple of months Buccio reported “the woes that we suffered,” owing to Lalle’s decision to “keep many soldiers, who had to be paid by taxes and loans” and to the resumption of internal fighting.⁴⁶⁹ But the chronicler did not depict these handicaps causing any civic grumbling or resistance against Lalle, and, even as he used his sonnets to make complaints, the prescriptions in them remained his own. Other sources are similarly suggestive. The letters of the regents of Joanna I (Robert’s grand-daughter and successor) in 1343-4 did not indicate any significant threats to local peace, since their instructions were of a routine nature.⁴⁷⁰ Matteo Villani, writing in Florence, praised Lalle as capable and well-liked.⁴⁷¹

Moreover, the crown proved willing to accept Lalle’s lordship in practice and even gave him awards, but none in L’Aquila.⁴⁷² Robert, whose hostility to Lalle was well-known,

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 187, v590: “Ristaino li recolze”; v592: “gente faceano”; pp.188-9, v594-8.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 186, v585: “li guai che patevamo”; p.184, v584: “tenere assai sollati, de cote [= (glossary) *colte*] e de prestanze fussero illi pagati.”

⁴⁷⁰ Her letters from February 1343 to December 1344 are in Buzzi, Giulio. “Documenti Angioini relativi al comune di Aquila dal 1343 al 1344.” *Bullettino della Regia Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria*, No. 1, Series 3a, 3 (1912): 16-77 – appointments of captains and their treasurers, judges, and notaries; directions to captains on paying their retinues, holding the annual election for civic judges, defending a church enjoying royal patronage, inquiring into inheritance of certain feudal property. Even the few possibly unusual letters were not extreme: a complaint by Bonagiunta (but Joanna merely told the captain to prevent any damage to buildings or looting), notification to the citizens of a commission of investigation (implicitly regarding taxes), extension of captains’ terms by six and two months, and expansion of their retinues by six on horseback and ten on foot.

⁴⁷¹ Matteo Villani, *Cronica. Con la continuazione di Filippo Villani*, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1995), IV, 17: “uno dimestico popolare e compagnevole tiranno” (an intimate, popular, and sociable tyrant) – writing after Lalle’s death in 1354.

⁴⁷² Joanna granted Lalle the county of Monteodorisio (near the port of Vasto) and two castles in 1345-6 - Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 3. The fiefs were over seventy miles from L’Aquila, so had limited effect on it.

died in January 1343, and Joanna's regents at once established relations with the city under his control, though without identifying Lalle as its leader. A letter from them in May to "the whole body of men of the city of L'Aquila" advised of the coming of a commission of five officials "for the pleasantness and reform of your condition for the repair of the fallen condition of the city".⁴⁷³ The letter avoided the issue of Lalle's status and even omitted his name. The regents' precise intent is unknown, but seems similar to a papal inquest in the same year in the Marche where *signori* had established authority over many communes.⁴⁷⁴ The outcome there was that, believing that some agreement was better than none in case in the future the *signori* became less well-disposed, the popes ignored civic wishes and proceeded to a form of recognition of the lords' legal standings in return for oaths of fealty, tribute, and commitments to provide defensive services. Probably something similar occurred in L'Aquila, since the letter described one of the five officials as a "master of the fisc from the Vicarial Tribunal".⁴⁷⁵ A sign of agreement with Lalle appeared in February 1344, when the regents instructed L'Aquila's captain to force the attorney for the Pretatti to restore certain property to one of Lalle's followers and described the Pretatti as "exiles, whose entry in the city of L'Aquila could therefore arouse a matter of scandal".⁴⁷⁶

It took Buccio longer to come around to accepting a *signore* over L'Aquila. Listing the murders, destruction, and payments suffered then by the citizens (estimated at ten

⁴⁷³ Buzzi, "Documenti Angioini," 32-3: "*universis hominibus civitatis Aquile... pro amenitate ergo et reformatione status vestri... pro ipsius civitatis status reparatione collapsi*" – on May 22, 1343.

⁴⁷⁴ Jones, Philip J. "The Vicariate of the Malatesta of Rimini." *The English Historical Review*, (62) 1952: 322.

⁴⁷⁵ Buzzi, "Documenti Angioini," 33: "*Angelum de Potencia curie vicarium, regni Sicilie fisci patronum.*"

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.: "*exulibus,... quorum ingressus in ipsam civitatem Aquile propterea posset scandali materiam suscitare*" – on February 16, 1344.

thousand ounces), the author equated Lalle with the two other faction leaders: “there is no faction that can be excused and that did not have harm done while it had to rule as *signore*”.⁴⁷⁷ He implicitly dismissed Lalle’s promises of peace as deceitful in two sonnets in 1344 and in questioning Lalle’s will in a supposed reconciliation with the other faction leaders on the occasion of a crusade in 1345.⁴⁷⁸ In the sonnets he claimed that his own faith would cease, if the Aquilans did not receive divine justice; he used a biblical reference, Judith against Holofernes, to wish that “God would resuscitate her with her knife and strike a blow against our tyrants of Amiterno”; and he called on Aquilan lovers of destruction to ponder their sins.⁴⁷⁹ His mention of Amiterno suggests that he sought a repetition of the uprising against the local barons that led to L’Aquila’s foundation. Evidently using the crusade to stand for Lalle’s promises of peace and instead of expounding on the crusade’s spiritual atmosphere, Buccio focused on the broken pledges to participate in it by various citizens, certain impostors who carried a supposed image of a saint, and the credulity of many Aquilans who believed in an apparition of the madonna.⁴⁸⁰ Further proof of the illegitimacy of Lalle’s rule to Buccio were “the taxes and loans that were never repaid,” which implied the packing of councils and the manipulation of elections.⁴⁸¹ He viewed the forced loan imposed on himself as a personal

⁴⁷⁷ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 189, v598: “*non è parte che sse possa scusare, che mal non abia facto mintri abe a singoriare.*”

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 197, v621: “*in bocca se vasciario* [= (glossary) *baciare*].” (they kissed on the mouth). Clement VI’s crusade (1344-8) went to Smyrna.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 191-3, sonnets XII and XIII: “*se cte resuscitasse el benedecto co llu coltellio e co llu culpo aficto alli nostri tiranni de Amiterno!*”

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 193-7, vv607-621. The peace was sealed by Lalle’s pledge to marry one of Bonagiunta’s nieces, but it did not take place as later in the year Bonagiunta was killed by one of his followers (pp.197-8, vv622-4).

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 184, v584: “*de cote e de prestanze... che foro mai redati.*”

insult, as he prayed: “May God let me live long enough that I see others do *vendetta* for it”.⁴⁸²

Since the Florentine chronicler Villani did not find Lalle so evil, it appears that concerns about Lalle’s status (unelected by the citizens) influenced Buccio’s depiction of the tyranny. He did not narrate any civic resistance to Lalle. The reason does not seem to have been fear of the lord, as the chronicler spoke not of civic terror but of “our wickedness in tolerating such greatly unwelcome matters”.⁴⁸³ His classic city-tyrant motif, rather, should be seen in the context of his silence on the civic institutions and on the monarchs and the captains. Most likely it concealed his discomfort concerning the legitimacy of Lalle’s status inside the city and frustration that Joanna’s non-intervention seemed to have enabled Lalle to shape the civic institutions to his will. This interpretation of Lalle’s tyranny echoes that of Bartolo da Sassoferrato, a jurist, who wrote that, in the absence of an election, lack of sanction by a higher authority made a ruler “a tyrant *de defectu tituli*”.⁴⁸⁴ Although the Aquilans gave Lalle a favorable reception on his entry in 1342, apparently expecting that he would implement peace and reconciliation (“when these men re-entered, they went shouting peace; the general mass of people was very joyful”)⁴⁸⁵ and a civic assembly ratified this plan, neither of these events represented acclamation or election of him to office. While external writers called Lalle “*signore*,” it is noticeable that Buccio disdained to do so and referred to him consistently as “*ser*

⁴⁸² Ibid., 185, sonnet XI: “*che Deo me lasse da vivere tanto, ch’io vegia che altri ne faccia menecta* [= (glossary) *vendetta*].”

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 191, sonnet XII: “*la malizia nostra a sofferir le cose tanto ingrata.*”

⁴⁸⁴ Kohl, Benjamin G. “The Myth of the Renaissance Despot” in J. Law and B. Paton, eds., *Communes and Despots in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 62.

⁴⁸⁵ De Matteis, Buccio, 179, v578: “*Quando quisti reentraro, pace giano gridanno; la generale gente tucta fo alegra.*”

Lalle” – recognizing only his noble status.⁴⁸⁶ Although the author did not detect any benefit in the informal arrangement with the crown, it gave Lalle an incentive to act with restraint towards the citizens, not from fear of royal intervention but due to a desire to win a title from the crown such as *dominus*.⁴⁸⁷ In effect, the prior binary (city-crown) had changed into an informal triad (city-crown-signore).

Buccio’s focus on Lalle’s illegitimate rule meant that he did not give any space to grants that L’Aquila received from the crown while Lalle was lord, contained in two letters by the regents in 1343. Both went beyond provisions by prior kings seeking to curtail abuse by fiscal officials and by captains. One promised indemnities to local merchants for unauthorized charges. The second represented a notable advance in enhancing the captain’s accountability. Besides instructing an Aquilan judge and the captain to carry out the audit of the “dealings and excesses” of the captain’s predecessor at the end of his term, it required central officials to review the audit results (and the former captain’s accounting) and thereby gave force to the civic judge’s inquiries.⁴⁸⁸ But the absence of definitions of the audit scope gave the new captain considerable discretion as to the depth

⁴⁸⁶ Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1990-1), XII, 88: “*ser Lalli dell’Aquila che se n’era fatto signore*”; Domenico da Gravina, *Domenici de Gravina notarii Chronicon de rebus in Apulia gestis*, ed. Adriano Sorbelli (Città di Castello: Tipi dell’Editore S. Lapi, 1903), 27: “*dominus Lallus de Aquila*.” Both references appeared in 1347.

⁴⁸⁷ Where the Malatesta of Rimini, whom the papacy invested with ten-year vicariates, had powers of *merum et mixtum imperium*, the right to appoint all officials, and the right to collect all papal revenues (Jones, “Vicariate,” 327), L’Aquila’s captains, not Lalle, continued to have “full power of *merum et mixtum imperium*,” responsibility for forwarding taxes collected, choosing criminal judges, and approving judges elected for matters of civil law (in Joanna’s letter of August 1, 1343 in Buzzi, “Documenti Angioini,” 35). No honorific attached to Lalle’s name in an order reassigning property to one of his followers in Joanna’s letter on February 16, 1344, in *ibid.*, p.73: “*iuxta... possessionem Lalli de Camponiscis de Aquila*” (near the possession of Lalle Camponeschi of L’Aquila).

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 43-4 and pp.35-40: “*de processibus et excessibus eorum*” – offered at San Martino in 1283, but only as an investigation by the new captain (Trifone, *La legislazione*, 104). An earlier mention of an Aquilan as auditor appeared in 1289 or 1290, but the register gave no further information - Filangieri, *Registri*, XXX, 110.

of the audit, unless the civic judge had the freedom to probe thoroughly and the central officials paid heed equally to the findings of both.

Rejecting Lalle's right to rule the city, Buccio showed that he believed that L'Aquila's defense was the duty of the citizens, not of the *signore*, and that it applied even against attack from the king and even though that meant protecting the lord. In a sonnet after Lalle's entry into the city, the author looked back to Bonagiunta's *signoria* when "I saw what you would never have believed to see: such was the defense against our exiles that they could not have re-entered for months and years".⁴⁸⁹ It seems significant here that Buccio spoke from pride in the defenders' sturdiness and did not mention any duress. Next he discussed the citizens' fear of Robert's expected negative reaction (due to Lalle's breach of exile), which was so great that after his entry "they found no men to go as ambassadors" to the king.⁴⁹⁰ Despite the probability of royal attack, the author found that "they placed in their hearts the guarding of this city from the king and from every man who wishes to take it".⁴⁹¹ Buccio also suggested that uniting to defend L'Aquila papered over different levels of civic anxiety, since, following Lalle's entry, "the middle and greater men did not stay secure, but not so much the lesser ones," who evidently had little to lose.⁴⁹²

c) King Lewis of Hungary's pursuit of his claim to the Neapolitan throne, 1346-1348

⁴⁸⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 182, sonnet X: "*io vidi quel che mai no crisci veder... de nostri usciti fare tal defesa de non poter rentare ed anni e misci.*"

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 184, v582: "*no trovavano homini per gire amasciaduri.*"

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 184, v583: "*Possto s'aviano in core questa terra guardare dal re e da onne omo che lla volia pilliare.*"

⁴⁹² Ibid., 183, v582: "*no stavano securi, ma no tanto li piccioli, 'li mezani e li maiuri.*"

As it turned out, the citizens did have to defend the city against the crown, but not for the reasons that Buccio had expected. The need to do so followed the murder of Andrew, Joanna's first husband, in 1345 and the decision of Lewis, Andrew's brother and king of Hungary, to avenge his death and to take the throne, resting his claim on being a descendant of Robert's older brother, Charles Martel. After Lalle, and hence L'Aquila, sided with Lewis in October 1346 and honored Lewis's advance guard in May 1347, two forces loyal to Joanna besieged L'Aquila in turn, until the king arrived there with his main force in December and Joanna and her new husband (Louis of Taranto) fled the *Regno* in January 1348. Buccio called Lalle's change in allegiance "a great madness".⁴⁹³ The author explained that Lalle had already placed himself in opposition to Joanna in a way that was inconsistent with Aquilan interests. He depicted Lalle as assuming the mantle of regional defender on behalf of certain other cities in Abruzzo ("at their request *ser* Lalle bound himself") against Louis, after the duke earlier in 1346 sought to increase the number of cities that he controlled beyond those that he had just received from the queen.⁴⁹⁴ As Buccio did not give Louis directly threatening L'Aquila or Lalle engaging with the duke, Buccio probably meant that Lalle's assumption could arouse disfavor at court for little benefit to the city, but that there was still time for reconciliation, until Lalle declared for Lewis.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 205, v647: "*una gra' follia*" - "*de dare questa terra allo re d'Ongaria.*" (to give this city to the king of Hungary).

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 203, v642: "*A questa loro rechiesa legovisse ser Lalle*" – Buccio indicated that Joanna awarded Louis fiefs in Chieti and Penne and that, after he took Sulmona and Atri, Lanciano and Ortona rebelled against him and Vasto and Bucchianoco suffered much devastation before appealing to Lalle for help (vv640-1). Buccio also implied that Lalle saw an opportunity for revenge against Charles of Artois and Sulmona for their parts in Lalle being exiled in 1337, since he reported that after the revolt began Charles's son was poisoned and Lalle led a force against Sulmona – p.204, vv645-6; p.208, v658.

For a brief period, when faced with the most concrete threats to L'Aquila's well-being (sieges by a royal force under Charles, duke of Durazzo in June and July 1347 and by the count of Celano, with mercenaries and the men of Sulmona in the last few months of the year), Buccio stopped characterizing Lalle as the city's tyrant and enemy, and started describing Lalle and the Aquilans as a single entity fighting for the city's survival. Anticipating attack by the crown, the citizens gave support to the Hungarians upon arrival. They honored count Nicola Ungaro ("great festivities were made")⁴⁹⁵ and next day the presence of local clergy and of friars carrying crosses at a civic assembly, where Lalle bowed before the Hungarian banner, sanctified the city's new allegiance.⁴⁹⁶ Civic participation in an offensive force led by Lalle then appeared in a reference to "our men" in camp opposite Louis's troops at Sulmona.⁴⁹⁷ Buccio used "we" to show civic unity during the sieges by both the duke ("we made such great trouble to them" in a sortie and "we did not let them keep steady")⁴⁹⁸ and the count ("we were besieged" and "we placed soldiers at Barete").⁴⁹⁹ Also in October "our councilors" deliberated that they would lend the money at once "by themselves," when Ugolino dei Trinci (captain of Foligno and Lalle's ally) complained of being unpaid.⁵⁰⁰ Buccio's use of the first person also implied that his fellow-citizens and he embraced Lewis's cause, even calling the queen's

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 207, v654: "*fo facta granne fessta*." Cola di Rienzo described a warm reception (including that for an archbishop) to Clement VI: "*ab Aquilanis fuerunt multum honorati et amore recepti*" (they were much honored by the Aquilans and welcomed with love) – cited by De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, 153-4.

⁴⁹⁶ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 207, vv655-7.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 210, v663: "*lli nostri*."

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 213, v670: "*facemmoli tanta bria*"; p.213, v671: "*No lli lasammo figere* [= (glossary) *fermare*]."

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 222, v701: "*erevamo asediati*"; p.223, v707: "*a la Varete pusemmo li solati*."

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 221, vv699-700: "*Li nostri consellieri foro deliberati che denari per loro fussero straprestati* [= (glossary) *prestare subito*]."

supporters “the accursed” and “our enemies” (though at least one local notary still dated a document by years of Joanna’s reign).⁵⁰¹

Besides concern to protect the city, several alternative explanations can be offered for the Aquilans’ acceptance of Lalle’s disloyalty, even though they had previously been loyal to Joanna and she was in a strong position to take revenge. Hints in Buccio suggest compulsion by Lalle (possibly using the mercenaries in Hungarian pay), bribes by Ungaro (who may not have limited his distributions at the civic ceremony to celebrating Lewis with liberality), continuation of L’Aquila’s traditional rivalry with Sulmona, and Ugolino’s stated threat to burn the *contado*. The hostility of the local feudatory (the count of Celano) also implicitly evoked civic fears from an earlier period. Further, accustomed to factional discord, Lalle’s followers were doubtless willing to join in it on a larger scale with the prospect of gain.⁵⁰² Other citizens, professing their loyalty to Joanna, might have considered condemning Lalle’s move, but then they might have also taken into account that she had let them down regarding Lalle’s ouster earlier and she could well hold them responsible for his actions anyway. As by now Lalle had been in power for four years, the Aquilans also might have felt that his internal authority was unchallenged and that their duty was to follow him.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 224, v708: “*li maldicti*”, v710: “*nostri inimici*.” A notary dated a document drawn up in L’Aquila on October 13, 1347 as the fifth year of Joanna’s reign, in Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 241; similarly, another on February 26, 1347 in *ibid.*, p.154. Buccio did not use “revolt” or “rebellion” for the Aquilans, probably due to the strength of the terms. For explicit usage, see Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, XII, 70: “*Rubellossi l’Aquila*” (L’Aquila rebelled).

⁵⁰² Comparison can be made to England in the Wars of the Roses. Where gentry had become used to forming networks of clientage and political alliances to support or oppose controversial magnate hegemonies, they were more prone to joining in or indeed generating revolt – Goodman, Anthony. *The Wars of the Roses. Military Activity and English Society, 1452-97* (London: Routledge, 2002), 201.

Additional explanations that can be inferred from Buccio were the disunity inside the monarchy after Andrew's death and the strength of Lalle's personal bonds with his patrons that he found necessary to contract in those uncertain times, which in turn influenced the citizens in their outlook. The formation of factions by the royal cousins compelled Lalle to choose sides. Rather than threats from Joanna (Colapietra) or the Pretatti (Clementi),⁵⁰³ Louis's actions in Abruzzo worried him. It was Lalle's decision to bind himself to Charles of Durazzo that resulted later in the year in him joining Charles and the duke's supporters in offering their support to Lewis. Where Charles subsequently broke his word to Lewis and resumed his allegiance to Joanna, Lalle regarded his pledge to the king as firm and superior to his with the duke. For the Aquilans, the scenario remained that they owed loyalty to a member of the Angevin house to whom their civic head bound himself. Instead of feeling "embarrassed" by Lalle's acts (Colapietra) or finding consistency in his reach towards greater civic autonomy in "a line that the city's life signalled from birth" (Clementi),⁵⁰⁴ the citizens could simply say that it was not their fault that the monarchy was so divided. Evidence for Buccio's exoneration of the citizens as a whole can be seen in his tracing the roots of these events to 1333, when "the king of Hungary [Carobert] led his son [to marry Joanna]; if he had not led him, so much harm would have gone away".⁵⁰⁵ As an implicit sign of divine foreboding, that same year the author also noted that there was a solar eclipse.⁵⁰⁶ With the dukes, monarchs, and even heavens all out of order, Buccio showed that, in effect, the L'Aquilans took the only practical course open to them to assure the stability of civic society. They followed the

⁵⁰³ Colapietra, "Profilo," 22; Clementi, *Storia dell'Aquila*, 47.

⁵⁰⁴ Colapietra, "Profilo," 22; Clementi, *Storia dell'Aquila*, 47.

⁵⁰⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 116-7, v378: "llu re d'Ongaria menò lu fillio sio; sì menato n'avesselu, tanto male ne uscìo!"

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.: "lu sole intermorio [= (glossary) *scolorire*]" (the sun faded).

guidance of their undisputed *signore*, Lalle, who, though disloyal to Joanna, acted in the broader scheme with some honor.

Buccio made the city's survival seem all the more remarkable, given its suffering, opposition by its exiles, and collaboration with the enemy in the *contado*.⁵⁰⁷ The suffering came not just from privation and hostile attacks but from looting by Lewis's Hungarian and German mercenaries deployed in the *contado*.⁵⁰⁸ Buccio's reference to exiles joining the men of Sulmona against the citizens provided a broader frame to L'Aquila's factional dispute in that the local parties were on opposite sides in the struggle for the crown, as later at Gravina in Apulia.⁵⁰⁹ The collaboration with Charles occurred at Bagno, which Buccio criticized in saying that "our men" burnt it in revenge.⁵¹⁰ He initially stigmatized the inhabitants as "just as they were Jews or Saracens, you rebels of the king or unfaithful Christians".⁵¹¹ Taking a step back, after recognizing that only some ("but not all") of the men of Bagno "had fault," he condoned their assistance to Charles: "they could do no other, if not welcome the duke and give him food for money".⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁷ By relating the harm to L'Aquila from 1346 to the dynastic dispute and behavior at court, Buccio supported Marino Zabbia's finding that "southern chronicle-writing differed from works in communal Italy and revealed awareness shown by more thoughtful authors of belonging to a political reality more ample of citizen, even when the municipal dimension is at the center of the historiographical horizon" in Zabbia, Marino. *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento. Nuovi studi storici*, 49 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1999), 137 – citing Domenico da Gravina (pp.122-134) and Buccio (pp.135-7).

⁵⁰⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 216, vv682-4 – looting four communities in the *contado* after Charles left; p.219, vv693-4 – factional disputes between the Germans and Hungarians; p.223, v707 – doing worse than the burning or looting of seven communities in the *contado* by the men of the count of Celano.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 209, v659: "*loro usciti*" [= (footnote) *fuorusciti aquilani*]. Apulia – on Domenico da Gravina, see Zabbia, *I notai*, 129.

⁵¹⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 216, vv684-5: "*li nostri*."

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 217, v685: "*como che iudei fussero o sarracini stati; voi ribelli de re o cristiani rennegati*."

⁵¹² Ibid., 217, v686: "*colpa abero, ma no tucti de vero... no pochtero fare altro s'el duca recepero, e de loro derrate per denari li dero*."

Buccio's tolerance suggests his realization that these inhabitants, like minorities, were as peripheral to the citizens as the Aquilans were to the crown and as powerless.

As soon as the second siege lifted on Lewis's approach, Buccio's traditional preference for civic leadership returned. He portrayed each part of the new triad of city-Lewis-*signore* as failing to function. Despite being the repository of Aquilan hopes that seemed justified by his long-awaited Christ-like arrival in the city on Christmas Eve,⁵¹³ Lewis acted thereafter in ways that "were not royal but were abominable".⁵¹⁴ His bad behavior during the following week included rising after the first course at a feast prepared by Lalle, secretly bringing a whore with him outside the city, and not returning fine bedding lent to him and his retinue.⁵¹⁵ The author placed these un-kingly acts in line with the stupidity of many "of these our Aquilans... who made petitions like vain men".⁵¹⁶ Telling the reader "you may laugh" and reporting "it was said by me: the idea deceives you," Buccio was distressed by the nature of the requests (money, offices, titles, even baronies and castles).⁵¹⁷ Implicitly, it was not just the greed of his fellow citizens that disturbed him but the absence of their concern for civic interests. There was no mention of any appeal similar to that in Villani by the men of Sulmona as a condition for their surrender to Lewis: "remaining in their exemptions and customs that there were with King

⁵¹³ Ibid., 225, v715: " 'n vigilia de Natale " – also New Year's Eve in L'Aquila. Signs of Buccio's respect were his reporting of the ringing of the bells for "the good news," when Lewis reached Verona, and of the king's humble demeanor on his entry in L'Aquila, when he did not wear his crown or royal robes and asked for nothing apart from a cloak for his brother - p.225, vv714-5.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 226, v718: "*no foro reali ma foro abominose.*"

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 226, vv715-719. He also made an offering at the Christmas Day service of four thousand ounces (v717), but Buccio did not indicate whether he regarded this as a small or a large amount for a king.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 227, v720: "*de 'sti nostri Aquilani... che petizioni ficero, como homini vani.*"

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.: "*ridate*"; p.227, v721: "*jo dicia fra me stisso: 'V'inganna lu pensero.'*"

Robert”.⁵¹⁸ The author further suggested that Lalle also neglected the city, by showing how much Lalle benefited personally in Naples from his relationship with Lewis.⁵¹⁹

While the new triad was short-lived owing to Lewis’s departure from the *Regno* in May 1348 (probably from fear of the coming plague) and the return of Joanna and Louis in August, Buccio’s silence suggests his bewilderment that the old triad returned in November, despite Lalle’s earlier treachery. Without mentioning the *rapprochement* between the queen and the lord, he described the events of national importance that caused it (Joanna and Louis regained Naples, but they faced threats from Lewis’s forces left by the king in Apulia).⁵²⁰ Documents indicate that Joanna and Louis attempted to buy off Lalle, presumably to stay quiet.⁵²¹

d) Civic acceptance of Lalle, 1348-1354:

Response to the Black Death, which occupied most of Buccio’s account of 1348, was entirely the care of the civic authorities, according to the chronicler. He gave no mention either of the crown or of Lalle, despite specifying the lord’s return to the city before the plague’s outbreak in mid-1348.⁵²² After indicating that two thirds of Aquilans died,⁵²³ for

⁵¹⁸ Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, XII, 100: “*rimanendo nelle loro franchigie e costume ch’eran col re Ruberto.*”

⁵¹⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 236, v750: Lalle received the offices of count chamberlain and *signore* of Naples.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 239-240, vv758-762.

⁵²¹ Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 3 – on November 15 and 21, 138 Lalle gained not only the county of Montedorisio (held in 1346) but also lands in Abruzzo formerly of Charles of Artois and the county of Montorio (near Teramo). Aquilan notarial instruments in August and as late as November 14 calculated regnal years by Clement VI in *ibid.*, pp. 29,154,218 – an apparent snub to the images projected by Joanna and Louis, as the pope honored her on March 15 and in June denied Lewis investiture.

⁵²² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 239, v761.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 240, v763: “*lle duj parti de la gente fo asema [= (footnote) morissero i due terzi degli abitanti (dell’Aquila)].*” The two-thirds loss is consistent with that in Florence, in Herlihy, David and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. *Tuscans and Their Families* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 69 – based on

the first time under Lalle's *signoria* Buccio described conditions of internal orderly conduct and regulations that suggest that civic institutions still functioned even in such extreme adversity. As shortages increased, the author described not crime but the high prices for food (eggs, raisins, almonds, and mulberries), medicinal items (sugar, gum, and syrup), wax, judges, notaries, and nurses.⁵²⁴ The city issued specific civic regulations: "We established that doctors not go to the sick" (following the deaths of many physicians and owing to the risk of contagion); "an ordinance was made: that men were to buy wax from the churches and would enter them with it, and the other very poor would take it from the churches" as there was little wax available; "there was a statute that [bells] would not be sounded for the man who died, so that men would not be frightened, and no man was to go outside his community, in order that the people would not hear the mourning".⁵²⁵ The psychological components of these last rules imply that there was some discussion as to how to avoid the spread of panic. Certain coping mechanisms may also have had the backing of agreement among the citizens, on the restriction of exposure at funeral ceremonies (burials took place directly after death instead of waiting a day to receive honor, there were limits in the duration of services to two verses and two responses) and at the drafting of wills (witnesses went to the testator's house only after being assured that the will was ready and then stood in the door-way).⁵²⁶

chronicles before and after the plague and (for post-plague) on a multiplier of household size in 1380 applied to the number of households in a survey in 1352 and 1355.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 241, vv767-9; p.242, v773; pp. 246, v787-8.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., 241, v766: "*Punamo che lli medici all'infirmi no giero*"; p.242, v771: "*Fo facta una ordenanza: che li homini acactasse [= (glossary) comprare] li ciri delle iclesce e co' quilli pasasse, e li altri poverelli... dalle ecclescie tolzèseli*"; p. 243, v776: "*fo uno statuto: a l'omo che moresse che vi sse no sonasse che omo no sse inpauresse, e fore de castellio omo a morto no gesse, acciò che li corrucci [= (glossary) corrotti] la gente no sentesse.*"

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 243, v775; p.244, v779; p.245, v784. The narrative was filled with the common experiences of loss, fear, religious devotion, and lack of attention to those whose relations were dead; and after the plague with the return of envy (for those enriched by bequests), excess (not waiting for a Sunday for a wedding,

The chronicler only mentioned Lalle when recounting the city's subsequent and apparently unprovoked attacks on Antodoco, Città Ducale, Pendenza (near Rieti), and Cesura (near Pescara). In summarizing the raids as "we did a great evil," Buccio implied that, despite Lalle's leadership, the citizens had to accept responsibility for the sin, though also that, by inducing them to participate, the lord ill served them.⁵²⁷ Some took part under duress: "Do not believe that the host was the will of all of this city... you know that the count did it with some men [and to those] who wished to resist them, he said 'Crucify [them]' ".⁵²⁸ The author gave weight to the whole episode by his reversion to sonnet form for the first time since 1344, in urging "the wise people" to act or "you will call more woes than the crow... and you will be corrupted with the corrupt".⁵²⁹ But, when the Aquilans subsequently did penance, the only reason that Buccio gave was for the burning of Antodoco's churches.⁵³⁰ This suggests that the citizens were not altogether unhappy with Lalle's decisions to attack the Mountain and Rieti, which were in accordance with civic policies dating back to at least 1299 and 1320.

By 1349, primarily as a result of another natural disaster, an earthquake, Buccio's attitude to Lalle permanently changed. At first, the chronicler's mind was on the recent attacks ("we pursuing evil") as the cause of the eight hundred deaths and destruction ("a

nuns and monks leaving their orders to marry, huge consumption of meat), greed (price inflation for clothes, earrings, slippers), and rape.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 250, v802: "*u' granne male.*" Antodoco was home to Lalle's long time enemies, the Pretatti – Palatini, "La Signoria," 225.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 250-1, v805: "*No credate che l'osste fosse de voluntate de tucta questa terra... ca llo fece lu conte conn alcuni, sacciate, chi li volia contennere dicia: 'Crocifiate!'*"

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 251-2, sonnet XIV: "*O gente sagia... chiamarete più guaj che la cornacchia... 'Cum perverso perverteris.'*"

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 257, v822.

warning” by God).⁵³¹ Then he described how the citizens undertook the initial response to the disaster and Lalle assumed direction of the later stages. Buccio emphasized civic unity in not differentiating among the survivors, when they “went clearing every street and alley to retrieve the bodies... and made tents” and in finding support from the *contado*: “our peasants all came, they cleared the streets”.⁵³² As Lalle led the rebuilding efforts, there was a new sense of the lord and the citizens working together for the city’s benefit: “The count had a council made... the count thought at once of making a fence. So he ordered fences to be made, of good thick timber very well nailed”.⁵³³

In 1350 Buccio saw Lalle as wise in not involving himself or L’Aquila in Lewis’s second, failed effort to seize the kingdom. The king crossed the Adriatic with troops and cavalry to Manfredonia and stayed at Trani in Apulia. The author showed that Lalle did not take advantage of the disruption locally, even though Lewis’s supporters “appeared in great haste [and] Ortona with Lanciano (in Abruzzo) sounded the trumpet for him [the king]”.⁵³⁴ After spending two months besieging Aversa and then vainly attempting to enter Naples, Lewis ran out of money and in September he withdrew to Rome with most of his army. Buccio expressed thanks that Lalle had acted in the city’s interests:

⁵³¹ Ibid., 252, v806: “*Lo mal nuj our sequenno*”; p. 253, v807: “*amonenno*.” Contrast his explanation for the plague in the prior year, which he attributed merely to “*una crudele stema [= (glossary) bestemmia]... a’ Sarracini è stata*” (a cruel curse... it was from the Saracens). For the number of deaths, loss of homes and churches, blindings by the powder residue, blockage of streets with wreckage, and walls leveled – pp.253-4, vv809-813.

⁵³² Ibid., 254, v810: “*giano scomeranno [= (glossary) sgombrare] ongi via e rugitella per retrovar le corpora*”; p.255, v814: “*le logie facemmo*”; p.254, v813: “*vinnero tuctotame li nostri contadini, scomeraro el terrame.*”

⁵³³ Ibid., 255, v817: “*lu conte... abese a conselliare*”; p.256, vv818-9: “*lu conte... penza subitamente de fare le sticcata. Como illu conmannao fo’ facti li sticcati, de bon lename grosso multo bene chiovati.*”

⁵³⁴ Ibid., 262, v839: “*conparsero in gra’ frecta; Ortona co’ Lanzano per luj sona tromecta.*”

“L’Aquila passed well, as it seems to me, and compared to the rest of the *Regno* we could give praise for it”.⁵³⁵

Lalle was not always the center of events that Buccio described, but that in itself suggests a level of toleration. There were no more accusations of abuses or forced loans. The author seemed to find inner peace when he described going with a large number of citizens to Rome for the jubilee of 1350 and how papal indulgences eased each man’s “conscience” for the burning of Antrodoco.⁵³⁶ The visit introduced a quiet interlude, in which he compared Rome with L’Aquila. He admired the varieties and amount of wine on sale and the copious supplies of meat, grain, and oranges, but he found the prices “dear” and was angry at the false promises of the inn-keepers (“those bad Romans”).⁵³⁷

The culmination of Buccio’s acceptance of Lalle was his description in May 1351 of a new festival of St Peter Celestine, with whom the count implicitly associated himself in permitting a civic ceremony to honor the saint. It was a sort of set piece of civic peace and prosperity. Calling the event “a great novelty,” Buccio noted how “each guild (*Arte*) went separately with its own gift” to the saint’s tomb at Collemaggio.⁵³⁸ By identifying with the saint, Lalle helped further sacralize the city and heal it after its recent misfortunes.⁵³⁹ The purpose of the occasion (“so that the commune of L’Aquila may be recommended to him [St Peter]”) brought attention to civic institutions that Lalle was

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 267, v853: “L’Aquila è be’ passata, secunno che me pare, e verzo lu altro Rindo ne potemo laudare.”

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 256, v821: “soa coscienza.”

⁵³⁷ Ibid., 257-261, vv823-835; p.258, v826: “cara” ; p.260, v833: “quilli mali Romani.”

⁵³⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 267, v854: “gra’ novetate... ciaschesun’ Arte a simiti gio co’ presente seo.”

⁵³⁹ On the guilds naming the saint “*protector et defensor noster*” (our protector and defender) see Berardi, *I monti d’oro*, 31.

evidently comfortable to have receive prominence.⁵⁴⁰ Nor did he expect or receive any disorder when “all the guilds assembled in the market-place”.⁵⁴¹ The tone was peaceful, as the only thing missing was that “we had a shortage of minstrels”.⁵⁴² The guilds’ presentation to the chapel comprised an ostentatious display of wealth (“wax, money, and cloth that cost a thousand ducats”), which reflected Lalle’s beneficent governance.⁵⁴³

In a surprising reversal of perspective, when Louis (Joanna’s husband) intervened in Aquilan affairs in 1351 to attempt to force a peace between Lalle and the exiled Pretatti, which the citizens had so desired a decade before, Buccio described them supporting Lalle and resisting Louis and his forces. The episode began with Louis seeking and receiving funds from L’Aquila to pursue the Hungarians still in Abruzzo. After arriving at Sulmona in September, he summoned Lalle, who refused to go. Mollified by his subsequent receipt of gifts of gold and silver and his seizure of Lalle’s lands near Pescara, Louis seemed calm, and so at Christmas sixty leading Aquilans accepted his invitation to join in the festivities there. Instead Louis had the group detained and informed them that he was sending for the Pretatti in order to make peace in L’Aquila. The citizens rallied around Lalle and hired soldiers to resist the expected attack by Louis. The king partially backed down, saying no more about the exiles and assigning the hostages to the count of Celano with instruction that, if within a month the crown that he was expecting arrived from the pope, they were to be sent to Naples, but, if it did not, they were to be freed after

⁵⁴⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 267, v855: “ché llu Comuno d’Aquila li sia recomannato!”

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.: “Tucte le Arti adunate vidi ne lu mercato.”

⁵⁴² Ibid., 267, v856: “che de giullari abemmo minuanza.”

⁵⁴³ Ibid., 267, v857: “cera, denari e panni che... costò mille ducati.”

payment of a penalty of eight hundred ounces, which happened in January 1352. Lalle remained secure.⁵⁴⁴

While Louis's funds benefited three times from the Aquilans in these five months, which may have been his main intent, Buccio depicted his approach as divisive. Louis was unsuccessful, if he hoped that that, by writing directly to the citizens rather than to Lalle, they would turn to him (in August "we had a letter from King Louis," in September "the king sent a letter to L'Aquila").⁵⁴⁵ Instead the civic response was uniformly supportive of Lalle: "Our will was sent to him [Louis] to understand that we did not wish him [Lalle] [to go] due to the matters in the past".⁵⁴⁶ Louis also failed to sway the group at Sulmona ("the flower of L'Aquila") to negotiate with him: "Our men replied, 'We wish for peace, but you must know that we cannot make it; it now stands with the count and the others, whom we have left' ".⁵⁴⁷ Lalle also garnered support in L'Aquila, as men ran through the street shouting "Long live the count" and "To Sulmona, to Sulmona" and next day "a *parlamento* was made; I saw a great number of people at that assembly," which called the detention "a great failure by the king, a great betrayal" and directed the spending of one thousand ounces raised through loans to hire soldiers.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 268-279, vv860-896.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 268, v860: "*una lectera abemmo dallu re Alouisci*"; p.270, v865: "*lu re... lectera da soa parte a l'Aquila mannone.*"

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 270, vv866: "*Foli misso a intennere la nostra voluntate: che no llu volevamo per cose trapassate.*"

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 274, v877: "*lu fior d'Aquila*"; p. 275, v884: "*Respusero li nostri: 'Nuj la pace volemo, ma devete sapire ca farlo no potemo; or sta a lu conte e alli altri, che là lassati avemo.'*"

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 276-7, vv888-891: "*'Viva el conte... A Sermona a Sermona... fo facto parlamento; una gra' gente viddi a quillu adunamento...lu granne fallimento che avia facto lu re, per granne tradimento.*" Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, II, 40: "*il re fu forte biasimato di mal consiglio, parendo a tutti più opera tirannasca che reale*" (the king was strongly blamed for acting on bad advice, it appearing to all a work more tyrannical than royal).

The citizens in late 1352 and Lalle in January 1353 each took advantage of a change of heart by Louis to obtain pardons. Buccio displayed awareness of papal diplomacy in explaining that, as a condition for Louis's coronation in May 1352, the legate told the king: "he was to pardon each who had fallen short".⁵⁴⁹ The author implied that Lalle gave the Aquilans power to make a settlement on their own: "The counts and the barons all went to swear; the cities and communes sent [syndics] without delay and carried money, each how it seemed to him, which we of L'Aquila did".⁵⁵⁰ After Christmas Lalle made his own separate obeisance: "he did him reverence, our king welcomed him with humble clemency".⁵⁵¹ Louis then relied on Lalle's help against the *popolo minuto* of Gaeta, who had rioted against local merchants due to shortages, and in January 1353 gave the lord leave to return to L'Aquila.⁵⁵² This depiction of Lalle's royal service suggests that any notion of tyranny inside L'Aquila was no longer relevant to Buccio and that he viewed it only a matter of time before Lalle received a title. Buccio expressed joy that the city (Lalle and the citizens) and the crown had fully reconciled just as before the beginning of the crisis in 1336: "Certainly he was very honored; the people went out in front [of the city] just as he were king, shouting 'Long live the count, God grant him great government.' We took part in festivities on horseback and on foot".⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 281, v904: "*illu perdonasse a cunca avia fallato.*" In April 1352 Joanna proclaimed a general amnesty to all in the *Regno* who had cooperated with or supported the Hungarians – Goldstone, *The Lady Queen*, 177.

⁵⁵⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 280, v900: "*Li cunti e li baroni tucti jero a iurare; le terre e li communi mannar' senza tardare, e portaro denari, ciascu' como li pare; que facemmo nuj d'Aquila.*" Documentation confirms that in September 1352 the monarchs granted the Aquilan request for pardon and that in October and November the city paid them ten thousand florins (equivalent to two thousand ounces, based on exchange rates in 1341 in Musto, *Medieval Naples*, 233-4) in Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 52-3.

⁵⁵¹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 282, v909: "*feceli reverenzia, lu re nostro recolzelu conn umile clemenzia.*"

⁵⁵² Ibid., 283, vv909-911.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 283-4, vv911-2: "*certe multo onorato; escéli iente inanti, como re fosse stato, gridanno: 'Viva el conte, Deo li dia granne stato!... da cavallio e da pedi, iocammo.*" The reference to activities on horseback was consistent with Buccio's depiction of civic honor to Charles of Calabria in 1328 (p.73, v237) and

Lalle's end came in 1354 not at the hands of the citizens or of Louis but from an apparently spontaneous act by Louis's brother, Philip of Taranto, which resulted, according to Buccio, in an outpouring of civic grief and anger. The background was the arrival in Marche of a large number of mercenaries under Fra Moriale (an example of the author looking beyond the borders of not just the city but of the *Regno* in describing events that could have an impact on L'Aquila): "it was said that they wished to enter this *Regno*. There was fear of them".⁵⁵⁴ Buccio seemed to evince pride in depicting both the city's council and Lalle taking leading roles in organizing the response: "We made council many times, thinking to raise the walls, to have men-at-arms hired, and to put property from outside into the city".⁵⁵⁵ Lalle was one of two commanders (*caporali*) in Abruzzo (the other being the count of Celano) appointed by Philip, who was responsible for the northern defenses.⁵⁵⁶ After Fra Moriale moved from Marche to Perugia in June, Philip came from Sulmona to L'Aquila, where he proceeded to deal with civic matters. Lalle found his power in the city undercut, when Philip "had peace negotiated" between the Camponeschi and the Pretatti, who were still in exile.⁵⁵⁷ When three weeks later the exiles reached Pile (two miles from the city), Lalle reacted against Philip's imposition. He gathered and armed men from the countryside and "had them begin an uproar. They ran through the city, shouting 'Long live the count and death to traitors' and causing

typical of chevalric displays promoted by the crown (Vitale, *Élite burocratica e famiglia*, 200), serving both the Aquilans' need to associate themselves with Lalle by public acts and Lalle's political purpose to show royal support.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 286, vv916-7: "*dicease che voleano in quisto Ringio intrare. Fonne messa paura.*"

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 286, v917: "*facemonne consillio più volte e più fiate, pensanno alzar le mura e avere gente sollate* [= (glossary) *assoldare*], *e la roba de fore mectere na citade.*"

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 287, v920: "*lu conte nostro d'Aquila fo l'altro capotano*" (our count from L'Aquila was the other captain); p.286, v919: "*fece duj caporali*" ([Philip] made two commanders).

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 288, v926: "*fe' tractare la pace.*"

injuries. It was understood by the lord [Philip] and by many other lords to be a wicked act”.⁵⁵⁸ Three days afterwards (July 1), he decided to leave, and Lalle escorted him out of the city. On being about to separate at Bazzano, Philip gripped Lalle and had one of his men stab him to death. Philip then rode rapidly to Sulmona.⁵⁵⁹

Since Louis did not appear in this episode, it seems that Buccio did not blame him for Lalle’s assassination. Signs that he considered the murder unpremeditated were Philip’s reaction to the uproar organized by Lalle (as if “given a knife to the heart” and on his final departure from the city “he had in mind the disgrace”) and, on the duke’s arrival at Sulmona, the response implicitly by the king’s advisers (“the great reproach by many”).⁵⁶⁰ Philip did not give any indication as to whether the Pretatti, with or without another member of Lalle’s family, or the commune would be an acceptable replacement to Lalle’s *signoria*: “The people already stunned did not know what to do; there was no *signore*, nor was there a commander”.⁵⁶¹ Other evidence also suggests that the act did not have the king’s approval. When Philip had Lalle killed in July, Fra Moriale’s company was still only a hundred miles away in Perugia and would likely arrive soon, since Louis had not paid the adventurers the forty thousand florins that he had promised them on condition that they not enter the *Regno*.⁵⁶² Lalle’s death and Philip’s return to Sulmona, therefore, left L’Aquila leaderless at a dangerous moment. Perhaps, as in Villani, with “*messer Lalle feeling the great love of his citizens,*” Philip acted from jealousy to protect

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., 291, vv933-4: “*fe’ remor conmenzare. Gridanno ‘Viva el conte e mora li tradeturi!’*, *recursero la terra, pariano fereturi... sappe reo al singiore e a multi altri singiuri.*”

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 291-4, vv935-944.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 291, v935: “*al core dato u’ coltello*”; p.293, v941: “*a mente avia lu scornno*”; p.295, v947: “*per multi... gra’ reprenzione [= (glossary) rimprovero]*.”

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 296, v951: “*la iente gia stordita, no sapia que sse fare; non ce era singiore, né c’era caporale.*”

⁵⁶² On the non-payment, see Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, III, 110. Unexpectedly, in August 1354, Fra Moriale went from Perugia to Rome, where Cola di Rienzo killed him - De Matteis, *Buccio*, 301, v971.

the royal family's honor.⁵⁶³ More likely, Philip's attack represented his personal revenge for Lalle's overthrow of the peace plan, which was either his idea or his responsibility.

Whatever Philip's motive, since he was a member of the royal family, the crown received the brunt of the anger displayed by at least some of the citizens. Buccio gave the initial reaction as uniform: "we made a great mourning," confirming the love that the Aquilans had felt for Lalle.⁵⁶⁴ But the chronicler was unsympathetic to the subsequent sack of the captain's palace, in which he showed his usual dislike of disorder and seemed to differentiate between the culprits and the rest of the citizens: "Oh, the anger that there was. Oh, there was little sense. The people ran to the [captain's] palace and plundered it; those who took a load, each was not touched".⁵⁶⁵ As this was the first mention of the captain, it seems that they selected him because he was a symbol of the crown that was responsible for the murder rather than because they held him directly complicit. Although no-one was hurt, the robbery recalled the disorder following the killing of Nicola dell'Isola in 1293, another popular civic leader removed by a king. But the focus on the captain now was more specific than then and suggests a form of protest against the crown's believed misrule in a ritualistic manner similar to riots in early modern France described by Natalie Zemon Davis. In the absence of a successor of Lalle's stature, the crowd saw itself as its own authority, found legitimation in its accumulated frustration at the monarchs' acts against the city since 1351 (if not earlier) and triggered now by

⁵⁶³ Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, IV, 17: "*Messer Lallo, sentendosi in grande amore de' suoi cittadini.*" On Philip in Villani – *ibid.*: "*temette di sé*" (he feared for himself).

⁵⁶⁴ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 295, v949: "*gra' corruccio [= (glossary) corrotto] facemmo.*"

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 295, v950: "*O per ira che fosse, o poco sinno [= (glossary) senno] stato, corze iente a Palazzo e abelu derrobato, quilli che some presero ciascu' no fo toccato.*"

Lalle's assassination, and sought purification through targeting the captain's palace.

Since civic officials made no attempt to restrain the mob, the protest may have been quite broad. Less likely, Buccio's indication that the crowd was irrational may simply imply a diverse set of motives, such as opportunism, greed, a class-based reaction, or personal animus towards the captain.

e) Restoration of communal governance in 1354:

Seven months after Lalle's death the citizens installed a new form of government, the magistracy of the five guilds (*Cinque delle Arti*), that was to endure for more than another century. Buccio showed his appreciation of it by framing the civic request in December 1354 for royal approval in terms of serving the concept that was his touch-stone, making peace. Louis asked the envoys: " 'Are you in good union?' They replied that there was some dissent there. 'We have been sent... to recommend its general peace...' The king replied, 'We wish to make peace' ".⁵⁶⁶ The author alluded to disagreements since Lalle's death concerning whether civic governance should be a *signoria* or a commune with a broad or a narrow base. A sign that Buccio and many of his fellow citizens were prepared to accept another *signoria* as the most effective means to maintain order was their reaction to the mob's sack of the captain's palace: "We had no head, nor a captain; it pleased God that the count of Celano returned".⁵⁶⁷ But despite the entreaties of "many people," the count declined to be "your head" (possibly from fear of Philip's reaction).⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 303-4, vv978-980: " 'sete in bona unione?' Respusero che nc' [= (glossary) vi] era alcuna desenzione. 'Si che nuj semo missi... ché ne recomannamo la generale pace...' Lu regie lli respuse 'La pace far volemo.' "

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 296, v952: "Non avevamo capo, né manco capetano; piacque a Dio che tornasse lu conte de Celano."

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 296, vv952-3: "multa gente... vostro capo."

The absence of mention of Lalle's family and followers and of the Pretatti suggests that the chronicler did not think that for now either were realistic candidates for the position.

Instead, Buccio portrayed the citizens as drawing on their institutional history to shape a collective response by themselves. Recalling the events following the city's re-foundation in 1266, they went to a church by the communal palace "to make a *parlamento*; we made sixty-eight men to perform the work, who had to have L'Aquila with a government (*reggimento*).⁵⁶⁹ It seems ironic that the restoration of Buccio's original ideal came about only through the death of the city's *signore* whom he had come to embrace. The author showed the broad council acting responsibly in informing Philip of their desire to compensate the captain for his losses, negotiating with the captain as to the amount, and passing an ordinance against corruption.⁵⁷⁰ While Buccio admired these steps ("those men entered in a holy hour"), he gave greater favor to the narrow council that emerged in January 1355 after internal disagreements had evidently hampered the effectiveness of the sixty-eight.⁵⁷¹ He indicated that there was uniform pleasure at the royal approval of the new magistracy: the envoys "brought this good gift to this city. When the Aquilans knew about it, they were very joyful. Each [envoy] should be praised".⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 296-7, v954: "*a fare parlaminto; facemmo sesanta octo omini a compleminto, che divissero avere l'Aquila a regiminto.*"

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 297-300, vv955-967. Buccio used visualization regarding the anti-corruption measure, saying that anyone contravening it would be painted upside down in the communal palace (p.300, v968).

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 302, v973: "*entraro quilli nell'ora santa.*"

⁵⁷² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 305, v986: "*questa bona mancia [= (glossary) regalo] a questa terra arecaro; quanno Aquilani sappelo multo se n'alegraro*"; v987: "*deve essere laudato.*"

The authorization was for a guild-based constitution: “Principally, one [privilege] was for them to be headed by the *Arti*”.⁵⁷³ The form of the magistracy received definition in documents that named the five guilds, excluded the lesser guilds, the artisans, and the representatives of the *contado*, and assigned a small degree of participation to the city’s nobles (one-fifth).⁵⁷⁴ Indicating merely the total number of new magistrates, Buccio smoothed over any signs of internal discontent concerning the new arrangements, in part by presenting a seamless transition: the sixty-eight instructed each guild to separate, the council chose ten candidates, the captain selected five, then the sixty-eight “descended low, and the Five rose up”.⁵⁷⁵ Another way that Buccio diverted attention was by associating the Five with the crown. He described everyone shouting the praises of the king at the Five’s installation and at their exiting from the communal palace, cries of “Long live the king” at the bestowal of the banners, and the captain’s prominence with the Five and in administering oaths to the banner-holders.⁵⁷⁶ These actions served the Five, because the magistrates could attach civic authority, which they controlled and being recent was in need of bolstering, to the natural prestige of the crown.

Above all, Buccio celebrated the restoration of the binary relationship between L’Aquila and the monarchy.⁵⁷⁷ He showed that the crown sought to benefit the city and assure

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 305, v985: “*principalmente una vi n’era a capo d’Arti.*”

⁵⁷⁴ Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 54: “*Notula dei Magistrati delle Cinque Arti*” - a later document in Antinori covering the period from 1355 to 1550 and naming the principal guilds in 1355 as “scholars, merchants, leather-workers, metal-workers, and nobles.” Coupled with the nonsurvival of the diploma, the absence of the names in Buccio suggest that these guilds lacked specific royal approval. In the statutes of 1404 each of the Five was to come from a different guild - Clementi, *Statuta*, statute CLXII.

⁵⁷⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 306, vv989-991: “*a basso raballaro, li Cinque resalliero.*”

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 307, v991-2; p.308, v998: “*‘Viva lu re!’*”; pp.306-7, vv990-2; p.308, v997.

⁵⁷⁷ Modern historians have focused instead on the impact of the royal authorization on class relations. “It did not heal the disequilibrium among the quarters or break down the authority of the patricians (quite the

internal peace (and guard against the emergence of another *signore*) by specifying that the captain chose five to serve as magistrates from a slate of ten elected by the guilds.⁵⁷⁸ The forms of civic joy included not only the reaction on hearing about the royal authorization but also the ringing of the city bells following the captain's selection of the magistrates; "a great multitude" a few days later accompanying the Five, the captain, and five other men carrying banners to the bishop's palace to hear mass;⁵⁷⁹ and the instructions of the Five and the captain to the banner-holders: " 'Take this, to be guarded well in honor of the king and of the good government of the commune of L'Aquila that is never to be disturbed' ".⁵⁸⁰ Buccio linked the way forward to his understanding of the city's relationship with the crown since its re-foundation, by having both monarchs in December 1354 articulate their policies favoring L'Aquila: "I [Louis] know that that city was founded by our ancestors... they always loved it. What L'Aquila sought was given by them. So we equally intend to do. More than any other city of ours, we have it in mind. I [Joanna] say certainly that I do not subject it in any way".⁵⁸¹ Thus, with a single Aquilan power (communal government, no *signore*) and with the stabilization of

opposite)" - Colapietra, "Profilo," 25. It merely accelerated a pre-existing process inside L'Aquila, since the ease and speed in effecting these measures showed that the guilds already had important structures in place which at the moment of crisis they transferred from the private to the public sphere - Clementi, Alessandro. *L'arte della lana in una città del Regno di Napoli (secoli xiv-xvi)* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1979), 9, 14.

⁵⁷⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 306, vv989-990.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 305, v986; p.307, v992; p.308, v996; p.308, v998: "*gra' turba.*"

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 308, v996: "*Prindi questo, che sia bene guardato a onore dellu re, e anche de bono stato dellu Comuno d'Aquila, che mai no sia turbato.*"

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 304, vv981-2: "*Io so che quella villa si fo fonnamentata per nostri nanti nati... sempre l'abero amata, ciò che lli petio Aquila per loro li fo data. Così intennemo fare nuj semeliantemente [= (glossary) egualmente], più che null'altra villa nostra l'avemo a mente.*" 'E no soctomecto nulla dico certamente.'

Joanna's rule following a treaty with Lewis in 1352, conditions had returned to a single crown that interacted with L'Aquila beneficially, as until 1335.⁵⁸²

In summary, between 1336 and 1354 the depiction of the relationship between the crown and the citizens that had served Buccio before then was no longer appropriate, since in the chronicle Robert, Joanna, and Louis mostly withdrew from involving themselves with L'Aquila and there were few interactions between the citizens and the captains. Instead, the author adapted, by seeing events from the perspectives of the faction leaders and the citizens from 1336 to 1342 (the period of factionalism) and of Lalle and the citizens from 1342 to 1354 (the period of Lalle's *signoria*), except at times in 1351-4 when relations between Louis (and later his brother Philip) and Lalle took greater prominence. Limited space also went to occasional actors (civic institutions, the faction leaders' patrons, Lewis, and, quite infrequently, the crown), as well as to natural intrusions (famine, plague and earthquake). Following Lalle's death in 1354, Buccio reverted to the binary of the crown and the citizens. Another novelty was his insertion of fourteen sonnets at intervals between 1338 and 1349, which enabled him to express empathy with civic suffering but more often to make moral exhortations regarding the behavior of his fellow citizens and especially of Lalle. Buccio shifted in his attitude towards Lalle's rule from hostility, to acceptance, to regretting its end. In admiring its beneficent aspects (advancing internal order and effective administration) and implying its freedom from corruption, he evidently expected no less from his newly-restored original ideal, the commune.

⁵⁸² On the treaty with Lewis, whereby the remaining Hungarians left the *Regno*, see Léonard, *Les Angevins*, 364-5.

CHAPTER THREE

A Crisis of Representation: the Monarchy, 1355-1424

Although the Aquilans returned to communal rule in 1355 that continued, at least in form, for the entire period, Buccio and his successors found that it was not a simple matter to return to a vision of civic identity, in which the commune and the crown were the main poles. Lalle's death in 1354 and the lack of proclamation of a successor facilitated the return to governance solely by the commune. The monarchy also, briefly, reacquired its prior characteristics: stably located in Naples and supportive of Aquilan interests. As noted in the previous chapter, the first step by Joanna and Louis after Lalle's death was to approve the restoration of the commune, which, at civic request, was now administered by five of L'Aquila's guilds (the Five). Nevertheless, L'Aquila's circumstances after 1354 posed problems for its chroniclers. One was how to depict Lalle's son (Lalle II) and grandsons, who remained prominent in civic affairs. These Camponeschi, however, did not claim to be *signori* and, as their interests often coincided with those of the city (as under Lalle I's later years), chroniclers tended to subsume them into civic identity. The writers also drew attention to the head of the family's title (the count of Montorio) and to the frequency with which he and other members served the crown in military capacities far from L'Aquila, thereby recognizing their prestige and showing them, like the citizens, as acting in accordance with royal wishes and receiving benefits for their efforts.

A second and more significant factor complicating the Aquilans' sense of civic identity was the highly turbulent state of the monarchy, which left unclear to whom they should owe their loyalty. Although King Lewis of Hungary in 1352 renounced his claim to the

throne and released the royal hostages that he was holding, including Louis, duke of Durazzo, he continued to involve himself in the southern kingdom's affairs. With Lewis's support, the duke, who advanced his own claim, and Giovanni Pipino, count paladin of Altamura, established a base in Apulia. Until Louis's death in 1362 Hungarian and German private armies traveled between northern Italy and Apulia, and caused serious problems to those who encountered them en route, including the Aquilans.⁵⁸³ Buccio showed the citizens maintaining their loyalty to the monarchs, by giving their awareness of L'Aquila's suffering from the mercenaries as arising from the activities of the duke and Pipino.

Matters became still more complicated following the start of the Great Schism in 1378. Lewis had transferred his patronage after the duke's death to his son, Charles of Durazzo, whom he had educated in Hungary. Lewis gave him responsibilities in Croatia and Dalmatia and in 1379 in negotiations with Venice (giving rise to his nickname "Charles of Peace" (*Carlo della Pace*). The schism gave Charles the opportunity to win the throne. Joanna's support of the Savoyard Clement VII alienated many in the *Regno*, who preferred the Neapolitan Urban VI. With an army supplied by Lewis, Charles reached Rome in November 1380, and in June 1381 Urban crowned him Charles III. Naples was in his hands in August 1381, when Joanna surrendered; she was murdered in July 1382. L'Aquila's chroniclers indicated that, despite enduring attacks by its exiles who received help from Urban, the city remained loyal to Joanna until her surrender.

⁵⁸³ Since the Hungarian private armies, called *bannières* for the emblems of their respective lords, and the German companies, which had ravaged northern Italy since 1342, were indistinguishable from those previously hired by Lewis, it seems likely that he facilitated their dispatch - Guerri dall'Oro, Guido. "Les mercenaires dans les campagnes napolitaines de Louis le Grand, roi de Hongrie, 1347-50" in J. France, ed. *Mercenaries and Paid Men. The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 64-5, 68.

The next stage in the civil war was between Charles and his family (the Durazzeschi) and Louis, duke of Anjou and count of Provence, and his descendants (the Provençals).

Louis's claim rested on Joanna's adoption of him as her son and heir in 1380, his descent from Charles II, and Clement's recognition. She chose him, because as the brother of the French king he offered potential access to plentiful aid, held a convenient base in Provence, and carried the Angevin name.⁵⁸⁴ Fighting between the two groups continued at intervals from 1382 until they united to help L'Aquila overcome its siege in 1423-4 by Braccio da Montone, a Perugian *condottiere*. He was an ally of King Alfonso V of Aragon, who asserted his own claim to the throne (based on his descent from a Staufen heiress). The Aquilan chroniclers, Antonio di Buccio (Antonio) and Niccolò di Borbona (Niccolò), emphasized the influence of Lalle II as the city moved from supporting Charles III in 1381 to opposing him in 1382. Between then and 1416 the city's attitudes towards both the crown and the Camponeschi changed several times. Niccolò's brief descriptions and periodic silences seem to imply his ambivalence at both national and local levels. But the length of his passages concerning the resistance against and eventual victory over Braccio indicates their significance for re-consolidating civic identity and the city's relationship with the monarchy.

In contrast to prior periods, more than one Aquilan chronicler sought to moderate these events, sometimes with different perspectives. The presence of multiple chroniclers

⁵⁸⁴ Charles II conferred the county of Anjou on Charles of Valois (brother of Philip IV) on his marriage to the king's daughter, Margaret, in 1290. After Charles of Valois's son, Philip VI, succeeded to the French throne, the title to Anjou remained within the French house. Louis, as the grandson of Philip VI, was thus descended from Charles II, becoming count of Anjou in 1356 and then its duke in 1360.

seems to reflect the uncertainty of the times, even if it may not be a sign that civic identity was more uncertain than before. After Buccio died in 1363, two writers assumed the task of continuing his history. Antonio wrote “on matters of L’Aquila” covering the period from 1363 to Joanna’s surrender in 1381, in alexandrines like Buccio. He also wrote in octaves “on the coming of Charles of Durazzo in the *Regno*” starting with the schism in 1378 and ending in early 1382 before the Aquilan revolt against Charles.⁵⁸⁵ We can speculate that Antonio’s travels to Rome in 1369 and to Apulia in 1372 exposed him to new currents that influenced him to experiment with different meters and, in his second poem, to give significant attention to events involving the monarch and her rival. Niccolò di Borbona (Niccolò), Buccio’s other successor, wrote in brief prose “on the matters of L’Aquila” from 1363 to 1424.⁵⁸⁶ In addition, an anonymous local account of the “war of L’Aquila” described Braccio’s siege and battle in 1423-4 written in octaves.⁵⁸⁷ Also of value are the diaries of Bishop Jacopo Donadei covering 1407-14.⁵⁸⁸

These writers had different biases. Buccio praised Joanna and Louis for their actions against the mercenaries. Antonio also praised the queen until the schism, when he criticized her stance. But, despite acknowledging Pope Urban’s support for the exiled Pretatti (rivals of the Camponeschi), Antonio opposed their raid on L’Aquila in November 1378 and subsequently in the *contado*, and did not show them support until

⁵⁸⁵ Antonio di Boetio volgarmente Antonio di Buccio di San Vittorino dell’Aquila. “Delle cose dell’Aquila” in L.A. Muratori, ed. *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (Milan, 1742), VI, 708-848; Gelmini, Simona. “Antonio di Boezio. Della venuta del re Carlo di Durazzo nel Regno e Delle cose dell’Aquila e il suo lessico” in *Studi di Lessicografia Italiana*, 10 (1989): 5-123.

⁵⁸⁶ Niccolò di Borbona. “Cronaca delle cose dell’Aquila, dall’anno 1363 all’anno 1424” in L.A. Muratori, ed. *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (Milan, 1742), VI, 852-880.

⁵⁸⁷ De Matteis, Carlo, ed. *La guerra dell’Aquila. Cantare anonimo del XV secolo* (L’Aquila: Textus, 1996).

⁵⁸⁸ Palatini, Leopoldo. “Iacopo Donadei e suoi diarii.” *Bollettino della società di storia patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, No. 26, 13 (1901).

after Charles reached Rome in 1380. He was loyal to Charles as king, even though he detected opposition within the city. As for Niccolò, his identification with the Provençals was at odds with all other Aquilan writers of the period between 1380 and 1423 (when Joanna adopted Louis III of Anjou as her heir): Antonio, Bishop Donadei, and the Anonymous.⁵⁸⁹

a) Collaboration with Joanna I, 1355-1381:

A notable feature of civic identity after Lalle I's death in the remainder of Joanna's reign was that, despite the queen's sieges of the city in 1347 and King Louis's opposition to him in 1351, the chronicles depicted their long-lasting loyalty to her, until the citizens received news of her surrender in 1381, and to Louis until his death in 1362. The chronicles in this period described their full compliance with royal requests and gave few complaints at the treatment that they received from or due to the crown.⁵⁹⁰

The chroniclers were aware that, in opposing the foreign mercenaries, the Aquilans served Joanna in her dynastic dispute. In 1355-61 Buccio described the connection between the companies and the rebellious Louis of Durazzo and his ally, Giovanni

⁵⁸⁹ Diversity in loyalty was, therefore, present between Niccolò to the Provençals on the one hand and Antonio to Charles III in 1381-2, Donadei to Ladislaus in 1407-14, and the Anonymous to Joanna II in 1421 on the other. If, as is possible, Niccolò was the same author as the composer of the ode on Bernardino of Siena after his death in 1444 and wrote his chronicle at about the same time, the rivalry between Alfonso and the Provençals, which lasted intermittently from 1435 to 1470, may have influenced the writer in his portrayals of earlier Provençal activity.

⁵⁹⁰ The chroniclers' admiration for Joanna tallies with the citizens' receipt by diploma of forty-two awards in 1355-81, in Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 54-71, Colapietra, "Profilo," 35-9, Clementi, *Statuta*, 139. The annual rate of 1.62 indicates that the syndics were busier than in 1295-1335, when the number was forty-eight and the annual was 1.20. An exception in the habit of royal favor occurred in 1368, when she reversed her permission in 1343 for the auditor of the captain to be Aquilan; now he had to be "*unum peritum virum... qui non sit de ipsa civitate oriundus*" (an experienced man, who is not born in the city itself), in Colapietra, "Profilo," 36, repeated in 1369 and 1372, in Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 59, 63.

Pipino, indicating that the duke and Pipino were “bound by a chain” to Conrad of Landau’s Great Company in 1355 and that the duke solicited them again in 1357 and certain Hungarian adventurers in 1361: “Our dissension placed them [the mercenaries] in this *Regno*, since there was so much [conflict] among the counts and barons; [between those] who held for the king and some for the duke [of Durazzo]”.⁵⁹¹ Antonio also depicted the city’s resistance to the “Company of the English” of John Hawkwood (*Jovanni Acuto*) in 1365-6 as in line with Joanna’s wishes, as he described her eventually giving money to Hawkwood’s company to leave the *Regno*.⁵⁹² Other sources confirm that Hawkwood was probably serving Bernabò Visconti, who opposed Joanna’s alliance with the pope.⁵⁹³ Similarly, in 1367 Antonio recognized that Joanna’s cousin, Philip of Taranto and the duke of Andria, who were in revolt, had “sent for the company of Ambrogio Visconti” that the citizens opposed.⁵⁹⁴ The chronicles’ structures also served to present the various mercenaries as outsiders, rather than collaborators with any civic elements supporting the rebels. The writers did not mention any internal following or offer the companies’ perspectives, and showed that they were a national issue by

⁵⁹¹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 316, v1023: “*legati a uno frino* [= (glossary) *vincolo*]”; p. 327, v1060: “*La gra’ compagnia missero inellu Rinno*” ([Louis of Durazzo] sent the Great Company in the *Regno*); p.360, v1157: “*In quisto Rengio miseli le nostre descenzuni* [= (glossary) *dissenso*], *ca jà so’ state tante tra cunti e tra baruni; chi tenia dallu re e dal duca alecuni*.” Buccio also identified deceit by Louis of Durazzo in p.311, v1007: “*fecele contrafare*” (he had them [papal banners] counterfeited). Likewise Antonio on the duke - Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 714, v25: “*el contumace*.” (his contumacy).

⁵⁹² Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 716, 44: “*Compagnia delli Inglisi*.” But he located the reason for the coming of the English in their rivalry with the French - p.718, v65; p.717, v45: “*al Rene de Francia fecero granne danno*” (they [the English] did great harm to the king of France).

⁵⁹³ Caferro, William. *John Hawkwood. An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006, 119-129 – claiming to be a “free” captain, Hawkwood followed his own agenda in seeking plunder with his White Company in 1365, but, following its defeat by Hanneken von Baumgarten’s company, his motives had more political color. Ambrogio Visconti and he formed the Company of St George, and in later 1365 and 1366 served the interests of Bernabò Visconti in causing discomfort to Urban V and his allies, who included Joanna, Florence, Siena, and Perugia.

⁵⁹⁴ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 744, v251: “*per la Compagnia... mandone*.”

describing the harm by them to other parts of the *Regno* (especially in eastern Abruzzo and Apulia in 1360-1, areas that were familiar to Buccio's merchant readers).⁵⁹⁵

The writers framed the price of following the monarchs' wishes as heavy but acceptable. During the mercenaries' first four waves, in physical terms the citizens escaped, though the Germans came up to adjacent passes in 1360 and the Hungarians went beneath the city walls on leaving the *Regno* in 1361. Financially, the Aquilans had to bear the heavy costs of enhancing and maintaining the defenses and of contributions to the crown to buy off the companies.⁵⁹⁶ In 1365 Antonio called the experience of the *contado* "wretched" due to its treatment by the English. He reported that, after being repulsed from the city walls the next year, they again did "great harm" to it and that in 1367 the company of Ambrogio Visconti caused it further damage.⁵⁹⁷ The writers provided an explanation for Aquilan acceptance of the situation. They showed that, just as the citizens did their part to oppose the companies, so did the monarchs on a larger scale by negotiating with them to leave the kingdom and by sending viceroys to supervise their departure.⁵⁹⁸ Another form

⁵⁹⁵ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 309-315, vv1001-4, vv1019-20; p.334, v1087; p.346, v1131; pp.358-9, vv1154,1158; Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 718, v65 and p.744,v254.

⁵⁹⁶ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 314, v1017 – 4,000 florins to pay for 200 soldiers for the king in 1355; p.320, v1037 – 5,000 florins to the king for Conrad in 1355; p.333, v1083 – 8,000 florins to the king for defenses in 1358; p.337, v1098 – 1,000 florins for civic defenses in 1359; p.339, v1104 – 1,000 florins for hired soldiers in 1359; p.339, vv1105-6 – 2,000 florins to Louis's viceroy in Abruzzo sent against Conrad in 1359; p.349, vv1142-3 – equipment and food provisions for two contingents placed at the passes in 1360; p.357, v1148 – borrowings to hire 200 soldiers in 1361.

⁵⁹⁷ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 717, v45: "*taupino*"; p.718, v62: "*gran danno*" – including burning a mill; p.744, v252 – although the text placed Ambrogio in 1361, Milanese historians prefer 1367 (fn44).

⁵⁹⁸ In 1355 King Louis negotiated with Conrad in Apulia to pay him 130,000 florins to leave, in installments in Apulia, Abruzzo, and at Florence, L'Aquila contributed 5,000 florins; in 1358-9 Conrad did not enter the *Regno*, Louis sent a viceroy (count of Nola) to Abruzzo (and to Umbria in Villani) against him; in 1360 the Great Company (Hanneken von Baumgarten in Villani) went to Apulia, in 1362 Louis hired it to go to Sicily and appointed a viceroy (Galeotto Malatesta) to supervise their departure; in 1361 Louis enlisted the Hungarians in Apulia to go to Provence and sent a viceroy (count of Nola) to watch them; and in 1365-6 Hawkwood plundered the Terra di Lavoro, Joanna paid him to leave the *Regno*, in De Matteis, *Buccio*, 318, v1031 and p.320, v1037; p.338, v1103; p.381, vv1228-1230; p.356, v1147 and p.361, v1159 and Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 718, v65.

of distress came with papal interdicts in 1355, 1356, 1357, and late 1357-1359.⁵⁹⁹ Buccio discussed the forty-five day interdict of 1355: “We knew well that it was not his [King Louis’s] fault, that he had much to do [to pay] for the Great Company and for [the war in] Sicily”.⁶⁰⁰

The chroniclers also addressed the monarchs’ personal characteristics in mostly favorable terms. Buccio found that King Louis was “wise” in how he removed the Great Company from the *Regno* in 1357, and indicated that the city had “long desired” his arrival planned for 1358.⁶⁰¹ The citizens so admired Tommaso Caracciolo, the captain in 1361, for his efforts in supervising the Hungarians’ exit that they gave him a hundred florins to buy a hat.⁶⁰² Expressing more regret at Louis’s death than over that of any prior king except Andrew, Buccio indicated that “all the *Regno* was very distressed.” Antonio, too, noted that he was “very just” and “much loved”.⁶⁰³ Antonio also praised Joanna in 1363 for her virtue and called her government (*signoria*) “better” than any since that of Charles I.⁶⁰⁴ Like Buccio before 1355, the chroniclers even briefly displayed consciousness of certain momentous events affecting the crown (King Louis’s ceremonial entry into Messina and Joanna’s third marriage).⁶⁰⁵

⁵⁹⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 312, v1010; p.321, v1044; p.322, v1046; p.324, v1053; p.341, v1112.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 312, v1011: “*ca sapevamo bene, ca soa colpa non è stata, ca à auto multo a ffare per la granne briata, e anche per Cicilia.*”

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 327, v1061: “*savio*”; p.329, v1068: “*lungo tempo goliato* [= (glossary) *desiderare*]” – but he fell ill.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 364, v1169.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 384, v1239: “*tucto questo Rinno ne fo assai tribulato*”; Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 714, v26: “*tanto justo... molto amato.*”

⁶⁰⁴ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 715, vv34-6: “*melliore.*”

⁶⁰⁵ Before 1355 – Charles I’s investiture, Charles II’s death, Robert’s coronation in Avignon, Joanna’s marriage to Andrew, Robert’s death, Louis’s and Joanna’s coronation. After 1355 – De Matteis, *Buccio*, 323, v1050; Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 714, v28.

Nevertheless some criticism of royal behavior was present. In 1355, in apparently referring to King Louis's preference for amusement while the mercenaries were near L'Aquila, Buccio complained that the king "should be in the field with the countesses and baronesses".⁶⁰⁶ The author's silence on the crown's responsibility for the repeated papal interdicts of 1356-9 that were longer than the one that he excused in 1355 seems pointed. Above all, the monarchs' selection of viceroys sent against the mercenaries annoyed Buccio and the citizens. They resented the decisions in 1359 by the Abruzzo viceroy (Nicola Orsini, count of Nola) to levy a fine on the city of one thousand florins for refusing to send beyond L'Aquila the troops that he requested against the mercenaries and to enforce cooperation by confiscating the city's sheep at Chieti during transhumance.⁶⁰⁷ In 1362 Buccio contrasted the viceroys with Robert's justiciars, who had no powers in L'Aquila. He objected to not knowing the purpose of payments required by the viceroys, which he indicated the Aquilans would not have paid if they had not been so divided.⁶⁰⁸ He also reported the "regret to many" citizens over the decision of the Abruzzo viceroy (Galeotto Malatesta) to have hanged many Hungarian mercenaries, despite their peaceful departure in accordance with assurances by the king.⁶⁰⁹

Once the mercenaries' invasions had died down, Antonio indicated that the Aquilans' close cooperation with the queen continued by describing distant destinations to which they traveled to fight in her service, even though at times they did not have a common interest in doing so. At her request, L'Aquila sent troops a hundred and fifteen miles to

⁶⁰⁶ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 313, v1014: "*co'... contesse e baronesse... devono essere in campo.*"

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 339, vv1105-6.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 369, vv1187-1190.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 382, v1231: "*a multi increbe.*"

Teano, near Capua, against the rebellious duke of Andria in 1371, sixty miles to assist Città Ducale at Frascaro against encroachments by Rieti in 1376, and sixty-five miles against the city of Ascoli Piceno in revolt against the pope, Joanna's ally, in 1377.⁶¹⁰

While the Aquilans had old scores to settle against Rieti, they did not have any relationship with Capua and "did not go willingly against the Ascolani, who had always had our friendship like brothers".⁶¹¹

Antonio also showed that the queen, for her part, mostly reinforced her bond with the citizens. She allowed them to achieve an old goal in buying Antrodoco in the Mountain in 1368 (though they still had to obtain possession of it from the Pretatti); she also provided grain in 1371 during a famine.⁶¹² Unlike Robert in 1336-42, she responded to civic desires in 1370 during a period of factionalism when "all wills were well agreed that peace be made" (a traditional civic ideal).⁶¹³ She summoned the faction leaders to Naples, where "she had them make peace," and, after the citizens objected to her imprisoning the leaders, she released them after a year, causing "great joy in L'Aquila".⁶¹⁴ Her appointment of captains gained civic respect: Francesco Sabatino in 1369 as "a kindly man, he behaved well"; Giovanni Malatacchi in 1371, because he "did good things while he was there," including seizing the faction leaders' fortified buildings and questioning dishonest requests; Tommaso Obizzi of Lucca in 1372, since he "governed well," he was the first to bring his family, and his wife (*capetanessa*) assumed responsibility for

⁶¹⁰ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 745, v264; p. 753, v332; p.763, v415.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 763, v416: "*contra lu Ascolano non gevamo volentero, che sempre, come frati, nostra amistantia avero.*"

⁶¹² Ibid., 724, v106; p.741, v232 – the grain came from Apulia.

⁶¹³ Ibid., 736, v207: "*Tutte le vollie bene erano accordate, che la pace se facesse.*"

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 737, v210; p.738, v214: "*Feli fare la pace*"; p.738, v217; p.740, v229: "*Granne alegrecza fo in Aquila.*"

organizing the palace expenses to the city's benefit; and Giovanni Obizzi of Lucca in 1376, because he was "very celebrated" and "this city was so well guided by him" when he directed the attack on Frascaro.⁶¹⁵ One exception was Antonio's criticism of Joanna for allowing Obizzi to stay in office for three years (instead of the usual six months), thus facilitating his subsequent "tyrannies".⁶¹⁶ The author also continued to show awareness of national events in describing Joanna's "beautiful entry" into Rome to visit Urban V in 1368 and her fourth marriage, to Otto of Brunswick, in 1376.⁶¹⁷

A major test to L'Aquila's relationship with Joanna came from 1378, when she once again faced a strong rival claimant: in this case, Charles of Durazzo. Simultaneously, in the outbreak of the Great Schism, she perturbed her supporters by changing her recognition from the archbishop of Bari elected at Rome (Urban VI) to the cardinal of Geneva chosen at Fondi by the French cardinals (Clement VII). The issue was significant enough for Antonio to assess the impact on the whole kingdom. He observed that, even though Joanna "sent proclamation through all the *Regno*" and cited the opinions of "wise men" in Clement's favor, "the greater part made mockery of it".⁶¹⁸ This attitude enabled Antonio to present local exceptionalism towards Joanna: "she turned her Aquilans to it".⁶¹⁹ He then described how Charles "regretted" Joanna's decision and with Urban's

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 727, v135: "*jentile omo bene se fo portatu*"; p.741, vv231-2: "*Fecevi de bone cose de mintri che vi fone*"; p.743, v245: "*bene ne governone*"; p.752, v322-3; p.753, v329-330: "*molto celebrato... per issa questa Terra fone sì bene guidata*."

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 761, v401: "*le tirannie che faceano li Capetani*" (the captains made the tyrannies) and vv401-2: "*li capitoli di sei misi non ne conservavi. Se quilu Capitulu tu me avissi aservatu, autru, che bono Capetano tu non aberi trovato*" (the articles of six months were not maintained. If you had observed that article, you would not have found other than a good captain).

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 734, v182: "*bella intrata*" and p.746, v270.

⁶¹⁸ Gelmini, "Antonio," 33, I.4-5: "*per tutto el Regno mandò nne lo bando... per savj omeni... la maggiore parte beffe ne facea*."

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 33, I.5: "*li Aquilani suoi vi votò-ne [= (glossary) voltare]*."

blessing sought help from Lewis, who, preoccupied with Venice, was unable to provide help to him until making a settlement with it in 1380, when Charles led an army from northern Italy.⁶²⁰ Although neither Antonio nor Niccolò followed Joanna's lead regarding Clement and instead indicated their confusion by calling both men "pope," they both depicted the Aquilans giving strong support to Joanna against Charles's supporters until her surrender.⁶²¹

Antonio recognized the momentousness of this brief time in two different ways. One was his tracking the events in his chronicle so carefully that they occupied more space than those of the preceding fifteen years since its inception.⁶²² After a description of the beginning of the schism, the principal subject was its effect on the citizens and the exiles (assisted by foreign mercenaries and the border city of Amatrice). Antonio's second method was a separate poem on "the coming of Charles of Durazzo," covering 1378-82. In it he described the actions of Joanna and Charles with hardly any mention of L'Aquila, though in the last two cantos (after Joanna's capture) these proportions reversed.⁶²³ Niccolò found similar, though much briefer, balance in four paragraphs for this period, two on the papal elections and dynastic dispute and two on the local rivalry with the exiles.⁶²⁴ These even allocations between national and local events at this time resembled those by chroniclers in dominant cities in late medieval Italy, who "despite persistent

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 34, I.8: "*increscea* [= (glossary) *rincreocere*]" ; p.35, I.13; pp.37-8, I.19-21.

⁶²¹ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 766, vv444-5: "*el Papa de Roma... el Papa de Fonni*" (the pope of Rome... the pope of Fondi); Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 855-6: "*Papa Urbano VI... Papa Clemento*" (pope Urban VI... pope Clement).

⁶²² Ibid., 764, v427 – death of Gregory XI followed by the disputed papal election; p.824,v 961 – final verse (1381).

⁶²³ By my calculation cantos I-III contain seven verses out of eighty-four that refer to L'Aquila while cantos IV-V contain fifty verses out of fifty-one that do so, in Gelmini, "Antonio," 32-66 – or 42.2% of total verses.

⁶²⁴ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 855-6 – paragraphs 12-15.

attention to political events over a broad horizon,... remained tied to a prevailing interest in urban history”.⁶²⁵

Both writers, however, provided not a broad coverage of events in the *Regno* but a flow from papal to national to local settings as a form of causation for Aquilan suffering. By doing so in different ways, they apparently reflected a division within the city as to how to understand these happenings. Both described Charles’s arrival from Hungary, entry into Naples, and capture of Joanna in 1381.⁶²⁶ The authors differed in explaining the papal schism and Charles’s success. Niccolò did not assign any role to Joanna in the elections, attributing Urban’s to “the great tumult of the [Roman] people saying ‘We want the Italian’ ” and Clement’s to “the old cardinals not being well treated by the said pope [Urban] or him not observing his promises”.⁶²⁷ Antonio instead blamed the queen directly for the division in the church: as the result of “such a great sin that entered *Madamma* with such great contempt, *Madamma*, [certain] cardinals and legates were against Rome and arranged to such an extent that these cardinals made a college among them” to choose Clement and “found a law that they could do it... and then our queen crowned him”.⁶²⁸ As for Joanna’s defeat, Niccolò found that the reasons lay in the pacts resulting from the schism, which supplied Charles “with men-at-arms and many nobles of

⁶²⁵ Zabbia, *I notai*, 321.

⁶²⁶ Antonio gave more detail, including Charles’s Hungarian support, his movements via Verona, Romagna, and Rome, his truce with Rinaldo Orsini (Joanna’s viceroy) after both sides employed men of the Company of St George who refused to fight each other, his feint to troops led by Otto near Nola, and his sieges of the castles in Naples.

⁶²⁷ Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 855: “*granne tumulto del populu dicenno: Taliano lu volemo... li Cardenali vecchi... per non esse r be’ trattati dal detto Papa, o per non osservare soe promesse.*”

⁶²⁸ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 765-6, vv439-441: “*el peccatu tanto...che... Madamma tantu desdignu introne... Madamma, e li Cardinali, e li Legati foro contro a Roma, e tanto ordenaro... che quisti Cardenali Colegio ficero fra loro*”; p.766, v442: “*Trovaro una loro lege, che lo poteano fare... E la nostra Regina da poi lu incoronao.*”

the *Regno*".⁶²⁹ The author seemed to exclude the *popolo* from participation. But Antonio indicated that the revolt was universal, in determining that "all the *Regno* rebelled" due to her taking "bad advice" from James of Capri, count chamberlain (just as Charles I blamed his officials for the Vespers).⁶³⁰

Antonio also used the language of infection: "This dispute began in Tuscany and it was in that place for a long time due to their sin; then it was cast over us like ringworm".⁶³¹ Here the author linked the schism to conditions in central Italy before the elections. He described how the previous pope, Gregory XI, left Avignon for Rome to end the large-scale revolt that had erupted in the papal states against the harshness of his rule and that Florence and the Tuscan League aided in 1375-8. According to Antonio, after suppression by Gregory's Breton mercenaries culminated in their devastation of Cesena, his early death in Rome and the many miracles that the Romans ascribed to him led them to call for an Italian pope to end the "curse" and then to honor Urban.⁶³²

As in 1355-67, the chroniclers showed that the Aquilans' loyalty caused them much physical and financial distress. Both identified Urban as supporting a contingent led by the exile Ceccantonio Pretatti that one night in November 1378 forced its way into L'Aquila and caused havoc.⁶³³ In Antonio, local rumors gave the extent of Urban's

⁶²⁹ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 856: "*con gente d'arme, e co multi gentili omini del Rengnio.*"

⁶³⁰ Gelmini, "Antonio," 32-3, I.1: "*tutti lu Reame se li rebellò-ne*", "*per lo male consellio.*"

⁶³¹ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 781, v579: "*Questa briga fò in Toscana comenzata, E loco fò lungu tenpo per le loro peccata; poi se gettò sopra nui como la tigna.*"

⁶³² Ibid., 762-4, vv407-429: "*la maladictione.*" The fighting against the papacy was the War of the Eight Saints.

⁶³³ Ibid., 769, v458: "*Unu nostru Citadino Ciccu Antonio chiamato, Che collu Papa de Roma si se fo collegato, et tanto sotile si tenne lu tractato De dar li per tradimento Aquila*" (a citizen of ours, called Ceccantonio, who was bound with the pope of Rome, kept the agreement so tightly to give him L'Aquila

interference in the *Regno* : “it was said that he [Charles of Durazzo] would come into the kingdom with a great cavalry, because the pope from Rome wished to give him the crown of Apulia”.⁶³⁴ The author contrasted the city’s condition with that before the schism: “There was in L’Aquila general peace such that every city around bore envy for it”.⁶³⁵ Now he depicted the exiles also creating “great evil” in the *contado* (at least until Ceccantonio’s capture in July 1381), “making friendship” with the Company of St George, and doing “great damage” there in 1379.⁶³⁶ Meanwhile, the citizens had to pay their soldiers “much money” to guard the walls,⁶³⁷ and some, implicitly induced by the Pretatti and Urban, spread further disorder inside L’Aquila.⁶³⁸ Many took advantage of the situation, since in 1378 “the common people (*plebe*) revolted” in Bagno and bandits appeared throughout the land and “see the sin of our peasants,” Antonio urged in 1379, noting that they followed behind the mercenaries.⁶³⁹ In an observation unusual for an Aquilan chronicler, Antonio noticed the economic impact: “in 1380 there was a *Perdono* [indulgence and fair, at which] our merchandise was much lowered and fewer people were never found”.⁶⁴⁰

by betrayal); Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 856: “*a petitione del dicto Papa Urbano VI*” (at pope Urban VI’s petition) – five hundred men.

⁶³⁴ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 781, v578: “*Dicease, che nellu Reame venia con granne cavalleria, Perche lu Papa de Roma la corona de Pullia dare li volia.*”

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 768, v459: “*Vi era in Aquila la pace generale, che onne Terra de intorno invidia ne portava.*”

⁶³⁶ Ibid., 788, v640: “*gran male*” at Machilone in 1379; p.777, v534: “*li osciti... arsero*” (the exiles burnt) Pennesa and Rascino in 1378; p.804, v781: “*nostro Contado tutto lo parione*” (all our *contado* paid dearly) in 1380; p.807, v807: “*Lo male*” (the evil) in 1380; p.789, v649: “*mestecanno* [= (glossary) *fare amicizia*]” and p.790, v653: “*granne damagio.*”

⁶³⁷ Ibid., 774, v508: “*molti denari.*”

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 783-4, vv596-601 – Paganica against Bazzano; p.784, v602: “*tutta la Terra le arme repilliano, E li cattivi recorrevano como la vollia anno*” (all the city took up arms again, and the wicked ran as the will went).

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 771, v485: “*la pleve se revotò*”; p.776, v533: “*malandrini*”; p.791, v658: “*vedete peccato delli nostri contadini.*”

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 803, v770: “*uno perdono fone, che le nostre mercatanzie molto abassone, e mino jente mai vi non si ritrovone.*” In 1381 conditions were worse, as there was “*forestero nullo ecco*” (no foreigner here) – p.823, v954.

During all this hardship Antonio characterized the citizens' interactions with the crown as supportive. The citizens followed "the royal banner" held by the captain during Ceccantonio's assault.⁶⁴¹ When Otto (Joanna's husband) stopped in L'Aquila on his way to Naples with troops that he brought from Germany later in 1378, the author regarded them as "all fine noblemen" and described "great festivities in L'Aquila for him [King Otto]", though "the *popolo minore* prayed to God that King Charles would have victory".⁶⁴² Promptness in funding Otto's troops was another major sign of loyalty ("every man paid at once"), and, though the taxes in 1380 were "so great that they could not be endured," the Aquilans were willing to pay "as much money as was enough for the queen".⁶⁴³ Although Antonio blamed her for the schism, he confirmed that until then she was "wise, was devoted to the greatest God, and did great deeds without making a lie".⁶⁴⁴ Niccolò retained respect for Joanna, since his only later reference to her was that "she died in a vile way" (in 1382, after the end of Antonio's works).⁶⁴⁵ As for the captains, Antonio judged that, on learning of Ceccantonio's forced entry, Tommaso Obizzi acted promptly in having the bells rung, if in the rest of the night "he did not carry himself vigorously".⁶⁴⁶ The citizens were happy with their next captains: the count of Cerreto in 1379 ("all good men were content") and the count of San Valentino ("a capable man") in

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 768, v464: "*lu Reale Confalone.*"

⁶⁴² Ibid., 781, v573: "*tutti gentili omeni, e belli*"; Gelmini, "Antonio," 46, II.18: "*de questo in Aquila granne festa... el popolo minore pure Dio pregava che Re Carlo avesse la vettoria.*"

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 781, v575: "*onne omo pagò subito*" – except one man; p.802, v763: "*tamante, non se poteano soffrire*" – taxes (*colte*) of 13,741 florins (9,350 by appraised value (*estima*) and 4,391 by hearth tax (*focu*)) (v764); p.802, v768: "*tanta moneta, quanta alla Regina vastone.*" But they could still afford 11,000 florins for Antrodoco in 1381.

⁶⁴⁴ Gelmini, "Antonio," 32, I.2: "*savia... devota del summo Dio, e fe' granni fatti senza fare menzogna.*"

⁶⁴⁵ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 856: "*fu morta vilemente*" – she was murdered in prison.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 768, v463: "*non si portò vigorosamente*"; p.770, v480: "*perdio onne virtute*" (he lost every virtue) – in not pursuing Ceccantonio after his eviction.

1380-1.⁶⁴⁷ The principal problem was that there were periods during these years when the city lacked a captain to enforce justice, owing apparently to a breakdown in central government and to the count of San Valentino also being assigned the duties of a war captain.⁶⁴⁸

From late 1380, at about the time of the arrival of Charles's army in Rome, Antonio was more vocal in his favor, which may have reflected a growing shift of opinion in L'Aquila.⁶⁴⁹ Just as in the poem Antonio depicted the Neapolitans as subverting Joanna, in the chronicle he ceased complaining about Ceccantonio and began celebrating his noble qualities. The result was that the Neapolitans' fervor for Charles seemed to stand for what the author wanted in the Aquilans and Ceccantonio seemed to assume the qualities that Antonio desired in the coming king. In noting that the Aquilans had Ceccantonio executed on the day after the queen's surrender (though, of course, they did not yet know of her decision), Antonio suggested that they acted precipitously and endangered Charles's favor to them.⁶⁵⁰ Focusing in his poem on events in Naples earlier in the year, Antonio described the Neapolitans' deceptively warm reception for Otto, their secret communications with Charles after his coronation, their joy on his entry into the capital, and their implied respect for his barefoot procession through it in memory of

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 777, v540: "*tutti li boni se contentaru*" – Cerreto is near Benevento.; p.712, v797: "*valente omo.*"

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 773, 498: "*non abemo Capetano*" (we did not have a captain); p.782, v582: "*nui stavamo in Aquila senza Capetano*" (we stayed without a captain in L'Aquila); p.796, v709: "*vi non fone Capetano*" (there was no captain).

⁶⁴⁹ But Niccolò did not show any division in L'Aquila, recording there in 1381 only Ceccantonio being led into the city by Aquilan men-at-arms ("*gente de Aquila*") and his execution - Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 856.

⁶⁵⁰ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 822, v949 – Ceccantonio's death on August 16, 1381; Gelmini, "Antonio," 52, III.18 – Joanna's surrender on August 15, 1381. On L'Aquila changing hands - p.53, III.22: "*fo riczato el confalone,... Aquila a Re Carlo fo voltata, e quilo de Madama allora si giò giù-ne*" (the banner was raised, L'Aquila was turned to King Charles, and that for Madama then went down) and the captain left - both on September 23, 1381.

his father.⁶⁵¹ Apart from celebrating Charles's nickname "*Carlo della Pace*" in 1378 because "he stayed in peace," Antonio was silent on his attributes before his accession.⁶⁵² In contrast, in his chronicle from late 1380 the author eulogized Ceccantonio: "he would be known in the time of Charlemagne, he would be seated at the Round Table, I say, if he had not done harm to his city"; for his "great courage, his force of arms"; and before his death he behaved "so nobly (*gentelescamente*) that he proved a great prince to the people".⁶⁵³ In this apparent transference of royal virtues to the monarch to civic benefit, Antonio resembled Buccio on Charles Martel, Charles of Calabria, and Andrew.

Buccio, Antonio, and Niccolò all portrayed L'Aquila as finding its way quite clearly through all the uncertainty that they identified as aroused in the *Regno* by Louis and Charles of Durazzo. They did so by emphasizing that the city maintained a consistent policy of supporting Joanna but also by focusing more on the local leaders, whom she supported, than on the queen herself. Until 1367 civic council decisions received extensive description, subject to concern about a certain susceptibility to influence, while there was no mention of the Camponeschi, except in 1363 when Antonio named them as one of the factions. Foremost were determinations by the the city's council (*lu consillio*) on seven occasions that the citizens implemented concerning taking various precautions against the mercenaries and responding to royal solicitations for related financial help.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., 45, II.12: "*ingannò-ne*" (deceived); p.46, II.20: "*sottomani fo loro diceria*" (their speech was by stealth); p.49, III.5: "*Viva Re Carlo! onneomo alora gridò-ne*" ('Long live King Charles,' everyone then cried); p.51, III.13: "*scauzo*" (barefoot). Also in 1378, p.36, I.14: "*un granne remore*" (a great uprising).

⁶⁵² Ibid., 34, I.7-8: "*Missere Carlo, che della Pace se chiamò-ne. Stava si in pace.*"

⁶⁵³ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 806, v801: "*Allu tempo de Carlomanio illo fora caputo, e nella tabula retonno illo fora sedutu, se non avesse fatto male, dico, alla soa citade*"; p.807, v803: "*alimo*", "*forza de sue arme*"; p.822, v942: "*tanto gentelescamente... che uno granne Prencepe alla jente dimostrone.*"

⁶⁵⁴ Erecting a palisade and deploying two thousand troops at a pass against the Great Company in 1355; responding to royal requests for financial aid in 1355, 1358, 1359; having ditches dug, towers covered,

Both Antonio and Niccolò accounted for the citizens' success against Hawkwood in their preparedness in being equipped with "swivel-guns and large cross-bows".⁶⁵⁵ The strong military character of the civic decisions was significant, because it showed that the citizens had recovered their vitality previously subordinated within the *signoria*. With less self-confidence they could instead have deferred the arrangements to the captains, who received little mention or acted in conjunction with council orders.⁶⁵⁶

Regarding non-military events in the period 1355-67, the chroniclers described a similar pattern of institutional strength. Buccio provided decisions that benefited commerce or anxiety relating to it (changing St Maximus's feast day, issuing new sumptuary statutes, rebutting claims by Sulmona's merchants that its bishop held jurisdiction over certain churches in L'Aquila's *contado*, celebrating a new fair of St Luke with gifts by all the guilds at a mass at the cathedral, and expanding the *contado* by purchasing the castle of Orsa).⁶⁵⁷ Antonio gave the commune (*lu Comuno*) issuing regulations concerning the

goods in the *contado* brought into the city, records made of the quantities of grain and flour passing the gates and grinding performed continuously in 1359; and supplying and changing Aquilan contingents at the passes in 1360 - De Matteis, *Buccio*, 320, v1036; p.319, v1033; p.333, v1082; pp.335-7, vv1091-1101; p.340, v1108; p.348, v1139. Organizing defenses against the Hungarians in 1361: reviewing reports of the city's spies, sending men requested by the viceroy, responding to the king's request to give the mercenaries safe passage on leaving the *Regno* and food for money - *ibid.*, p.356, v1146; p.357, v1150.

⁶⁵⁵ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 718, v59: "*con spingarde, e balestre grasse*"; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 853: "*spingarde, e bon vaestre grosse*." Breech-loading swivel-guns (a type of small cannon) are known in Europe from about 1370 - Turnbull, Stephen. *Samurai: The World of the Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 105. Thus the Aquilans employed recent technology.

⁶⁵⁶ No mention of captains in 1355, 1358-9, 1362, 1365-6; in 1360 "we entrusted" to the captain the task of bringing provisions from the *contado* - De Matteis, *Buccio*, 309-315, vv1001-4, vv1019-20; p.334, v1087; p.346, v1131; pp.358-9, vv1154,1158. 346, v1132: "*comissemmo*." The only times the captains appeared in leadership roles were in 1360 in guarding the passes and in 1361 in agreeing with the Hungarians the timing of payments after passing L'Aquila - *ibid.*, 347, v1134 and p.364, v1172.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 343, v1121 - (feast day) the council moved it from October to May in 1360 with the bishop's consent, as the existing date clashed with the annual grape and saffron harvest (not just benefiting the Five, as Buccio noted the change enabled workers to avoid excommunication); p.367, v1183 (sumptuary statutes) relieved anxiety over display of wealth at weddings, funerals, and baptisms; p.375, vv1206-9 (Sulmona) it sent an embassy and heard Sulmona's embassy of "*boni mercatanti*" (good merchants); p.377, v1215 and p.386, v1247.

plague that killed half the population in 1363 and an invasion of crickets in 1367, and Niccolò implied the same.⁶⁵⁸ Antonio also praised “the steadiness of the organized people” in 1365 as responsible for the suppression of “great disorder” by the workers and artisans (anticipating the Ciompi in Florence by thirteen years and using cries of “Long live the *popolo minore*” directed at the communal palace).⁶⁵⁹

But Buccio’s sonnets contained warnings against an undercurrent that disturbed him. In 1360 he praised the virtues of concord; urged councilors to speak up for the public good against malicious orators; compared the current councilors unfavorably with the founders regarding their integrity and their financial administration; sought repentance for harm committed owing to “bad guidance”; and called on the councilors to reject any proposals to make gifts or assess “outrageous taxes”.⁶⁶⁰ His comments concerned civic leaders not the crown, since he indicated that with love of honor “neither tribute nor homage would be made to [anyone] other than the king”.⁶⁶¹ In 1361-2 he also complained that councilors broke the statutes in reconfirming officials and that, while prominent men (*grossi*) did not observe the sumptuary laws, the poor (*poverelli*) had to pay in full.⁶⁶² Buccio made himself aware of council discussions, as he remarked: “I have been many times in

⁶⁵⁸ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 712, vv16-19 - (plague) no visits except to relatives, a maximum of five companions to go beyond the quarter, a request to the bishop to silence the bells); p.716, v41 - (crickets) everyone to leave the city to attack them in the *contado*. Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 853-4 – (plague) – restraint of travel to infected areas, (crickets) – use of artifice (“*artifizio*”).

⁶⁵⁹ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 717, v50: “*uno granne remore... ‘viva el popolo minore’*”; p.717, v53: “*costanzia de populu ordenatu*”; Ciompi - Najemy, *Florence*, 163-6. The peasants destroyed some orchards at the same time – p. 718, v56; on the rarity of cooperation in Italy, where the division between city and countryside was wider than between classes, see Cohn, Samuel K. *Lust for Liberty. The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 172.

⁶⁶⁰ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 349-356, sonnets XV-XIX: “*mala guida*” (XVIII), “*colta oltraiosa*” (XIX).

⁶⁶¹ Ibid, 350, sonnet XV: “*né faria treuto [= (glossary) tributo] né omaggio ad altri che allu re.*”

⁶⁶² Ibid., 358-9, sonnet XX and pp.368-9, sonnet XXI.

L'Aquila's council, and it appears that they all tended well for our good condition".⁶⁶³

Even so, he regarded them as ineffective: "Fine manners went, but little was of use".⁶⁶⁴

From 1367, as the threats from the mercenaries waned, signs appeared in Antonio that the Aquilans developed a high regard for the Camponeschi, who previously were not visible, by adopting certain civic measures that served the family's interests and by giving honor to its members. In 1367, when the citizens desired to celebrate the return to the city of an Aquilan who had received the office of senator in Rome in 1366, they relied on Lalle II to organize the festivities.⁶⁶⁵ In 1368 the civic request to Joanna for permission to buy Antrodoco helped him against the Pretatti, who were using it as a base to raid the *contado*. Subsequently, the city proclaimed "a general host" against the Pretatti, which engaged in long fighting until a truce in 1370.⁶⁶⁶ When L'Aquila sent troops on royal service at Teano and Rieti in 1371 and 1376, it appointed Lalle II in command.⁶⁶⁷ In 1377 the citizens sent an embassy to the queen "in the service of the count [Lalle]" concerning his dispute with the count of Celano.⁶⁶⁸ They showed their appreciation for the Camponeschi by calling the family's head (Antonio de Ciccarello) "the superior (*Magior*) of L'Aquila" in 1363, giving "great honor" to another member on his marriage in 1367,

⁶⁶³ Ibid., 367, v1145r82: "*più vote vi so' stato nelli consillio d'Aquila... e pare che tucti tirono a nostro bono stato.*"

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.: "*anno boni modi, ma poco s'è 'servato.*"

⁶⁶⁵ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 722, v90 – dancing, banquets, and jousts in honor of Nanni de Missere Nicola de Rege.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 724-730, vv104-152; p.725, v115: "*l'Oste generale allora bannuta fone.*"

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 745, v265; p.754, v337.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 759, v384: "*in servitio de lu Conte*" – concernng Miglianico (near Chieti).

and providing elaborate festivities on Lalle II's marriage to the daughter of the count of San Valentino (Corrado Acquaviva) in 1370.⁶⁶⁹

This phase represented not a replacement of the citizens' loyalty to the crown with that to the Camponeschi but rather a tendency for the family to be subsumed within civic identity. On the one hand, Antonio identified advantages to the family from its support of the queen. By the city obtaining her approval for an attack on Antrodoco, Lalle II received royal authorization for evicting his enemies and the help of her war captain.⁶⁷⁰

In acting with the queen rather than, like his father, against her, he implicitly strengthened his internal position. At the same time, the citizens benefited from their relationship with the Camponeschi, because the family represented their best hope against the Pretatti's raids in the *contado* that began in 1367, even though the Camponeschi contributed to the violence as "the old harm" returned.⁶⁷¹ Antonio and Niccolò both characterized the agents of the attack on Antrodoco as "the Aquilans," rather than Lalle II's men.⁶⁷² If the temporary outcome concerning Antrodoco was not wholly satisfactory (by the truce of 1370 it surrendered to Joanna not to L'Aquila), the potential value to the family of the relationship with her remained.⁶⁷³ Antonio showed that the citizens regarded her arrest of Lalle II after renewed factionalism later in 1370 as an overreaction,

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., 713, v22: "*lu Magior de Aquila*"; p.720, v78: "*granne onore*" – to Antonio Camponeschi, called the Archpriest; pp.730-1, vv154-164 – a large party of Aquilans accompanied Lalle to the count's home, L'Aquila was decorated with colored cloth, candles, and confetti at civic expense, men and women danced in company and, when the couple came to the city, there was a banquet and a joust.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., 723-4, v103: "*aveano le spalle della Corte*" ([the Camponeschi] had the support of the court); pp.724-5, vv108-9: "*el Capetano fo intratu... E quistu fo Capetano de guerra*" (the captain entered, he was a war captain).

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 721, v87: "*quili de Antrodocu ficero multu male*" (those of Antrodoco [the Pretatti] did much harm); ibid.,: "*male vecchiiu.*"

⁶⁷² Ibid., 723, v101: "*li Aquilani*"; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 854: "*li Aquilani.*"

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 726, v124.

since he indicated that “our embassy was always at Naples” until she reversed her position.⁶⁷⁴ Lalle II restored his links with Joanna by agreeing to fight against her enemies. Overall, Antonio discussed very few civic events from 1367 that did not feature or at least mention Lalle.⁶⁷⁵

But there were some citizens, including Antonio, who were ambivalent, at best, concerning the Five’s close relationship with the Camponeschi. Neither Buccio after 1354 nor Niccolò until 1382 mentioned the family.⁶⁷⁶ As early as 1368 Antonio detected that the factions aimed at more than just influence over the Five as “they had to rule as *signori* over the commune of L’Aquila”.⁶⁷⁷ He noted how Joanna associated Lalle II with the Five both when she detained Lalle and suspended the Five in 1370, and when she released Lalle and restored the Five a year later.⁶⁷⁸ The author praised the Five in 1375 when they acted “so that we could not lose our good government” by implementing grain-rationing.⁶⁷⁹ But in 1377 he denounced an electoral manipulation that froze the existing Five and mayor in place, creating them “tyrants” so that “the six each did what

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 740, v227: “*la nostra ammassiata sempre a Napoli fone.*”

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 728, vv138-142 – crushing a peasant revolt in 1370; p.747, vv278-280 – distributing ration coupons and grain during famine in 1375; p.748, v289 – compiling a new register of appraised values of real property for tax apportionment; p.751, v317 – having each community present food and wine to the assembly in L’Aquila of the Franciscan Chapter-General in 1376. The uprising and repression resemble tax revolts in the *contadi* of commercial cities in northern and central Italy in 1375-1425 in Cohn, *Lust for Liberty*, 49-51.

⁶⁷⁶ The peasant revolt, register, and assembly also appeared in Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 854-5. No other civic events appeared in 1367-78, except for flooding in 1368 and the attack on Antrodoto. Lalle II in 1382 – p.856.

⁶⁷⁷ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 723, v103: “*al Comuno de Aquila aveano a signorare.*”

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., 739, v224: “*lu Consillio novu allora abero a fare*” ([the commune] had then to make a new council); p.742, v242: “*ad Arti se resse*” ([our council was ordered] to be ruled by guilds).

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 747, v279: “*che non potessemo perdere el nostro bono stato.*”

he wished”.⁶⁸⁰ The device relied on the outgoing council using two lists (*dui balette*) alternately in order to select councilors.⁶⁸¹ The six were “rodents” and then the commune “drowned” as the six reduced themselves to “three,” but only for a short while, since the schism superseded these events.⁶⁸² It seems that Lalle II may have acted to bolster his position, since Antonio prefaced it with a dispute in 1376 between Lalle and Ceccantonio Pretatti over the right to appoint certain priors: “the wretched commune did not resist, so that every old evil was then renewed”.⁶⁸³

After the failed assault on the city by Ceccantonio in 1378, Antonio showed the commune acting in reinvigorated fashion. “The council was renewed,” and the magistrates previously criticized by Antonio disappeared while Lalle was away on royal service.⁶⁸⁴ The council’s energy conveyed formal opposition to the exiles: sending envoys to the queen to request a war captain, to Campo de Marino (near Rome) to seek the death of Ceccantonio who was briefly detained there, to the *contado* to reconcile Paganica and Bazzano, and to the Abruzzese counts of Manoppello and San Valentino to secure a truce between them; imposing forced borrowings to pay the troops brought from Germany by Otto; and in 1381 agreeing to buy from Rinaldo Orsini (count of Tagliacozzo and viceroy) his rights to Antrodoco previously awarded by the queen to him and his claims on Ceccantonio captured by his men.⁶⁸⁵ A new factor was that Antonio

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 761, v396: “*tiranni,... quello che voleano li sei faceano ciaschuno.*”

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 761, v398, v402.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 761, v394: “*rodeturi*”, v399: “*annegato*”, v405: “*tre.*”

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 757, v366: “*El Comuno taupino non vi se repara, che onne male vecchio allora se renovava.*”

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 771, v488: “*fo renovato Consillio*”; p.770, v477 – in the Terra di Lavoro.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 772, v497; p.779, v560; p.784, v605; p.787, v630; p.781, v574 – 6,000 florins; p.808, v820 – for 11,000 florins (Antrodoco); p.816, v887 – for 5,000 florins (Ceccantonio).

recognised the local counts as equal partners of the city and associated it with their concern for honor.⁶⁸⁶

During the civil war of 1378-81 the chroniclers showed that the interests of the Aquilans, Lalle II, and the queen combined in their primary local aim of opposing the Pretatti. The citizens extended their admiration for the count to his wife, since Antonio called it a “blessing” that during the attack she escaped from their home by having herself lowered from it by ropes.⁶⁸⁷ On Lalle’s return to L’Aquila in January 1379, the author depicted him as at once acting forcefully in summoning a council at the Franciscan church and rushing to Paganica “with his fierce person” on hearing news of arson there.⁶⁸⁸ The civic respect for Lalle was even clearer in 1380 in his role in an attack by the city on Amatrice.⁶⁸⁹ While the civic quarters carried four of seven banners to the field, Lalle’s taking a new banner in the city’s red and white colors was the signal for the departure. He left with two other banners (saints George and Valentine) implicitly reflecting his martial skills and the arms of the war captain who was his relative by marriage.⁶⁹⁰ Lalle also performed complex negotiations with Rinaldo Orsini to obtain Ceccantonio in July 1381

⁶⁸⁶ Counts: of Montorio (Lalle) held the civic banner “with great honor” in 1380; of Celano who did his son “great honor” in having his funeral in L’Aquila in 1380; of Tagliacozzo who received “great honor” on coming to L’Aquila but who, according to Ceccantonio “failed your honor” in selling his rights to him to L’Aquila in 1381; and of San Valentino who on Charles’s victory resolved “from honor” to leave L’Aquila though the citizens wished him to stay in 1381, in *ibid.*, 798, v729; p.806, v795; p.811, v831; p.819, v918; p.823, v953.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 770, vv478-9: “*Benedictu.*”

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 772, vv492-3: “*con sua persona fella.*”

⁶⁸⁹ The attack served the citizens (responding to raids by Amatrice) and the crown (Amatrice allied with the exiles and Urban) - *ibid.*, 797, v717: “*plu bote el nostro Contado illi derobaro*” (many times they plundered our *contado*); p.800, v741: “*Perche li nostri esciti loro demoravano, per defennere la Matrice bene se spronavano*” (because our exiles stayed in that place, they were spurred to defend Amatrice well).

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 798-9, vv722-733.

and accompanied the captain in bringing the exile to L'Aquila.⁶⁹¹ Even though other sources say that Charles was already besieging Joanna in Naples, the chroniclers described the capture of the Pretatti leader and so maintained their support of the queen (in Antonio "every Aquilan bell rang with joy"; in Niccolò he was "led by Aquilan men-at-arms").⁶⁹² Antonio also showed that, when the captain presided over Ceccantonio's trial, his role served Lalle both by the judicial removal of a troublesome rival and by associating the citizens with the verdict. He co-opted sixteen of them (four per quarter), thereby satisfying an old civic desire in making Ceccantonio "the first tyrant who was condemned by our *popolo*".⁶⁹³

b) Rivalry between the Durazzeschi and the Provençals, 1381-1423:

The Aquilans' negotiation of their identity became more complex after Joanna's surrender with open rivalry between respective members of the Durazzeschi (Charles III, Ladislaus, and Joanna II) and the Provençals (Louis of Anjou, Louis II, and Louis III) and as the Camponeschi sought to re-position themselves to their own advantage. The chroniclers often resorted to silence, which probably reflected their confusion as to where civic identity should be located amidst these swirling changes. External sources in secondary materials will be utilized to help understand the silences.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., 813, vv854-862 – they agreed to defer the matter not to the queen but to Galeotto Malatesta (*signore* of Rimini), and meanwhile L'Aquila was to have custody in return for guarantees and four hostages; p.815, v871.

⁶⁹² Ibid., 813, v852: "*Onne canpana de Aquila per alegrecze abe sonata*" – July 15; Niccolò di Borbona, "*Cronaca*," 855: "*menato da gente de Aquila*" – July 16; Charles at Naples on July 16 – Goldstone, *Lady Queen*, 297.

⁶⁹³ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 817, v898; p.820, v923: "*el primo tiranno... che dal nostro populu fosse connannato.*"

Antonio made Lalle II instrumental in L'Aquila's political choices during the power vacuum after news arrived of Joanna's surrender. On September 16 her viceroy in Abruzzo, Rinaldo Orsini, left with his men, as did the bishop; seven days later L'Aquila's royal captain also departed.⁶⁹⁴ On the same day "the banner was raised; on this day L'Aquila was turned to King Charles".⁶⁹⁵ As there was no mention yet of a new captain, Antonio implied that Lalle seized the initiative and that he identified himself with Charles: "When the king's banner was raised, the count of Montorio had to hold it in his arms, and it was carried through every street of L'Aquila".⁶⁹⁶ His action influenced the citizens, since "the *popolo* went to see it with great desire," torches were lit at night, and "great festivities" went on for several days.⁶⁹⁷ When Charles ordered counts, barons, and civic representatives to attend an All Saints Day *parlement*, Lalle had "great worry" until Queen Margaret sent him security and he chose to go as one of "eight syndics," binding him closer to the city and cloaking him with its authority.⁶⁹⁸ In the event Charles detained him temporarily, along with three other syndics.⁶⁹⁹

Antonio then found it necessary to defend his loyalty to Charles in his writings. When two bands of demobilized mercenaries exiting the *Regno* did much harm in the *contado* in November and December 1381, for the first the citizens implicitly blamed Charles due to being in a position of "waiting for the captain" and for the second their criticisms were

⁶⁹⁴ Gelmini, "Antonio," 53, III.21; Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 824, v960.

⁶⁹⁵ Gelmini, "Antonio," 53, III.22: "*fo riczato el confalone, a quistu di-ne Aquila a Re Carlo fo voltata.*"

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., 54, IV.1: "*quanno el confalone del Re fo riczato, el Conte de Montoro in braccio lu àbe a tenere, e per onne strada de Aquila illu fo portato.*"

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.: "*con granne vollia el popolo el tragea [= (glossary) andare] a vedere*"; p.54, IV.2: "*granne festa.*"

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., 53, III.20; p.55, IV.4: "*granne penzero*"; p.55, IV.7: "*octo sinici.*"

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., 59, IV.21; p.65, V.14: "*tutti per simeti [= (glossary) separatamente] fecero la retornata*" (all made the return separately).

voluble: “I saw them greatly blame our captain (Citizen de Tolimei of Siena); also it was said [due to] King Charles’s machinations”.⁷⁰⁰ Despite accepting that the captain was “very weak” and that the mercenaries called themselves “King Charles’s men,” Antonio refuted the accusation of Charles’s complicity. He drew on the city’s grandeur, asking how it could be imagined that the king permitted that “the second city [in the *Regno*] should be sacked in all its beauties? Kings make themselves fine by the fine cities that they have”.⁷⁰¹ A report by the civic envoys in early 1382 that Charles had imposed an indirect tax (*gabella*) on L’Aquila again forced the author on the defensive: “I, Antonio, do not pass judgment on this act; it much grieves me to tell it”.⁷⁰²

Besides the tax, the act by Charles that had the greatest impact on Antonio and the Aquilans was his permission for the Pretatti to re-enter the city in November 1381 (“all the exiles returned). Antonio showed an awareness of the difficulty of reintegrating them into society by referring to “the such great length of time that they had banishment” and to their return “without order”.⁷⁰³ Unlike the exiles’ entry in 1342 when Lalle I made a promise of peace and reconciliation, the king and his supporters in 1381 had not anticipated such a need (“peace had not been made in any way”), and relied on partiality

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., 57, IV.12: “*Aspettanno el capetano*” – against Villanozzo of Brumfort (Hungarian); p.64, V.8: “*de Re Carlo trattato [= (glossary) macchinazione]*” – against Francesco Sabatini. Antonio suggested that these complaints were expressions of civic anxiety, which manifested in p.57, IV.13: “*santu Petru in Aquila subito fò arecatu*” (St Peter [Celestine]’s body was at once brought into L’Aquila) and p.64, V.7: “*multa jente de nocte mai se non spoliò-ne*” (many people never undressed at night).

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., 64, V.10: “*molto matto*”; p.63, V.3: “*gente de Re Carlo*”; p.64, V.9: “*la seconna terra de belecze devesse desertare?... li ri-ni se fau belli per le belle terre che à-ne.*”

⁷⁰² Ibid., 66, V.16: “*quistu actu Antonio niente non pregiò-ne [= (glossary) apprezzare]... lo dire me adolorò-ne.*”

⁷⁰³ Ibid., 60, IV.28: “*li sciti retornaro, che tanto tempo el hanno illi ne avero*”; p.61, IV.29: “*senza ordine.*”

to reintroduce them (“they were favored by the court”).⁷⁰⁴ Niccolò indicated a compounding of the problem in March 1382, when Charles finally allowed Lalle II to return to L’Aquila. This was Niccolò’s first mention of Lalle and suggests his view of the seriousness of the event. The author used factional terms to describe Lalle II’s welcome as not by the citizens but by his “partisans,” the “very great tumult” the next day, and the exit or death of many of the “opposite partisans”.⁷⁰⁵ Even before the exiles’ readmission, “the Five’s magistracy was defeated by a ballot” to change the number of magistrates, dividing narrowly forty-two to forty-one votes.⁷⁰⁶ Now it seems that Lalle relied on force to secure his position.

Lalle II was again instrumental in the city changing hands. Niccolò assigned him responsibility by describing the flight or expulsion of Charles’s captain a few days after the tumult that Lalle instigated and the city’s siege by Villanozzo, the great constable sent “by command of King Charles III” with an army of eight thousand men, little more than a month later.⁷⁰⁷ Avignon sources confirm the inference that Lalle and L’Aquila had declared for Louis of Anjou and that Charles’s purpose was to seize and hold it before the arrival of Louis’s army that had left Provence in March.⁷⁰⁸ Lalle’s posture recalls his father bolstering his status by supporting the Hungarians against Joanna in 1346-8. The chroniclers diverged in their views of Louis. Antonio, whose writings ended in early

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., 61, IV.29: “*pace nullo fatta non avea*”; p.61, IV.30: “*della corte foro fagoriati.*”

⁷⁰⁵ Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 856: “*partesciani... un grandissimo remore... partesciani loro contrarj.*”

⁷⁰⁶ Gelmini, “Antonio,” 55, IV.14-15: “*per una pallotta el cinquatu fo vintu.*”

⁷⁰⁷ Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 856-7: “*per comannamento de Re Carlo Terzo.*”

⁷⁰⁸ Valois, Noel. *La France et le grand schisme d’Occident* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1896) II, 20, 52, 445-6 – in Cardinal Pierre Gérard’s papers in Avignon, on March 28, 1382 Lalle wrote to Louis inviting him to hasten his coming and promising him victory, and on April 24, 1382 receipt of a report that the Aquilans had revolted with the cries “Long live pope Clement and *Madame* the queen and *Monseigneur* of Calabria and Anjou, her son [Louis].”

1382, referred to Joanna's adoption of him in 1380 as "great folly" and "contumacy",⁷⁰⁹ whereas Niccolò emphasized that "he was called King Louis" and described how in September 1382, after causing Villanozzo to raise the siege and after being crowned, "he was received in L'Aquila with much honor".⁷¹⁰

For the next stage secondary sources provide some background. After Louis's death in 1384 Charles concentrated not so much on the remaining Provençal supporters as on his strained relations with Urban and on his claims in Hungary until his death in 1386. Thereafter, both the Durazzo and the Provençal claimant were minors, and their regents lacked the influence to win new supporters. Charles's widow, Margaret, and her son, Ladislaus, made Gaeta their base, while the local followers of Louis's son, Louis II, held Naples, the principality of Taranto, and Abruzzo. Louis II, who was in the *Regno* from 1390, opposed Ladislaus primarily in Apulia and near Naples; he withdrew only in 1399 when the entire kingdom fell to Ladislaus.⁷¹¹

Niccolo's depiction of a change in civic loyalty in 1382 was the first of twelve such moves that he recorded or implied until 1416. To a certain extent these thirty-four years concealed periods of stability, as the author specified L'Aquila's allegiance to the Provençals from 1382 to 1395 and to the Durazzeschi from 1401 to 1415. The changes came in two clusters, in 1395-1401 (depicting four surrenders to Ladislaus and implying three fresh insurrections beforehand) and in 1415-16 (describing two revolts against

⁷⁰⁹ Gelmini, "Antonio," 54, II.5: "*granne follia... el suo contumatio.*"

⁷¹⁰ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 857: "*fo receputo co multo honore... chiamosi Rè Alovisci*"

⁷¹¹ For a description of these events, see Valois, *La France*, II and Cutolo, Alessandro. *Re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1936).

Joanna II and then returning to her will).⁷¹² Except for 1415-16, Niccolò's comments on the changes were curt at best. In 1395-1401 he described Ladislaus's use of force to compel the city, but did not mention the risings that caused the king to send armies.⁷¹³ In 1415-16 he gave a leadership role to one of Lalle II's sons (Antonuccio) and indicated that in 1415 L'Aquila surrendered due to the queen's force and that in 1416 she came round to the city's way of thinking.⁷¹⁴

Niccolò's attitudes to the pretenders and the monarchs can be contrasted with those of Bishop Donadei, whose diaries covered 1407-14.⁷¹⁵ Niccolò showed that the citizens and he continued to identify with the Provençals by calling Rinaldo Orsini "our governor" (at L'Aquila in 1383 to oppose a force sent by Charles under Bartolomeo di Sanseverino), by praising his victory with "all the people of L'Aquila" over Bartolomeo and the exiles through "very fine deeds of arms," and by celebrating that Louis's son was "called King Louis II, and so his praises were shouted in L'Aquila" on his succession in 1384.⁷¹⁶ Conversely, the chronicler implied the city's hatred for the Durazzeschi in describing the sieges by Charles in 1383, by Ladislaus in 1395-1401, and by Joanna in 1415-16 and Ladislaus's order for a citadel built in 1402 in the main square (with repressive and

⁷¹² Ibid., 857-867.

⁷¹³ Ibid., 860 – in 1395 by the counts of Loreto and Celano "*per commandamento de Rè Lansilao*" (by King Ladislaus's command); p.861- in 1398 by the count of Carrara "*per parte de Rè Lansilao*" (for the part of King Ladislaus); *ibid.* - in 1399 "*fo in Aquila la bannera de Rè Lansilao*" (King Ladislaus's banner was in L'Aquila); p.862 – in 1401 "*Rè Lansilao intrò in Aquila co uno granne esercito*" (King Ladislaus entered L'Aquila with a great army).

⁷¹⁴ Ibid., 864-7.

⁷¹⁵ Boniface IX, Ladislaus's ally, chose Donadei as bishop in 1401, in part because he had previously condemned the antipope and Louis II - Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 5.

⁷¹⁶ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 857: "*nostro Governatore... con tutto il popolo d'Aquila... belli fatti d'armi*"; p.858: "*chiamato Re Aloisci Secundo, e cosi fu gridate le laude sue in Aquila.*" Also in 1385 L'Aquila's bishop brought from Clement "*ducati 7000 a li Aquilani per subbenzione delle guerre*" (7,000 ducats for the Aquilans for war subvention) (*ibid.*). The Pretatti ceased to be mentioned after 1383, when "many died in the field" (p.858).

symbolic suggestions) for which “we suffered much harm, regret, and expense,” though Joanna gave her “consent” to its demolition in 1416.⁷¹⁷ Donadei, however, called Louis II’s supporters “the contrary faction” and a count who turned to him as “committing fraud”.⁷¹⁸ He was full of admiration for Ladislaus, describing the king as “glorious” in achieving military victories in 1407 and 1413 and as “peaceful enough and benevolent” on his visit to the city in 1410, even though he previously requested subsidies from the local clergy.⁷¹⁹

If the contradictory opinions of Niccolò and Donadei represented different viewpoints within the city, certain silences in Niccolò raise further issues of uncertainty as to where civic identity should be located. Apart from giving Rinaldo’s death in 1390 and a victory by Louis II over Ladislaus in Campagna in 1411, Niccolò did not mention the Provençals further until 1423, despite the references to the six revolts against the Durazzeschi. Causation was also absent in the narrative until 1415-16. The lack of fervor for the Provençals in the descriptions before the last five revolts suggests that it did not play a strong part in them. Similarly, the absence of references to significant harm to the citizens in forcing their surrender or afterwards (except for the installation of the citadel) by the Durazzeschi implies that civic hostile reaction was not a major component.⁷²⁰ The repetition of the revolts begs the question how meaningful each prior surrender was,

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., 862: “*multi danui, e rencrescimenti, e spese*”; p.867: “*consenzo.*”

⁷¹⁸ Palatini, “Iacopo Donadei,” 22: “*partem contrariam*”, “*fraudem committendo*” – Paolo Orsini in 1409.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., 13 and 27 - “*gloriosus*” – gaining Taranto and Rome; pp.18-19; p.23 – “*satis pacificus, et benevolus*”; pp.14, 21 – 5,000 florins from the Abruzzese clergy in 1407 without papal license and tenths from the Aquilan clergy in 1409.

⁷²⁰ Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 860: “*poco adoperarono de danni*” (they used little harm) in 1395; p.861: “*prede, e presciuni*” (plunder and prisoners) at Paganica in the *contado* in 1398; pp.861-2 - no mention of harm in 1399 or 1401; p.864: “*senza danno di morti, e di presciuni*” (without loss of life and of prisoners) in 1415; p.867 – no mention of harm in 1416.

especially given their concentration over a short period.⁷²¹ How then could the writer justify the revolts? It is tempting to see the Camponeschi as the instigators, in view of the family's role in 1382 and in 1415-16. If they were, Niccolò had to wrestle with the questions of whether they represented civic government or exerted undue influence, whether they advanced the city's or their own interests, and whether their reasons were sufficient for revolt and for surrender. In finding the family culpable in Rinaldo's death and in thereby removing Louis II's principal agent in Abruzzo, the chronicler left open how strong the city's loyalty was to the Provençals.⁷²² Equally, he did not develop whether the continuing rivalry between the Camponeschi and the Orsini undermined local opposition to the Durazzeschi.

Prior to the set of revolts in the 1390s, Niccolò favored the Camponeschi, at least when they professed loyalty to the Provençals. Initially, despite Louis's coming, the author did not mention Lalle (from his return to the city until his death in 1383, a month before Bartolomeo's siege), and did not express anger in citing suspicions of poison.⁷²³ But in 1391, a year after Rinaldo's murder, Niccolò praised one of Lalle's eight sons, Marino, for forming "a secret union of many citizens bound and in good loyalty to the Royal Majesty [Louis II] and to the general good and peaceful condition".⁷²⁴ At the same time, the chronicler criticized the Orsini for pursuing revenge (culminating in Marino's death, the imprisonment of his brother Giampaolo, and the flight from the city of their

⁷²¹ Revolt (prior surrender) based on Niccolò – 1382 (1381); between 1395 and 1398 (1395); between 1398 and 1399 (1398); between 1399 and 1401 (1399); 1415 (1401); 1416 (1415). Maximum intervals = 1+3+1+2+14+1 = 22 years or average of 3.7yrs before each revolt; excluding 1415, the average is 1.6yrs.

⁷²² Ibid., 859 – describing the murderers afterwards bringing Rinaldo's brother as prisoner to the house of Giampaolo Camponeschi (Lalle's eldest son).

⁷²³ Ibid., 857.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 859: "*una coperta via de congiunzione de multi Cittadini stritti a bona fedeltà della Majestade Reale, e bono, e pacifico stato dello Generale.*"

supporters) as “for their own love and not the general condition”.⁷²⁵ It seems then at this stage Niccolò located civic well-being primarily in its collaboration with the Provençals (as with the Angevin monarchs in the past) and preferred the Camponeschi over the Orsini in promoting it, but found that the ties of the Camponeschi to Louis were insufficient inside the city to secure power.⁷²⁶

After describing the family’s use of force to re-enter L’Aquila and expel the Orsini in 1392, Niccolò gave very little mention of the Camponeschi until after Ladislaus’s death in 1414, whereas Donadei was explicit in his mistrust of them. Niccolò showed that some support to them existed among the citizens in August 1392, when “many people” acted to free Giampaolo and a month later, when the family’s followers were “winners” in disorder that enabled Giampaolo and his brother Antonuccio to return to the city.⁷²⁷ In the next mention of the Camponeschi, in 1400, Niccolò described another brother, Urbano, coming from Antrodoco and bringing “certain Aquilan partisans” to burn the house of a rival, which suggests that the brothers were not in full control of L’Aquila.⁷²⁸ They did not reappear until after Ladislaus’s death, except in 1408, when the author depicted Antonuccio, with other lords, assisting the king in Rome in expelling the pope (now acting as a role model for the city in performing royal service, as his father did). Thus Niccolò completely omitted the family’s part, if any, in the city’s revolts that resulted in the surrenders in 1395, 1398, 1399, and 1401. His silence seems suggestive of authorial and civic uncertainty, given his change from identifying support for the brothers in 1391-

⁷²⁵ Ibid.: “*per amore proprio, e non dellu Generale.*”

⁷²⁶ Louis made Giampaolo marshal of the *Regno*, chamberlain, and his *familiare* - Palatini, “La Signoria,” 249-250.

⁷²⁷ Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 860: “*multo Populo*”, “*vencituri.*”

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 862: “*certi partesciani Aquilani.*”

2 to not depicting it during the revolts. On the other hand, Donadei illustrated antipathy towards the Camponeschi in 1407 in declaring that “nothing remained for the count of Montorio [Giampaolo] and for his brothers in the *Regno*”.⁷²⁹ But the bishop also alluded to civic anxiety in 1414 in performing the translation of the relics of the city’s patron, from “the city of St Maximus [Forcona] to the church of St Maximus [L’Aquila’s cathedral]”, thereby raising L’Aquila “to a greater condition”.⁷³⁰

In addition to uncertainty, a reason for Niccolò’s lack of detail seems to be the way that he dealt with the rivalry between the Durazzeschi and the Provençals. He focused narrowly on Aquilan events in contrast to his treatment of the schism and to Buccio and Antonio, who gave a sense of the picture in the *Regno* as a whole on issues that affected the city. Buccio related both Lewis’s invasion and Joanna I’s decisions and speeches in Naples and her flight to Provence in 1346-8, and Antonio wrote three cantos tracking the movements of Charles of Durazzo and the queen in 1378-81.⁷³¹ Niccolò gave very few references outside L’Aquila between Joanna’s capture and murder and the events surrounding Braccio’s siege, perhaps because the national scene was as confusing as that locally.⁷³² Rather than criticize the monarch or pretender for not acting “properly,”

⁷²⁹ Palatini, “Iacopo Donadei,” 13: “*non remansit extatum aliud comiti Montorii, et fratribus in Regno.*” But Donadei was not unbiased towards them, since one reason why Boniface IX chose Donadei as bishop was as a counter-balance to another brother, Corrado, who was administrator of L’Aquila’s cathedral (p.5). Instead, Donadei showed his support for the Five, in describing them acting with the captain to resolve a dispute in 1414 (p.28).

⁷³⁰ Ibid., 27-8: “*ad ecclesiam S. Maximi de civita Sancti Maximi... ad maiorem statum.*”

⁷³¹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 225, vv712-4 (Lewis); pp. 230-2, vv730-7 (Joanna); Gelmini, “Antonio,” 32-54, I-III.

⁷³² Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 858 – epidemic in Rieti and Penne in 1384; *ibid.* – deaths of Louis in 1384 and of Urban in 1389; p.859 – refuge by the Camponeschi in the Mountain in 1392; pp.862-3 – Ladislaus’s campaigns in central Italy in 1408-11; p.868 – Alfonso’s arrival at Naples in 1421.

Niccolò's insertion at the time of Lalle's custody in 1381-2 blamed "some courtiers [who] through their rivalries, divisions, and bias have always ruined this kingdom".⁷³³

Secondary materials address some of Niccolò's silences. Although Louis II's supporters (Tommaso Sanseverino to 1388 and then Louis of Montjoie) controlled Naples continuously between 1387 and 1399 and certain other parts of the kingdom for different periods and Louis II himself was in the *Regno* in 1390 and 1394-9, their concern for their own region may explain why Niccolò did not describe them.⁷³⁴ He gave Louis's victory over Ladislaus in 1411 but not the rest of his stay in central Italy in 1409-11, probably due to Louis's failure to follow it up. There is little sign of the Provençals having involved themselves in Aquilan activities, but Louis II received homage from civic syndics in Naples in 1390.⁷³⁵ The absence of the Camponeschi from mention by Niccolò in 1383-90 can be attributed to the strength of Rinaldo Orsini, by whom "the city was held in almost full dominion", though he combined his position with that of rector of the patrimony of St Peter and later of the duchy of Spoleto and the city of Orvieto.⁷³⁶

⁷³³ Ibid., 856: "alcuni cortesciani per loro gare, e devisioni, e parzilitati, che sempre anno guasto questo Rengnio."

⁷³⁴ On Louis II and his supporters, see Peyronnet, Georges. "I Durazzo e Renato d'Angio" in *Storia di Napoli*, (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1967-78), III, 369-379.

⁷³⁵ Interference - Louis II addressed an order (*mandato*) to his local vicegerent, Louis of Savoy, in 1392 approving the purchase of certain feudal property in the *contado* by two individuals - Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 72. Awards to L'Aquila - Louis I's permission to mint copper and silver coins in 1382 (Palatini, "La Signoria," 249) and Louis II's confirmation of Joanna's and Louis I's awards (including devolution to the Five and mayor of issues about rebels' property) in 1392 and pardon in 1398 (restoring honors and property) (Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 73-4). Homage - Cutolo, *Re Ladislao*, I, 131 - in *Chron. Siculum*.

⁷³⁶ "Annal. Foroliv." in L. Muratori, ed. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1727-9), XXII, 197: "quasi pleno dominio tenebatur"; Valois, *La France*, II, 127 - seizing Orvieto in 1380, Spoleto in 1383, and Corneto in 1386.

From 1393, when Ladislaus began to target Abruzzo with a strong force, some inferences about L'Aquila's behavior towards Ladislaus can be drawn from that of the region's rebel counts. The counts (Sora, Celano, Manoppello, and the Caldora), L'Aquila, and other cities faced not just military opposition but also demands from officials for subsidies, including four thousand ducats from L'Aquila, backed by the preaching of holy war by the Franciscans. Although one by one the counts and cities surrendered, during the following six years individual feudatories opposed the king's wishes, taking advantage of his desire to gain Naples. But the group did not act collectively and some barons stayed loyal to him to the extent of helping overcome Aquilan resistance. The last local rebellion, limited to the count of Manoppello and L'Aquila and coinciding with revolt in Bari in 1401, soon ended when Ladislaus granted the count certain fiefs and came in person to L'Aquila.⁷³⁷ Based on the personal honors that the Camponeschi obtained from Ladislaus between 1395 and 1408⁷³⁸ and on the generous pardons and awards that L'Aquila received in 1396 and 1399,⁷³⁹ it seems likely that the family acted like the rebel counts in pursuing hopes of winning beneficial settlement pacts for themselves and the city, while counting on the king's reluctance to devote long-term resources to bring them in line.

⁷³⁷ Cutolo, *Re Ladislao*, I, 138-244. Niccolò omitted the references to L'Aquila's surrender in 1393 and subsequent breach of promises made in 1393 on payment of fines to Ladislaus (pp.176, 199).

⁷³⁸ Approving the pope making Corrado administrator of the Aquilan church in 1395 (Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 4), joining Urbano with the citizens in his pardon in 1399 (Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 74), granting Urbano annually one hundred ounces and creating four of the brothers chamberlains in 1401 (Cutolo, *Re Ladislao*, I, 245), making Antonuccio viceroy of Abruzzo in his absence in 1403 (Partner, Peter. "Camponeschi, Antonuccio" in *Dizionario Biografico*, XVII, 571), and hiring Antonuccio in Calabria in 1401, Hungary in 1407, and Rome in 1408 (Palatini, Leopoldo. "Cenni sulle vicende politiche dell'Abruzzo." *Bollettino della società di storia patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi*, No.7, series 2a, 16 (1904): 40-1).

⁷³⁹ 1396 – annulling local fiefs previously awarded by Charles III and Margaret as vicar and granting exemptions from tolls and indirect taxes as in the time of Robert and Charles III and 1399 – confirming prior privileges (subject to a civic pledge to quarter royal troops), in Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 73-5.

This still leaves the issue of why the citizens permitted the Camponeschi to expose them to danger from the crown. The answer may be that they valued the family's military talents in those precarious times to such an extent that they were even prepared to allow it to attempt to secure personal advantages from the monarch. The chronicles provide some help. Lalle's ability to shift easily from military command of the citizens in 1371 and 1376 in Antonio to substantial influence over the commune in 1382 in Niccolò supports Ernesto Pontieri's observation that there was "great political fluidity" between being a city's "political guide and its protector".⁷⁴⁰ Antonio also gave evidence that the Aquilans felt vulnerable during the dynastic rivalry, since he complained in 1379 that in the time "of the woes that we had borne, we were never visited by our neighbors".⁷⁴¹ Niccolò's repetition of the little harm that the city suffered during Ladislaus's assaults before it surrendered may have referred to the limits to which the citizens were willing to follow the family. On the other hand, if the citizens were so dependent on the Camponeschi for their military skills, it is difficult to explain why the narratives did not mention the family in the resistance against the mercenaries in 1355-67 and in the attack on Ascoli Piceno in 1377.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴⁰ Pontieri, Ernesto. *Il comune dell'Aquila nel declino del medioevo* (L'Aquila: Japadre, 1978), 56.

⁷⁴¹ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 788, v634: "*delli guai, che noi avemo portati, mai da nostri vicini non fommo visitati.*" "*Nè conforti auti, nè Sinici mannati, e di boni serviti poco s'è recordati*" (Neither comfort of help nor syndics were sent, little of good service is recorded) (ibid.).

⁷⁴² The nature of relations between rural lords and subject cities in a composite state (a combination of central power and semi-independent groups) has become a popular topic in northern and central Italy – Cengarle, Federica. "Lordships, fiefs and 'small states' in A. Gamberini and I. Lazzarini, eds. *The Italian Renaissance State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 285-6. Recent research has focused on the informal bases for exercising power by lords, whose actual autonomies rested on their abilities to mediate the interests of their local communities on the wider political stage (pp.286, 292). For Terra d'Otranto in southern Italy – Visceglia, Maria Antonietta. *Territorio, feudo e potere locale. Terra d'Otranto tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Naples: Guida, 1988).

Between the city's last revolt against Ladislaus in 1401 and his death in 1414, Niccolò again omitted events, except for describing the building of the citadel in 1402 and the king's campaigns in 1408-11. Where his earlier silence can be attributed to his uncertainty about civic attitudes, now it seems to have related to his bias against the king. By giving the building of the citadel as the only local event for these years, he implied that Ladislaus was oppressive, but he did not give space to any of the awards that the king made to the city.⁷⁴³ The most significant of these was his confirmation in 1404 of the civic statutes, which included by my calculation thirty provisions curbing the potential for excesses by the captain, twenty-one limiting his powers in the city, and three others that displayed signs of dual identity.⁷⁴⁴ These writings by the citizens evidenced the restoration of their traditional image of collaboration with a benevolent monarch that Donadei also showed in 1407-14.

This cooperative notion did not appear in Niccolò until Joanna II, Ladislaus's sister, gave her "consent" to the citadel's destruction by the citizens in 1416, admittedly after it had already taken place. In calling the demolition "the liberation of L'Aquila," the chronicler used wording that spoke to the ideal of the original inhabitants at the time of the city's

⁷⁴³ Exemptions from duties (*dazi*) on salt and iron and from tolls to barons and counts and permitting grain imports, but ordered ending the mint, subtracting four communities from the *contado*, limiting the captain's auditor to be named by the court, and extending the captain's term to one year, in Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 75-6.

⁷⁴⁴ Curbs – ten direct prohibitions of corrupt behavior and hiring of Aquilans, sixteen addressed to citizens or civic officials that threatened fines for collusion with him, and four that set grounds for appeal to the king without waiting for an audit; limits – primarily administrative (requiring that he obtain approval from or give notification to civic officials) but also judicial and policing (no receipt of secret denunciation or detention for more than a day during an investigation); dual identity – requiring civic magistrates to give oaths of loyalty to the crown and to uphold the city's good and civic agents to wear coats of arms with royal and civic symbols, and description of the part played by Charles I and original inhabitants in the city's foundation, in Clementi, Alessandro, ed. *Statuta Civitatis Aquile* (Rome: Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1977).

foundation and that, as then, saw fruition with royal approval.⁷⁴⁵ But he showed that it came about only after civic revolts in 1415 and 1416. Before and during the rebellions, Niccolò articulated elements that he had left vague during those of the 1390s: divided civic support for the Camponeschi, threats of royal aggression as triggers for Aquilan opposition to the crown, and Antonuccio's prominence and utilization of the moment to obtain an advantage.

Donadei and Niccolò were in agreement that, when Antonuccio tried to return to the city in 1414, the citizens did not welcome him. Donadei showed them turning away from the Camponeschi: they "elected" the count of Celano as "the city's governor" after Ladislaus's death, they greeted the count of Carrara who "was received with glory by the faithful men of queen Joanna II", and they opposed Antonuccio so vigorously that he failed to gain entry "because there was no-one who would speak for him".⁷⁴⁶ Niccolò similarly found that an explanation for his non-admittance was called-for, implicitly drawing attention to the family's traditional strength: "he was not provided with pacts with any of the great men." The writer showed that he also faced royal opposition, since in February 1415 in the "great disorder" that served him the participants damaged the royal palace and injured the captain. While, in May, Niccolò described Antonuccio making a formal entry upon which "all the people were joyful", he seemed to suggest that amidst all the volatility the Camponeschi located a means to solidify their support three

⁷⁴⁵ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 867: "*la liberazione d'Aquila... consenso della Regina.*"

⁷⁴⁶ Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 29: "*electus... gubernator civitatis*" – not appearing again; p.30: "*receptus est cum gloria a fidelibus regine Iohanne II*" – staying for six weeks; p.31 "*quod non fuit aliquis, qui loqueretur pro eo.*"

Not mentioned was that since at least 1409 Antonuccio served outside the *Regno* in the pay of the anti-popes and in 1413 helped Jogn XXIII avoid capture by Ladislaus - Palatini, "Cenni," 40-1.

weeks later. They did so in resisting the arrival of Joanna's great constable, Muzio Attendolo Sforza, who had come ostensibly "to supply the citadel".⁷⁴⁷ At the same time, Niccolò's reference to Sforza's "large number of men-at-arms," in line with the sizable forces that he gave Ladislaus deploying in 1395, 1398, and 1401, suggests provocation, if the city had not already revolted. In this case, the chronicler specified that Antonuccio assumed a clear leadership role ("the armed people with Antonuccio" went against the royal force) and that they had "no loss of life," implying that he enhanced his prestige as the enemy was the greater.⁷⁴⁸

Employing similar elements, Niccolò portrayed the revolt in 1416 as both bolstering Antonuccio's internal position and realigning the city-crown relationship back towards that at the time of Joanna I. Antonuccio gained, because he acted effectively during the crisis and associated himself with the outcome (the destruction of the hated citadel), which Niccolò showed by giving him a leadership role during the fighting by "our men".⁷⁴⁹ As in 1415, the episode began with Joanna's great constable (now Lordino of Saligny) coming "with a great number of men-at-arms" and demanding entry.⁷⁵⁰ For Lordino's purpose, we have to turn to other sources, which show that he served the goal of Joanna's husband, James, who sought to find a secure location due to his uneasiness in

⁷⁴⁷ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 863-4: "*non era forniti li patti con alcuno delli granni*", "*un gran remore*", "*lu Populo festanno*" – "*cantanno co palme, e rami in mani lo menarono in Aquila*" (singing, they led him in L'Aquila with palms and branches in their hands), "*fornire la Cittadella*."

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., 864: "*con gran gente d'arme*", "*El populu armato con Antonuccio*", "*senza danno di morti*."

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., 867: "*Antonuccio... non volenno*" (Antonuccio not wishing [entry to the royal force under Lordino]); "*Antonuccio se ne venne... entrarò alcuni dentro la Cittadella, e fecevisse assai d'arme colli nostri*" (Antonuccio came from there... some entered inside the citadel, and there was made much fighting with our men) and "*a nui si arrenneo a patti*" ([the castellan] surrendered to us by pacts); "*guastammo tutta*" (we destroyed it all).

⁷⁵⁰ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 867: "*con gran gente d'arme, e con molti Cunti, e Baruni*."

Naples.⁷⁵¹ Since Lordino was Joanna's official, she was responsible for his dispatch. Although Niccolò gave Antonuccio in leading the resistance again, there is no hint in the chronicle that he instigated any revolt before the great constable's arrival. The key factor in Niccolò was his specifying that, separate from and after the civic rejection of Lordino's request for entry (placing the Aquilans in revolt) and their attack on the citadel, "contempt" (*sdegno*) arose between Joanna and James.⁷⁵² This implicitly explains why she accepted the Aquilans' actions, as she now sided with them against James and Lordino. By authorizing the citadel's demolition, she was in agreement with the city.

But the city-crown relationship was not in quite the same balance as under Joanna I. In the matter of the citadel she merely refrained from punishing the Aquilans, and Niccolò had still to show some positive act by her.⁷⁵³ The question remained as to whether the city should owe loyalty to the Provençals (Louis II died in 1417, and was succeeded by his son, Louis III) or to the Durazzeschi (the childless Joanna II). Also, if the position of the Camponeschi was now more secure inside L'Aquila, it was still unclear whether the citizens were comfortable with the family making the choice for them and how the queen regarded Antonuccio and his brothers. On these points between 1416 and 1423, when Braccio's siege began, Niccolò responded with his customary silence. He limited his

⁷⁵¹ Faraglia, Nunzio Federigo. *Storia della regina Giovanna II d'Angiò* (Lanciano: R. Carabba, 1904), 65-71.

⁷⁵² Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 867. Not mentioned were that James's behavior in Naples and Lordino's sacking of Teramo (after deciding not to press L'Aquila) antagonized many in the *Regno* and caused Joanna to style herself without the king's name, remove James's supporters from positions of authority, pardon the barons, and acquiesce in L'Aquila's destruction of the citadel for a fee, in Faraglia, *Giovanna II*, 65-71.

⁷⁵³ Not mentioned in Niccolò were limited grants by her: restoring the mint, allowing the citizens to name eight candidates for captain, restricting the annual collect and subsidy to 5,400 ducats as under Joanna I, and permitting the expansion of the *contado* with the purchase of Acciano and awards of Antrodoto and Cittareale in the Mountain - Colapietra, "Profilo," 48-9; Clementi and Berardi, *Regesto delle fonti*, 79, 81, 83. But she retained Ladislaus's one year term for captains and his subtraction of four communities from the *contado*.

narrative to showing two of Antonuccio's brothers enjoying civic support in local matters ("the city of L'Aquila in great number with Pirro" suppressed a revolt in the *contado* in 1418 and "many citizens" honored with festivities the marriage of the count (Luigi) to the sister of the duke of Sessa in 1422).⁷⁵⁴ Other sources show that, while in 1415 L'Aquila declared for Louis II, from 1419 until Braccio's siege it did not imitate various parts of the *Regno* that held for Louis III and that Joanna hired Antonuccio in Calabria from 1417 to 1423, including as an aide to Alfonso in Sicily.⁷⁵⁵ Niccolò's silence may represent confusion about Antonuccio's role, since in 1417 in Joanna's name he repressed with particular severity a revolt in Cosenza, where the local citizens rebelled in the same way as he had taught the Aquilans, and in 1421 he joined Alfonso's captains in fighting barons and cities in Calabria that openly declared for Louis III, whose family the Aquilans had long supported but now neglected.⁷⁵⁶

At the outbreak of Braccio's siege of L'Aquila, both the Anonymous and Niccolò depicted the city's relationship with Joanna as unbalanced once more, as L'Aquila found itself forced to go into revolt owing to the queen's unilateral action. As in 1416, her 'improper' act exposed the Aquilans to suffering until she reversed her decision and supported their position. The placing of responsibility on Joanna again implicitly absolved the Camponeschi from having exercised the role of instigator that they may have performed in 1395-1401 and in 1415.

⁷⁵⁴ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 867: "*la Universitate di Aquila in gran numero con Pirro*" - against Santogna; p.868: "*Cittadini assai*." Also in 1418 Pirro led an attack on the neighboring castle of Carpineto, in p.868: "*Pirro Camponesco con granne gente de Aquila armati*" (Pirro Camponescho with a large number of armed men of L'Aquila).

⁷⁵⁵ Faraglia, *Giovanna II*, 37, 78-80, 103-4, 142-230, 264; the local counts of Fondi and Celano also rose up in 1415 (p.39); De Matteis, *La guerra*, 11, fn20.

⁷⁵⁶ Cosenza - Faraglia, *Giovanna II*, 103-4; Louis III - p.192-3. Another reason for Niccolò's silence was probably his usual focus on local events.

The Anonymous provided a broad frame, in which L'Aquila was central. In order to exalt "a great city" (L'Aquila) he began by promoting Braccio's prior "deeds of arms".⁷⁵⁷ With chivalric usages he praised the conquests of Bologna, Rome, and Assisi by the *condottiere* (in 1413-19), and drew a comment from Sforza, implicitly the greatest captain in the *Regno*, "Braccio makes me lower!".⁷⁵⁸ Overcome with "pride," Sforza proceeded to ally himself with Louis III, and in turn caused anxiety to Joanna. She sought assistance (in 1421) from Alfonso, whom she adopted as her heir.⁷⁵⁹ The Anonymous then characterized the city's relationship with the monarch in traditional terms (though for the first time in opposition to the Provençals): "Beautiful L'Aquila wrote many times to Braccio that he help the queen" and Antonuccio made a "display" in going to aid Alfonso.⁷⁶⁰ After giving Braccio's supply of troops and defeat of Sforza, the narrative turned to the local impact. As a reward ("to do him honor"), she made Braccio "governor of Abruzzo" (but without specific mention of any city and limited to "ten years"). Alfonso allied with Braccio ("he took lord Braccio by the hand") before returning to Aragon, while Joanna indicated her continued reliance on him: "you are our help and our well-being".⁷⁶¹ Therefore, the Anonymous assigned to the queen general responsibility for the city's siege, when Braccio came in 1423 to L'Aquila and expressed his "will for the *signoria* of beautiful L'Aquila".⁷⁶² Despite her unwelcome grant to Braccio, the author had "the people" enunciate the old civic ideal: "We are vassals of the royal state

⁷⁵⁷ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 5, cl.6-7: "una gran terra... fatto d'arme."

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., 9, cl.16: "Braccio me dà in basso!"; Braccio - p.8, cl.13: "un drau [= (glossary) *un prodigio di valore*]" (a prodigy of valor).

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 10, cl.16: "superbo"; p.12, cl.21: "ottivo [= (glossary) *adottivo*] filio" (her adopted son).

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 11, cl.20: "L'Aquila bella più fiata scrisse a Braccio che soccora alla Regina... mostra"

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 13, cl.23: "d'Abruzzo... governatore"; p.16, cl.32: "per dece anni"; p.17, cl.33: "el signor Braccio per la manu"; p.18, cl.36: "nostro aiutoriu e nostro bene."

⁷⁶² Ibid., 19, cl.40: "volar la signoria d'Aquila bella."

and do not wish for Braccio's *signoria*".⁷⁶³ He then presented citizens as united with the Camponeschi in having Antonuccio "in council" lead the rejection.⁷⁶⁴

Niccolò began his narration of the episode with the local event (the siege). He was more specific than the Anonymous in blaming Joanna for Braccio's demand for entry, identifying her mandate to the Perugian for the city: "Braccio came in our *contado* of L'Aquila, sent by their [Joanna's and Alfonso's] command, [with] documents against L'Aquila for the government of L'Aquila and of Abruzzo".⁷⁶⁵ Both writers depicted the queen's unjustified act as forcing the citizens to rebel against her and to turn to Louis: "The banner of King Louis was placed, and his praises were shouted in the square".⁷⁶⁶ They showed the king acting 'properly,' in contrast to Joanna, in sending a captain to the city to help it resist Braccio.⁷⁶⁷ Next Niccolò used "contempt" (*isdegnio*) (the same term as for the breach with James in 1416) and the Anonymous used "offend" to depict a rupture between the queen and Alfonso as a result of an attempted coup by him, news of which arrived in L'Aquila in June three weeks after the start of the siege.⁷⁶⁸ While as in 1416 the breach had nothing to do with the Aquilans, its result was again to cause Joanna to reverse her prior policy, putting her in line with the civic stance. Both writers had her

⁷⁶³ Ibid.: "*Lu populu... Vassalli de regale stati semo e signoria de Braccio non volemo!*"

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., 23, cI.47: "*in consillio*."

⁷⁶⁵ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 868: "*venne nel nostro Contado de Aquila Braccio... mandato da loro comandamento... le carti contra de Aquila per lu Governu de Aquila, e d'Abruzzo*."

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., 869: "*puse la banera de Rè Aloisci, e gridate soe laude in piazza*"; De Matteis, *La guerra*, 25, cII.5: "*mannò una ambasciata a Re Lovisci che ll Aquila è lla soa*" (sent an envoy to King Louis that L'Aquila is his).

⁷⁶⁷ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 869: "*venne in Aquila Capitano per Rè Aloisci*" (a captain for King Louis came in the city); De Matteis, *La guerra*, 25, cII.5: "*mannò missere Anton di Papacoda*" (he sent *messer* Antonio Papacoda). Not mentioned also were grants by Louis: adding five communities to the *contado*, confirming the city's treaty (*foedus*) with Guardiagrele (sixty-seven miles away), exempting the citizens from tolls for thirty years, and limiting the captain's term to six months as under Robert in Colapietra, "Profilo," 50-1 – broadest autonomies yet.

⁷⁶⁸ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 869: "*alcuno isdegnio*"; De Matteis, *La guerra*, 34, cII.25: "*offende*."

then making treaties with Louis, promising him the throne at her death instead of Alfonso, and with the pope.⁷⁶⁹ As Alfonso's ally, Braccio became Joanna's and Louis's enemy, as well as the Aquilans'. The result was the restoration of the citizens' idealized balance with both the monarch and the Provençals and confirmed by papal mediation (as in 1294), subject to the provision of royal assistance against Braccio. The chroniclers showed the citizens' reaction, of course, as celebratory.⁷⁷⁰

c) Collaboration with Joanna II against Braccio, 1423-1424:

The Aquilans' subsequent resistance to Braccio's siege and the victory over him outside the city by the joint forces of Joanna, Louis and the pope, and the Aquilans on June 2, 1424, received extensive coverage by the local writers. Niccolò responded by ending his previous periodic silences and by changing his chronicle's structure. He assigned almost a third of his work (twenty-six out of eighty-two paragraphs) to the siege and victory that occupied less than two percent of the time covered by it.⁷⁷¹ Until Braccio's arrival, the author described mostly the Camponeschi, but, during the resistance, the citizens and Braccio dominated the work. The smaller portions on the Camponeschi and the approach and participation of the royal forces reflected them acting in accordance with civic wishes and the author's usual focus on local events. The Anonymous provided much the same happenings in 1423-4 in greater detail in five hundred and thirty-two octaves, again allocating a primary role to the citizens and supporting roles to the crown and the

⁷⁶⁹ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 869; De Matteis, *La guerra*, 35-6, cII.28-30.

⁷⁷⁰ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 869: "*Aquila tenne le laude delle Regina de Calabria, e d'Angione*" (L'Aquila held the praises of the queen of Calabria [Louis being now its duke, as her heir] and of Anjou); De Matteis, *La guerra*, 36, cII.30: "*gran festa*" (great festivities).

⁷⁷¹ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 868-876 – paragraphs 57-82. $26/82 = 31.7\%$; $13\text{months}/61\text{years} = 1.8\%$.

Camponeschi, but with slightly fuller attention to the latter.⁷⁷² At times national, papal, and local consciousness merged, since in both writings the leading military figures of the *Regno* and of the papacy came to the city's aid: Sforza and his son Francesco, Jacopo Caldora, Louis of Sanseverino, and, for Martin V, Louis Colonna.⁷⁷³

While neither chronicler openly criticized Joanna for giving priority to protecting Naples from Alfonso over saving L'Aquila, the Anonymous expressed some civic discontent with the queen concerning the time that the royal relief force took to reach L'Aquila. In the first few months of the siege, she merely sent a monk to persuade Braccio to leave, so that by the end of August the citizens complained "help does not come to us in our need".⁷⁷⁴ Finally, in October her commander, Sforza, sent the Aquilans a letter that he was not attending to any other matter and would be with them soon, which "some believed, others did not".⁷⁷⁵ In describing her then revoking Braccio's office, the chronicler implicitly raised the question of why she had not done so earlier.⁷⁷⁶ He could only blame misfortune in January 1424, when Sforza drowned while crossing the river Pescara, and a new force had to be prepared, under Caldora as captain-general, which did not begin to reach Abruzzo until April. Niccolò's only reference to the delay was his

⁷⁷² Most of the space for the siege and victory descriptions was after Joanna came into line with the Aquilans – 24 paragraphs in Niccolò and 454 octaves in the Anonymous.

⁷⁷³ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 870, 872. De Matteis, *La guerra*, 35, cII.27 ; p.86, cV.13 ; p.57, cIII.31 ; p.127, cVII.30 ; p.119, cVII.7. Papal consciousness also appeared in the Aquilan chronicles when the popes were at Rome - Urban V's temporary stay and his discovery of the bones of saints Peter and Paul, in Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 733-4, vv171-81; the war between Gregory XI and the Tuscan League and his death, in *ibid.* 763-4, vv418-429; the schism; and Gregory XI's and Urban VI's deaths, in Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 855, 858.

⁷⁷⁴ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 61, cIII.43: "*aiuto non ci ve' a nostri mistieri!*"

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 68, cIV.13: "*chi de sì, chi no.*"

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 72, cIV.22 – and also adopting Louis in place of Alfonso.

mention of Sforza's death.⁷⁷⁷ On the other hand, both writers showed continued trust in the queen. In March 1424 Niccolò symbolized L'Aquila's relationship with the monarchy, Louis, and the pope by describing the citizens painting their arms on the front of the cathedral and on the gates.⁷⁷⁸ The Anonymous gave Louis as fighting in Naples against Alfonso in February and with Joanna as a recipient of Aquilan letters and as a sender of instructions to Caldora.⁷⁷⁹ Finally, during the battle in June, the Anonymous identified with the queen by pointing out the carrying of the queen's banner by Caldora.⁷⁸⁰

Where in the past the Aquilan chroniclers had implied doubt as to whether the Camponeschi served civic interests, both the Anonymous and Niccolò presented the family as actively engaged in the city's defense and victory. Besides specifying Antonuccio responding on the council's behalf to Braccio's envoy, the Anonymous described him later supervising the guard of part of the walls while his brothers led the cavalry, and in October repelling an ambush by Braccio's men.⁷⁸¹ In Niccolò, before the battle began, "our people with Antonuccio" took up a position beyond the walls "as bold lions, yet leaving the moment to need".⁷⁸² In the Anonymous, he urged them to stay still until a messenger arrived, led the Aquilans into the field, took many of them to rescue Caldora when he received word that the general had fallen where the fighting was heaviest, and in the midst of the enemy he advised, " 'Along with the Aquilans, I do not

⁷⁷⁷ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 870.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 871: "*dipente l'arme*" – also of the duke of Milan, married to Louis's sister (p.869).

⁷⁷⁹ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 112, cVI.35 (fighting); p.68, cIV.12 (with Joanna and Attendolo) ; p.112, cVI.36 (with the pope and Joanna).

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., 143, cVIII.25: "*colla baniera de Madamma.*"

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., 23, cI.47: " '*Chi tutto vole, tutto perde!*' "; p.52, cIII.16 ; p.79, cIV.42.

⁷⁸² Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 873: "*El nostro populo con Antonuccio... como lioni arditi spettanno pure el punto al bisogno.*"

want a truce or a pact!’ ”⁷⁸³ The citizens implicitly gained by being in the company of “a St George” and “a second Hector”.⁷⁸⁴

Both writers decided to depict some cracks in civic cohesion during the siege, whether from a desire for verisimilitude or to emphasize the need for unity. While Braccio initially directed his forces to capture many communities in the *contado*, bombarding those that resisted, only Paganica held out for as long as ten days and some surrendered without fighting, so that “every man thought ‘Oh, false peasants!’ ”⁷⁸⁵ Some complained that “it would have been better to guard the city, not the *contado*”.⁷⁸⁶ In August the Aquilans uncovered a plot in favor of Braccio, resulting in the hanging of ten citizens, while “many others” escaped from the city.⁷⁸⁷ After repulsing an attack by Braccio in February that included most of those who had left, the citizens expelled their families but later re-admitted them. The same assault also included two thousand of L’Aquila’s peasants.⁷⁸⁸ However, the betrayals in August and February did not appear in the Anonymous, suggesting that he wished to present a more heroic version.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸³ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 162, cIX.33 ; p.179, cX.36; p.180, cX.38 ; p.184, cX.49 ; p.192, cXI.19: “ ‘*Colli aquilani non vollio nè trevia nè patti!*’ ”

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., 160, cIX.26: “*un San Giorgio*”, p.192, cXI.19: “*Ettorre...è 'l secundo Antonuccio.*”

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 33, cII.24: “ ‘*O contadini falzi !*’, *onne omo penza.* ”

⁷⁸⁶ Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 869: “*saria stato mellio a guardia de la Cittade, nè di Contado.*”

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., 870: “*multi altri.*”

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 871.

⁷⁸⁹ But “*forousciti*” (exiles) advised Braccio in February 1424 in De Matteis, *La guerra*, 103, cVI.12. Expressions of shared suffering were more prevalent – in July Braccio’s men seized the fruit harvest, burnt peasants’ homes, and seized beasts and women (Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 869); grain shortage was a problem for “the great and the small” (De Matteis, *La guerra*, 51, cIII.14: “*el granne e lu minore*”); in August a neighbor (the city of Penne) sought to seize part of the *contado* for itself, but an ally (the count of San Valentino) opposed it (p.59, cIII.35); in the winter lack of food caused “great melancholy” (p.103, cVI.12); in April after subduing the community of Barisciano following its rebellion against him, Braccio sent its women to L’Aquila quite naked (p.111, cVI.33: “*nude*”; Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 871: “*spolliate.*”)

Both chroniclers portrayed the citizens as very active during the siege and battle. The Anonymous gave much information about the civic institutions and decisions, notably the names of the Five and the mayor elected every two months for March 1423 through April 1424.⁷⁹⁰ He reported that they “made councils and arranged consultative meetings (*cerne*)” that agreed to reject Braccio⁷⁹¹ and that subsequent councils replied to Braccio’s envoy, discussed defenses, reviewed the grain supply, and authorized the attack on Braccio with the royal force in June.⁷⁹² The author also emphasized the citizens’ efforts to maintain communication with the royals and the papacy, including appeals to Joanna and Louis “by cipher” about the grain shortage in August and to the pope in January.⁷⁹³ Full civic participation, by both men and women, in defense⁷⁹⁴ and in the final battle⁷⁹⁵ dominated both accounts. Symbols of civic consciousness in the Anonymous included the Aquilans’ survival in an ambush at Collemaggio on the anniversary of the translation of St Peter Celestine, the soaring of an eagle (*aquila*) over the city’s banners at their consecration, and the carrying of a banner for each quarter at the battle.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹⁰ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 21, cI.43; p.27, cII.10; p.49, cIII.9; p.62, cIII.44; p.76, cIV.33 ; p.87, cV.16 ; p.113, cVI.40.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 22, cI.44: “*fanno consilli e cerne ordinate*.” On “*cerne*,” see Lopez, *Gli ordinamenti*, 41-4.

⁷⁹² Ibid., 23, cI.46; p.28, cII.11; p.51, cIII.13;; p.147-8, cVIII.38. Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 869: “*mettevamo dentro alcuno vettovallio* (we placed inside some provisions).

⁷⁹³ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 61, cIII.42-3: “*per cifra*”; p.93, cV.31 – to the pope.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., 37, cII.34-5: “*ogni omo che potea arme presto armose... Per fi’ alle donne tirava alle mura*” (every man who could armed himself quickly, even women went to the walls); p.52, cIII.16: “*Gran guardie se face a tutte le porte*” (a great guard was made at all the gates); p.68, cIV.14: “*cavalcata*” (sortie); p.105, cVI.17: “*li aquilani*” (the Aquilans) prevented the enemy from climbing ladders. Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 870: “*le Molina... furo sempre bene guardate*” (the mills were always guarded well), p.869: “*il populo d’Aquila è assai ardito, e animoso in guerra*” (the people of L’Aquila are very bold and brave in war).

⁷⁹⁵ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 180-1, cX.36-41: “*mise gran mampu [= (glossary) vampo]*” ([the Aquilans sent] a great burst of flame; “*più de un miliario de femene... tirava alle tende*” (over a thousand women went against the tents). Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 873: “*i nemici videnò il nostro populo in tanta quantità, e sì ben in ordine, e in punto ... sì rupeno in tutto*” (the enemy saw our people in such great quantity, so well in order, and array [that] they all broke).

⁷⁹⁶ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 102-3, cVI.9; p.139, cVIII.15; p.159, cIX.22-5.

After the authors described the victory and Braccio's death, they both sought to draw larger meanings. In Niccolò's conclusion to his chronicle, he gave prominence in subsequent events to elements that he implied represented the essence of the prior thirteen months. He began with the return of Braccio's body to Rome in a chest. Then he described the relationships between the city and the papacy ("the papal vice-legat led a procession"), between the city and the monarch ("envoys were sent to *Madama*"), between the citizens and the family ("Antonuccio Camponesco with his brigade of around four hundred horsemen" went to Rome to the pope), and in November all together ("the magnificent man, Antonio Colonna of Rome, viceroy of Pope Martin of the Colonna of Rome and of Queen Joanna II in Abruzzo Ultra and Citra, entered L'Aquila and was received with great honor by the Aquilans").⁷⁹⁷ The Anonymous focused on the citizens and divine favor. He expressed unity in less formal expressions of civic joy ("the small and the great made festivals in the city with dancing"),⁷⁹⁸ and emphasized the city's response to Braccio: "the Aquilans made *vendetta* and won the war," for which they earned "great glory".⁷⁹⁹ He attributed their success both to God creating the city "free and secure, very beautiful and full of courage" and to it striving to live up to its name (an

⁷⁹⁷ Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 874: "*el detto Vecelegato fece la Precessione... fo mannati Amasciaduri a Madama*"; p.875: "*Antonuccio Camponisco con soa briata di circha a cavalli 400*"; p.876: "*intrò in Aquila el Magnifico homo Antono Colonna de Roma Vecerè del Papa Martino de Colonnischi de Roma, e da Madama la Regina Jovanna Secunna in Abruzzo Ultra, e Citra, e fo receputo con granne onore da Aquilani.*" The presence of the Colonna implicitly confirmed that there was no local space for their old rivals in the papal states, the Orsini, who had maintained a long *vendetta* against the Camponeschi for Rinaldo's death in 1390, as shown by the Anonymous including Pier Giampaolo Orsini among Braccio's followers in De Matteis, *La guerra*, 122, cVII.13.

⁷⁹⁸ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 199, cXI.35: "*picciuli e grandi fa festa na terra... de danzare.*"

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.: "*li aquilani... fatt'ha mennetta e ha venta la guerra... gran gloria.*"

eagle) as it “flies above every height”.⁸⁰⁰ Civic consciousness appeared too in reference to L’Aquila’s patron: “St Peter the Confessor [Celestine] was always our help”.⁸⁰¹

Above all, the Anonymous celebrated the civic ideal established at the city’s foundation: “a new city, it was put under the king with liberty”.⁸⁰² Citing the “true writings” about how “L’Aquila was made by the common people” when “the lords around were in opposition,” he associated the past tyrants with Braccio to conclude that “by the virtue that descends from God, the lords lost and the Aquilans won”.⁸⁰³ His evidence went further: “However many times it [L’Aquila] has been besieged, it has firmly made vendetta”.⁸⁰⁴ Since, apart from the barons in 1266, his examples expressly comprised Charles of Durazzo in 1347, Bartolomeo di Sanseverino in 1383, and (though successful) Sforza in 1415, he showed a broad awareness of local history that can have come only from a wide circulation of the earlier Aquilan chronicles.⁸⁰⁵

Most striking is that the Aquilan chronicles then ceased after the victory over Braccio in 1424. They resumed only with Alfonso’s entry in the city in 1442 upon the completion of

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., 199, cXI.36: “Dio la fece ben franca e sicura, beldissima e ben piena d’ardire... vola sopr’onne altura.”

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 200, ccXI.39: “Santo Petru confessor... sempre in nostru aiutoru.”

⁸⁰² Ibid.: “cità nuvella; fo sottoposta al Re co llibertate.”

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 201, cXI.41: “Per la gente comun L’Aquila fo fatta... vera scrittura... li signuri de ’ntorno in cunto li fone... per la virtù che da Dio descense, perdio li signuri e lli aquilani vense.”

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., 200-1, cXI.40: “quante fiate [= (glossary) volte] è stata assediata,... fermamente n’ha fatta mendetta.”

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., 201-3, cXI.42-4. Further evidence is in his addition in p.203, cXI.46: “se llu populu d’Aquila è fore uscutu; demandetene quili de Santogna, voi demandete qui’ de Carpinetu” (if the people of L’Aquila went outside, ask the men of Santogna and of Carpineto); details of civic raids on both locations in 1418 appeared in Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 867-8.

his conquest of the *Regno*, in the prose narrative of Francesco d'Angeluccio.⁸⁰⁶ The interruption may seem to imply that there was nothing of significance affecting L'Aquila during the last eleven years of Joanna II's reign and the seven years of its recognition of René, Louis III's brother, as king before Alfonso's arrival. In fact, this was not so, as other sources speak of the slow recovery of the *contado* from its devastation during the siege, civic disputes, the effects of the renewed war with Alfonso, René's visit, and San Bernardino's preaching. More likely, the long break in chronicle-writing resulted from the meaning attributable to the siege and victory as a prime exemplar of civic ideals (peace, justice, unity and liberty) supported by the people, the council, and the Camponeschi in one mind and of the city's restored bond with the newly-unified Angevin monarchy, mediated by the papacy against a common and vanquished tyrant.

⁸⁰⁶ Francesco d'Angeluccio. "Cronaca Aquilana. Dall'anno 1442 fino al 1485" in Muratori, *Antiquitates*, VI, 887-926; exception – in 1436 the *condottiere* Francesco Piccinino raided the *contado* (p.906 and fn to p.888).

CHAPTER FOUR

Interference in Civic Affairs by the Aragonese Kings and their Successors, 1442-1529

When the Aquilan chronicles resumed in 1442, their previously essential feature, the mutually-supportive relationship between the city and the Angevin monarchy, disappeared and in its place was a depiction of distrust on both sides and of interference in civic affairs by the Aragonese kings. Francesco d'Angeluccio (Francesco) was the first chronicler to take up L'Aquila's narrative, which he pursued up to 1485. As Francesco characterized the reigns of both Alfonso I of Aragon and his successor Ferrante in this way, it appears that the change in dynasty was responsible for the change in Aquilan attitude towards the crown. Certainly, the citizens and the Angevin monarchs did not always take each other's interests to heart, but differences between them seldom lasted for long. Where Charles I's part in the city's re-foundation and Joanna II's aid against Braccio were important parts of the prior bond, Alfonso evoked an opposite set of memories, which, being well-known, the author did not need to articulate. Alfonso's claim to the *Regno* emphasized his link to the monarch who ordered the razing of L'Aquila in 1259, as he rested his right on his descent from Manfred Staufen's daughter. The Aquilans' anger at Alfonso's alliance with Braccio during the recent siege of the city in 1423-4, as well as their fear of his prospective power, probably also contributed to their refusal to recognize him as king after Joanna's death in 1435. Instead, they maintained their loyalties to the Angevin house, honoring René, duke of Anjou, who succeeded to the claims of his brother, Louis III, following Louis's death in 1434. The citizens went to extremes in their support of René: by 1440 their loans to him and related

interest amounted to over seventeen thousand ducats, equivalent to more than four years' collects.⁸⁰⁷ They did not waver until Alfonso captured Naples in June 1442, precipitating René's flight to France and enabling the Aragonese king to turn his full attention to L'Aquila in the following month.

Francesco opened his chronicle with Alfonso's use of overwhelming force against the Aquilans. In contrast to Niccolò's depictions of Ladislaus's and Joanna's armies as causing little harm in response to the city's earlier revolts, Alfonso "put to sack" the community of Fagnano in the *contado*, where "many men died".⁸⁰⁸ Far from making a ceremonial entry into L'Aquila a year later, the king placed the city under armed occupation: for his arrival "around a thousand troops" lined the streets and "before him were placed more than a hundred swivel-guns and unlimited cross-bows".⁸⁰⁹ Besides specifying a penalty of thirteen hundred ducats, Francesco implied that Alfonso's attitude towards the citizens was dismissive and not conducive to reconciliation. The king placed troops outside the house of the Camponeschi, dismounted at Collemaggio but did not enter the shrine of the city's patron saint, and, after going inside the church at the bishop's palace, knelt at the altar but left without kissing it. The author concluded that the citizens' reaction was "great distrust".⁸¹⁰

Francesco's next mention of L'Aquila's relationship with the crown, in 1460, indicated both Ferrante's oppression and the citizens' continued loyalty to the Angevins. When

⁸⁰⁷ Colapietra, "Profilo," 56-7 - 12,000 ducats to René, 4,000 to the cardinal of Florence, over 1,000 of interest.

⁸⁰⁸ Francesco d'Angeluccio, "Cronaca," 889: "*fò messa a sacomanno... ci morio assai gente.*"

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid., 893: "*fanti circha a 1000... denanti a llui misse più de cento spingarde... volestre infinite.*"

⁸¹⁰ Ibid.: "*granne suspetto.*"

“the praises of the majesty of King René were shouted” and Ferrante’s captain renounced his office into the hands of the civic magistrates, their first act was that “the prison was opened” and “all the prisoners went outside,” which suggests that the crimes were of a political nature.⁸¹¹ Signs of general civic favor for René were that the bishop blessed his banner at once and that in April 1463 his son, John, duke of Lorraine, received “great honor by the citizens” and contributions of eight thousand ducats.⁸¹² Although the Aquilans raised Ferrante’s banner in August, they subsequently returned to the Angevins until July 1464, though Francesco noted that some barons continued their revolts until June 1465.⁸¹³

During the following twenty years Francesco portrayed the city-crown relationship as initially respectful but with limited interaction, then increasingly tense. Ferrante’s son, Alfonso, received honor on his visits in 1467 and 1474, and the citizens displayed national and international consciousness by expressing joy in 1470 when Ferrante made peace with the pope, Venice, Milan, and Florence.⁸¹⁴ In 1476 the king began inserting himself in Aquilan affairs. Francesco welcomed the appointment in July of Antonio Cicinello of Naples as “lieutenant of L’Aquila,” since, by imposing arms control and curfews, “he put the city back in well-being, which was very torn”.⁸¹⁵ If Ferrante’s intervention responded to an old civic desire for royal help in maintaining internal order, it is possible, though, that the wool guild, to which records show that Francesco

⁸¹¹ Ibid., 897: “fo gridate le laude della Maestà del Re Raneri... fo aperta la prescionia, e trattine fore tutti li presciuni.”

⁸¹² Ibid., 897; p.904: “foli facto grande onore per lli Citadini.”

⁸¹³ Ibid., 906-9.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 911, 914, 915.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., 916: “Locotenente d’Aquila... remise la Terra n’uno bono essere, ch’era squaternata assai.”

belonged, benefited more than other civic sectors.⁸¹⁶ But Francesco was silent on his views about Cicinello's electoral manipulation two months later, when the official "set the mayors and the Five for four years to come".⁸¹⁷ The author framed the crown's interference in harshly escalating terms and implicitly as acts that the Aquilans had done nothing to cause: in 1478 Ferrante allowed the inhabitants of the *contado* "to turn aside from the citizens" and make payments directly to the king instead of via the city as in the past; in 1479 civic envoys returned from Naples "with very little of use for the commune"; in June 1485 Alfonso seized L'Aquila's patron, Pier Lalle Camponesco, and the countess, sent them as prisoners to Naples ("never was so horrible a deed"), and imposed an indirect tax (*gabella*) on the commune; and in August Cicinello made the mayors and the Five for the next four years.⁸¹⁸

The final evidence in the chronicle that Ferrante did not act 'properly' towards L'Aquila came in September 1485, when Cicinello, now named as "royal governor," placed four hundred troops in the city "at King Ferrante's request" and increased the number daily "in a way that seemed to our city very wrong".⁸¹⁹ In response, the mayor and the Five "ordered all the people of L'Aquila to go to arms".⁸²⁰ They killed the infantry's great constable and forty others. Finding Cicinello symbolically at the Camponeschi house,

⁸¹⁶ Francesco was a consul of the wool guild and took part in public life from the end of the 1450s – Terenzi, PierLuigi. "Francesco d'Angeluccio da Bazzano" in Dunphy, *Encyclopedia*, 632.

⁸¹⁷ Francesco d'Angeluccio, "Cronaca," 917: "*misse Camorlinghi, e cinque per quattro anni a venire.*"

⁸¹⁸ Ibid., 918: "*per volere deviare dalli Citadini*"; p.919: "*co' multo poco utile del Comuno*"; p.923: "*mai fo sì orribile fatto*" – along with three other citizens whom Alfonso had seized and tortured; p.924. Control of the *contado* was important to the citizens, as it provided the grazing-lands for the sheep, on which the city's economy depended. Although Francesco came from Bazzano in the *contado*, his identification with the city can be seen in his description of the *contado* in 1468 in p.912: "*tutte le Castella d'Aquila dentro della Terra*" (all the communities of L'Aquila inside the city).

⁸¹⁹ Ibid., 924: "*Regio Governatore... ad istanzia della M. de Re Ferrante... in modo che alla nostra Città ne pareva multo male.*"

⁸²⁰ Ibid.: "*fece in ordine annare tutta la gente d'Aquila in arme.*"

they cut him to pieces there and, in the process of looting his belongings, found papers that indicated plans for L'Aquila's sack three days later, which, Francesco implied, justified their revolt. The citizens divided over the next step: "Who wished for liberty, who wished for the Church, and who the king".⁸²¹ The long-term option of appealing to the Angevins no longer existed, as René had died in 1480 and his heirs were preoccupied with matters in France. Nor could the citizens follow their usual practice of turning to the Camponeschi for guidance, due to Pieralle's imprisonment. In a dramatic way Francesco closed his work with the damning comment: "In the end everyone decided that there was never to be any more the king, because above all he had placed the *gabella*".⁸²² This moment recalled the opening to Buccio's chronicle in 1254, before the time of prominence of the Angevins and of the Camponeschi, when the local inhabitants, after similarly enduring undeserved oppression by their lords, "sought liberty" with papal assistance.⁸²³

Even during the periods of apparent calm in the relationship between the city and the monarchy (1444-59 and 1465-75) Francesco's chronicle differed from earlier Aquilan works in the lack of mention of collaboration. There was no reference to any performance of royal service, provision of grain during famine, or award of privileges. The captains were absent, except in 1466 when Lione de Jennaro of Naples ordered the relaying of the foundations of galleries along the square and in 1470 when he had stone arches added "to

⁸²¹ Ibid., 926: "*Chi volea libertà; chi volea la Ecclesia, e chi lu Re.*"

⁸²² Ibid.: "*in fine onne uno se deliberò non esser mai più del Re; imperochè prima ha avuta posta la Gabella.*"

⁸²³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 4, v3: "*cercaro la libertade.*"

the great regret of the many citizens concerned”.⁸²⁴ On the other hand, Francesco did not specify that the Aquilans suffered any repercussions for their revolts of 1460-4 that coincided with general baronial insurrections, nor for their apparently unprovoked raid on Amatrice in 1479.⁸²⁵ It is all the more surprising that he did not describe episodes of city-crown cooperation, since he gave the impression of tranquility outside the periods of revolt.⁸²⁶ He named the mayor and the Five several times without indicating any internal opposition, except in 1476.⁸²⁷ The Camponeschi retained their role as patrons but not as fomentors of factionalism. Pier Lalle assumed the position of René’s viceroy in 1460 and led an Aquilan force on his behalf, but beyond the revolts appeared simply as a recipient of honor.⁸²⁸

Not only did Francesco differ from earlier chroniclers in describing L’Aquila’s relationship with the monarchy in negative and intermittent terms. The substance of his work focused on themes less explored by his predecessors: natural disasters and the citizens’ religiosity. He was the only Aquilan writer to insert sonnets (two in 1464) on a

⁸²⁴ Francesco d’Angeluccio, “Cronaca,” 910; pp.913-4: “*a multo rencrescimento de multi Citadini a chi toccavano.*”

⁸²⁵ Barons – Abulafia, *Western Mediterranean*, 226; Amatrice – Francesco d’Angeluccio, “Cronaca,” 919.

⁸²⁶ Confirmed by the marked increase in the number of sheep in transhumance: in 1444/5 - 424,642, 1448/9 - 925,712, 1449/50 - 1,019,821 - Ryder, Alan. *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 361. Besides stability, Alfonso I’s customhouse reforms of 1447 aided the Aquilans, as he required private landowners in Apulia to lease their pasture used in Abruzzese transhumance (*mena delle pecore*) to the state, reduced the animal tax (*fida*), introduced the Merino sheep to improve the local breed, appointed an officer (*doganiero*) with no ties in Apulia, and promised to maintain prices as under Ladislaus – Marino, John A. *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 21-2. Since English wool was unavailable, the Florentine houses imported extensively high quality Abruzzese wool, such as the Cabrini, who derived 69% of their raw wool from the region in 1454-80 - Hoshino, Hidetoshi. *I rapporti economici tra l’Abruzzo Aquilano e Firenze nel Basso Medioevo* (L’Aquila: Deputazione Abruzzese, 1988), 75.

⁸²⁷ In 1460, 1463, 1464, 1466, 1467 - Francesco d’Angeluccio, “Cronaca,” 897, 906, 907, 909, 911.

⁸²⁸ Ibid., 897-8 - revolt; p. 912 – in 1468 on his daughter’s marriage; p.917 – in 1476 on returning from Naples after Ferrante ordered him to attend festivities that coincided with Cicinello’s arrival. He also led the city’s welcome of Ferrante’s son in 1467 (p.911), and his location during the plague of 1478 received mention (p.918).

natural disaster, huge snowfalls, in which he described the citizens “calling to God for mercy”.⁸²⁹ Francesco also drew different meanings from the rest of the writers about earthquakes. He was the only one to identify “a fine miracle.” In 1461, despite the destruction of many churches and the bishop’s palace and the collapse of the chapel at Collemaggio, three consecrated hosts were preserved there “spotless,” implicitly indicating divine favor during the civic revolt.⁸³⁰ Where Buccio in 1315 saw divine punishment for the citizens’ “great sins” and in 1349 “a warning,” Francesco in 1456 and 1461-2, like Niccolò in 1398 and 1423 and Donadei in 1409, did not use sin as a reason for the occurrences.⁸³¹ In writing about famine and plague, too, he avoided spiritual depictions, perhaps reflecting his background as a merchant. He attempted to measure the effect of shortages by giving prices, and on the plague he implied that those who stayed in the city felt deserted as the effect on them of local government temporarily moving to the *contado* was that “we stayed like ships without sails”.⁸³²

At times other than natural disasters the citizens’ religiosity appeared in a variety of ways in Francesco. In contrast, it had little prominence in the earlier Aquilan chroniclers (doing penance after external raids in 1329, 1350, and 1369, celebrating St Peter Celestine at his translation and initial festival with the guilds and St Maximus at his translation, honoring an assembly of the Franciscans’ Chapter-General, repenting during the arrival of *popolo minuto* in white (*Bianchi*) in 1399, and praying to God for help during Braccio’s

⁸²⁹ Ibid., 907-8: “*A Dio chiamando misericordia.*” Buccio did not write sonnets on the plague or the earthquakes.

⁸³⁰ Ibid., 899: “*uno bellio miracolu... non se maculò niente.*”

⁸³¹ Ibid., 894, 899; De Matteis, *Buccio*, 75, v240: “*granni peccati*”, p.253, v807: “*amonenno*”; Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 861 and 870; Palatini, “Iacopo Donadei,” 21.

⁸³² Francesco d’Angeluccio, “Cronaca,” 901, 904 – famine in 1462, 1463; p.918: “*stamo como nave senza vela*” in 1478; also snow in 1470 – p.913. Buccio wrote that, though during the plague the citizens thought more about the spirit than the body, few did so afterwards.

siege).⁸³³ Francesco described the devotion of the citizens during preaching by visiting Observant Franciscans on five separate occasions in 1462-75, their making and honoring a banner to the Virgin with the city at the foot supported by its patron saints in 1462, their accompanying duke John to Collemaggio in 1463, their festivities when their bishop became a cardinal in 1467, their celebrating the translation of St Bernardino to a new chapel in 1472, and their honoring their bishop and cardinal at their burials in 1476 and a procession of friars in 1478.⁸³⁴ The author's own religious interests did not necessarily govern these selections, as he did not give any invocation at his chronicle's outset or make personal interjections (unlike earlier writers).⁸³⁵ This enhanced depiction of civic religiosity compared to earlier periods suggests a new spiritual climate, but possibly also Francesco's desire to fill the chronicle with matters that did not associate the Aragonese crown with praise.

The favor that Francesco depicted the Aquilans showing to René is confirmed by the city's change in 1460 in its method of preserving the privileges that it had received from his earlier royal relatives. Beginning in 1322, L'Aquila's mayor, Giovanni da Spoleto, a Celestinian, ordered that a register be maintained to hold copies of privileges received by the city, as witnessed by the register's first page. In it, for each award received from

⁸³³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 89, v289; p.98, v316; p.256, v821; p.267, v854. Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 735, v198. Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 855, 861. Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 28. De Matteis, *La guerra*, 31, cII.20; p.63, cIII.48.

⁸³⁴ Francesco d'Angeluccio, "Cronaca," 902, 910, 913, 915, 916 – preaching in 1462, 1466, 1469, 1472, 1475; pp.902, 904, 911, 915, 916-7, 918.

⁸³⁵ Invocations by Buccio to God, Antonio to the Virgin (chronicle) and God (song), Niccolò to God and saints Nicholas and Peter Celestine, the Anonymous to the Trinity, Moses, and the Virgin and seeking the divine grace shown to saints Thomas, John, Augustine, and Paul - De Matteis, *Buccio*, 3, v1; Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711, v1; Gelmini, "Antonio," 32, I.1; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 853; De Matteis, *La guerra*, 3-4, ccI.1-3. Also, Buccio reminded the citizens of God or called on the divine directly in thirteen of his twenty-one sonnets, and the Anonymous made a spiritual appeal in the first three verses of each of his eleven cantos.

Charles II and Robert, the copyist employed red marking for a summary of the privilege preceding the text and for the first letter and part of the inside of the second letter of the king's name. The result showed a balance between the citizens and the monarch that Buccio also portrayed. As examples, extracts from two privileges from the register in 1305 and 1311 appear in Fig. 4 and 5. A second register that has been dated to 1460 also contains privileges favoring the Aquilans from monarchs beginning with Charles II. In it, the copyist colored and gave very elaborate decoration to the first letter of the monarch's name, but did not provide a summary of the award. This new method suggests that the city's primary goal in preserving the privileges had now shifted to recalling the Angevins with admiration. As examples, extracts from two privileges from the second register in 1305 appear in Fig. 6 and 7.

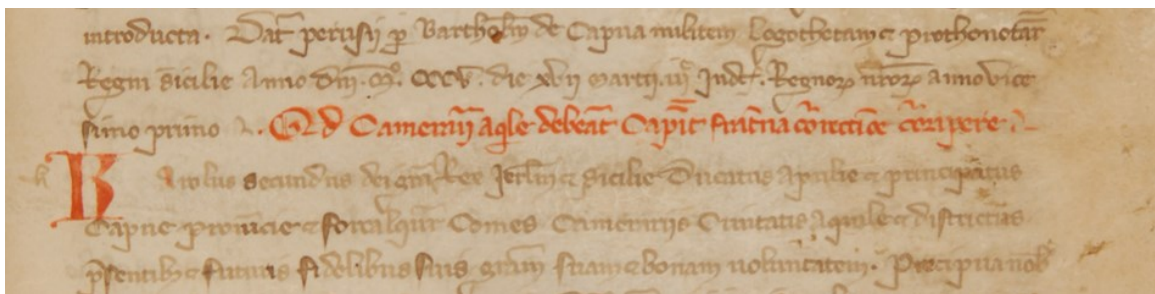


Fig. 4: L'Aquila, *Archivio di stato dell'Aquila, Archivio civico aquilano, Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, c.6. It is a copy dating from 1322 of a privilege by Charles II to the mayors of the city of L'Aquila on March 17, 1305. Preceding the text is a one-line summary of the privilege in red. Marked in the same way are the first letter and half of the inside of the second letter of the king's name. The first letter occupies in height both the line of the text and the spaces above and below it, and in width is equivalent to about five characters, extending slightly into the margin.

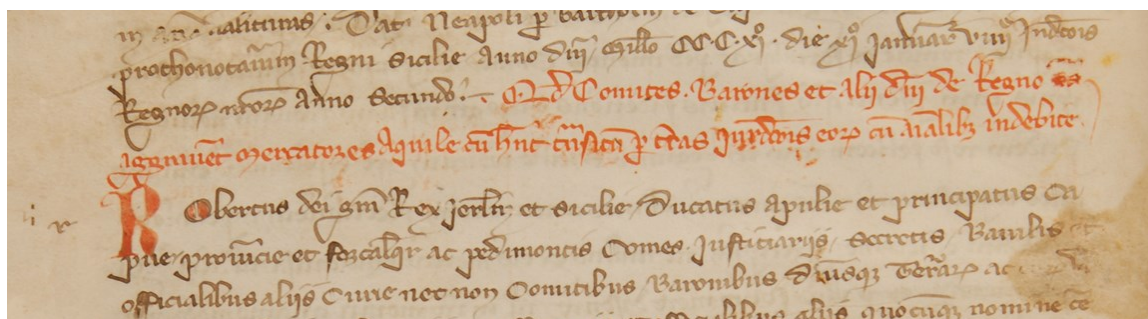


Fig. 5: L'Aquila, *Archivio di stato dell'Aquila*, *Archivio civico aquilano*, *Codice I dei privilegi Aquile*, v.42, c.20. It is a copy dating from 1322 of a privilege by Robert in favor of the merchants of L'Aquila on January 8, 1311. The markings in red and spacing are the same as in Fig. 4, except for the length of the preceding summary, which occupies one and a half lines.

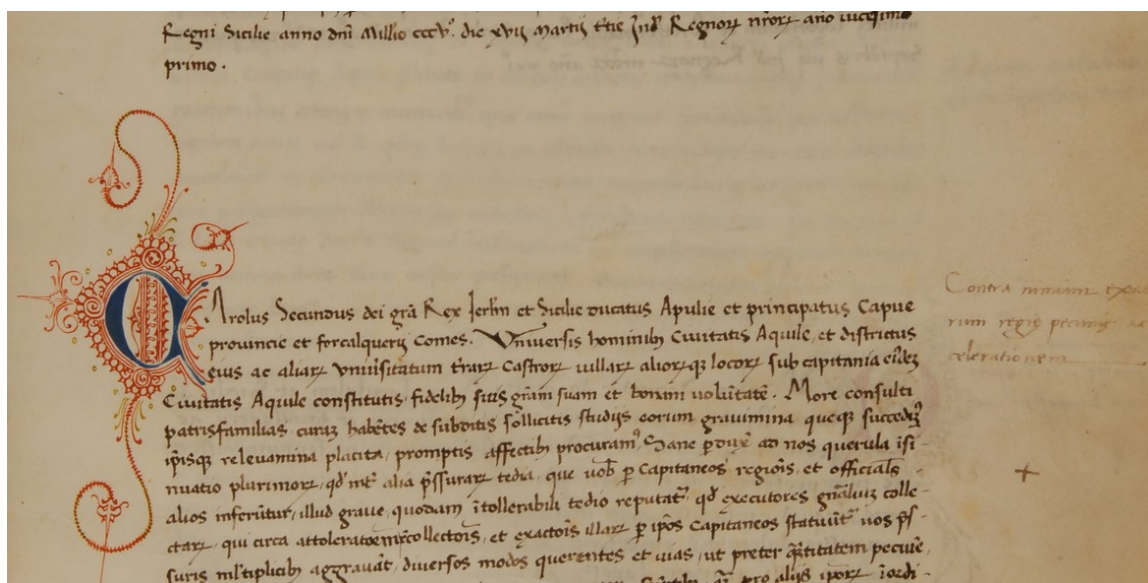


Fig. 6: L'Aquila, *Archivio di stato dell'Aquila*, *Archivio civico aquilano*, *Codice II dei privilegi Aquile*, v.35, c.6. It is a copy dating from 1460 of a privilege by Charles II in favor of the city of L'Aquila on September 4, 1305. Unlike Fig. 4 and 5, there is no summary of the privilege in red preceding the text. The first letter of the king's name is marked in blue with very elaborate decoration in red around it. The first letter occupies in height both the line of the text, the line above, the two lines below, and the intervening spaces, and in width is equivalent to about three characters, also extending well into the margin. The decoration extends some six lines both above and below the king's name.

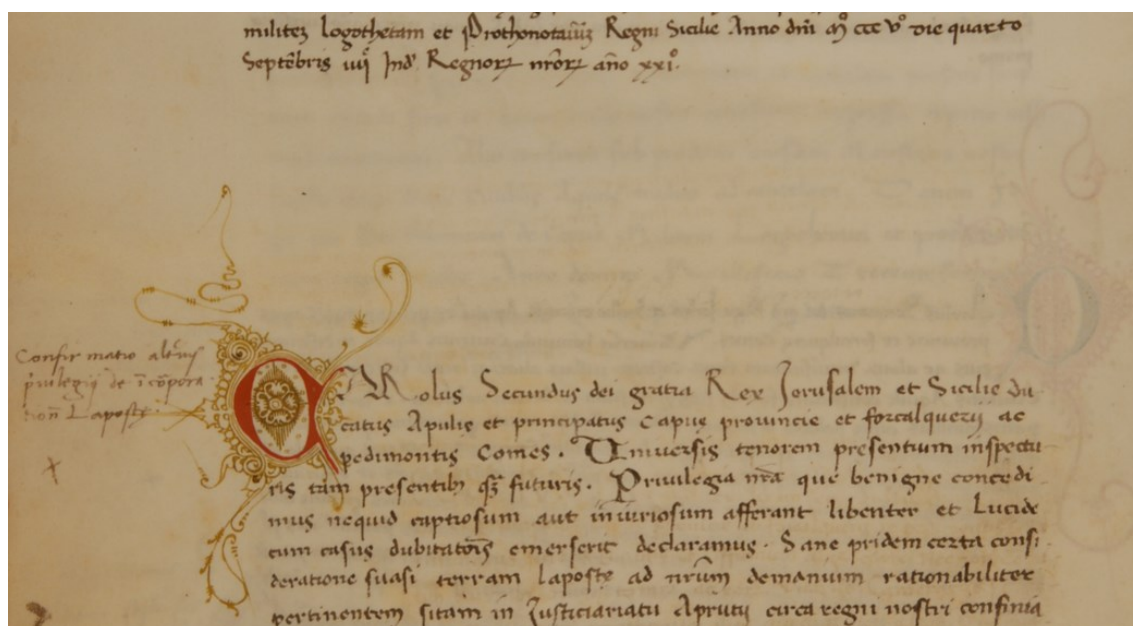


Fig. 7: L'Aquila, *Archivio di stato dell'Aquila*, *Archivio civico aquilano*, *Codice II dei privilegi Aquile*, v.35, c.7. It is also a copy dating from 1460 of a privilege by Charles II in favor of the city of L'Aquila on September 4, 1305. As in Fig. 6, there is no summary of the privilege and the first letter of king's name is highly decorated (this time in red with surroundings in gold). The first letter is the same height as in Fig. 4 and is wider (about seven characters), but does not extend as far into the margin. The decoration extends some five lines both above and below the king's name.

I owe thanks to Dr Paolo Buonora (director of the *Archivio di stato dell'Aquila*) and his staff for providing the reproductions and the dates of the related manuscripts (Fig. 4-7).

The three other known fifteenth-century Aquilan chroniclers also depicted the city's relationship with the Aragonese crown in negative terms or found reason to identify with the Angevins or the French kings. Two were local Observant Franciscans, who wrote in Latin prose, Bernardino of Fossa (1420-1503) and Alessandro De Ritiis (1434-1497/8). The third was a merchant, whose work was also in prose but in the vernacular, Vincenzo Basillii of Collebrincioni (before 1495 to 1529 or later).⁸³⁶ Bernardino, who wrote primarily about his order, placed his memory of having heard twelve sermons by

⁸³⁶ Lemmens, Leonhard, ed. *B. Bernardini Aquilani Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae* (Rome: Typis Sallustianis, 1902) - date unknown, covered 1368-1469; Cassese, Leopoldo, ed. "La 'Chronica civitatis Aquilae' di Alessandro de Ritiis" in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 27 (1941): 151-216 and 29 (1943) 185-268 - written in 1493-7, covered 1370-1497; Vincenzo Basillii da Collebrincioni. "Cronaca" in Pansa, *Quattro cronache*, App.IV - date unknown, covered 1476-1529.

Bernardino of Siena in the city in 1438 in the context of it being “at the time when King René was at L’Aquila”.⁸³⁷ Alessandro showed his admiration for Francesco by translating and largely following him until 1485 with some additions. Alessandro’s most important insertion was his record in 1481, the year after René’s death, of the gift of a large silver chest to the sanctuary of St Bernardino in L’Aquila from Louis XI of France that included an image of the king with the city’s saintly protector.⁸³⁸ Since Louis was René’s nephew and acquired Anjou and its related claims, it appears that Alessandro wished to acknowledge Louis’s assumption of the prior Angevin connection with L’Aquila.

In the decade that Alessandro covered after the end of Francesco’s chronicle, he maintained Francesco’s antagonism to the Aragonese. After Cicinello’s murder, Alessandro showed favor of the Aquilans’ revolt by using traditional language (though omitting to note that it was their first attempt to secede from the *Regno*): “They raised the banner of the Roman church and of pope Innocent, saying his praises and shouting ‘Long live the Church’ ”.⁸³⁹ At the same time he introduced balance in giving the civic reaction when “some were joyful, but those who had cattle and sheep were saddened, not having anywhere to send them to pasture” and in pointing out that “by this revolution the Aquilans lost all their animals”.⁸⁴⁰ Its economic cost was again on their minds in 1486, when the duke of Milan brought a hundred and eight squadrons of cavalry, causing the

⁸³⁷ Lemmens, *B. Bernardini Aquilani Chronica*, 19, c6: “*tempore, quo erat Aquilae rex Renatus.*”

⁸³⁸ Cassese, “Chronica,” 29, 225: “*ymago Sancti Bernardinj, cum ymagine Regis Francie*”; it weighed twelve hundred and nine pounds. Alessandro associated the gift with freedom, as he related that the reason for the gift was the commendation of the king’s father, who, at the point of death, dreamed of the saint, and was freed (“*fuit liberatus*”).

⁸³⁹ Ibid., 29, 233: “*levaverunt vexillum ecclesie romane et pape Innocentij dicentes laudes illius et clamantes: ‘Viva ecclesia.’*”

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 29, 233-4: “*nonnulli letati sunt, sed... illi tristati sunt qui habebant pecora et oves... non habentes quo mitterent illas ad pascua... per hanc revolutione omnia bestia aquilanj perdiderunt.*”

Aquilans to return to Ferrante “fearing the ruin of L’Aquila’s *contado*”.⁸⁴¹ For Alessandro, Ferrante’s retaliatory measures were evidently painful. He described how the civic leaders of the revolt, the mayor and the archdeacon, were immediately killed and the bishop was later “cruelly” assassinated in Rome; Pier Lalle received “great honor” at his death in 1490, but Ferrante enforced the “annihilation of the house of Camponeschi” by having the count’s widow, daughter, and nephews brought to Naples; and the king imposed a captain who was “terrible in justice”.⁸⁴² The chronicler concluded ominously that “matters remained under shadow and danger, just as they stand even now today [after the end of Charles VIII’s invasion]”⁸⁴³

The last fifteenth-century chronicler, Vincenzo, presented moments of civic respect to the Aragonese and Spanish kings but more emphatically showed the Aquilans suffering at their hands due to continued civic loyalty to the French kings. From 1476 to 1495 he followed Francesco and Alessandro in very abridged fashion. After Charles VIII’s withdrawal, Vincenzo specified a series of exchange killings between the Colonna (Aragonese favorites) and the Orsini, who assisted local supporters of the French. National identification became a prominent issue in 1499 when “King Federigo of Aragon came to L’Aquila and was made great honor”,⁸⁴⁴ in 1500 when “the banners of

⁸⁴¹ Ibid., 29, 237: “*timentibus excidium comitatus Aquile.*”

⁸⁴² Ibid., 29, 237-240, 244: “*crudeliter*”, “*magnum honorem*”, “*annullatione domus Camponiscorum*”, “*terribilis erat in justitia.*”

⁸⁴³ Ibid., 29, 237: “*res remanserunt sub umbra et periculo, prout etiam usque hodie stant.*” As his chronicle ended in June 1495 after the date of Charles VIII’s return north from Naples, he seemed to fear fresh Aragonese retaliation since the Aquilans had welcomed Charles’s officials in January 1495: “*elevaverunt vexillum predicti Regis vociferantes nomen eius*” (they raised the banner of the said king, crying his name aloud) (p.257).

⁸⁴⁴ Vincenzo Basilio da Collebrincioni. “Cronaca” in Pansa, *Quattro cronache*, App.IV, 75: “*Rè Federico d’Aragona venne all’Aquila , li fù fatto grande honore.*”

Louis [XII] King of France were raised”,⁸⁴⁵ and in 1503 when “the banners of the king of Spain were raised”.⁸⁴⁶ Vincenzo indicated hostile treatment towards the citizens in 1512: “the Spanish viceroy and two thousand Spanish troops came and took money”.⁸⁴⁷ Although “many festivities” were made in L’Aquila in 1519 after Charles V became emperor,⁸⁴⁸ the citizens apparently placed greater trust in their patron saint, since in 1520 “St Peter Celestine was said to be seen on the fortress of Collemaggio”.⁸⁴⁹ In 1529, during the War of the League of Cognac, Vincenzo portrayed a tipping point. As implied punishment of the Aquilans for their support of the French, “the prince of Orange [the imperial forces’ general] came and made a retaliation [in the amount] of one hundred thousand ducats, all the silver of the churches was melted and burned, and the chest of St Peter [Celestine] was melted, as was the chest of St Bernardino, [and] the citizens were taxed according to their possibilities”.⁸⁵⁰

While the hostility to the monarchy in the three chronicles represented a significant departure from the attitude in prior Aquilan chronicles, continuity also existed in the use of the vernacular by Francesco and Vincenzo, in the awareness of Alessandro and Vincenzo of earlier works, and in the focus of all three on local rather than national events. Alessandro expressly maintained the tradition of the chronicles written under the Angevins by describing himself as a successor to Buccio and by beginning his work with

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid., 76: “*furno drizzate le bandiere di Ludovico Rè di Francia.*”

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., 79: “*furno alzate le bandiere del Rè di Spagna.*”

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid., 80: “*il Vice Rè di Spagna... venuti m/2 fanti spagnoli... pigliorno denari.*”

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid., 81: “*molte feste.*”

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., 82: “*fù detto esser veduto S. Pietro Celestino sopra il forte di Collemagio*”

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., 88: “*venne il Principe d’Oranges nell’Aquila,... fece un taglione di cento mila ducati... fù distrutto e abrugiato tutto l’argento delle chiese, e fù strutta la cassa di San Pietro Celestino, e di San Bernardino,... tassati li cittadini secondo il loro possibile.*”

an abridgment of descriptions in Niccolò. Alessandro's direct quotation in 1485 of "an old saying... just as Buccio de Ranallo says" by Pier Lalle's sister about the pursuit of the Camponeschi indicated that certain civic memories articulated by the city's first chronicler were still relevant as authority well over a century later.⁸⁵¹

Like Francesco, Alessandro and Vincenzo also bestowed attention on events that did not concern the city's relationship with the Aragonese and the Spanish. Alessandro, as guardian of St Bernardino's sanctuary, described the mayor and four deputed citizens organizing building work on its dome, the receipt of donations for it, and an assembly of the Franciscans' Chapter-General.⁸⁵² Vincenzo employed customary themes in noting the connection that Ludovico Franchi having received the county of Montorio from the king in 1496 "began to take the *signoria*," in naming the mayor and the Five in 1501, 1503, and 1524, in depicting concern about the return of the city's exiles in 1503, and in referring to "the accursed divisions of the city" in 1526.⁸⁵³ He adopted a new line regarding the making in 1518 of some "comedies" and "general banquet" in honor of the duke and duchess of Amalfi.⁸⁵⁴ In 1528, Vincenzo reported that "L'Aquila was sacked"

⁸⁵¹ Cassese, "Chronica," 29, 233: "*Unum volo hic inserere proverbium quod audivi de hore magne domine matronis et sororis ipsius comitis Montorij prolutum, videlicet quod qui domum de Camponischis insecuti per preterita tempora fuissent, quasi omnes fore male finitos, allegansque regem Ladislaum qui occidere per suum offitiale et jaculare Comitem Lallum de Camponischis, prout dicit Butius Ranallj, prope Baczanum et sic de alijs quos domina numeraverat dicensque predictus rex a sua regina fuit venenatus*" (I wish to insert here an old saying that I heard cited from the mouth of the great lady and sister of the count of Montorio [Pier Lalle], namely that those who pursued the house of Camponeschi almost all would end badly, alleging that, just as Buccio Ranallo says, King Ladislaus had count Lalle Camponesco killed and overthrown by his official near Bazzano, and thus concerning some whom the lady had numbered, and saying that the said king was poisoned by his queen). This seems to conflate Lalle's murder by Joanna I's brother-in-law and her supposed killing of Andrew in Buccio and her murder by Charles III and the hostility between Antonuccio Camponesco and Ladislaus in Niccolò.

⁸⁵² Cassese, "Chronica," 29, 238 – in 1488; p.239 – in 1489; pp.264-8 – in 1495.

⁸⁵³ Vincenzo Basili da Collebrincioni, "Cronaca," 73: "*cominciò a pigliare la signoria*"; pp.76, 79, 83: "*Camerlenco e cinque*"; p.79: "*li forausciti*"; p.84: "*le maledette divisioni della povera città.*"

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., 81: "*Comedie... convito generale*";

by mercenaries led by “lord Oratio Baglione,” a Perugian *condottiere*.⁸⁵⁵ It seems that the effects of the sack were too great to permit the author to reflect that it was the first such disaster to befall L’Aquila and an indication of what the city would have received a century earlier from another Perugian *condottiere*, Braccio.

Vincenzo’s conclusion of his work in 1529 with the expropriation of the city’s wealth by Charles V’s commander was not merely the culmination of descriptions of almost ninety years of Aragonese and Spanish ill-treatment but also the ending of Aquilan chronicles in traditional form. But both the city and history-writing continued in new ways. Despite losing its *contado* to infeudation and having to suffer the presence of a fortress again, as well as being sacked by French troops in 1799 and enduring major earthquakes in 1703, 1786, and 2009, L’Aquila has repeatedly reasserted itself. Humanism influenced the emergence of a new style of historical writing. Angelo Fonticulano, who died in 1503, reconstructed the events of the war with Braccio and, though giving his protagonists long discourses in Latin, probably drew on certain oral traditions. At the initiative of the lawyer Francesco Vivio, his work was edited and published in L’Aquila in 1582.⁸⁵⁶ Bernardino Cirillo (1500-75) in Loreto, where he was an apostolic delegate, wrote in 1540 a literary history of L’Aquila, covering events from its foundation to 1535. He became close to the humanist circle around cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, who happened to be Pier Lalle Camponesco’s grandson and became Pope Paul IV. Cirillo had his history

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid., 86: “*fu saccheggiata l’Aquila... dal Si. Oratio Baglione.*”

⁸⁵⁶ Angelo Fonticulano. “De bello Bracciano Aquilae gesto” in F. Vivio, ed. *Sylva communium opinionum doctorum utriusque censurae in tres libros distinctae* (L’Aquila: apud Iosephum Cacchium, 1582); De Matteis, Carlo. *Quattrocento letterario aquilano. Restauri e recuperi* (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2011), 123.

published in Rome in 1570.⁸⁵⁷ Giovan Felice Rizi (1585-1663) transcribed several Aquilan chronicles in a work that has not survived but was cited by Antinori.⁸⁵⁸ In 1742 Muratori published the chronicles of Buccio, Antonio, Niccolò, the Anonymous (then attributed to Nicolò Ciminello), and Francesco, which Antinori had collected under the title “Some uncultivated writers of Aquilan matters”.⁸⁵⁹ The appellation, referring to their use of local dialect, deterred modern historians from examining them until Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis confirmed Buccio’s historical weight in his introduction to his edition of 1907.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁷ Bernardino Cirillo. *Annali della città dell’Aquila con l’historie del suo tempo* (Rome: appresso Giulio Accolto, 1570); “Cirillo, Bernardino” in *Dizionario*, 25 (1981).

⁸⁵⁸ Berardi, *I monti d’oro*, 84 – “*Monumenta Civitatis Aquilae*.”

⁸⁵⁹ L. Muratori, ed. *Antiquitates Italicae Mediii Aevi*, VI: “*Aquilarum Rerum Scriptores aliquot rudes*.” Antinori also compared Niccolò to Buccio: “*nella stessa rozzezza e di lingua, e di stile*” (in the same uncultivated way in language and in style) (p.851).

⁸⁶⁰ De Bartholomaeis, *Cronaca*, xxii; Colapietra, Raffaele. *Cultura e società all’Aquila tra angioini e spagnoli* (Messina : Sicania, 1993), 17.

Conclusion

L'Aquila's tradition in chronicle-writing is interesting for its duration and for maintaining a common political theme. Seven local chroniclers and a diarist described the city's events, from Buccio who went back to 1254 to Vincenzo who ended in 1529. Among them there was agreement that an Aquilan chronicle should be primarily about events in the city rather than those in the *Regno* and that the selected subjects should be limited. All the writers discussed the city's political organization, tracing its origins and assessing the effectiveness of L'Aquila's internal administration, the ability to cope with threats to it, and the extent to which it found support in a balanced relationship with the crown. In doing so, the chroniclers differentiated between the different royal dynasties that ruled L'Aquila, showing attitudes that for the most part were ambivalent towards the Staufens, positive towards the Angevins, and negative towards the Aragoneses and their successors.

The Aquilan chronicles' focus on civic events represented a change from that of most earlier chronicles in the *Regno* and was more in line with those in northern and central Italy (henceforth 'northern Italy'). The dominance of dynastically-focused historical works has been noticed for southern Italy and Sicily from the time that Roger II, with papal consent, established a monarchy there in 1139.⁸⁶¹ During the Norman and Staufens eras the kingdom's chronicles have been called "monographic" in revolving around the events of the *Regno* or of regions of it.⁸⁶² Civic consciousness has been celebrated as a

⁸⁶¹ Brown, T.S. "The Political Uses of the Past in Norman Sicily" in P. Magdalino, ed. *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 191-210; Loud, Graham and Thomas Wiedemann. *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154-69* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Loud, Graham. *Roger II and the Making of the Kingdom of Sicily* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

⁸⁶² Lazzarini, Isabella. *L'Italia degli Stati territoriali. Secoli xiii-xv* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003), 16.

characteristic of medieval northern Italian city-states for a long time, and the composition of civic chronicles remains a major, if not indeed the primary, proof of its existence and mode of its expression. Viewed as a product of those city-states' political autonomy, this civic consciousness was long assumed to be unique to the northern half of the peninsula.

Much evidence thus seemed to support the correlation between chronicle-writing and political status. Autonomous cities wrote civic chronicles, and hence had civic consciousness, while monarchical realms wrote dynastic and realm-wide chronicles, and thus lacked civic consciousness. Ovidio Capitani summed up the then-current state of research on this question in 1969 in referring to chronicles of the *Regno* under the Normans as “court historiography.” He extended his argument to the chronicles under the Staufen, to the work of Saba Malaspina of the Roman *curia* about the reign of Charles I, and to the Sicilian history-writings under the Aragonese to conclude that “the interpretive key of the account is almost always the action of the sovereign, who has inspired the account and renders it, in a certain way, official: around him move personages even of great prominence, but in a climate in which the unique parameter of judgment seems constituted by the will and interest of the king”.⁸⁶³

Challenges to Capitani's argument have come, in part, from scholarship on civic historical works. Scholars have found that chronicles in northern Italy were not always civic-centered. Universal histories were also written in the city-states of medieval

⁸⁶³ Capitani, Ovidio. “Motivi e momenti di storiografia medioevale italiana: secc. v-xiv” in *Nuove questioni di storia medioevale* (Milan: Marzorati, 1969), 786-7. On Sicilian chronicles after the Vespers, see also Fasoli, Gina. *Cronache medievali di Sicilia. Note d'orientamento* (Bologna: Patron, 1995), 69: “Sicilian chroniclers hinged on the figure of the sovereign.”

northern Italy, even by authors with a very strong civic focus, for example, by Riccobaldo, Giovanni Villani, and Andrea Dandolo.⁸⁶⁴ In these works civic history was embedded in a larger framework, and, in Villani's case, paid great attention to the intersection of local, Italian-wide, and indeed 'international' affairs. Also, in cities in another Italian monarchical state, the papal states, the degree of supervision by the overriding authority does not appear to have been a determining factor for the development of a tradition of chronicle-writing. Orvieto, Viterbo, and Ancona each produced at least three chronicles. Bologna is believed to have had a number of works in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, largely lost, as well as having ten chroniclers covering the period from 1335 to 1519. Perugia, though having a gap between the thirteenth century until the mid-fifteenth century, then had three chroniclers. The reason for the flourishing of chronicle-writing in the smaller papal cities seems to have been the authors' recognition that firm rule by papal vicars was preferable to ruin by mercenaries and by internal feuds, while in Bologna and Perugia the opposite applied, as their chroniclers appreciated loose papal control.⁸⁶⁵ Whatever their attitude towards the monarchical power, the existence of these chronicles establishes that civic historical writing and monarchical rule were not mutually exclusive.

⁸⁶⁴ Riccobaldo (c1246-1318) on Ferrara's seventh century origins to 1270 – Vasina, Augusto. "Riccobaldo" in *Quattordicesimo convegno di studi. Il senso della storia nella cultura medievale italiana (1100-1350) – Pistoia, 14-17 maggio 1993* (Pistoia: Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'arte Pistoia, 1995), 94; Villani (c1280-1348) on Florence's mythical origins to 1364 – Clarke, Paula. "The Villani Chronicles" in S. Dale, A. Williams Lewin, and D. Osheim, eds. *Chronicling History. Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 113; Dandolo (1306-54) on St Mark's establishment of a bishopric at Aquileia and Venice's origins to 1354 – Melville-Jones, John. "Venetian History and Patrician Chroniclers" in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 199-200.

⁸⁶⁵ Cochrane, Eric. *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 104-6, 121-6.

Newer work on southern Italy has contributed to this general revisionist current.

Giovanni Vitolo in 1990 noted that, though southern Italian cities produced fewer civic-focused chronicles than cities in northern Italy, they expressed civic consciousness in other ways. He attributed the low number of chronicles in the south to the culture that included court lawyers responsible for document production and featured a small number of notaries, who in northern Italy were the frequent authors of civic chronicles before the fifteenth century.⁸⁶⁶ Vitolo located the existence of civic consciousness in the construction and maintenance of city walls, devotion to local saints, control of the *contado*, traditions, and meeting-places.⁸⁶⁷ Other scholars have found it also in Norman charters that show that city-dwellers developed innovative methods of self-government and articulated new notions of citizenship,⁸⁶⁸ in liturgical scrolls and church furnishings between the tenth and fourteenth centuries indicating that southern civic communities exploited them to affirm their historical roots,⁸⁶⁹ in the contest between Foggia and Troia for episcopal status in the early thirteenth century,⁸⁷⁰ and inside the structures and

⁸⁶⁶ Vitolo, Giovanni. *Città e coscienza cittadina nel mezzogiorno secc. ix-xiii* (Salerno: Laveglia, 1990), 38-40. Of one hundred known lay authors of chronicles in Italy in the fourteenth century (besides eighty anonymous and forty clerics), forty were notaries - Zabbia, Marino. *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento. Nuovi studi storici*, 49 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1999), vii. His total number can be divided between the south (five – three Aquilans, Domenico da Gravina, and Bartolomeo Caracciolo-Carafa), Sicily (ten - Fasoli, *Sicilia*, 19-29), and northern Italy (two hundred and five). Of the southern writers, only Domenico is known to have been a notary.

⁸⁶⁷ Vitolo, *Città e coscienza*, 6-29 and “L’egemonia cittadina sul contado nel Mezzogiorno medievale” in *Città e contado nel Mezzogiorno medievale* (Salerno: Laveglia, 2005), 9-26.

⁸⁶⁸ Oldfield, Paul. *City and Community in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) and “Urban Government in Southern Italy, c1085-c1127.” *The English Historical Review*, 122 (2007): 579-608.

⁸⁶⁹ Zchomelidse, Nino. *Art, Ritual, and Civic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2014), 3.

⁸⁷⁰ Martin, Jean-Marie. *Foggia nel Medioevo* (Lecce: Galatina, 1998), 38-51.

formulas of royal privileges to Manfredonia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that reveal the presence of civic assemblies, deliberations, and formal processes.⁸⁷¹

Some scholars have focused not on the paucity of southern Italian civic chronicles but on the fact that some did indeed exist. In the Norman era, degrees of civic consciousness have been located in several writings, if especially in the chronicle of Falco of Benevento and less so in the annals of Bari and Amalfi and the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno.⁸⁷² Even in the Staufien period, a time considered unfavorable to civic autonomy, Enrico Pispisa concluded that in southern historiography “urban centers... always represented the point of reference of any initiative of administrative or military character”.⁸⁷³ He identified in the letter attributed to Falcando and in the song of Peter of Eboli praises of the topography of the capital (then at Palermo) and of the thermal baths near Naples. Pispisa also found that Riccardo of San Germano, a chronicler of events in the *Regno*, attached special importance to the events and civic life of San Germano (just beyond the north-western border and now called Cassino) and that two chronicles of Messina, extending into the later thirteenth-century, displayed “civic awareness”.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷¹ Airò, Anna. “*Et signanter omne cabelle et dacii sono dela detta università*. Istituzioni, ambiente, politiche fiscali di una ‘località centrale’: Manfredonia nel sistema territoriale di Capitanata tra xiii e xvi secolo” in R. Licinio, ed. *Storia di Manfredonia* (Bari : Edipuglia, 2008), I, 172-209.

⁸⁷² Falco - Vitolo, *Città e coscienza*, 33-4 and Loud, Graham. *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 285. Less, but some, civic consciousness has been identified in the annals of Bari (Brown, “Norman Sicily,” 197) and of Amalfi (Vitolo, *Città e coscienza*, 30-1) and in the universal chronicle of Romuald of Salerno (Loud and Wiedemann, *Tyrants*, 52).

⁸⁷³ Pispisa, Enrico. “L’immagine della città nella storiografia meridionale del Duecento.” *Quaderni medievali*, 30 (1990) 107.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., 68-9 - “*Epistola*” and “*De rebus siculis carmen*”; pp.78-80 - Riccardo covered the events of the *Regno* from 1189 to 1243; pp.93-5 - *Annales siculi* (1027-1266) gave “an acute examination of contemporary political events... the manifest of a middle class”; pp.102-6 Bartolomeo di Neocastro (1250-93), whose perspective was “collaboration between the monarchy and the urban classes.”

Isabella Lazzarini has referred to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a time of “convergence of historiographical results” between northern and southern Italy, and observed that from the fourteenth century southern works had an “accentuated municipal dimension”.⁸⁷⁵ Scholars of the *Regno* have supported this viewpoint in noting that Domenico da Gravina’s “Chronicle of Deeds in Apulia” primarily covered events in Gravina (near Bari) in 1333-50 and that Bartolomeo Caracciolo-Carafa’s “*Cronaca di Partenope*” was a history of Naples from antiquity to 1350. In Domenico “the center was always Gravina” and “not hinged on the Angevin sovereign”, and Bartolomeo’s work was “a prime expression of the intensified communal identity of Naples”.⁸⁷⁶ Also in Sicily, Michele da Piazza, writing about events in Catania in 1337-61, had “a certain sensibility for social facts”.⁸⁷⁷ In a recent work, Franco Franceschi and Ilaria Taddei summarized the writings of Falco, Riccardo, and Domenico as underlining that “the substantially concentric development of the narration displaced attention progressively from the kingdom to the city”.⁸⁷⁸

In the Angevin and Aragonese *Regno* not only was L’Aquila one of the few cities with a chronicle it was the only one with a chronicle tradition. In view of the revisionist current

⁸⁷⁵ Lazzarini, *L’Italia*, 16.

⁸⁷⁶ Zabbia, *I notai*, 123, 129 - Domenico wrote about “the pulse of the city,” how the faction to which he belonged had to leave the city, how it organized its return, and how those in the city prepared to face it; Montrone, Maria Giovanna, ed. *Chronicon de rebus in Apulia gestis* (Matera: G. Barile, 2008). Kelly, Samantha. *The Cronaca di Partenope. An Introduction to and Critical Edition of the First Vernacular History of Naples (c.1350)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 3-4, 16 and “Chronicle of Parthenope” in K. Jansen, J. Drell, and F. Andrews, eds. *Medieval Italy. Texts in Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 521 – Bartolomeo described the virtues of Naples and its people that made them superior to others; in a similar way to positive descriptions in chronicles of communal Milan in 1288 (Andrews, Frances. “Bonvesin della Riva” in *ibid.*, 16) and of Venice around 1300 (Law, John. “Henry of Rimini” in *ibid.*, 514).

⁸⁷⁷ Fasoli, *Sicilia*, 61-2, 71- describing the merchants’ piratical activities and their speculation in the commerce of slaves, the impact of grain crises, and the scarcity of cloth.

⁸⁷⁸ Franceschi, Franco and Ilaria Taddei. *Le città italiane nel Medioevo xii-xiv secolo* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2012), 280.

that resists correlating historiography with political status, an explanation for L'Aquila's exceptionality needs to look beyond a comparison between the extensive privileges that L'Aquila received from the monarchs and the lesser awards that most other cities in the *Regno* received.⁸⁷⁹ Attention should be given to Eric Cochrane's comment about writings in the cities of Gaeta, Aversa, Amalfi, and Nardò in the later fifteenth century. He noted that in these cities, which each produced a single work, none of the authors showed any knowledge about earlier civic events or about how to write history.⁸⁸⁰ Thus the value of a chronicle tradition for educating a writer's successor should not be underestimated.

In having a tradition of cronicle-writing with a theme, L'Aquila can even be compared to certain self-governing cities in northern Italy. Venetian writers from the eleventh century developed the 'myth of Venice,' in which they claimed that the city was born free and Christian and that it enjoyed divine protection, and from the thirteenth century asserted their role as papal warriors.⁸⁸¹ Genoa's annals of the twelfth and thirteenth century were secular, patriotic, and often biased in favor of the party in power at the time.⁸⁸² In Florence from the mid-thirteenth century merchants, who wrote a large number of chronicles, reflected their cultural attitude with writings of an economic and domestic

⁸⁷⁹ For a range in royal diplomas, see under the Angevins - Vitolo, Giovanni. "Il regno angioino" in G. Galasso and R. Romeo, eds. *Storia del Mezzogiorno* (Rome: Edizioni del Sole, 1986), IV, 34: "The strongly privileged situations of Gaeta and L'Aquila"; under the Aragonese - Caravale, Mario. *La monarchia meridionale. Istituzioni e dottrina giuridica dai Normanni ai Borboni* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1998), 198 – Ferrante issued awards (*capitoli*) to Cosenza, Catanzaro, Barletta, Molfetta, and Lecce as well as to L'Aquila and Gaeta.

⁸⁸⁰ Cochrane, *Historians*, 146.

⁸⁸¹ Brown, Patricia Fortini. "Self-Definition of the Venetian Republic" in A. Molho, K. Raaflaub, and J. Emlen, eds. *City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 511-525.

⁸⁸² Dotson, John. "The Genoese Civic Annals: Caffaro and his Continuator" in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 55.

nature, which developed from insertions of historical narratives inside family works (*libri di ricordanze*).⁸⁸³

The Aquilan chroniclers' concentration on a political theme for its tradition was to the almost complete exclusion of other topics that were available in other cities. Civic religion, which elsewhere often included invocations and offerings to patron saints and the association of rulers with rituals,⁸⁸⁴ received little mention in the Aquilan chronicles. Rather than depicting the new citizens celebrating the divine at either foundation, Buccio showed them calling on astrologers to choose a propitious moment to start the building.⁸⁸⁵ In order to appease for their wrong after plundering the lords' castles in 1293, he described them not praying to heaven but professing loyalty to the king.⁸⁸⁶ Despite being careful to portray the citizens celebrating the translations of their patron saints, Peter Celestine, Maximus, and Bernardino, the chroniclers did not describe them invoking the saints during any of the city's natural disasters or revolts. Although the Anonymous had the citizens appeal to God during Braccio's siege and later he acknowledged the support of St Peter Celestine in it, neither he nor Niccolò depicted civic processions calling on the saint or thanking him afterwards. That is not to say that the writers ignored the citizens' spirituality, especially during the plague and in the Aragonese period, or their relationship with the papacy. The limited reference to their patron saints indicates that the chroniclers did not observe any need for civic unification

⁸⁸³ Cammarosano, Paolo. *Italia medievale. Struttura e geografia delle fonti scritte* (Urbino: Arti Grafiche Editoriali, 1991), 306.

⁸⁸⁴ Webb, Diana. *Patrons and Defenders: the Saints in the Italian City-States* (London: Tauris, 1996), 104, 111, 231.

⁸⁸⁵ De Matteis, Buccio, 25, v76: "*strolachi*" (astrologers).

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., 48, v149: " '*Viva viva lu re!*' "; also in 1319, when they replaced the banner of Sulmona with that of L'Aquila (while both served the crown at Rieti), they were careful to place the latter close to the royal one (v275).

around the figures of the saints, either to smooth over any tension between the ecclesiastical and secular spheres or to enhance the claims to legitimacy of the city's leaders or pretenders to the throne.⁸⁸⁷ In sum, it suggests civic self-reliance and confidence in the city's relationship with the Angevin monarchy.

Another topic that the Aquilan chroniclers mostly excluded was the extent of divisions between the classes and between the city and the *contado*.⁸⁸⁸ At the beginning of Buccio's chronicle this did not seem to be the case. He criticized the founders for their decision to "emancipate the peasants," calling it a great sin and showing as related to it the subsequent civic strife and peasant revolt.⁸⁸⁹ But afterwards he minimized depictions of class conflict, focusing instead on the need for civic unity in order to bring provisioning help to Charles I at Tagliacozzo in 1268 and to oppose the lords of the *contado* in 1293. Buccio did not see an unsurmountable gap between the *popolani* and the nobles, since he emphasized that the "head of the people" against the lords was himself an "honored knight" (*ser Nicola dell'Isola*) and that in 1320 another nobleman (*ser Nicola di Roio*) led an Aquilan force against Rieti.⁸⁹⁰ The chronicler assumed internal peace in describing the guilds making gifts at St Peter Celestine's translation in

⁸⁸⁷ Buccio's description of St Peter Celestine's festival in 1351 did not mention *Lalle* (*ibid.*, 267, v854). The later Camponeschi also did not receive any identification with the saint. Lewis just heard mass at the bishop's palace (p.226, v717); Niccolò did not specify religious celebrations for Louis of Anjou's visit (Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 857); Bernardino of Fossa's identification of René with Bernardino of Siena occurred in 1438 before the latter's death in L'Aquila in 1444 and canonization in 1450; but Alessandro identified Louis XI with him in 1481.

⁸⁸⁸ As a topic, see Brucker, Gene A. *Living on the Edge in Leonardo's Florence: Selected Essays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

⁸⁸⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 26, vv81-2: "*liberar li villani*"; p.30-1, vv93-6.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 46, v140-1: "*ser Nicola de l'Isola... cavalero vangiato [= (glossary) bagnato]... capo de populu*"; p.83, v266.

1327.⁸⁹¹ When fighting broke out in the 1330s, he did not present it as class conflict but as among specific communities in the *contado* and subsequently as between certain powerful families. In describing the civic request to the monarchs in 1354 for a guild-based constitution, he portrayed it as coming from “the great and the least of L’Aquila”.⁸⁹²

This underlying sense of basic civic unity served Buccio as it gave him an implicit frame of reference to help him and his fellow citizens endure the times of suffering. He depicted the causes of the harm as coming from groupings that he framed as outsiders – “tyrants” (the local feudatories and later the faction leaders), royal opponents, foreign mercenaries, and the city’s exiles and neighbors, even though each had some connection with the city, as well as from natural disasters (famine, plague, and earthquake). In this unity he joined not just all the citizens but also the city with the *contado*. Their reaction was far from passive, as it included variously episodes of civic organization, dramatic resistance, and attacks on neighbors in pursuit of Aquilan goals. He assigned political characteristics to this unity in placing it only behind the city’s accepted leaders (the commune, *signori*, or patrons) and the crown. His successors adopted the same approach, including giving little information about struggles between classes or between the city and the *contado*. In a work of over nine hundred verses Antonio devoted only four to a rising by the *popolo minore*, in 1365, and five to a peasant revolt, in 1370.⁸⁹³ Niccolò ignored the first uprising entirely and devoted a single paragraph out of eighty-two to the second.⁸⁹⁴ But

⁸⁹¹ Ibid., 91, v291

⁸⁹² Ibid., 303, v976: “*d’Aquila... li granni e li menuri.*”

⁸⁹³ Antonio di Buccio, “Delle cose,” 717, vv50-53; p.728, vv138-142.

⁸⁹⁴ Niccolò di Borbona, “Cronaca,” 854.

the chroniclers gave hints that the *popolo minore* and the *contado* were not entirely to be trusted (in Antonio the *popolo minore* prayed for the victory of Charles of Durazzo, in the Anonymous the citizens blamed some communities for surrendering to Braccio without fighting, and in both the peasants assisted the city's enemies).⁸⁹⁵ The chroniclers' desire not to articulate class differences may explain a further almost general omission from the chronicles, the role of the merchants, extending also to commerce and even transhumance.⁸⁹⁶

The chroniclers indicated the significance of their political theme in their selection of dates that determined the duration of and break in the chronicles and that corresponded with significant changes in L'Aquila's political power. The start date of Buccio's chronicle in 1254 and the end date of Vincenzo's in 1529 marked the birth and near-death of the city. The interval between writers that began in 1424 immediately followed the conclusions to the works of both Niccolò and the Anonymous on the subject of how the citizens and a royal force overcame Braccio da Montone. He was a Perugian *condottiere* who had been seeking to establish control over L'Aquila for the prior thirteen months. The interval ended with Francesco's description of King Alfonso I's enforcement of his authority over the city in 1442. It may be wondered why Niccolò stopped with L'Aquila's great triumph and Francesco resumed with its heavy humiliation. The answers

⁸⁹⁵ Gelmini, "Antonio," 46, II.18; De Matteis, *La guerra*, 33, cII.24.

⁸⁹⁶ Exceptions were Robert's grant in 1310 that the merchants could bring their merchandise to L'Aquila without paying indirect tax (De Matteis, *Buccio*, 74-5, v239), the price of grain during famine in 1329 and 1340 (v322, v499), the grassy mountains as the subject of dispute in the 1330s (v368), the viceroy's confiscation of the city's sheep in Chieti in 1359 (v1106); the absence of foreigners (pilgrim merchants) at the *Perdonanza* (indulgence) of 1381 (Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 954), Charles III's indirect tax (*gabella*) in 1382 (Gelmini, "Antonio," 66, V.16); the price of foodstuffs in shortages in 1462-3 (Francesco d'Angeluccio, "Cronaca," 901, 904) and Ferrante's *gabella* of 1485 (ibid., 926); the Aquilans' loss of their sheep in the revolt of 1485 (Cassese, "Chronica," 29, 233-4).

to both questions lie probably in the city's close relationship with the Angevin monarchy, which ended just eleven years after the joint victory over Braccio. On the one hand, evidently no potential Aquilan chronicler thought any subsequent event in Joanna II's reign could match it. On the other hand, Francesco seems to have started writing his chronicle in 1460 at the outbreak of civic revolt, which he favored and hoped would result in the Angevins returning to rule the *Regno*. Support for this date rests on the greater attention to detail that he devoted then.

The first and foremost events that Buccio described, L'Aquila's foundation in 1254 and re-foundation in 1266, had strong political characteristics in nature, geography, and time. Certainly, his successors thought that this section was the most important part of his chronicle, as they drew attention to it when referring to him.⁸⁹⁷ As much as Buccio used his narrations of the foundations to demonstrate the inhabitants' desire for liberty and their unity in successfully bringing about the beginning of the new city, he celebrated the kings' part in authorizing the foundations and provided lessons about the failures of the inhabitants' leaders. Pointing to Manfred's destruction of the first city in 1259 and the internal strife in 1266-7 as divine punishments, he criticized the founders in 1254 for having taken the site "wrongly" and in 1266-7 for allowing the city to be "badly guided" in freeing the peasants.⁸⁹⁸ Further evidence that these factors prompted Buccio to start writing can be found in key dates concerning the chronicle's structure. By starting to use the first person in 1310 when Robert visited L'Aquila, he drew attention to the

⁸⁹⁷ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711, v3; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 853.

⁸⁹⁸ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 11, v25: "*di mal*"; p.28, v88: "*mal guidata*."

importance of the royal relationship to it.⁸⁹⁹ Also, his insertion of sonnets in 1338 associated the tyranny that he identified with his similar usages at the foundations.⁹⁰⁰

Buccio's descriptions of the feudatories' ill-treatment of the inhabitants of Amiterno and Forcona brought geographic focus to the lords' abuse and to the need to counter it. The inhabitants did not have to wander to their eventual destination, unlike the Trojans in foundation myths described by many chroniclers. Examples include in Venice the assertion by Giovanni Diacono in the eleventh century and his followers that only the Trojan nobility had the means or the incentive to ship their goods to the Lagoon when threatened by Attila; in Genoa the description by Jacopo Doria in the 1280s of a noble Trojan called Janus sailing to Genoa and building his castle where the archbishop's palace now stood; and in Padua the celebration by Albertino Mussato in the early fourteenth century of the discovery in 1283 of the tomb of Antenore, the city's Trojan founder.⁹⁰¹ But Buccio showed that security for the inhabitants of the area where L'Aquila was eventually founded was not available until Charles of Anjou completed his own long travels, almost a mission that ended with him saving them. The author used heroic terms to describe Charles's long and eventful journey from France (meaning Provence) via Ostia, Rome, and Campania to Benevento and defeat of Manfred, before taking possession of Naples and hearing petitions.⁹⁰²

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., 74, v237: "*Nuj fecemmo gra' fessta*" (we made great festivities).

⁹⁰⁰ For a list of other late medieval foundations in Italy, see Jones, *Italian City-State*, 154: Cuneo, Alessandria, Sarzana, Colle, Manfredonia, and Poggibonsi. Of these, only Alessandria appears to have had a chronicle (in the sixteenth century) in Cochrane, *Historians*, 207.

⁹⁰¹ Dotson, "Genoese Civic Annals," 79; Melville-Jones, John. "Venetian History and Patrician Chroniclers" in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 197 and Cochrane, *Historians*, 65; Bortolami, Sante. "Da Rolandino al Mussato" in *Il senso della storia*, 81.

⁹⁰² De Matteis, *Buccio*, 12-17, vv29-45.

Buccio's narrow chronology also brought focus to the immediate events surrounding the foundations. Beginning a few months before the first foundation in 1254, he ignored the ancient antecedents of the city's predecessor towns, Amiterno and Forcona, and did not even go back to the time of the papal struggle against Frederick II, despite Gregory IX's encouragement to the local inhabitants to obtain liberty from the emperor. Buccio's followers similarly did not look further back in time than the foundation. He and they also subordinated the patron saint of the old cathedral of Forcona and of its replacement in L'Aquila (St Maximus), who lived in the third century, to their holy patron who served the city from during the reign of Charles II (St Peter Celestine).⁹⁰³ But, though the Anonymous also focused on the foundation, he provided a non-political explanation: "Pagans made other cities. Christ helps it [L'Aquila], because Christians made it".⁹⁰⁴ In this, the Aquilans were like the chroniclers of Venice who celebrated its religious status through it being founded by refugees fleeing from Attila.⁹⁰⁵

As Paolo Cammarosano has indicated, all chroniclers shared a common task: "not to reconstruct the past, rather to guarantee the record of the present".⁹⁰⁶ Since their chronological arc was functional, some writers chose as a point of departure the distant past (biblical, classical, or medieval) while others preferred a closer time to describe a war or the memories of their fathers and grandfathers.⁹⁰⁷ Francesco Tateo has argued that

⁹⁰³ By describing the translation to L'Aquila of St Peter Celestine in 1327 (De Matteis, *Buccio*, 89, v289) but of St Maximus not until 1414 (Palatini, "Iacopo Donadei," 27); also the moving of St Maximus's feast day in 1360 from October because citizens were finding it difficult to observe it owing to its clash with the grape and saffron harvests to May 10 (De Matteis, *Buccio*, 342, v1116), nine days before that of St Peter Celestine enabling a fair in honor of both while not moving St Peter's feast day.

⁹⁰⁴ De Matteis, *La guerra*, 200, cXI.38: "li altri citadi li fece pagani, Cristo l'aiute, ch  lla fe cristiani."

⁹⁰⁵ Melville-Jones, "Venetian History," 199.

⁹⁰⁶ Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 301.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 302.

the decision to focus on a city's origins was significant, because these "often represented the emblem of its image, more than an element of its history".⁹⁰⁸ Those that looked to ancient Rome (*Romanitas*) included twelfth century Pisan chroniclers (Pisa's victories proved that it inherited the republic's mantle), Rolandino (Padua was like Rome in having a Trojan founder and experiencing suffering), and Giovanni Villani (Florence's nobles were heirs to a decadent Rome).⁹⁰⁹ Caracciolo-Carafa went as far back as Naples' earliest Greek settlement.⁹¹⁰ Buccio and his successors belonged to a group of writers for whom more recent experiences offered relevant benchmarks. They were found both in the *Regno* (Domenico on current factional disputes in Gravina)⁹¹¹ and beyond it (Caffaro on Genoa's expression of its maritime vocation in its companies and succession of consuls; the Anonymous Roman on Rome as a society in crisis reflected through a series of recent events; and Martino da Canal on Venice's prominence in the Mediterranean as a loyal supporter of the papacy).⁹¹²

A major part of the Aquilan chroniclers' political theme, the effectiveness of the city's internal administration and the ability to cope with threats to it, can be seen at the very start of Buccio's chronicle. He announced that his purpose was to write about "our

⁹⁰⁸ Tateo, Francesco. "Il mito delle origini cittadine nel Mezzogiorno" in M. Miglio and G. Lombardi, eds. *Simbolo e realtà della vita urbana nel tardo medioevo* (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 1988), 11.

⁹⁰⁹ Wickham, Chris. "The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives" in Magdalino, *Perception of the Past*, 178; Bortolami, "Rolandino," 66; Benvenuti, Anna. "Il mito delle origini cittadini nella Firenze comunale" in *Il senso della storia*, 209-210.

⁹¹⁰ Kelly, *Cronaca*, 11.

⁹¹¹ Zabbia, *I notai*, 123-9. Certain other chronicles in the *Regno* also described close to contemporary events – *Annales Siculi* began in 1027, Riccardo of San Germano in 1189, and Bartolomeo of Neocastro in 1250.

⁹¹² Petti Balbi, Giovanna. "Caffaro" in *Il senso della storia*, 35, 42; Miglio, Massimo. "Anonimo romano" in *ibid.*, 175, 187; Melville-Jones, "Venetian History," 200.

government of L'Aquila",⁹¹³ and followed it with a general warning: "the bad oppressing, the good rising up".⁹¹⁴ His plan, together with his use of the term "commune" and of its organs, incorporated certain assumptions that were prevalent in writings elsewhere in Italy. Most notably, in the thirteenth century a commune's statutes often required its magistrates or *podestà* to swear to preserve its "peace, unity, and orderly government" (*pax et unitas, bonus et tranquillus status*) at home, as well as its "honor" and "utility" abroad.⁹¹⁵ While having primarily a stabilizing purpose, the promotion of civic harmony and good government also furthered the development of the local government's power and organization. Civic cohesion meant not egalitarianism but developing ideas for elective, productive, and fiscal systems and strength in militia and diplomacy. Specific goals of many cities were their opposition to the disruptive aims of powerful families and their desire to control the *contado*, where the families found their resources.⁹¹⁶

With these implicit standards for civic government, L'Aquila's writers assessed the city's administration quite positively. Buccio and Francesco showed that there was a general desire among the inhabitants to follow their leaders in obtaining liberty from the feudatories in 1254 and 1266 and from the king in 1485. At other times all the Aquilan chroniclers employed civic unity as a corresponding ideal that was appropriate for a city located in a monarchical state. Its prime manifestations appeared in their references to L'Aquila's electoral systems and to decisions concerning defense and famine and plague

⁹¹³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 3, v1: "*del nostro stato d'Aquila*."

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, v2: "*opremmo li cactivi, li boni sollevando*."

⁹¹⁵ Jones, *Italian City-State*, 374-5.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 510-1 – for example, magnates had no place in Lorenzetti's fresco of "*Buon Governo*" in Siena in 1337; Pini, Antonio Ivan. *Città, comuni e corporazioni nel medioevo italiano* (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1986), 94-177; Somaini, Francesco. "The collapse of city-states and the role of urban centres in the new political geography of Renaissance Italy" in A. Gamberini and I. Lazzarini, eds. *The Italian Renaissance State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 244.

relief. The writers showed these operating to civic benefit not so much by bestowing praise on the city's leaders but by extensive descriptions of the results of the electoral process and of the leaders' determinations. Thus the chronicles contain numerous references not just to the commune, the *popolo* (equated with the city), civic assemblies, and the Five, but also to detailed decisions by them concerning the organization of military matters and of the grain supply and about the ease of the citizens' physical and mental suffering. Also present, though less frequent, were descriptions of internal taxes, findings of civil law judges, appraisals of fixed property for apportioning taxes, and the administration of the *contado*. Externally, the chronicles featured the civic leaders appointing general hosts against their neighbors and entrusting syndics with embassies to the monarchs for awards and for the implementation of peace. The Aquilan writers did not confine their descriptions to the commune but also showed Lalle as *signore* directing rebuilding after the earthquake, Bonagiunta as faction leader arranging for the import of grain, Rinaldo Orsini as governor defeating Bartolomeo's attack, Antonuccio as patron in leading the city's defense against Sforza, Lordino, and Braccio, and almost all the Camponeschi leading Aquilan forces in attacks beyond the city.

In these electoral, military, and administrative acts the Aquilan leaders were generally not found wanting, except for reasons beyond their control. Assemblies met as intended and decisions were made, commanders directed the Aquilan troops and civilian defenders, and civic officials relied on institutional history in rationing grain. The chroniclers refrained from suggesting that the leaders did not consult the citizens frequently enough, that the commanders did not develop the appropriate strategy, or that grain shortages

reflected inadequate planning. Failure was attributed to the enemy having larger numbers, to L'Aquila's royal captains being weak, or to the extremity of famine. Civic government functioned as it was supposed to.

It seems unlikely that such a positive form of rule existed in reality. Explanation for this idyllic depiction doubtless lies in the chroniclers' desire for civic unity. Being an Aquilan meant belonging to a political community, the collectivity. Evidence is found in the writers rarely naming the communal leaders or magistrates before the fifteenth century and then not distinguishing between them in decision-making.⁹¹⁷ The chroniclers named only a limited number of other citizens, who received prominence in being entitled to honor as syndics, military commanders, and standard-bearers or implicitly to shame as participants in factionalism.⁹¹⁸ They saw the principal role of the Camponeschi as taking charge of the city's forces. There was never any hint that the citizens did not perform their part by participating fully in the electoral process, the militia, the bringing of provisions from the *contado*, and the clearance of debris after an earthquake. Nor did the writers identify L'Aquila with other Abruzzese cities, except when describing common suffering at the hands of the mercenaries. They referred to participation in regional leagues only twice (against Amatrice and the duke of Taranto), and frequently showed

⁹¹⁷ Nicola dell'Isola in Buccio; the Five in the Anonymous every two months, in Francesco five times, and in Vincenzo three times.

⁹¹⁸ By my count, Buccio named four syndics, two commanders, eight members of the Camponeschi and Pretatti, ten members of factions, and the bishop, his procurator, a rabble rouser, and a grain agent; Antonio named ten syndics, five members of the Camponeschi and Pretatti, four members of factions, and the bishop, Buccio, an appointee to the Roman senate, two representatives of the *contado*, and two rivals seeking patronage; Niccolò named a commander, six members of the Camponeschi and Pretatti, a faction member, and the bishop and Buccio; Donadei named three syndics, one Camponesco, and four Aquilan new doctors of law; the Anonymous named five members of the Camponeschi, a commander, and four standard-bearers; Francesco named fourteen syndics, two members of the Camponeschi, a carpenter, and three imprisoned; Alessandro named four men responsible for building work on the chapel of S. Bernardino, two procurators for donations, and seven "principal citizens" dead from fever; and Vincenzo named several dead from factionalism.

the Aquilans attacking the towns of the Mountain, Rieti, and Sulmona. Instead, the chroniclers focused on the city's political fault-lines and on the responsibility of the monarchs and their agents to help to maintain good government. While they depicted immense suffering from the "great earthquakes" of 1315, 1349, 1398, 1423, 1456, 1461-2, and 1498, these images also represented recurring and dramatic metaphors for civic insecurity.⁹¹⁹

The chroniclers presented threats to civic welfare as coming from many different directions, which indicated that the Aquilans had to be very alert. Besides describing dire threats to civic peace arriving from the groupings that he treated as outsiders, Buccio revealed the citizens' exposure to divine punishment from their inclinations to wrongful behavior (their raids on Machilone and Amatrice and their collaboration with the factions). His sonnets in 1338-62 also warned against the undermining of the common good by councilors' malicious oratory, lack of integrity, and impositions of outrageous taxes. Antonio showed consistency with Buccio by adopting a similar moral approach in writing: "I wish to follow all the events of our city, how harm is known by our wickedness and how it has great need of good citizens".⁹²⁰ In addition to describing external threats from mercenaries and exiles, he indicated his concern by employing the

⁹¹⁹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 75, v240: "*granni terramuti*" and p.253, v808: "*granne terramuto*"; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 861: "*granne Terremoto*" and p.870: "*uno terremoto, e granne*"; Francesco d'Angeluccio, "Cronaca," p.894: "*granne terramuto*" and p.902: "*uno terramuto grande tanto*"; Vincenzo Basili, "Cronaca" 74: "*un terremoto grandissimo*." Insecurity was heightened by being in revolt in 1398 and 1461-2, under *signoria* in 1349, and under siege in 1423.

⁹²⁰ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 711, v7: "*vollio secotare Tutti li comenenti della nostra Citade, E como ene male connotta per nostra malvagitate, E de boni Cittadini ave gran necessitate*."

terms “good government,” “communal well-being,” and “tyranny” on nine separate occasions with regard to the internal administration.⁹²¹

Nevertheless, Antonio’s use of these terms seems rather formulaic and conceals the complex effects on the citizens of the rivalry between the Camponeschi and the Pretatti (in exile from 1343) that the narrations frequently described during a fifty year period beginning in the 1330s, and between the Camponeschi and other factions thereafter. During the factional crisis Buccio did not describe dissension within the civic council or attempts by officials to reconcile the faction leaders. Rather, the subsequent misappropriations of civic funds and the violence within L’Aquila implied that its institutions were soon overwhelmed. The author placed the blame, not on the inadequacies of communal government (expressed by some writers as slowness in reaching decisions, unpredictability, and lack of secrecy)⁹²² or on the unwillingness of the people to confront the factions, but on the greed of the faction leaders and the short-sightedness of their followers (“sin has blinded you so much”).⁹²³ Buccio and Antonio presented the issues as not simply about the desire for the maintenance of peace but what this meant in practice. They discussed whether peace could coexist without justice, whether a *signore* retained his status when he failed to keep his promises of peace and reconciliation that underpinned it, whether the exiles acquired legitimacy by aligning themselves with a claimant to the throne, and whether after almost forty years the citizens

⁹²¹ Ibid., 740, v226: “*lu bono statu*”; p.747, v279: “*bono stato*”; p.770, v481: “*lu bono statu*”; p.790, v652: “*bono stato*”; p.794, v686: “*Se lu Comuno fosse bono*”; p.723, v103: “*per bene de Comuno*”; p.761, v396: “*tiranni*”; Gelmini, “Antonio,” 54, IV.3: “*bono stato*” and 56, IV.10: “*senza tirannare*.”

⁹²² Waley, *Italian City-Republics*, 165.

⁹²³ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 130, sonnet I: “*cotanto lu peccato vi à acecati*.”

should restore property to the exiles who were readmitted to the city but made no promises about peace and reconciliation.

A tendency that acted as a guide in the chronicles was the city's wide-spread but not always consistent respect for the Camponeschi. The writers' admiration for the family began with Buccio's and Antonio's descriptions that its members pursued goals that also benefited the citizens (Lalle I's re-building, Lalle II's attempts to halt the raids on the *contado* by the Pretatti, both leading local forces in royal service).⁹²⁴ The two authors even subsumed the family within the term "Aquilans." Like them, the chroniclers Niccolò, Francesco, and Alessandro portrayed the citizens bestowing honor on the Camponeschi. After 1342 internal discontent with the family was explicit only in 1391 and 1414 and in each case for less than a year. It may, however, have also been implied in 1407-14, when Donadei noted that the Camponeschi had withdrawn from the city, and in Niccolò's opening comment that Buccio had written "certain sonnets," by which he may have alluded to the continued relevance of his predecessor's warnings.⁹²⁵

Thus a long tradition of respect for the Camponeschi was already in place in 1378 when the eighty-seven year war within the Angevin house and between it and the Aragonese compelled the Aquilans to choose sides. A sign that the chroniclers found the resulting conditions highly unstable is that depictions of decisions by the civic government were

⁹²⁴ In Buccio, Lalle I also benefited the citizens by supporting participants in the crusade and visit to Rome for the jubilee, preparing civic defenses against Fra Moriale, engaging in diplomacy, summoning councils, and implicitly maintaining finances to the advantage of the guilds. Depiction of these activities supports the argument that "the commune and the *signoria* shade into each other" in Waley, *Italian City-Republics*, 172; Jones, *Italian City-State*, 647.

⁹²⁵ Discontent was depicted in Niccolò in 1382, in Donadei's antipathy in 1407 and 1414, and in references to new opposing factions and exiles after the end of the Pretatti as a threat in 1383 (the Orsini in at least 1390-2, exiles in 1423-4, and disturbances in 1476); Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 853: "*certi sonitti*."

now mostly of a military nature (maintaining defenses, authorizing raids, deciding to revolt or surrender).⁹²⁶ The writers specified that the Camponeschi family, who were the city's natural commanders, determined the city's changes in allegiance or were prominent in such decisions in 1381, 1382, 1415, 1416, 1423, and 1460, as well as in 1346 and probably also in 1395-1401 and in 1435-42. It seems that Niccolò found this situation awkward, whereas Buccio had often embraced the commune's decisions by writing in the first person and Antonio did so at times, Niccolò showed greater distance by using the third person. When Ferrante removed the Camponeschi in 1485 and 1490, Francesco and Alessandro clearly expressed the sense of civic loss. Even in afterlife the family retained an aura, as Vincenzo described Ludovico Franchi combining the city's *signoria* with the old family title, count of Montorio, in 1496 in an unsuccessful attempt to contain renewed factionalism.

At certain moments the chroniclers resorted to silence, which can be interpreted in different ways. John Dotson believed that in Genoa Caffaro's silence on contentious issues implied that he feared exacerbating ill-feeling by pointing to specific problems.⁹²⁷ It is possible that the same applied to Niccolò, who left narrative gaps during the city's revolts in the 1390s. But genuine uncertainty as to what was the 'proper' course for the city seems at least as likely. Buccio's silence on events in the first city between 1254 and

⁹²⁶ Exceptions were, in Antonio, erecting a place of torture at the bishop's palace (v494), having figures of the Pretatti hung upside down at the gates (v526), imposing internal taxes (v762), choosing sixteen citizens to judge Ceccantonio (v898) and choosing syndics (Gelmini, "Antonio," 54, IV.3); in Niccolò, honoring Louis of Anjou and Louis II (pp.857-8), the count on his marriage (p.868), and the papal viceroy after Braccio's defeat (p.876); in Francesco, honoring duke John on his visit (p.904), imposing internal taxes (p.905), choosing syndics (p.906), minting golden ducats (p.916), having the communal bell re-cast (p.923); in Alessandro, ordering building work on the dome of St Bernardino's sanctuary (p.238); in Vincenzo honoring Federigo and the duke of Amalfi (pp. 75, 81).

⁹²⁷ Dotson, "Genoese Civic Annals," 59.

1259 and in the second city between 1275 and 1292 is also puzzling. If the city faced attacks by the feudatories or if there were internal disputes, comments about them would have fitted in well with his themes of tyranny and civic unity. Perhaps he was still learning the job of chronicle-writing and being selective about what he inserted until he was an eye-witness. More easily explained is Buccio's reticence about how Lalle operated his *signoria* in conjunction with the civic commune, which the regents' letters in 1343-4 and Buccio himself in 1351 indicated as still in existence. Evidently, he did not wish to give Lalle's unlawful *signoria* any patina of respect by associating it with his model, the commune.

The Aquilan chroniclers' criticisms of the faction leaders for the internal crisis in the decade from 1336 and at periodic intervals thereafter can be compared to those by writers elsewhere in the *Regno* and Sicily. Writing during the Hungarian wars when he was forced into exile, Domenico da Gravina blamed the city's moderates for his suffering.⁹²⁸ In Sicily the chroniclers sought social explanations for the island's tendency towards disintegration. The *Annales siculi* expressed antipathy to the feudatories, Bartolomeo di Neocastro condemned Pietro Ruffo's *signoria* for having rested for support on the common people, and Michele da Piazza was roused to anger to see the rise of individuals from the humblest classes.⁹²⁹

But the theme of factionalism as crisis was at least as prevalent in northern Italy. In Genoa in the twelfth century Caffaro defined the purpose of history as to instruct the

⁹²⁸ Zabbia, *I notai*, 131.

⁹²⁹ Pispisa, "L'immagine," 94, 102; Fasoli, *Cronache*, 61.

citizens in the successes that they achieved while working together and to warn them of the dangers of internal division or indifference.⁹³⁰ In Florence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries Dino Compagni and Giovanni Villani each maintained an idea of the commune that differed from reality and identified examples from the past of good government and of concern for the common well-being (*bene comune*).⁹³¹ In particular, Compagni illuminated the search for allies by powerful families in his account of the animosity between the Donati and the Cerchi around 1300,⁹³² and Villani, who “possessed a strong sense of the fragility of human happiness and success,”⁹³³ had a concept of history that put “in first place, the authority of the commune”.⁹³⁴ Also, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in Padua Rolandino described the replacement of liberty and justice by the tyranny of Ezzelino da Romano, which he attributed to the instability of the communal institutions, and Albertino Mussato warned against the undermining of the commune by unrestrained individual appetites and the threat of Cangrande della Scala,⁹³⁵ Riccobaldo of Ferrara promoted the duty of the city’s government to maintain civic liberty against the Este, and denounced the weaknesses and

⁹³⁰ Dotson, John. “The Genoese Civic Annals: Caffaro and his Continuator” in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 58.

⁹³¹ De Matteis, Maria Consiglio. “La coscienza della crisi comunale nei cronisti del ’300” in G. Zanella, ed. *Storici e storiografia del medioevo italiano* (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1984), 262, 271.

⁹³² Najemy, John M. *A History of Florence 1200-1575* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2006), 25.

⁹³³ Clarke, Paula. “The Villani Chronicles” in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 121; Green, Louis. *Chronicle into History. An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-Century Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 7: “for Giovanni Villani all issues referred back to the ever-present question of right and wrong.”

⁹³⁴ Porta, Giuseppe. “Giovanni Villani” in *Quattordicesimo convegno di studi. Il senso della storia nella cultura medievale italiana (1100-1350) – Pistoia, 14-17 maggio 1993* (Pistoia: Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d’arte Pistoia, 1995), 135.

⁹³⁵ Bortolami, Sante. “Rolandino” in *Il senso della storia*, 70-1, 79-80 – Rolandino covered 1200-60.

errors of the city's nobility;⁹³⁶ and the Anonymous Roman reflected on strong ideological tensions at the time of Cola di Rienzo.⁹³⁷

The Aquilan chroniclers' inconsistency towards the Camponeschi (Buccio changed his mind about Lalle I, Antonio and Niccolò respected them but were not partisan, Donadei hated them, and Francesco and Alessandro were more strongly in favor) finds resonance in mixed attitudes towards lords in writings in northern Italy. Galvano Fiamma offered little criticism of the Visconti, but Pietro Azario was more nuanced in seeing them as far from perfect but their opponents as much worse.⁹³⁸ In Florence Marchionne di Coppo Stefani condemned Walter of Brienne's reliance on woolworkers, while in Mantua Andrea Schivenoglia admired the Gonzaga, in Bologna Giacomo dal Poggio dedicated his work to Annibale Bentivoglio, and in Perugia Pietro Angelo di Giovagnie described magistrates' elections as well as lavish palace receptions under the Baglioni.⁹³⁹

The final leg to the political tradition in L'Aquila's chronicles, the extent to which the city found support in its relationship with the crown, is the most surprising. Between the extinction of the first L'Aquila and the gradual crushing of the second, the chroniclers portrayed mutual and balanced cooperation between the city and the Angevin monarchs. Consistent features of it were the monarchs providing competent captains who acted to

⁹³⁶ Vasina, Augusto. "Riccobaldo" in *Il senso della storia*, 95-6 – covering civic origins to 1270.

⁹³⁷ Miglio, Massimo. "Anonimo romano" in *Il senso della storia*, 187 – Cola ruled 1344-54. Also Bonifacio da Verona (covering 1150-1293) affirmed the values of the *popolo* in the way that he depicted the struggles of Perugia's guilds, who represented civic government, against the local magnates - Galletti, Anna Imelde. "Considerazioni per una interpretazione dell'Eulisteia" in *Archivio storico italiano*, 128 (1970): 309-310; Antonio Godi (1350-1438) expressed regret that the citizens of Vicenza did not long for the common good - Zabbia, *I notai*, 73.

⁹³⁸ Dale, Sharon. "Fourteenth-Century Lombard Chronicles" in Dale, Williams Lewin, and Osheim, *Chronicling History*, 173, 184.

⁹³⁹ Najemy, *Florence*, 180; Cochrane, *Historians*, 102, 106, 126.

the city's benefit and the citizens following their orders, in building L'Aquila's infrastructure, organizing its defenses, and implementing justice. Less frequently, there was mention of royal awards and the supply of grain, when requested. The close relationship was present even in extreme situations, since the monarchs assisted the city when its survival was at risk and the Aquilans gave financial, military and provisioning help when the monarchs were most desperate. Vivid examples of the Aquilans' loyalty appeared in them enduring extensive physical and financial suffering in support of Joanna I in Buccio and Antonio and of Joanna II in Niccolò and the Anonymous. Displays of civic loyalty to the Angevins were often evident in references to banners, loyal cries, and expressions of admiration and occasionally in national awareness.

The bond with the Angevins did not mean that the chroniclers felt constrained from depicting civic acts that were in breach of royal law, from criticizing the monarchs, or from viewing L'Aquila as dependent on royal goodwill. The clearest descriptions of unlawful acts were the city's frequent revolts at times in 1346-8, 1381-3, 1395-1401, 1415-16, and 1423 and, during periods of national stability, L'Aquila's raids on its neighbors and its internal disorder. In a sign of a healthy relationship, the chroniclers often felt empowered to object expressly to royal behavior towards the city that they did not consider 'proper': Charles II's and Robert's penalties and appointments of 'bad' captains, Robert's sale of justice, Louis's slowness in acting against the mercenaries, Joanna I's allowing a captain to stay in office for three years, Charles III's indirect tax, Ladislaus's citadel, and Joanna II's grants of the city to favorites and tardiness in sending relief. This habit of criticism continued into the Aragonese and Spanish reigns when the

chroniclers used terms that were unprecedented in harshness to describe the crown's oppression. But, when the monarchs were unresponsive, the writers showed that the Aquilans were still able to call on the papacy for help, as seen before the city's foundation and during its oppression by those classical tyrants – the feudatories, Braccio, and Ferrante.

As a result, the Aquilan chroniclers defined the city's bond with the Angevins in their own terms but not in an arbitrary way. It made sense to the writers to portray the citizens giving priority to L'Aquila's interests, while not overly straining its ties with the dynasty. This can be seen in the ways that the chroniclers attempted to temper the focus on the unlawful civic acts that they described. In the revolts the aspect that concerned Buccio and Niccolò the most was the degree of harm to the citizens by royal agents in retaliation. The absence of express reasons for the city's rebellions (though at times implicitly linked to the influence of the Camponeschi) suggests that the writers were uncomfortable with the idea of revolt and preferred to see the Aquilans as sturdy defenders or as victims. In peacetime Buccio called the raids on Machilone and Amatrice "sinful" for the manner of the attacks rather than unlawful for going beyond civic boundaries, which he implied was acceptable. Buccio and Antonio also portrayed internal disorder as contrary to civic well-being but not as illegal, by describing its impact and by questioning the ways that the monarchs intervened. Also, the criticism of the monarchs that the chroniclers issued found justification in an ideal of 'proper' conduct that they seemed to draw from morality. Further evidence of the bond's strength appeared in the inhabitants exercising recourse to the papacy only in the most extreme situations and preserving loyalty to the

Angevins (now pretenders) and their French successors for almost a century after Joanna II's death.

The long civil war was, of course, a difficult time for the chroniclers to present, but their notions of good government were clear in certain respects. During Lewis's second invasion Buccio praised Lalle I for not involving L'Aquila. In 1355-67 Buccio and Antonio portrayed the citizens and the crown as acting towards the same goal of removing the foreign mercenaries who aided the monarchs' opponents. In 1379, in deliberating which claimant to support, Antonio seemed to turn to the foundation as a guide: "The voice of the people sometimes sleeps, and is silent, and when it wakes up much fear is made. Every man will open his ears when they rebel for their good government".⁹⁴⁰ At each revolt, civic determination implicitly had to take into account that the city's exiles would be empowered through alignment with the royal opponent, since the writers frequently mentioned such joint attacks. When the city came under assault, the chroniclers depicted the Aquilans recognizing their duty to unite and defend the city (despite any prior internal differences with the Camponeschi), since the defenders were in Buccio "our citizens" and in Niccolò "all the people of L'Aquila" and "the people" during the sieges in 1347, 1383, and 1415.⁹⁴¹ The issue of what civic conduct was 'proper' was more acute when the claimant supported by the Aquilans lost. The chroniclers found it important to signify that the Aquilans accepted the monarch, by recording them raising his or her banner, holding festivities for Charles III in Antonio,

⁹⁴⁰ Antonio di Buccio, "Delle cose," 790, vv651-2: *"la voce del populu alcuna volta dorme, e tace, e quando se revellia assai temere se face. Onne omo aprera le recchie... quando se rebellano per loro bono stato."*

⁹⁴¹ De Matteis, *Buccio*, 222, v702: *"li nostri cittadini"*; Niccolò di Borbona, "Cronaca," 857: *"tutto il popolo d'Aquila"*, p.864: *"El Populu."*

and praising Ladislaus in Niccolò. Buccio and Niccolò were then uncertain how to describe civic attitudes towards the monarch and the Camponeschi. Buccio expressed ambivalence about Louis and Joanna after their return but favored Lalle, and Niccolò was silent on the acts of both Ladislaus and the Camponeschi in the city in the twelve years after the building of the citadel.

The Aquilan chronicles were almost unique in the *Regno* in the way that they depicted the city's balanced relationship with the Angevins. Only the *Annales siculi* depicted civic collaboration with the monarchy, but that chronicle, which envisaged Messina joining with Charles I against the feudatories, ended immediately after his victory at Benevento.⁹⁴² In earlier chronicles where cities were more than reference points, Falco of Benevento denounced Roger II, the *Epistola* opposed Henry VI's invasion, Peter of Eboli saw only the nobles as the sovereign's ideal interlocutors, and Riccardo of San Germano disassociated himself from Frederick II.⁹⁴³ Among the Aquilan writers' contemporaries, Domenico located the reasons for Gravina's misfortunes in royal misconduct; Caracciolo-Carafa, though relying on the Angevins for providing the cultural tools and the conditions for conceiving the chronicle, mostly described events before their arrival; Michele da Piazza, while looking for unity around the person of the king, attributed the king's failure to contain feudal anarchy to his minority and later to his ineptness; and Bartolomeo di Neocastro proposed cooperation just between the noble classes and the monarchy.⁹⁴⁴

⁹⁴² Pispisa, "L'immagine," 93-4.

⁹⁴³ Brown, "Norman Sicily," 198; Pispisa, "L'immagine," 67, 73, 79.

⁹⁴⁴ Domenico - Zabbia, *I notai*, 125, 133; Caracciolo-Carafa - Kelly, *Cronaca di Partenope*, 50; Michele - Fasoli, *Cronache*, 54, 70; Bartolomeo - *ibid.*, 102.

History-writing in the *Regno* after Alfonso's accession centered mostly on the person of the king. Just as humanists followed Seneca in developing the theme of princely virtues,⁹⁴⁵ the six Neapolitan chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries identified the city of Naples, on which they focused, with the entire kingdom.⁹⁴⁶ This development has been seen as a consequence of the very rapid demographic and political growth of the capital from the mid-fifteenth century.⁹⁴⁷ Domenico DeLello of Gaeta, in exile, also wrote about the king, Ferrante, but in opposition. Unlike the Aquilan chroniclers of this era who paid significant attention to the city's relationship with the monarchy, the few other writers outside Naples wrote exclusively on events in their cities: Aversa (Silvestro Guarino), Amalfi (Giacomo Gallo), and Nardò (Angelo Tafuri).⁹⁴⁸ The insularity of these writings suggests the obscurity of the cities that they described. A foreign historian, Pandolfo Collenuccio of Pesaro, who studied the *Regno* in 1498, reached the same determination as the Aquilan chroniclers that the greatest political problem of the age was the problem of "good government." But, in order to explain how the kingdom had become the "sorrow of Italy," he used terms familiar to the Aquilans in the opposite way, locating the reasons in the unfounded claims of the Angevins and in the interference of the papacy.⁹⁴⁹

⁹⁴⁵ Stacey, Peter. *Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 185 – beginning with Panormita on Alfonso.

⁹⁴⁶ Senatore, Francesco. "Fonti documentarie e costruzione della notizia nelle cronache cittadine dell'Italia meridionale (secoli xv-xvi)." *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, 116 (2014): 284-5 – two anonymous Neapolitans (on 1488-1556 and on the kingdom's origins to 1535), Ferraiolo (on 1494-8), Notar Giacomo (on the city's origins to 1511), Giuliano Passero (on the kingdom's origins to 1526), and Gaspare Fuscolillo (on the kingdom's origins to 1571).

⁹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 285.

⁹⁴⁸ Cochrane, *Historians*, 146 – DeLello wrote in 1481, Guarino on 1492-1501, Gallo on 1494-6.

⁹⁴⁹ On Collenuccio, see *ibid.*, 156 and Melfi, Eduardo. "Collenuccio, Pandolfo." *Dizionario*, 27 (1982) – he also blamed "quarrelsome feudatories."

Beyond the *Regno*, even in the writings of self-governing city-states, chroniclers found it necessary to depict the city's relationship with its overriding power. This could be positive, as a source of patronage or a solution to internal discord. In Florence praise of the emperor appeared in Giovanni Villani on the coming to Italy of Henry VII, and in Matteo Villani on the arrival and coronation of Charles IV.⁹⁵⁰ In Piacenza, Giovanni Musso celebrated the local nobility's titles as originating with Charlemagne.⁹⁵¹ In the Veneto, Rolandino marked the instability of local society as dating from Barbarossa's withdrawal by the Peace of Constance, and Albertino Mussato proposed civic submission to Henry VII.⁹⁵² Alternatively, the relationship with the overriding power could be the subject of criticism for undesired interference. In Florence, Giovanni Villani shifted position on Angevin claims to overlordship. In 1326 he showed admiration for Charles of Calabria (Robert's son) by naming his entire retinue on his entry into the city following its award of emergency powers to him. Two years later Villani, citing his position as communal auditor, complained about Charles's huge spending.⁹⁵³ In Milan, Galvano Fiamma praised Henry VII, but questioned the justness of Ludwig the Bavarian's war against the city and even the legitimacy of his election as emperor.⁹⁵⁴ Pietro Azario accused Charles IV of "massive errors of judgment" in transferring the vicariates of Novara and Pavia from the Visconti to the marquis of Monferrato.⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁵⁰ Green, *Chronicle into History*, 63-65.

⁹⁵¹ Racine, Pierre. "Mythes et mémoires dans les familles nobles de Plaisance" in *Il senso della storia*, 338.

⁹⁵² Bortolami, Sante. "Rolandino" in *Il senso della storia*, 71; Cochrane, *Historians*, 66.

⁹⁵³ For Villani's comments on Charles, see Najemy, *Florence*, 122-3.

⁹⁵⁴ Dale, "Lombard Chronicles," 175. Besides Fiamma, Giovanni de Cermenate of Milan and Ferreto de' Ferreti of Vicenza focused on Henry VII's arrival in 1310-14 - Capitani, "Motivi e momenti," 791-2.

⁹⁵⁵ Dale, "Lombard Chronicles," 180.

Even in subject cities that were quite subservient to republics or *signorie*, chroniclers showed awareness of their dominant powers in expressing gratitude for ending civic strife (Ravenna, Gubbio), for protection against external aggressors (Piacenza, Ancona, Treviso, Modena), or for receiving privileges (Asti).⁹⁵⁶ At the same time these writings exhibited only limited civic consciousness, as did works about cities that were very close to the capital.⁹⁵⁷ It is tempting, therefore, to seek a connection between the complexity of chronicle-writing and the degree of autonomy that subject cities negotiated in their relationships with their overriding powers. But, the revisionist current against correlating historiography with political status can be extended to this area as well, since variability was potentially so great relating to a writer's involvement, a chronicle's diffusion and survival, and a city's cultural environment. Otherwise we could explain why on the one hand chronicle-writing ceased or never started in cities forced to become almost totally subservient but also in cities that enjoyed a measure of autonomy, and on the other hand why full chronicles appeared in some self-governing city-states but not in certain cities that were independent well into the fourteenth century.⁹⁵⁸

That said, the Aquilan chronicles had some similarities with those of three subject cities, Perugia, Bologna, and Brescia, in the depiction of a collaborative relationship with the overriding power and of criticism of it when it did not act 'properly.' In Perugia, Pietro Angelo di Giovagnie reported the arrival of briefs from and the dispatch of embassies to

⁹⁵⁶ Cochrane, *Historians*, 89-133.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid. - Como, Monza, Cremona, Novara, Viterbo, Pistoia, Treviso.

⁹⁵⁸ Based on descriptions of chronicles in *ibid.*: subservient – ceased (Pisa, Padua, Amalfi, Bari, Arezzo, Verona) or never started (many cities in south and Savoy-Piedmont); limited autonomy – ceased (Parma, Reggio) or never started (Cosenza, Barletta, Capua); self-governing – full (Florence, Venice, Genoa, Siena); self-governing – none (Assisi, Montepulciano, Prato).

Rome, but Bonifacio of Verona described friction concerning the behavior of the papal rectors.⁹⁵⁹ In Bologna, Matteo Griffoni lamented papal weakness when the Visconti's temporary annexation of the city brought more war and higher taxes, and later writers complained about the pope removing the Bentivoglio.⁹⁶⁰ In Brescia, Elia Capriolo, like earlier local chroniclers, celebrated the city's loyalty to Venice, even when the Sforza besieged it, but in 1509 he expressed regret that the Venetians, who refrained from defending Brescia against the French, had fallen short of the virtues of their ancestors.⁹⁶¹ An explanation for the portrayal of this relationship and criticism in the three cities might be that, like the Aquilans, the citizens enjoyed space owing to the weakness of the overriding power (in papal Perugia and Bologna) or due to the distance from the capital and the proximity to the border (in Venetian Brescia). Other reasons might be a reflection of the prestige of the Baglioni and the Bentivoglio in Perugia and Bologna (like that of the Camponeschi in L'Aquila), of the university in Bologna, and of the divine protection granted by the holy objects in Brescia's safe-keeping.⁹⁶²

The effect of humanism on history-writing in these cities was, as elsewhere, its organization around a new single theme, including by panegyric and biography, alongside the at times reduced frequency of chronicles. A panegyric served to legitimate or promote a particular regime, as with Leonardo Bruni's on Florence and as in some works in earlier centuries but then with less rich language. In Brescia, local humanists in

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid., 126; Galletti, "Eulisteia," 317.

⁹⁶⁰ Cochrane, *Historians*, 104.

⁹⁶¹ Bowd, Stephen D. *Venice's Most Loyal City. Civic Identity in Renaissance Brescia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 4, 34-9. The chronicle tradition in Brescia of loyalty to Venice began soon after Venice obtained it in 1426 with the councilor Giacomo Malvezzi, followed by the city chancellor, and a number of notaries and councilors, including Capriolo, into the sixteenth century (p.34).

⁹⁶² Brescia - ibid., 42; Perugia and Bologna - Cochrane, *Historians*, 106, 126;.

the later fifteenth century described episodes that had gone unrecorded in contemporary chronicles and mentioned only in passing by Capriolo (the appearance of the patron saints in armor in 1438-40 that enabled the city to be preserved for Venetian rule against a Visconti siege).⁹⁶³ In Perugia, a new theme appeared in the work of Giovanni Antonio Campano, a humanist and resident since 1452 under the protection of the Baglioni. In 1458 he wrote a favorable life of Braccio da Montone, emphasizing the individuality of the *condottiere* and seeking to refute charges of his impiety.⁹⁶⁴ As an implicit rebuttal of Campano, in the later fifteenth century the work of the first Aquilan humanist, Angelo Fonticulano, celebrated the war at L'Aquila against Braccio, elaborating in prose on a poem in hexameters in Latin by Leonardo Griffi of Milan that has been described as having more literary than historic value.⁹⁶⁵

Thus in Italian historiography L'Aquila's chronicles offer a meaningful basis of comparison for continuity in narrations about a city, a restricted theme, and political topics with emphasis on the city's foundation, effective leadership, communal crisis, and, above all, the negotiation of its relationship with its overriding power. Most remarkable were the consistent depictions over a century and a half of an even balance in L'Aquila's relationship with the Angevins that disappeared under their successors. Thereafter, the chroniclers showed increasing interference by the monarchs who, on the other hand, wanted nothing from the citizens except funds. Symptomatic of an Aquilan decline in

⁹⁶³ Bowd, *Brescia*, 41.

⁹⁶⁴ Hausmann, Frank Rutger. "Campano, Giovanni Antonio." *Dizionario*, 17 (1974); Giovanni Antonio Campano. "Bracii Perusini vita et gesta" in R. Valentini, ed. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, (Bologna, 1929), 19, 1-206.

⁹⁶⁵ De Matteis, *Quattrocento letterario*, 123; Angelo Fonticulano. "De bello Bracciano Aquilae gesto" in F. Vivio, ed. *Sylva communium opinionum doctorum utriusque censurae in tres libros distinctae* (L'Aquila: apud Iosephum Cacchium, 1582); Leonardo Griffi. "De Conflictu Brachii Perusini armorum ductoris apud Aquilam poema" in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, 1751), 25, 465-478.

influence was Francesco showing that Ferrante thought that he did not need the city's military contribution by summoning its commander, Pier Lalle Camponesco, only for the purpose of attending his daughter's wedding.⁹⁶⁶ The culmination of the Aquilan chronicle tradition was Vincenzo's entry in 1529 recording that, after the imperial general seized all of the city's church silver, he turned over the responsibility for securing the balance of the one hundred thousand ducat penalty to his "German tax-collectors".⁹⁶⁷ If for the citizens the officials' nationality was a reminder of that of the Staufens and of the abuse suffered by the Aquilans' ancestors under them, it helps to explain why Buccio's chronicle survived, acting, as it did, as a reminder that tyrants would pass and that there was hope of beneficent governance in the future.

⁹⁶⁶ Francesco d'Angeluccio, "Cronaca," 916.

⁹⁶⁷ Vincenzo Basilio da Collebrincioni, "Cronaca," 88: *"esattori li Todeschi."*

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