Catiline in Fiesole and Florence: The After-life of a Roman Conspirator

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The story of Catiline, the Roman noble who plotted to overthrow the Roman Republic in 63 B.C., occupies a significant place in Florentine historiography and political thought of the later Middle Ages and early Renaissance. Starting with the *Chronica de origine civitatis* (ca. 1228), this article traces the sources of the medieval account back to the ancient epitomes and investigates its relation to Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*. It then describes the two branches or traditions of the story that developed in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: (1) the classical or civic, which centered on the figure of Catiline-the-villain, rebel and enemy of Rome (and of Rome's daughter-city Florence) and (2) the feudal or chivalric, which recounted the legendary adventures of Catiline-the-knight, protector of Fiesole, the rival of Florence. In the final sections of the article, attention focuses on the success of the classical version of the story, linked to Guelf *ambienti* and, in turn, to the growth of a conservative republican ideology. While the celebration of Roman civic virtues, summed up in Cicero's defense of the *res publica* against the rebel Catiline, legitimated and ennobled the claims of the rising merchant and banking families, the vilification of Catiline as public enemy provided effective propaganda against new challenges from lower-class movements. Continuously present in the elaboration of Florentine "civic humanism," Sallust's story of Catiline supplies, in fact, an important connection between Guelf patriotism and the classicizing republicanism of the Quattrocento.[1]

> The discontented shade of Catiline, dressed in the consular toga, haunts Florentine history. It is not hard to imagine some of his cohorts surviving in the Pistoiese hills, fathering children from whose seed would spring the fierce factions of medieval Tuscany.
>
> (Mary McCarthy, *The Stones of Florence*)[2]

The Roman patrician L. Sergius Catilina was indeed a well-known figure in Florentine literature and historiography, certainly from the early thirteenth century onwards.

1. The present study has developed out of a paper prepared with Robert W. Ulery, Jr. and presented at the meeting of the Renaissance Society of America "Florence 2000," 22 March 2000. I would like to thank Robert Ulery for his contributions to the discussion of the classical sources of the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, and Alison Brown, Lorenzo Fabbri, John Najemy, and Ronald Witt as well as the Editor of this journal, Wolfgang Haase, for kindly reading subsequent drafts of the essay and making corrections, suggesting improvements, and helping clarify a number of arguments.

2. Mary McCarthy, *The Stones of Florence* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1959; seen in the edition published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York and London [n.d.], 31). The

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His attempted overthrow of the Republic in 63 B.C. during the consulship of Cicero, his subsequent flight to Fiesole and resistance against Rome, and his defeat and death early in the following year in the battle at "Campo Piceno" were recounted in numerous narratives from the *Chronica de origine civitatis* and Giovanni Villani's *Nuova cronica* to Leonardo Bruni's *Historiarum florentini populi libri XII*, and beyond. In the imagination of some storytellers Catiline even survived the battle to embark upon a new career, or careers, as leader of Fiesole against the Romans, progenitor of the Uberti of Florence, and husband or lover of Queen Belisea, widow of the Roman commander Florinus.

A number of scholars have commented on the story of Catiline in connection with early Florentine historiography and political thought. Nicolai Rubinstein and, later, Alberto Del Monte, Marvin Becker, Donald Weinstein, and others have noted its role in explaining, or inventing an explanation for, the Roman foundation of Florence, the destruction of Florence's rival Fiesole, and the commune's expansionist policy in Tuscany.[3] Charles T. Davis and Quentin Skinner have also recognized the importance of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (the ultimate source for the historical portions of the story) in the emergence of early Florentine, and Italian, "civic humanism," that is, in the development of an ethic of active participation in civic life, combined with the appreciation and study of classical letters.[4] The story of Catiline deserves, in fact, further

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author also summarizes the story of Catiline's conspiracy and flight to Fiesole at the beginning of the preceding chapter (16). The reference to the "seed" of Catiline's children recalls Dante's invective against Pistoia in *Inferno* XXV.10–12: *"Ah Pistoia, Pistoia, che non stanzi // d'incenerarti sì che più non duri, // po' che 'n mal fare il seme tuo avanzi?"* ("Ah Pistoia, Pistoia, why do you not decree to turn yourself to ashes, since you surpass your own seed in evil doing?") *Dante Alighieri. The Divine Comedy*, trans. Charles S. Singleton, *Inferno* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970; 7th printing, 1989).

3. The basic bibliography is summarized in Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), note 7, 501–02 (and following notes) and, more recently, in Thomas Maissen, "Attila, Totila e Carlo Magno fra Dante, Villani, Boccaccio e Malispini. Per la genesi di due leggende erudite," *Archivio storico italiano* 152 (1994): 561–641, notes 1–3. For the significance of the legend of Catiline in the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, I have relied chiefly on Nicolai Rubinstein, "The Beginnings of Political Thought in Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 198–227. Other comments are found in Marvin B. Becker, "Towards a Renaissance Historiography in Florence," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. A. Molho and J. A. Tedeschi (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press; Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1971), 141–71, who observes that the *Chronica* "represented the search of a collectivity for civic identity and historical dignity" (150). See also Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence. Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance*, ch. 1. "The Myth of Florence" (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 27–66.

   The earliest study to focus specifically on the legend and the various phases in its evolution before and after the *Chronica* is Ferdinando Gabotto's "Appunti per la storia della leggenda di Catilina nel Medio Evo," *Gazzetta letteraria* 40 (Turin, 1887): 3–15. Ezio Bolaffi, in *Sallustio e la sua fortuna nei secoli* (Rome: Perrella, 1949), 251–53, summarizes Gabotto's arguments and Alberto Del Monte develops those of Gabotto and Rubinstein in "La storiografia fiorentina dei secoli XII e XIII," *Bullettino dell'Istituto nazionale di studi italiani del Medio Evo* 62 (1950): 175–282. See also Nicola Criniti, *Bibliografia catilinaria*, Scienze storiche 6 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1991).

4. Particulary important to this discussion are Charles T. Davis's essays "Brunetto Latini and Dante" and "Ptolemy of Lucca and the Roman Republic," reprinted in the author's *Dante's*

investigation, for it involves a variety of issues in the reception of Roman history and the development of Florentine ideology: the survival and transmission of classical and late antique authors; the relations between Latin and vernacular cultures; and, above all, the recovery of the "idea of Rome" as both political power and moral authority. Perhaps more than any other episode in Roman history, or at least the history of the late Republic, the story of Catiline acted as a catalyst in blending learned traditions with local tales of the Tuscan cities and in popularizing the knowledge of Sallust and Cicero. Moreover, at a time of rapid changes in Florentine society and of bitter political feuding, it could articulate the different, and competing, claims to the legacy of Rome. The figure of Catiline was appropriated and transformed in the interests of commune, families, and factions. As the arch-rebel against Rome, he represented the (real or potential) resistance of Tuscan towns to Florence's territorial expansion and "des-

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Italy and Other Essays (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 166–197 and 254–289, respectively, as well as his other studies cited below. As Davis observes: "It is doubtful whether Sallust ever had so wide and knowledgeable a medieval audience as in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Tuscany" ("Ptolemy of Lucca," *ibid.*, 272). Quentin Skinner has called attention to the importance of Sallust in *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1. *The Renaissance*, chs. 1–3, and in his articles "Machiavelli's *Discorsi* and the Pre-Humanist Origins of Republican Ideas," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, ed. G. Bock, Q. Skinner, and M. Viroli (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 121–41, and "The Vocabulary of Renaissance Republicanism: A Cultural *longue-durée*?" in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. A. Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 87–110. Beryl Smalley surveys Sallust's widespread popularity in medieval historiography in "Sallust in the Middle Ages," in *Classical Influences on European Culture. A.D. 500–1500*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 165–175. As Smalley comments: "Petrarch could reinterpret, but not rediscover what Sallust had made part of the heritage of learning." See also Patricia J. Osmond, "*Princeps Historiae Romanae*: Sallust in Renaissance Political Thought," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995): 101–43, and the article on C. Sallustius Crispus by Patricia J. Osmond and Robert W. Ulery in the forthcoming volume eight of the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, ed. V. Brown (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press), with a comprehensive bibliography and a summary of his *fortuna* from antiquity to early modern times.

The meanings and implications of the term "civic humanism" have been debated since the appearance of Hans Baron's *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955; rev., 1 vol., 1966). While Baron explained civic humanism as a classically-shaped republican ideology that emerged in early Quattrocento Florence in response to the (external) threat of Milanese "tyranny" (and found its most eloquent spokesman in Leonardo Bruni), other historians, notably Rubinstein, Davis, and Skinner, have pointed out the influence of Roman republican thought on historical and political writings of the late Duecento and early Trecento, not only in Florence but also in Padua and other cities. In *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 340–50, John M. Najemy comments on the themes of Baron's collected essays *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). James Hankins discusses the reaction to Baron's work in "The 'Baron Thesis' after Forty Years and some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 (1995): 309–38, and redefines Bruni's civic humanism as "a subtle reinterpretation in oligarchic terms of Florence's traditional republican language" (323).

tined" greatness. With the intensification of domestic strife from the second half of the Duecento, he could portray the allegiances of the (imperial) Ghibelline families or embody, still more convincingly, the spirit of civic discord and violence that exponents of the (papal) Guelf party blamed variously—according to the circumstances and individual loyalties—on the bellicose nature of the Florentines, the excessive ambitions and avarice of the *popolani,* or the fractious leaders of the *grandi.*

A detailed study of the many manuscripts that preserve the stories of Catiline may shed more light on their filiations and on the various strata of composition. But such an inquiry lies beyond the scope of the present survey, and—given the limited evidence and the nature of the early chronicles as "public property"—much of the process of transmission from late antiquity through the Middle Ages will probably remain obscure.[5] Although, for example, it appears that the nucleus of the story as presented in the *Chronica de origine civitatis* was known in the first decades of the Duecento and that the full (or expanded) redaction that has come down to us (in later copies) was completed by 1264, the chronology of the vernacular versions and their relations to the works of Brunetto Latini, Giovanni Villani, (pseudo-) Malispini, and others are still a matter of debate. Relying, nevertheless, on the scholarship to date and on inferences that may be drawn from a comparative study of the narratives themselves, we can delineate two main branches or traditions in the story of Catiline, the classical or civic and the feudal or chivalric.

The *Chronica de origine civitatis*

Let us begin *in mediis rebus* with the *Chronica de origine civitatis*: a point from which we can move backwards to the Latin sources and forward to later vernacular adaptations and neo-Latin accounts. It provides an appropriate starting-point, for it is here that the story of Catiline and Fiesole is linked for the first time to the origins of Florence.[6] Moreover, it is in this period, between the late twelfth century and the early thirteenth, that we find evidence in the increased manuscript production of the *Bellum Catilinae* of a rapidly growing interest in the Sallustian narrative. The *Chronica* itself took shape as a compilation of ancient myths, Roman history, and local legends.[7]

5. The problem is stated succinctly by Charles T. Davis, "Il Buon Tempo Antico (The Good Old Time)," in his *Dante's Italy,* 71–93, at 46: "All these Florentine histories were in a sense public property. Far from being independent and inviolate texts, they were constantly being appropriated, added to, adapted, and revised by other historians and compilers."
6. In what is the earliest study of the legend, Ferdinando Gabotto ("Appunti," note 3 above) distinguished three main phases: (1) the *Chronica de origine civitatis,* Giovanni Villani's *Cronica* and Antonio Pucci's *Centiloquio,* connected, in turn, with the *Faits des Romains* or *Fatti di Cesare,* Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* or *Tesoro,* and Giovanni Boccaccio's *Ameto;* (2) the versions relating the legendary stories of Catiline, including the *Libro fiesolano,* the note in Bosone da Gubbio's *Avventuroso Siciliano,* and the *Cronaca ps.-malispiniana;* and (3) the *Zibaldone* attributed to Antonio Pucci, in which the story of Catiline merges with that of Attila. According to Gabotto, Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* served chiefly to connect the story of the origins of Pistoia with that of Florence, thus laying the basis for the first phase of the legend of Catiline. Although Gabotto's outline is useful identifying the various phases or branches of the legend, he does not consider in any detail the context and implications of the different roles of Catiline.
7. The principal Latin redactions of the *Chronica de origine civitatis,* extant in early fourteenth-century manuscripts, are: Florence, Bibl. Naz., Magliab. II II 67, published by Otto Hartwig

Following a summary of world history from Adam to the birth of Christ, the compiler introduced the story of Catiline, relating briefly the events in Rome (the discovery of his conspiracy "to destroy the commonwealth," his expulsion from Rome, and, in one version, the execution of some of his accomplices) and the subsequent events in Etruria (Catiline's flight to Fiesole and his death in the battle at Campo Piceno against the Roman forces under the command of the consul Antonius).

> . . . . *item tempore nobilissimi generis Catelline civis romani.*
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> *Idem Catellina ad delendam patriam cum quibusdam audacibus viris coniurationem fecit, cum quibus a Cicerone et aliis senatoribus et consulibus urbe expulsi sunt [et quidam eorum socii deprehensi in carcere strangulati sunt]. Predictus vero Catellina et alii expulsi fesulanam civitatem intraverunt et inde Romanis, quantum poterant, resistebant.*
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> *Qua occasione, Antonius senator cum una legione militum romanorum ad eandem civitatem fesulanam properando pervenit. Intellexerunt hec Catellina et sui socij et sequentes ex eadem civitate Fesule exiverunt et versus Alpes Appenninos properabant.*
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> *Et dum hec gererentur, accidit quod predictus Antonius cum dicta militia iret post eos, adiuncti sunt insimul in campo Piceno et ibi inter se acriter pugnaverunt, ita quod Catellina cum suis quasi omnes mortui sunt, paucis remanentibus. Antonius vero vix evasit et cum viginti sociis reversus est Romam luctuosis et victoriosis.*[8]

> . . . likewise, at the time of Catiline, a Roman citizen of most noble birth.
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> The same Catiline conspired with certain reckless men to destroy their country; with them he was expelled from the city by Cicero and other senators and consuls [and certain associates of theirs were caught and strangled in prison]. The aforesaid Catiline and others who had been expelled came to the city of Fiesole and from there resisted the Romans as much as they could.
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> On this occasion the senator Antonius with one legion of Roman soldiers arrived in haste at the same city of Fiesole. Catiline and his allies and

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under the title "Codex Florentinus" in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Florenz*, 1 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1875), 37–63, and Florence, Bibl. Laur., XXIX.8 (the Laurentian *Zibaldone* of Boccaccio), published by Edoardo Alvisi under the title "Antiquarum hystoriarum libellus" in *Il libro delle origini di Fiesole e di Firenze pubblicato su due testi del secolo XIII* (Parma: Tip. Ferrari e Pellegrini, 1895). Alberto Del Monte also published a Vatican Library manuscript, Vat. lat. 5381, under the title "Chronica de quibusdam gestis," in "La storiografia fiorentina dei secoli XII e XIII," in *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano e Archivio muratoriano* 62 (1950): 175–282. A revised edition of Florence, Bibl. Naz. II II 67, with variants from the Laurentian codex, has recently been published by Anna Maria Cesari under the title "Chronica de origine civitatis Florentie" in *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere 'La Colombaria'*, new ser. 44 (1993): 185–253. The two earliest vernacular versions of the *Chronica* were published by Hartwig, *ibid.*, 37–65: Archivi Luccensis Orsucci Ms. O. 40, with the title "Codex Luccensis," and Bibl. Marucelliana, Ms. C. 300, with the title *"Il Libro Fiesolano."*

8. *"De origine civitatis Florentie,"* ed. Cesari, 245–46, ll. 188–205. I have inserted the following phrase from the Laurentian codex after *"expulsi sunt": "et quidam eorum socii deprenhensi in carcere strangulati sunt"* ("and certain associates of theirs were caught and strangled in prison"). (For contributions to the English versions of this and a number of other Latin texts quoted in the article, I would like to thank Nicholas Horsfall and Robert Ulery.)

followers learned of these things, left the city of Fiesole and hastened towards the Appennine mountains.

And while these things were taking place, it happened that the aforesaid Antonius with the said soldiery was going after them, and they clashed with each other at Campo Piceno, and there fought fiercely against each other, so that Catiline and nearly all his men died, only a few of them surviving. Antonius indeed barely escaped and with twenty allies grieving and victorious returned to Rome.

In the aftermath of Catiline's death (as history yields once again to local legends), hostilities resumed between the Romans and the people of Fiesole, and the chronicler relates the murder of the Roman commander Florinus by a party from Fiesole during a surprise nocturnal attack on the Roman camp. Under the next commander, Julius Caesar, Fiesole was captured and destroyed by the Romans, and the new town of Florentia (Fiorenza) established on the site near the Arno where Florinus had been killed. Meanwhile, the town of Pistoia was founded by the survivors of Catiline's army, its name derived, so we are told, from the pestilence that had supposedly broken out after the battle at Campo Piceno.[9]

Even in the first part of the thirteenth century, the story of Catiline was familiar in its essential elements. In a recent study, Thomas Maissen has proposed a specific date in the first half of the year 1228, between the treaty of peace by which the people of Pistoia submitted to the Florentines, and the transfer of the bishropic from Fiesole to Florence: events that marked the growing hegemony of Florence over these parts of Tuscany. Certainly, the judge and notary Sanzanome, author of the first chronicle of Florence (completed by 1231), alludes to the story at the beginning of his *Gesta Florentinorum*, where he writes:

Post mortem Catiline, Cesar . . . Metellus Celer, Cicero et Macrinus . . . Romam luctuosis victoriis. . . . Florinus remansit cum suis.[10]

After the death of Catiline, Caesar, . . . Metellus Celer, Cicero and Macrinus . . . to Rome [with] painful victories. . . . Florinus remained with his own men.

9. Gabotto ("Appunti," 14–15) argues that the story of Catiline was probably linked originally to the legend of the foundation of Pistoia, whose name was derived from the pestilence or "*pestis*" that had supposedly broken out after the town had been settled by the surviving soldiers of Catiline's army. Only afterwards did the story become connected with Fiesole and Florence, providing the "*evento storico importante*" that could explain the destruction of Fiesole and the foundation of Florence by the Romans. Maissen ("Attila") also emphasizes the importance of the Pistoia connection. David Herlihy reviews the stories surrounding the name of the city in his *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), 16, and comments on the warlike nature of the people, as described by Villani and Dante, supposedly inherited from the soldiers of Catiline's army (198).

10. *Sanzanome Iudicis Gesta Florentinorum ab anno 1125, ad annum 1231*, ed. G. Milanesi, in *Cronache dei secoli XIII e XIV: Annales Ptolemaei Lucensis, Sanzanome iudicis Gesta Florentinorum, Diario di ser Giovanni di Lemmo da Comugnori, Diario d'anonimo fiorentino, Chronicon Tolosani canonici Faventini*, Documenti di storia italiana 6 (Florence: M. Cellini, 1876), 125. Cf. Hartwig, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 1: 26. According to Del Monte, there is no mention in Sanzanome of the

In fact, not only does Sanzanome mention the death of Catiline, which forms the background to his account of Florence's 'modern' history, but he concludes this first part of his account with a phrase that reappears in a slightly different form in the *Chronica* (" . . . *Romam luctuosis et victoriosis*"). In a later passage relating the Florentine attack on Pistoia, he also refers in a quoted speech to the 'historical precedent' of the Roman senators who had raised an army to suppress Catiline's rebellion:

> *"opus est igitur patrum vestigia sequi. quam in partibus istis in campo piceno tempore nobilis Catiline fuerunt adepti victoriam, expedit recordari."*[11]
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> "There is need, therefore, to follow the footsteps of the fathers [senators]. It is expedient to recall the victory that they won in these parts, in the Campo Piceno, at the time of the noble Catiline."

The Ancient and Medieval Sources

The immediate, though not the only, source for the chronicler's account of Catiline was the *Historia romana* by Paulus Diaconus (ca. 774 -781). The passage (6.15) describing the conspiracy, which followed the account of Pompey's wars in the East, briefly summed up the events in Rome in the year 63 B.C., noting that Catiline had been expelled from the city by Cicero, but not mentioning his flight to Fiesole.

> *Marco Tullio Cicerone oratore et Gneo Antonio consulibus anno Urbis conditae sexcentesimo octogesimo nono Lucius Sergius Catilena nobilissimi generis vir sed ingenii pravissimi ad delendam patriam coniuravit cum quibusdam claris quidem sed audacibus viris. a Cicerone Urbe expulsus est. socii eius deprehensi in carcere strangulati sunt. ab Antonio altero consule Catilena ipse victus proelio est et interfectus.*[12]
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> During the consulship of the orator Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gnaeus Antonius, in the year 689 from the foundation of the city, Lucius Sergius Catilina, a man of most noble birth but very corrupt character, conspired to destroy his country with certain distinguished indeed but reckless men. He was expelled from the city by Cicero. His associates were caught and strangled in prison. Catilina himself was defeated and slain in battle by the other consul Antonius.

Paulus' summary was, in turn, copied almost verbatim from Eutropius' *Breviarium*

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link between the foundations of Fiesole and Florence and the conspiracy of Catiline, but he does not seem to take into account what are certainly the implied connections ("La storiografia, " 176; 183; cf. Maissen, "Attila," 572–77). In regard to the date, Maissen (*ibid.*, 571–72) assigns the *Chronica* to the first half of 1228, between the treaty with Pistoia, following Florence's attack on the city and its submission to Florence, and the transfer of the bishropic from Fiesole to Florence.

11. Hartwig, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 1: 26, quoted by Maissen, *ibid.*, 572; cf. Rubinstein, "Beginnings," 212 on the importance of Roman memories. The words "*fuerunt adepti victoriam*" recall *Bellum Catilinae* 61.7: *victoriam adeptus erat.*).
12. Paulus Diaconus, *Historia romana*, ed. A. Crivellucci (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1914), VI.xv.

historiae romanae, 6.15, a compendium of Roman history composed in the fourth century and dedicated to the Emperor Valens:

> *M. Tullio Cicerone oratore et C. Antonio coss. anno ab urbe condita DCLXXXIX. L. Sergius Catilina, nobilissimi generis vir, sed ingenii pravissimi, ad delendam patriam coniuravit cum quibusdam, claris quidem sed audacibus viris. A Cicerone urbe expulsus est. Socii eius deprehensi in carcere strangulati sunt. Ab Antonio, altero consule, Catilina ipse proelio victus est et interfectus.*[13]
>
> During the consulship of the orator M. Tullius Cicero and of C. Antonius, in the year 689 from the foundation of the city, L. Sergius Catilina, a man of most noble birth but very corrupt character, conspired to destroy his country with certain distinguished indeed but reckless men. He was expelled from the city by Cicero. His associates were caught and strangled in prison. Catilina himself was defeated and slain in battle by the other consul Antonius.

The chronicler also appears to have been drawing upon another intermediate source, perhaps the second-century *Epitome* of Florus (a summary of Roman history based in large part upon Livy's *Decades*), an epitome of the Livian text, and/or Sallust's own *Bellum Catilinae*. Whether Florus himself was summarizing Sallust's monograph or adding Sallustian phrases and passages to his own summary of the Livian text, or to its epitome, is hard to say. But the compiler of the *Chronica* could have found in both Florus and the epitomized Livy an allusion to the decisive roles played by Cicero and Antonius in suppressing the conspiracy, the former by his *industria*, the latter by force of arms.[14]

The *Chronica* does not make any mention of Sallust (or, for that matter, of any of the summaries and epitomes), but the compiler may have had some direct knowledge of the *Bellum Catilinae*, as well as of intermediate versions. The reference in the *Chronica* to the execution of Catiline's associates in Rome (*Bellum Catilinae* [=*BC*] 55) could have come, as mentioned, not only from Sallust but from Florus or Livy; yet the words "*luctuosis et victoriosis*," with which the chronicler describes the mixed emotions felt at the end of the battle, unmistakably echo Catiline's last words to his soldiers before the final battle, as well as Sallust's own comments in the last lines of the monograph:

> "*Quod si virtuti vostrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis*" (*BC* 58.21).[15]

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13. Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae romanae*, 2nd ed., ed. H. R. Dietsch (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883), VI.xv.
14. At the close of his account of Catiline (II.xii.12), Florus repeats the words in *Bellum Catilinae* 61.4, then adds a moral of his own, often quoted in Sallustian commentaries of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: *Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset* ("Catiline was discovered far in front of his fellows amid the dead bodies of his foes, thus dying a death which would have been glorious if he had thus fallen fighting for his country"). Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, trans. E. S. Forster, Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1929; rpt. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1960).
15. The passages quoted from Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* are taken from *C. Sallusti Crispi. Catilina,*

> "But if Fortune frowns upon your bravery, take care not to die unavenged. Do not be captured and slaughtered like cattle, but, fighting like heroes, leave the enemy a bloody and tearful victory."
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> *Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissumus quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter volneratus discesserat. . . . Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia maeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur* (*BC* 61.7;9).
>
> But the army of the Roman people gained no joyful nor bloodless victory, for all the most valiant had either fallen in the fight or come off with severe wounds. . . . Thus the whole army was variously affected with happiness, grief, lamentation and rejoicing.

Sallust's histories of the Catilinarian conspiracy and the Jugurthine War were widely read in the arts curriculum of the medieval schools, and by the thirteenth century about half of the Latin manuscripts copied in western Europe were now being produced for the first time in Italy.[16] Aside from teaching basic elements of grammar, rhetoric, and ancient history, the two monographs supplied important lessons of moral wisdom, and the *accessus*, which often introduced the text and/or commentary, rehearsed the ethical purpose and utility of studying Sallust's work.[17] The compiler of the *Chronica* could well have been familiar with such material and, even if the story of Catiline in the chronicles developed independently of the schools, there was a common interest in treating the Roman conspirator as an *exemplum*—of the kind of reprehensible conduct that every prudent and patriotic person should naturally avoid. In addition, florilegia and works of popular philosophy preserved many of the Sallustian

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Iugurtha, Historiarum fragmenta selecta, Appendix Sallustiana, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). The English translations are from *Sallust*, ed. and trans, J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, rev. 1931; rpt., Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1985), with occasional modifications. The abbreviation *BC* is used henceforth in the text for references to the *Bellum Catilinae* and *BI* for references to the *Bellum Iugurthinum*.

16. In addition to Smalley, Davis and Skinner, all of whom recognize the importance of Sallust in the Middle Ages, see the pertinent sections by R. W. Ulery in the forthcoming article on Sallustius in the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* (note 4 above). Ulery observes that whereas, until the twelfth century, the bulk of Sallust manuscripts were being produced in France and Germany, by the thirteenth century more than half of the newly-copied manuscripts were being written in Italy. See also Birger Munk Olsen, "La popularité des textes classiques entre le IXe et le XIIe siècle" (1986), reprinted in a recent collection of his essays, *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age (IXe-XIIe siècle)* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1995), 21–34 and "Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIIIe siècle, I" (1979), *ibid.*, 145–224. Examples of the use of Sallust in Alberic of Monte Cassino's *Flores rhetorici* (ca. 1087) are given in *Flowers of Rhetoric*, trans. Joseph M. Miller, in *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric*, eds. J. M. Miller, M. H. Prosser, and T. W. Benson (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1974), 131–141.

17. Paul F. Gehl discusses the teaching of Latin grammar and the translation of classical authors as a means of moral education and reform in *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993) and in his "Preachers, Teachers and Translators," *Viator* 25 (1994): 289–32.

sententiae, among them the frequently quoted words of Micipsa in *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 10.6: *"nam concordia parvae res crescunt; discordia maxumae dilabuntur"* ("for harmony makes small states great, while discord undermines the mightiest empires"). Treatises on government, like Thomas Aquinas' *De regno*, paraphrased Sallust's words in the introductory chapters to the *BC* on liberty versus tyranny and the extraordinary rise of Rome after the expulsion of the Tarquins: *"Tyrannis enim magis boni quam mali suspecti sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est"* ("For tyrants hold the good in greater suspicion than the wicked, and to them the merit of others is always fraught with danger"; cf. *BC* 7.2) and *"incredibile memoratu est quantum adepta libertate in brevi Romana civitas creverit"* ("incredible it is to recall how great the Roman state grew in a short time, once liberty had been gained"; cf. *BC* 7.3).[18] Increasingly popular, too, especially for the study of rhetoric, were the compendia of speeches and letters, in Latin and, afterwards, in the vernacular, that were continuously copied and expanded with new texts, including not only the speeches of Caesar and Cato (*BC* 51–52), but Catiline's speeches to his fellow conspirators (*BC* 20) and to his army (*BC* 58).

The absence of any reference in the *Chronica* to Gaius Manlius, a colonist of Fiesole who, according to Sallust, was the first to raise an army and take the field against Rome (*BC* 24.2) and who commanded the right wing of Catiline's army in the battle at Ager Pistoriensis (*BC* 59.3), suggests that the compiler—if he was acquainted with Sallust—may have been using such a collection of speeches and letters, rather than the full version of the monograph.[19] We cannot expect, however, that the line of transmission from the ancient sources to the *Chronica de origine civitatis* was a necessarily linear or direct one, and certainly the compiler could also have been drawing upon other intermediate versions, among them the *Historia miscella*, a continuation of Paulus Diaconus' history. This *Historia* also incorporated material from Paulus Orosius, the only one of the late antique historians who included in his summary an explicit reference to Etruria, noting that it was there that the civil war had ultimately been suppressed:

> *Interea Lucius Sergius Catilina nobilissimi generis vir sed ingenii prauissimi, ad delendam patriam coniurauit cum quibusdam claris quidem sed audacibus viris <cuius coniuratio per eosdem dies in urbe habita ac prodita est. in Etruria vero ciuili bello extincta est. sed> a Cicerone <Catilina> urbe expulsus est. socii eius*

18. *De regno ad regem Cypri*, 1. 3–4, in *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia*, 42 (Rome: Comm. Leonina, 1979), 453–54. The lines cited here are a paraphrase of *Bellum Catilinae* 7.1–3: *Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt semperque iis aliena uirtus formidulosa est. Sed civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum breui creuerit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat* ("Now at that time every man began to lift his head higher and to have his talents more in readiness. For kings hold the good in greater suspicion than the wicked, and to them the merit of others is always fraught with danger; still the free state, once liberty was won, waxed incredibly strong and great in a remarkably short time, such was the thirst for glory that had filled men's minds"). For further discussion and bibliography, see Osmond, *"Princeps,"* 104ff. Quentin Skinner, in particular (see note 4 above), has pointed out the importance of Sallust's histories for the development of republican political thought, citing the influence of Sallust in other thirteenth-century treatises such as Giovanni da Viterbo's *Liber de regimine civitatum* (ca. 1253).

19. On the role of C. Manlius see also *BC* 27.1; 4; 28.4, etc.

> *deprehensi et in carcere strangulati sunt. ab Antonio altero consule Catilina ipse proelio victus et interfectus <est. sed hanc historiam agente Cicerone et describente Salustio satis omnibus notam nunc a nobis breviter fuisse perstrictam sat est. . . . motus etiam in Pelignis ortus a Marcellis patre et filio per Lucium Vettium proditus patefacta Catilinae coniuratione quasi succisa radice compressus est: et de utroque per Bibulum in Pelignis, per Ciceronem in Britiis* [*sic*] *vindicatum est.*>[20]
>
> In the meantime Lucius Sergius Catilina, a man of most noble birth but very corrupt character, conspired to destroy his country with certain distinguished indeed but reckless men whose plot was formed and disclosed in the same days in the city. In Etruria, however, it was extinguished by a civil war. But Catilina was expelled by Cicero; his associates were caught and strangled in prison. Catilina himself was defeated and slain in battle by the other consul Antonius. But it is sufficient that this story, well-enough known to all due to Cicero's active involvement and Sallust's description, has now been briefly summarized by us. . . . A rebellion among the Paeligni, betrayed by Lucius Vettius, was suppressed almost root and branch, after the conspiracy of Catiline became known, by the Marcelli, father and son. In each case, vengeance was exacted, by Bibulus among the Paeligni and by Cicero in Bruttium.

The story of Catiline also found its way into the *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, composed in Rome during the first half of the twelfth century. Here, too, the author, probably a grammarian, seems to be borrowing from both Paulus Diaconus and Orosius (or the *Historia miscella*), as he describes Catiline's flight to Etruria, or what is now called Tuscany. Pretorius, the lieutenant of Antonius, however, has been substituted as the commander of the Roman army (cf. *BC* 59–60):

> *Eo tempore Lutius Sergius Catellina vir nobilissimus set nimis pravissimus conspiravit in Romanos & abfugit in Tusciam. set ibi mortuus est in bello a Pretorio questore. quam hystoriam plenarie tractat Salustius.*[21]
>
> In that time Lucius Sergius Catilina, a most noble man but exceedingly corrupt, conspired against the Romans and fled into Tuscany. But there he was killed in battle by the quaestor Pretorius, which story Sallust relates in full.

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20. *Historia miscella*, ed. F. Eyssenhardt (Berlin: I. Guttentag. 1869), VI.15. The author has inserted some material from Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* , VI.6.1. For a slightly different interpretation of the corresponding passages in Orosius, see *Paulus Orosius. The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari, Fathers of the Church 50 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, n.d. [1964]), 241–42. Among the earlier sources, the *Epitome* of Livy, 102 mentions Etruria as the place where Catiline's army was being organized.
21. *Storie de Troja et de Roma altrimenti dette Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, ed. with notes and glossary by E. Monaci (Rome: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1920), 247–48. The excerpts from the story of Rome's war against Jugurtha are much more extensive and may be based directly on Sallust's *BI.*

What is evident, in any case, throughout the various stages in the transmission of this story is the consistently conservative, senatorial bias that characterizes—as one might expect—the ancient accounts, from the epitomators of the late Empire back to Cicero and Sallust (notwithstanding the latter's criticisms of the decadent Roman oligarchy).[22] Eutropius' phrase *ad delendam patriam*, repeated in the Latin chronicles, underscored the danger that Catiline's conspiracy apparently posed to the very survival of the *patria*. Florus also denounced Catiline's scheme as *nefaria consilia opprimendae patriae suae* ("the nefarious design of overthrowing his country," II.xii.1), worse than anything that even Hannibal could have conceived. Sallust himself, introducing the subject of his monograph, had stressed the serious threat to the state; the conspiracy, he says, was an event memorable "for the extraordinary nature of the crime and of the danger arising from it" (*id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate* [*BC* 4.4]). Cicero had created the image of Catiline as public enemy, not only in his celebrated orations *In Catilinam* but in other speeches, including the fourth *Philippic* against Antony (IV.6.15). Already in the last decades of the Republic, therefore, Catiline was becoming the archetype of the revolutionary and subverter of established government, and by the second and third centuries A.D., he had also come to symbolize the usurper or tyrant, in contrast with "legitimate emperors." As Nicola Criniti sums up this process of *damnatio memoriae*: "*Catilina divenne allora per antonomasia il tipo classico del rivoluzionario cinico e spietato, prefigurazione—apocalittica per i cristiani—della discordia civile più pericolosa ed esecrabile.*"[23]

The Classical tradition of Catiline's conspiracy

To return to the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, we can now re-examine the account not only as the meeting-point of the Sallustian text with local foundation stories of Fiesole and Pistoia, but also as the starting-point of the recovery, growth, and spread of the classical, or what we may also call the civic, tradition of the story of Catiline (as opposed to that of the feudal or chivalric tradition, described below). As Nicolai Rubinstein noted, the account of Catiline's rebellion supplied an explanation of the allegedly recurrent antagonism between Florence and Fiesole. Indeed, the story of Catiline must have seemed truly providential to Florentine chroniclers, for it offered the 'historical' antecedents for the century-old conflict and, by implication, a precedent for the recent destruction of Fiesole by Florence in 1125, an event of special significance that marked the beginning of Florence's expansion in the *contado* and "the new age of communal greatness."[24] At the same time, it furnished important connections with Rome: an eponymous ancestor for the city of Florence, an explanation of its origins (founded on the site where Florinus had been slain by the Fiesolans) and, above all, a Roman pedigree that could justify and dignify Florence's claims to hegemony over the rest of Tuscany. While Catiline and the Fiesolans were represented as

22. On Sallust's political ideas in the context of ancient political thought, see Sir Ronald Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), Donald C. Earl, *The Political Thought of Sallust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), and especially Antonio La Penna, *Sallustio e la "rivoluzione" romana* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1968), who stresses the essentially conservative nature of Sallust's analysis of the Roman crises of the late Republic.
23. Nicola Criniti, "'Catilina' e 'catilinario'," *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica* (Università Cattolica del S. Cuore) 3 (1975): 121–35 at 124–25.
24. Rubinstein, "Beginnings," 207.

the implacable enemies of Rome, the Florentines, as descendants (at least in part) of the Roman colonists, were portrayed as the appointed heirs to a special destiny.[25]

Furthermore, by the second half of the thirteenth century, new themes and motifs, drawn directly or indirectly from Sallust's monograph, were being added to the story, not only to emphasize the patriotic ties to Rome but also to exalt the civic, republican character of the Roman heritage: the tradition of active citizenship, concern for the *bene comune*, and the pursuit of justice and concord. The same sequence of events as set forth in the *Chronica* was followed in the historical portion of Brunetto Latini's *Li livres dou tresor*, written during his years of exile in France (1260–1266), as well as in the Codex Luccensis, the first vernacular version of the *Chronica de origine civitatis*.[26] In his own work, however, Brunetto placed *"la Conjurison Catelline"* within a new scheme of periodization, emphasizing its significance as the terminal point of the Roman Republic, the end of a long *signorie* that had begun with the expulsion of the Tarquins (509 B.C.). Moreover, the episode served as a warning against the dangers of factional strife (a reality that Brunetto, a member of the Guelf party, knew all too well) and a lesson in the civic value of rhetoric.[27]

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25. "Twice the Romans played a decisive part in the destiny of Florence: twice they are the founders of the town. On both occasions Florence is built after the model of Rome. Twice the consequence of the destruction of Fiesole is the immigration of the Fiesolans to Florence and their fusion with the Florentine population" (Rubinstein, "Beginnings," 202). Important, too, was the ideological dimension of the conflict between Fiesole, ally of Catiline, and Florence, daughter and heir of Rome: *"Firenze divenne la figlia e l'erede di Roma, fondata da Cesare, l'instauratore dell'impero, a somiglianza di Roma, chiamata in un primo tempo Cesaria e piccola Roma, distrutta dal barbaro e riedificata dai Romani e da Carlo Magno, il restauratore dell'impero; e Fiesole fu invece l'alleata di Catilina, cioè del sovvertitore dello Stato romano, e rappresentò l'anti-Roma"* (Del Monte, "La storiografia," 182). Emphasizing Florence's links to Rome was the tradition that the little city on the Arno had been constructed in the very image of Rome (*"ad similitudinem urbis Romae"*) with the same plan, the same buildings, and thus (by implication) the same political destiny. See Charles T. Davis, "Topographical and Historical Propaganda in Early Florentine Chronicles and in Villani," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 2 (1988): 33–51.

26. Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, ed. F. J. Carmody (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948). This was later turned into Italian, although the identity of the translator is uncertain; see *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latino volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*, 4 vols. in 2, ed. P. Chabaille, rev. with notes by L. Gaiter (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1878–1883). On Brunetto's importance in the early stages of Florentine civic humanism, see Davis, "Brunetto Latini and Dante" in *Dante's Italy*, 166–97, and John M. Najemy, "Brunetto Latini's 'Politica'," *Dante Studies* 112 (1994): 33–51.

    The Codex Luccensis (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Coll. Orsucci, O.40, edited by Hartwig, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 1: 37–64, is a vernacular version of the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, probably based upon the Laurentian codex XXIX.8, or a common source (as both mention the date 1264). Like Brunetto, the compiler of the Codex pays tribute to Cicero (*"Iulio Ciecierone"*) as master of the Latin language. According to Maissen ("Attila," 563, note 4), it was completed about 1342; if, however, it was used by Villani in the early part of his *Cronica* (as Charles T. Davis suggested in his working copy of Appendix B to his book manuscript on Villani, which he kindly made available to me in 1996), it would have to be assigned an earlier date.

27. Brunetto himself, a prominent leader of the Guelf faction, who had fallen victim to party strife in 1260 and gone into exile in France, could understand Sallust's use of the story of Catiline to depict the growing moral and political decadence of Rome. According to Francesco

> *Et cele signorie dura .iiii^{c}. et lxv. ans, jusk'a tant ke Catelline fist a Rome la conjurison encontre ciaus ki governoient Rome, por l'envie des signatours. Mais cele conjurison fu descoverte au tans ke li tres sages Marcus Tullius Cicero, li mieus parlans hom del monde et maistres de rectorike, fu consoles de Rome, ki par son grant sens venqui les conjurés, et en prist et fist destruire une grant partie par le conseil dou bon Caton ki les juga a mort. . . .*[28]
>
> And that signory lasted 465 years, until such time as Catiline formed his conspiracy against those who were governing Rome, out of resentment toward the senators. But that conspiracy was discovered when the very wise Marcus Tullius Cicero, the best speaker in the world and master of rhetoric, was consul of Rome, who by his great perspicacity overcame the conspirators, and seized and had a great part of them destroyed through the advice of the good Cato who judged them deserving of death.

The historical importance of Catiline's revolt was reiterated in a later chapter (III.xlii), where Brunetto cited the conspiracy among the memorable occurrences of the late pagan era, alongside (and on the same level of importance as) Cicero's *rectorique*, Pompey's conquest of Judaea, and the beginning of imperial rule under Julius Caesar, a choice of "events" that betrays his other authorities besides Sallust, namely Caesar, Lucan, and Suetonius, the chief sources for *Li Fait des Romains*.[29]

By the 1260s the story of Catiline's conspiracy was thus beginning to shape the representation of Florentine domestic politics and portray, above all, the dangers of party strife.[30] Catiline had not just instigated the revolt of Fiesole or, that is, an exter-

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Maggini (cited by Davis, *Dante's Italy*, 177), Brunetto may have drawn upon Sallust directly for some passages, but he generally relied upon the adaptation of the *Fait des Romains*, from which he also translated the two speeches of Caesar and Cato (*BC* 51–52) in book III of his *Tresor*.

28. *Li livres dou tresor*, I.xxxvi.5. The account of Catiline's conspiracy and the aftermath is found in the following chapter (I.xxxvii.1–3): *"Quant la conjuroison fu descoverte et le pooir Catelline fu affoibloié, il s'enfui en Toschane en une cité ki avoit non Fiesle et la fist reveler contre Rome"* ("When the conspiracy was discovered and the power of Catiline weakened, he fled into Tuscany to a city named Fiesole and made it rebel against Rome"). Cf. the account in the Codex Luccensis. (For contributions to the English rendering of this and other Italian texts quoted in the article, I am grateful to Andreina Bianchini and Rolf Bagemihl.)
29. *Li Fait des Romains*, a compilation of Roman history from Suetonius, Caesar, Sallust, and Lucan, was composed in the early thirteenth century and widely read in both the French version and a later Italian translation (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) in much of Italy as well as France. See L.-F. Flutre and K. Sneyders de Vogel, *Li Fet des Romains* (Paris, 1935–38). The starting-point for any study of the work and its diffusion in Italy is L.-F. Flutre, *Li Fait des Romains dans les littératures française et italienne du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris [1932]); and *Les manuscrits des Fait des Romains* (Paris, E. Droz; Groningen, J.-B. Wolters, 1933). See also E. G. Parodi, "Le storie di Cesare nella letteratura italiana dei primi secoli," *Studi di filologia romanza*, 4 (1889): 237–504.
30. The figure of Catiline continues to appear in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century condemnations of civil strife. In a papal letter *Rex pacificus* dated 21 June 1304, Benedict XI branded as traitors all of those Florentines who had undermined the attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement with the *fuorusciti*: *"Non perfidior Catiline conjuratio, vix superior Syllana crudelitas, et Mariana ferocitas parum minor"* ("The Catilinarian conspiracy [was] not

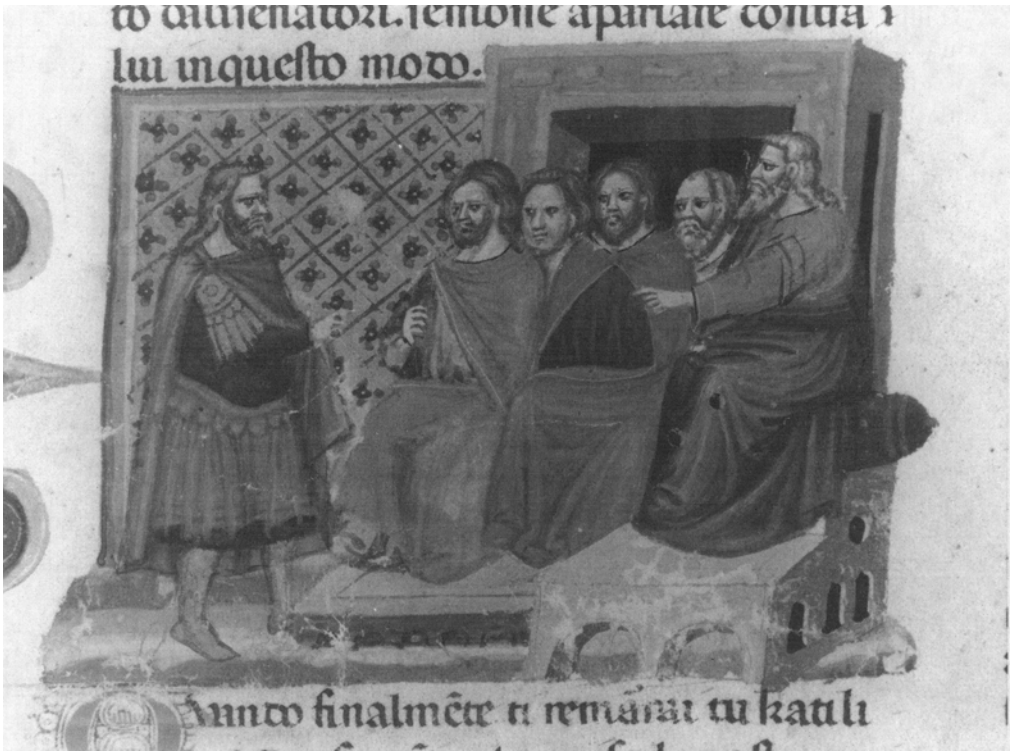

Figure 1. Cicero (seated at right?) denounces Catiline in the Roman Senate. *I Fatti dei Romani.* Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1538 (early 14th c.), f. 3v. (See here no. 31.)

nal conflict; he had undermined the internal harmony of Rome—and would have succeeded in destroying it altogether, had it not been for Cicero's intervention. Catiline appears, in fact, as the antagonist of Cicero, the Roman orator-statesman whose valor and wisdom have saved the city—and its senatorial government (Fig. 1). As Brunetto also remarked in the *Rettorica* (I.16):

> *Tulio era cittadino di Roma nuovo e di non grande altezza; ma per lo suo senno fue in si' alto stato che tutta Roma si tenea alla sua parola, e fue al tempo di Catellina, di Pompeio e di Julio Cesare, e per lo bene della terra fue al tutto contrario a Catellina.* [31]

more treacherous, the cruelty of Sulla scarcely worse, and the ferocity of Marius little less"). The words are cited by Emilio Panella, who discusses the political controversies in the city and the theme of "the common good" in the treatises of the Dominican prior Remigio de' Girolami in "Dal bene comune al bene del comune. I trattati politici di Remigio dei Girolami," *Politica e vita religiosa a Firenze tra '300 e '500. = Memorie domenicane,* new ser. 16 (1985): 1–198 (see 14–15 and n. 33).

31. Brunetto Latini, *La Rettorica* I.16, ed. F. Maggini (Florence, 1915), 8. Davis , who cites this passage in his "Brunetto Latini," *Dante's Italy,* 173–74, calls Brunetto the "Florentine pioneer" in the development of early civic humanism" and the "originator of the Florentine cult of admiration for Cicero the patriot" (*ibid.,* 176–177). Figures 1 and 2 are from an early fourteenth-century Bolognese codex, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1538, containing

> Tullius was a new citizen of Rome and not of high standing, but because of his sagacity he was held in such high regard that all Rome clung to his words, and he lived at the time of Catiline, Pompey, and Julius Caesar, and for the good of the country he was completely opposed to Catiline.

Dante, perhaps influenced by Brunetto, expressed a similar view in the *Convivio* (IV.v.19D)

> *E non puose Iddio le mani quando un nuovo cittadino di picciola condizione, cioè Tullio, contra tanto cittadino quanto era Catellina la romana libertà difese?*[32]
>
> And did not God put forth His hand when a new citizen of low condition, that is, Tullius, against such a prominent citizen as Catiline defended Roman liberty?

As soldier and captain, Catiline had already been matched against Caesar, who in medieval literature traditionally embodied the military virtues of ancient Rome; but now he meets another, more formidable adversary in the consul Cicero, the "new citizen" who exposed his plot, arrested and executed his accomplices, and rallied the Senate to the defense of the *patria*.

In the *Nuova cronica* of Giovanni Villani, the story of Catiline illustrated even more clearly the evils of civil strife and the virtues of concord. Writing in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Florentine merchant and Guelf patriot celebrated the rise of his city as the *"figliuola e fattura di Roma,"* elaborating upon the accounts in the *Chronica de origine civitatis* and a later vernacular version known as *Il Libro fiesolano*.[33] By identifying Fiesole as the center and in a sense the very starting point of Catiline's rebellion (as well as the place where Catiline later organized his resistance), he magnified the antagonism between Fiesole and Rome and the responsibility of Florence's rival for beginning hostilities. By pointing out Catiline's efforts to enlist what he himself considered the most disreputable elements of the population of Fiesole, Villani also associated the ancient rebels with their modern descendants, the lower-class im-

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I Fatti dei Romani (as well as Bartolomeo da San Concordio's *Il Giugurtino),* both illustrated with miniatures attributed to the Maestro di Gherarduccio. See Maria Luisa Scuricini Greco, *Miniature Riccardiane* (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), 235–42, at 236–37, and Emanuela Sesti, "I codici miniati di scuola bolognese della Biblioteca Riccardiana, s. XIII-XIV" (Tesi di perfezionamento in Storia dell'Arte Medievale e Moderna. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Facoltà di Lettere, anno 1984–85. Relatore prof. Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto).

32. Dante, *Convivio,* IV.v.19 D. The following English translation is from *The Convivio (The Banquet by Dante Alighieri),* trans. Katherine Hillard (London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1889). See also "Catilina, L. Sergio (Catellina)," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca* 1 (Rome, 1970) (Clara Kraus), 875, where the author comments: *"D[ante] mostra di considerare la congiura di C[atilina] un'effettiva minaccia per lo stato romano e la inserisce tra gli eventi citati per dimostrare come l'impero di Roma fosse sorto e cresciuto sotto il segno della provvidenza divina, indicando come un fatto prodigioso la circostanza che un homo novus quale era Cicerone potesse aver sventato le macchinazioni di un nobile come C[atilina]. . . . "*

33. Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica,* ed. G. Porta, 3 vols. (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo/Ugo Guanda Editore, 1990–91), IX. xxxvi.41.

migrants whom he (like Dante) considered the source of the turbulence and social conflict that plagued the city of Florence.[34]

> *Catellina nobilissimo cittadino, disceso di sua progenia della schiatta reale di Tarquinio, essendo uomo di dissoluta vita, ma prode e ardito in arme, e bello parlatore, ma poco savio, avendo invidia di buoni uomini, ricchi e savi, che signoreggiavano la città, non piacendogli la loro signoria, congiurazione fece con più altri nobili e altri seguaci disposti a mal fare, e ordinò d'uccidere gli consoli e parte de' sanatori, e di disfare loro uficio, e correre, e rubare, e mettere da più parti fuoco nella città, e poi farsene signore. E sarebbegli venuto fatto, se non che fu riparato per lo senno e provedenza del savio consolo Marco Tulio. . . .*
>
> *Catellina partito di Roma, con parte de' suoi seguaci se ne venne in Toscana, ove Manlius uno de' suoi principali congiurati e capitano era raunato con gente ne la città antica di Fiesole. E venuto là Catellina, la detta città da la signoria de' Romani fece rubellare, raunandovi tutti gli rubelli e sbanditi di Roma e di più altre provincie, e gente dissoluta e disposta a guerra e a mal fare, e cominciò aspra guerra a' Romani.*[35]
>
> Catiline, a most noble citizen, descended from the royal line of Tarquin, being a man of dissolute life, but valiant and daring in arms, and eloquent speaker, but not very wise, envious of the good, rich and wise who governed the city, not liking their signory, formed a conspiracy with many other nobles and other followers ready for evil-doing, and gave orders to murder the consuls and part of the senators and to abolish their charges, and to run through, loot, and set on fire many parts of the city, and to make himself the lord. And he would have succeeded in doing this, had it not been for the sound judgment and foresight of the wise consul Marcus Tullius
>
> Catiline, having departed from Rome, arrived in Tuscany with part of his followers, where Manlius, one of his principal co-conspirators and captain, had assembled with a party in the ancient city of Fiesole. And when Catiline had come there, he caused the said city to rebel against the signory of the Romans, gathering there all the rebels and exiles of Rome and of many other provinces, and dissolute people ready for war and crime, and began a fierce war against the Romans. (Fig. 2 [p. 20 below])

Expanding upon Brunetto's version, Villani developed the antithesis between Catiline and Cicero, the progenitors, as it were, of the two rival peoples, Fiesolans and Romans. While the former was portrayed as the dissolute, renegade noble, envious of the good, wealthy, and wise, and bent upon overthrowing the *signoria*, Cicero was

34. Rubinstein points out the major social and economic problems arising in thirteenth-century Florence from immigration from the countryside, including the growth of a propertyless working class, and cites the comments of Villani on the effects of the immigration of the Fiesolans. If the Florentines were always at war among themselves, it was because they were descended from two antagonistic peoples, "the noble and virtuous Romans and the rude and warlike Fiesolans" (I.xxxviii). "Beginnings," 221–23. Cf. Dante, *Paradiso* XVI, who also denounced the mixing of Fiesolans and Florentines.

35. Villani, I.xxx.5–17; I.xxxi.1–9. Cf. *BC*, 28.4–5.

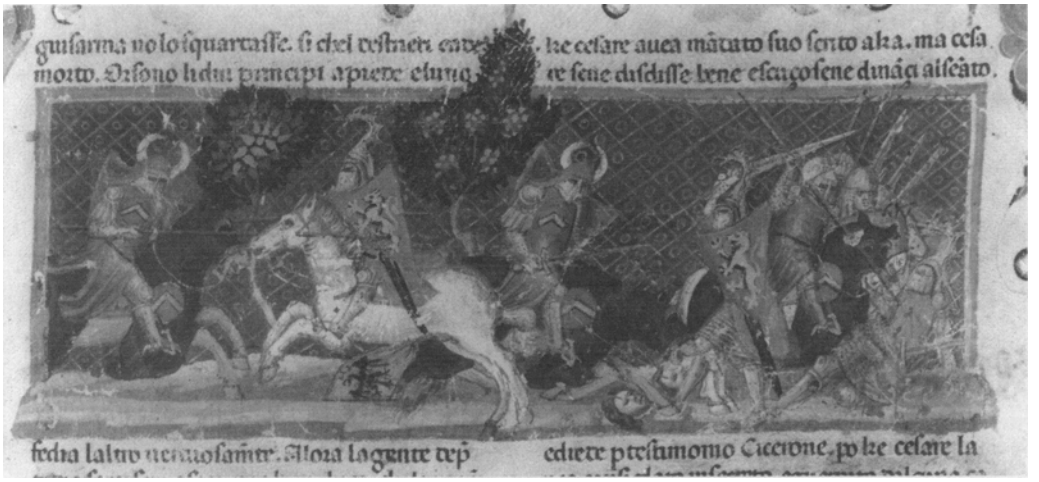

Figure 2. The battle between the armies of M. Petreius and Catiline and the death of Catiline at "Campo Piceno." Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1538 (early 14th c.), f. 10. (See here note 31.)

hailed as the *"nuovo cittadino"* who by the sheer force of his intelligence and eloquence had saved the city. Again, Cicero and Catiline, Florence and Fiesole, were set in antithesis, as powerful, opposing *exempla* of virtues and vices: Catiline, the arch-villain and instigator of social revolution; Cicero, orator and statesman, defender of the Roman republic; Florence, the daughter and heir of Rome; Fiesole, the center of Catiline's support, seedbed of revolutionaries, the anti-Rome.

It is likely that Villani was drawing upon *Li Fait des Romains* or Brunetto Latini's *Tresor* (probably in the Tuscan versions), both of which gave Cicero special prominence.[36] The former compilation could also have furnished the account of Manlius, who is now (re)introduced into the narrative. But it is possible that Villani was reading not only the compendia, chronicles, and adaptations, but a full, or fuller, version of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, if not in the original, at least in the recent *volgarizzamento* by Bartolomeo da San Concordio.[37] On a number of occasions Villani mentions Sallust by name, referring to him as *"il grande dottore"* and citing *"il libro di Salustio detto*

36. Villani, I. xxx.17–29. Cf. *Fait des Romains*. I.8.9 and Brunetto Latini, *Tresor*, I.36.

37. During the Middle Ages, writers often refer to Sallust as philosopher and even poet. The proem, for example, to Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, A 113 sup., written and annotated by Philippus Falco (28 October 1464) begins (f. 87): *"Audi quod dicit liber de vita et moribus philosophorum. Salustius philosophus et poeta romanus claruit tempore Julii cuius inimicus et emulus extitit. Hic scripsit de Bello numantino Librum unum. Item de Iugurthino librum unum"* ("Hear what the book concerning the life and character of the philosophers says. Salustius, Roman philosopher and poet was renowned at the time of Julius, of whom he was the enemy and rival. He wrote one book about the Numantine War and similarly one book on the Jugurthine War"). The passage has been transcribed by Robert W. Ulery, who cites the commentary in his contribution to the article "C. Sallustius Crispus" in vol. 8 of the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* (forthcoming; see note 4 above). The author seems to have been drawing upon, and conflating, the chapters on Caesar and Sallust in the popular *Fiori e vita di filosafi ed altri savi ed imperatori*, a partial Tuscan rendering of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, composed after 1264;

Catellinario," the title generally found in the manuscripts of San Concordio's version (Fig. 3 [p.22 below]).[38] In fact, this is the first time that we find Sallust explicitly named as the source for the story of Catiline's rebellion and his flight to Fiesole. The close verbal parallels in Villani's description of Catiline (e.g., *"bello parlatore, ma poco savio,"* I.xxx.8; cf. *BC* 5.4) and other elements in the narrative also point to this particular source.[39] It is possible, however, that Villani knew only certain parts of the translation, namely those portions inserted in a redaction of 1313, referred to as *"la version ample"* of the *Fatti di Cesare*. Some support for this view may be found in his reference to the Roman authors whose works preserved the *"memoria e esemplo"* of the past and who inspired him to undertake his history of Florence, for he names Sallust here in the company of Lucan, one of the principal sources of *Li Fait des Romains*.[40]

Villani's enthusiasm for Roman history did not prevent him, however, from adding to his chronicle various legendary versions of the story of Catiline. On the one hand, he professed to distinguish between authentic and inauthentic chronicles, and insinuated that the *Libro fiesolano* was not to be trusted. On the other hand, he did not hesitate to borrow from this work a number of fantastic episodes, among them the story of Catiline's attempt to deceive the Romans and escape from Fiesole *"coi cavalli*

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see the excerpts published in *La prosa del Duecento*, ed. C. Segre and M. Marti (Milan and Naples: R. Ricciardi, 1959), 525–56. Villani himself calls Sallust *"grande dottore"* (I.xxx.29).

As Charles T. Davis observed, Villani's sources are not always easy to identify, for he was borrowing from many, combining and elaborating upon them continuously and often simultaneously: the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, known perhaps from the Codex Luccensis, and the *Libro fiesolano*, though he did not think this trustworthy (see note 26 above). On Villani's knowledge of Brunetto and the *Fait des Romains* or its Italian version the *Fatti di Cesare*, in which the figure of Cicero, as statesman-orator, already played a prominent role, and which provided many of the historical details, see Davis, "Brunetto Latini," in *Dante's Italy*.

38. Villani, I.xxx.29; I.xxxii.41–42. The title "Il Salustio Chatellinario" also appears, for example, in the fourteenth-century manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, N.A. 353. The first printed edition is in: *Caio Crispo Sallustio. Della Congiura Catilinaria e Della Guerra Giugurtina libri due volgarizzati da Fra Bartolomeo da S. Concordio*, ed. G. Cioni (Florence: Grazioli, 1790). A new edition by B. Puoti was published in Naples in 1827. For a brief bibliography on San Concordio, see Osmond, *"Princeps"* (note 17), 105.
39. On early French translations and their influence on Italian reading of the classics, see Jacques Monfrin, "Humanisme et traductions au moyen age," *Journal des Savants* (1963): 161–90. Nevertheless, the last decades of the thirteenth century were also a period of changing cultural and political relations between France and Italy, and if Brunetto Latini wrote his *Tresor* in French and drew his translation of Sallust's speeches from the French *Fait des Romains*, it was soon after his return to Florence that this work was turned into Tuscan, perhaps by Brunetto himself. Cesare Segre emphasizes the stimulus provided by the intense political controversies of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, and also the interest of Italian translators in language and style, in his *Lingua, stile e società. Studi sulla storia della prosa italiana* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1963), 22ff.
40. In his famous description of his pilgrimage to Rome in the Jubilee Year of 1300, Villani mentions Sallust, along with Virgil, Lucan, Orosius, and Valerius Maximus, as one of the Latin authors who inspired him to undertake the history of Florence (IX.xxxvi.33). On the *"traduction ample,"* an Italian version of 1313, which introduced long portions from the translation by San Concordio, see Flutre, *Li Fait des Romains*, 192ff.

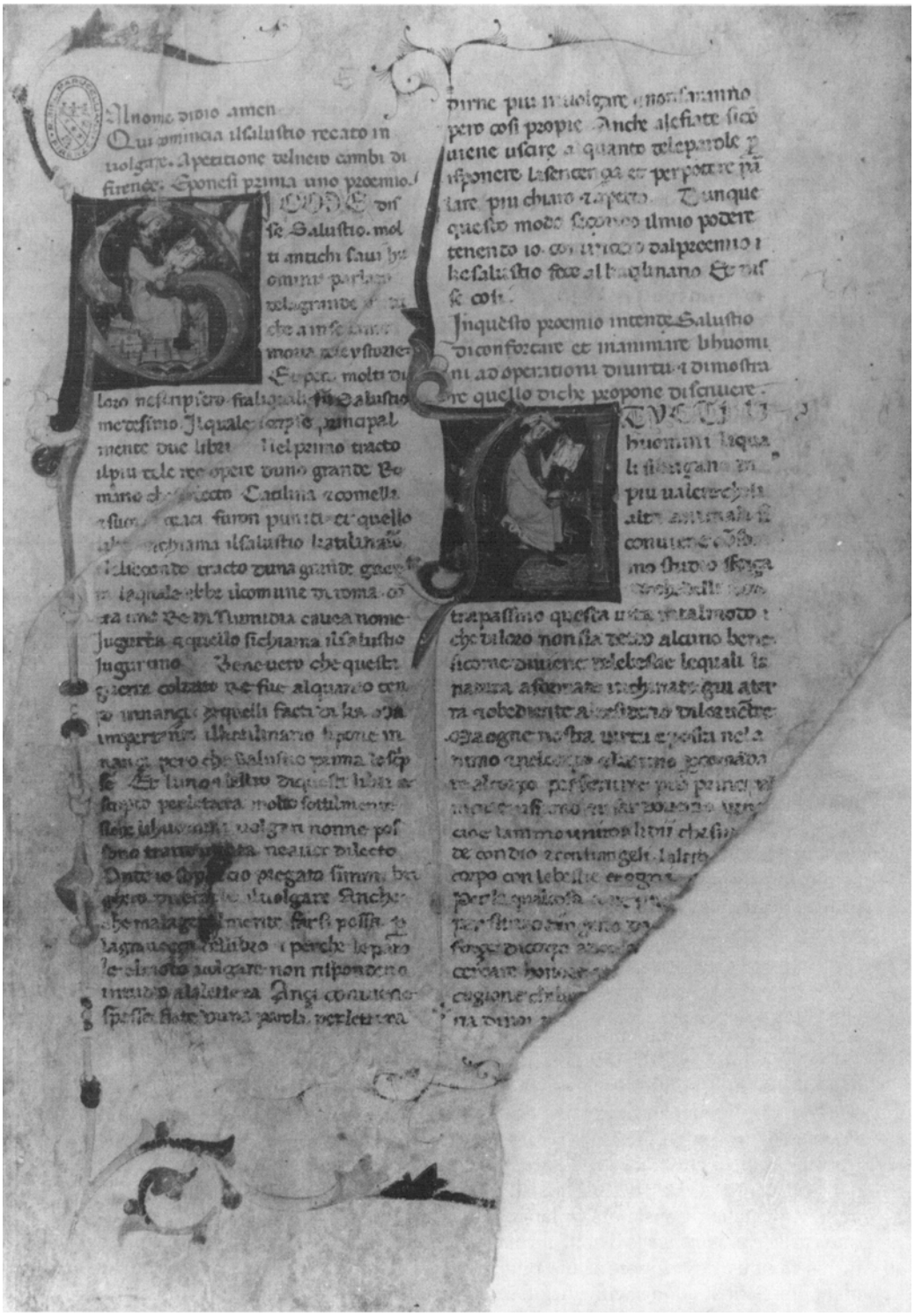

Figure 3. *Il Salustio Catilinario* (*volgarizzamento* by Bartolomeo da San Concordio), *Incipit*. Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, Ms. C. 128 (first half of 14th c.), f. 1r.

ferrati a ritroso" ("with his horses shod backwards").[41] Villani also borrowed, presumably from the *Libro fiesolano*, the story of Uberto Cesare, "*figliuolo di Catellina*," and ancestor of the Uberti. As if to head off possible criticism, he adds that this is not found in any "*autentica cronica.*"[42] Yet, like Livy—when it came to inserting myths in his history of Rome—he included it anyway, as if a great city deserved an illustrious ancestry and its historian could afford to take certain liberties with conventional standards of truth.[43]

The Chivalric tradition of Catiline and his post-mortem adventures

The *Libro fiesolano*, generally dated to the first decades of the fourteenth century, was based upon the *Chronica de origine civitatis* and, in summarizing Catiline's conspiracy and flight to Fiesole, it varied only in detail from its source. But it also introduced an entirely separate tradition of Catiline: a purely fictitious account of his continuing presence (or *post-mortem* adventures) in the vicinity of Fiesole, following the battle at Campo Piceno.[44] It is a tradition marked not by the recovery of the classical literary sources (whether in the Latin original or vernacular adaptations and translations) but by the assimilation and elaboration of legendary and genealogical material of mostly local provenance, oral or written.[45] Catiline-the-villain now becomes a "*gentilissimo uomo . . . grande cittadino di Roma*" who survives the battle against the consular army, returns to Fiesole with some eleven companions, and there continues to resist the Roman forces. When, finally, after a siege of some eight years, the Fiesolans agree to negotiate a settlement with the Roman commander Julius Caesar, Catiline is forced to abandon the city (escaping, again, by the ruse of having his horses shod backwards). Near Pistoia, where he is overtaken, another bloody battle is fought and this time he is finally slain. Then, some five hundred years later, the Gothic general Totila, *flagellum Dei*, arrives in Italy to rebuild Fiesole and destroy Florence "*per la 'ngiuria c'avea ricevuta Catellina.*"[46]

The last chapter of the *Libro fiesolano*, which represents another branch of this tradition, gives us the genealogy of the descendants of Catiline, who is now accorded

41. The episode recalls the story of Hercules who outwitted the giant Cacus by a similar ruse. (I thank Giovanni Sinicropi for pointing out this parallel.) The story of Catiline and the horses also appears in the *Libro fiesolano* and in the *Fiorita* of Armannino Giudice.
42. Villani, II.iv.28. Later, he states that an Uberto was one of the barons of the Saxon emperor Otto I, who had remained in Florence, "*onde nacque la casa e progenia degli Uberti*" ("whence was born the house and offspring of the Uberti"; V.i.75; cf. I.xxxix. 18;21).
43. When it came to recounting the foundation of Fiesole, Villani celebrated the Fiesolans as the ancestors of the Trojans and of the Romans, as if unaware of any contradiction with the later story of Catiline's rebellion and its evil legacy. Cf. Rubinstein, "Beginnings," 209–11.
44. *Il Libro Fiesolano*, ed. Hartwig, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 1: 37–65. Maissen dates this chronicle to ca.1320 ("Attila" [note 5], 563).
45. Dante speaks of the tales of the Trojans, Fiesole and Rome (*Par.* XV, 125–26), on which Florentine children were still brought up, and onto which local legends were often grafted. On the *cantari* and the stories of Troy, Fiesole and Rome, see Franco Cardini, "Concetto di cavalleria e mentalità cavalleresca nei romanzi e nei cantari fiorentini," in *I ceti dirigenti nella Toscana tardo comunale. Comitato di studi sulla storia dei ceti dirigenti in Toscana. Atti del III Convegno: Firenze, 5–7 dicembre 1980* (Florence: F. Papafava, 1983), 157–92.
46. *Il Libro Fiesolano*, 1: 57. For a summary of the main elements in the legend of Catiline, see also Pasquale Villari, *The Two First Centuries of Florentine History*, trans. Linda Villari (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 57–65.

the title "*re di Roma.*" His supposed son Uberto Cesare, after being reinstated in his rights and property, becomes the "*signore*" of Florence, which he rules on behalf of Rome, and marries a woman of Fiesole, who bears him sixteen children. One of his sons, Uberto Catellina, weds a daughter of the Antigrado della Magna, the ancestor of Ceto (Otto) di Sansogna, "*lo primo imperadore della Magna.*"[47] The *Libro fiesolano* contains no mention of Cicero and shows little, if any, interest in the didactic value of the episode. On the contrary, it focuses on Catiline's connections with Fiesole and the antiquities of the town (the "*terme*" or "*bagno reale di Catellina*") and, especially, the ancient (Ghibelline) house of the Uberti, who claimed connections to the Roman and German emperors.[48]

Other, even more intriguing, episodes in Catiline's "afterlife" centered around his romance with Queen Belisea, widow of the Roman king Fiorino (Florinus). Indeed, the queen herself now acquired a "second life," for in the *Libro fiesolano* we were told that Fiorino's wife and children had also been killed during the Fiesolans' nocturnal attack on the Roman camp. The story is found in at least three, slightly different, versions: in a long note entered in the margins of a manuscript of Bosone da Gubbio's *L' Avventuroso Siciliano* (after 1350); in the *Zibaldone* attributed to Antonio Pucci (of which the earliest manuscript is dated to 1362); and in the *Storia fiorentina* of Ricordano Malispini (which may also be dated to the second half of the fourteenth century).[49]

In the Malispini chronicle, the episode of Catiline and Belisea follows upon that of Fiorino's death, expanding, as it were, the account of the *Libro fiesolano*. As the story unfolds, Catiline, in love with the beautiful Belisea, kills his rival Pravus, who had

47. As F. Cardini ("Concetto di Cavalleria," 162–63) argues, the *cantari* were no less important than the chronicles in shaping the collective memory. In the early thirteenth century, when hereditary nobility could arouse envy and suspicion, and even in the twelfth century, following the unification of Fiesolans and Florentines, the families of these once rival centers sought to create for themselves a suitably impressive civic ancestry.

48. The Canonica of Fiesole (11th century), in which Belisea, according to some of the *novelle*, attended Mass, is mentioned in Giuseppe Raspini, *La chiesa fiesolana e le sue istituzioni* (Fiesole: Servizio Editoriale Fiesolano, 1993), 84, and *I monasteri nella diocesi di Fiesole* (Fiesole: Tip. Sbolci, 1982), 41. Considering the many episodes in the story of Catiline that take place in Fiesole and the supposed marriage of Uberto Cesare to a woman of this town, one would expect to find evidence of Uberti possessions in the area or of ties to local families. Although none have yet come to light, the question deserves further investigation. See also note 54 below. Some topographical references may be found in Emanuele Repetti, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana*, 6 vols. (Florence: Presso l'autore e editore, 1833–46), e.g. Combiate, a fortress located at a strategic pass along the old road from Val di Marina to Barberino in Mugello, captured by the Florentines in 1202 (see 1.789 and Villani, VI.xxx).

49. *Storia fiorentina di Ricordano Malispini*, ed. V. Follini (Florence: G. Ricci, 1816; rpt. Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1976); see chapters 12–20. Laura Mastroddi reviews the scholarship on the Malispini question (agreeing with Charles T. Davis, who assigned it to the later fourteenth century) and presents a new annotated edition of chapters 1–45, based on a codex at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, Ms. Vittorio Emanuele 499, in "Contributo al testo critico della 'Storia fiorentina' di Ricordano Malispini" (Tesi di Laurea, L'Università di Roma "La Sapienza," Anno Accademico 1998–99. Relatore: Prof. Giorgio Inglese; Correlatore: Prof. Girolamo Arnaldi). (I thank Prof. Arnaldi for referring me to this thesis.) Other, expanded versions of the legend are found in a long marginal note in a fourteenth-century manuscript containing Bosono da Gubbio's *Avventuroso Siciliano* (Laur. LXXXIX, inf. LX), edited by R. Gigliucci (Rome, 1989), and in Antonio Pucci, *Libro di varie storie*, ed. A. Varvaro, *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, ser. IV, 16, pt. 2 (1957), of which the oldest manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Tempi 2) is dated 1362.

taken her captive, and carries her off to his own palace in Fiesole.[50] There, Catiline tenderly cares for her, while she recovers from her wounds and tearfully pleads with him to obtain the release of her daughter Teverina, secretly held captive by another knight, a certain Centurione, elsewhere in Fiesole. Eventually, mother and daughter are reunited (thanks to Belisea's diplomacy), although this is not for long. When Centurione, obliged to go into exile, is about to depart on horseback, he persuades the queen to let him see his beloved Teverina one last time, and at the moment the girl extends her hand to bid him farewell, he snatches her up into the saddle and gallops off. As the story continues, Catiline lays siege to the Castello di Nalde (or, in the other versions, the Castello di Combiate), where Centurione has taken refuge, but is forced to return to Fiesole to defend the city against a renewed attack by Julius Caesar and the Roman army.

In the two other sources (that is, the *chiosa,* or marginal note, in Bosone da Gubbio's *Avventuroso Siciliano,* and the *Zibaldone* of Pucci), the *novella* continues, and Queen Belisea herself becomes the heroine. The action takes place at the time the Romans are laying siege to Fiesole, and Catiline boasts to the queen that, as he alone knows the secret of its defense (an underground conduit that guarantees a supply of water), the enemy will never succeed in capturing the city. The queen, anxious to regain her freedom, cajoles him into revealing the secret, and promptly informs the Roman commander Julius Caesar: an episode that recalls the story of Fulvia, Quintus Curtius, and Cicero in Sallust's own *Bellum Catilinae,* 23—as well as analogous episodes in other literatures. Caesar, in turn, consults a Spanish astrologer, Antifeo (or, in the *Zibaldone,* a council of wisemen), and is advised to take a mule, not let it drink for five days, then—leading it around the city—start digging where the mule begins to paw the ground.[51] The Romans discover the conduit, Belisea escapes to the Roman camp, and Catiline flees, attempting to deceive the Romans by his usual stratagem. Near Campo Piceno he is overtaken with his army and dies in battle—though, in still another version reported by Pucci, he escapes to the Castle of Combiate and dies only later during a battle with the "tyrant" Attila.

Precisely when and how these stories originated, we can only speculate. It is likely, however, that they were linked to the historical romances and family genealogies that remained popular in the Trecento, preserving or, in some cases, creating memories of a warrior aristocracy, expeditions against the feudal strongholds in the *contado,* and chivalric ideals.[52] Catiline himself assumes the character of a knight,

50. While the name Pravus seems to be a corruption of Petreius, the legate of Antonius in the battle at Pistoia, the origin of Bel(l)isea is unclear. The verb *belare* (bleat, cry fretfully, whimper, whine, etc.) might give a clue; indeed, Belisea is described as continually weeping and lamenting the disappearance of her daughter). But it may simply be a medieval romance name.

51. One might expect parallels in other folk literature, but I have not found any similar situations cited in Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature,* rev. and enl. ed., 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58), vol. 1 on prophetic and helpful animals, B 400–599, or vol. 4 on deceptions of importunate lovers, K1200–1299.

52. See John M. Najemy, "The Dialogue of Power in Florentine Politics," in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy,* ed. A. Molho, K. Raaflaub, J. Emlen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), 269–88, especially 277 ff. Najemy describes the metamorphosis in the political style and image of the Florentine elite between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fifteenth century from that of "a warrior class of wealthy families" to one shaped increasingly by economic values and interests. Marvin Becker comments on the persistence of the medieval

performing acts of courage and generosity while he cares for the wounded Belisea and bravely seeks to rescue her daughter Teverina. The episode of Totila, who avenges the death of Catiline, similarly recalls the lawlessness of the great magnate families and the persistence of private vendetta well beyond the introduction of the Ordinances of Justice (the ordinances of 1293 that excluded the magnates from the priorate and required them to post a bond against disturbances of the peace). The particular connection of Catiline with the Uberti, and the links they establish with both Julius Caesar and the Ottonian emperors, point in turn to Ghibelline allegiances, and it is possible that these Roman and Germanic genealogies were elaborated during the mid- to late 1200s, when the conflict between Ghibellines and Guelfs was at its height, as a way of reinforcing the claims of the Uberti and the political ambitions of their faction. But they could also reflect a later attempt to celebrate, or rehabilitate the memory of, this magnate family, traditionally hostile to popular government in Florence and involved in a number of conspiracies in the 1250s "*contro la patria.*"[53] In 1268, after the Guelf victory, twenty-eight members of the family were listed among the "*sbanditi e ribelli*" to be banished from Florence.[54]

The Catiline (that is, the fictitious Catiline) of this feudal and chivalric tradition assumes, as we see, the role of protagonist, and his connections to Caesar and the Ottonian dynasty endow him with a certain imperial status. According to Nicola Criniti, these Tuscan legends of Catiline marked, in fact, the first departure from the classical, senatorial tradition that had continuously denigrated the Roman conspirator, representing him as the vicious and depraved enemy of the commonwealth. Now, on the

chivalric code, side by side with the new "business acumen" and "burgher ethic" in the early thirteenth century in his *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), 1. *The Decline of the Commune*, 12. Cf. also F. Cardini (n. 45 above), who discusses the change of attitudes in the early fourteenth century, as the old feudal ideal of nobility of birth was being transformed by the governing class into an ideal of municipal aristocracy, and families were eager to connect themselves with the great cities of antiquity.

53. Charles T. Davis raises a similar question in reference to the author and time of writing of the Malispini chronicle: "he [the author] is equally ready to celebrate the Fiesolan Uberti, the old *contado* nobility, and the ancient houses of Florence. Is his interest in the past the result of his being close to it or far from it, an expression of genuine 'feudal' pride or of the solicitude of the professional genealogist?" "Dante, Villani, and Ricordano Malispini," in *Dante's Idea of Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), Appendix I, 244–269, at 261.

54. On the Uberti, see in particular Sergio Raveggi, Massimo Tarassi, et al., *Ghibellini, guelfi e popolo grasso* (Florence: La nuova Italia,, 1978), 28–33 and 72, as well as the references in Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. in 6 (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1896–1927), seen in the Italian translation *Storia d'Italia*, 8 vols. (Florence: Sansoni [1956–69], trans. Giovanni Battista Klein, rev. Roberto Palmarocchi, especially vols. 1 and 2; and the *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, 5 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1976), 776ff, s.v. "Uberti" (Arnaldo d'Addario). On the (supposed) connection between Ghibellines and Fiesolans, Davis relates Villani's views on the (imagined) rebuilding of Florence by Charlemagne: "He built Florence, Villani says, with the cooperation of the Pope and with Roman settlers, and gave the new city a government like that of Rome. The Fiesolans at first were overawed, but afterwards they always linked themselves with emperors and other enemies of the Romans and the Church *'con gli imperadori e con gli altri signori e tiranni ch'erano rubelli e nimici della Chiesa e de' Romani'*" (Charles T. Davis, "Topographical and Historical Propaganda," 49).

contrary: "*Per la trasformazione infatti di Catilina in eroe nazionale eponimo ad esempio di Firenze, Fiesole, Pistoia, Cutigliano, dovuta ad una lettura commossa e romantica del finale del* Bellum Catilinae *di Sallustio e fors'anche ad una più o meno inconscia solidarietà 'etrusca' con colui che sembrava essersi reso sensibile ai problemi socio-economici locali contro il potere statale centrale, il termine [Catilina] perde in esse il forte valore dispregiativo e gode anzi di giudizi estremamente favorevoli. . . .*"[55]

Viewed against the *longue durée* of the classical-civic tradition, however, Catiline's adventures on the hills of Fiesole prove relatively short-lived and, even in the framework of these late medieval stories, his own role remains profoundly ambiguous. It is difficult, therefore, to see, as Criniti has argued, a radical transformation in the image of Catiline and the makings of a national (or even Tuscan) hero—or, for that matter, an anticipation of the romantic figure that we find in some of the historical literature and drama of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although, at the outset, he appears as the protector of Fiesole, he soon becomes the city's major obstacle to reconciliation with Rome (and, of course, with Florence). After some eight years of resistance, when the Fiesolans are ready to submit to Rome, and when the expulsion of Catiline is made a condition for settlement, they do not hesitate to sacrifice their onetime champion for the sake of peace. Moreover, even if he is 'adopted' into the house of the Uberti, he cannot champion the Ghibelline (or imperial) cause against papal Rome any more convincingly than the real Catiline could ever have led the opposition against the *optimates* of the Roman senate. The very efforts to connect him with Julius Caesar, to reconstitute the broken ties to Rome, to restore him and his family to the "civic rights" or Roman inheritance that have been forfeited by his revolt, reveal the internal contradictions of his position and the dilemmas that he presented. Whether Rome signified the republic of Cicero or the rule of emperors, it stood for stable political authority and good order, and the Catiline of Fiesolan legend could never entirely divest himself of his revolutionary past (or at least the Ciceronian and Sallustian reconstruction of that past) and establish a fully legitimate claim to Roman citizenship. Even as a knight, Catiline does not quite fit the part. He may acquire certain attributes of chivalry and valiantly defend his lady. But in the end, he is outwitted by Centurione and betrayed by Belisea herself, a Roman woman who discovers his secret and brings about his ultimate downfall. It was as a moral lesson, in fact, that the story seems to have been inserted in Bosone da Gubbio's *Avventuroso Siciliano*: an "*avisamento ch'ebbono i cittadini di quella [città] per loro scampo*" ("a warning that the citizens of that [city] had for their deliverance").[56]

55. Criniti, "'Catilina' e 'Catilinario'," 128–29. As he continues: "*Anche le grottesche incongruenze in cui caddero gli ingenui autori di cronache toscane del XIII-XIV secolo—spesso tuttora manoscritte—testimoniano che la tradizione catilinaria, creazione all'origine di polemica e propaganda politica filtrata da eruditi e letterati, dovette poi affondare le sue radici nel tessuto vivo della cultura e fantasia popolare medievale. E così si possono spiegare le gustose rappresentazioni di un Catilina che, prima della battaglia di Pistoia, va a messa (tipico dei 'cicli romani') oppure veniva acclamato da* 'viva, viva Catellina in sechula sechulorum' . . . !" *Ibid.*, 129–30 and note 47. Criniti cites as his source for this passage a dissertation by Nicole Nicolas, *Catilina dans la tradition toscane* (Strasbourg, 1973), which I have not located. The question of Catilinarianism in the Renaissance, as presented by Jacob Burckhardt, Ezio Bolaffi, and Nicola Criniti, who also discusses its manifestations in early modern and modern times, will be examined in a subsequent article, currently in progress.

56. *L'Avventuroso Siciliano*, 164. The Fiesolans, "*collo senno e forza e malizia*" of Catiline had made war upon the Romans. It is through the heroic example of Belisea, so it is implied, that the

The Affirmation of the Classical Tradition of Catiline

Throughout most of the fourteenth century, the two different traditions of Catiline co-existed, often overlapping or borrowing from each other, in the chronicles and *novelle* not only of Florence but also of other centers of Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marche. Armannino Giudice, author of the *Fiorita* (1328), praised Catiline's military virtues, but stressed the moral lessons and political warnings of the tale, that is, the envy and hatred that the *"poveri malvagi"* harbored towards the rich and prosperous:

> *Sempre quegli rei cictadini animosi, che non ànno ricchecçe, hanno invidia a quegli buoni che amano el comune bene et in buono stato si sanno mantenere. Però questi cotali rey di grande affare inducono quanto possono gli altri poveri malvagi a mal fare: rifugio sono di ladroni et d'asessini. . . .* [57]
>
> Those bold and wicked citizens, who do not have wealth, always resent those good ones who love the common good and know how to maintain themselves in a prosperous state. But these high-class culprits induce as they can the other poor scoundrels to evil-doing: a refuge they are for thieves and assassins. . . .

Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, writing his *Cronaca fiorentina* in the years 1378 to 1385, also tried to take account of Catiline's virtues, as well as his vices. On the one hand, he insists, the Roman noble *"era uomo di mala condizione e di disonesta vita ed era dal vino e dalle femmine alcuna volta ingannato"* ("he was a man of bad character and immoral life and was sometimes beguiled by wine and women") but, he acknowledges, he was also *"cortese e in fatti d'arme prudente e sommo"* ("courteous in manner, and in battle prudent and highly skillful").[58] By the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the image of Catiline-the-knight roaming the hills of Fiesole was rapidly fading into the horizon. Leonardo Bruni, in the proem to his *Historiae florentini populi* (ca.1418), drew a sharp line of demarcation between history and fable. In recounting the story of Catiline in his summary of the ancient Roman and Etruscan city-states, he had relied, in fact, upon his two most trusted Latin authorities for this period, Sallust and Cicero. It was their accounts of the past that provided *"verissima notitia."* The rest, he implied—like the legend of Florence's foundation by Caesar (rather

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city was able to liberate itself. In the introduction to his edition (22), Gigliucci emphasizes the dual purpose of Bosone's *romanzo storico*, that is *"il preciso senso della storia e l'inevitabile finalizzazione etico-religiosa."* Armannino Giudice's the *Fiorita*, which also had a moralizing aim, presented a similarly contradictory image of Catiline exemplifying, on the one hand, the vice of *invidia* and, on the other, the martial virtues of courage and skill in battle. (Conversely, the accounts of Catiline in what has been called here the classical-civic tradition often adopted the attitudes and motifs of chivalrous romances; the *Fait des Romains*, for example, describes the Roman and Fiesolan soldiers as *"vertues chavaliers."*)

57. As he added in a later version: *"Sempre quelloro che non vole bene vivere desiderano mutamenti de novj statij"* ("Those who are not content to live rightly always desire changes in the state"). The passages from the *Fiorita* (Rédaction A. fol. 183v and C, fol. 69d) are quoted in Flutre, *Li Fait des Romains dans les littératures française et italienne*, 384–85.
58. *Cronaca fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani*, ed. N. Rodolico, Rerum italicarum scriptores, 2nd ser., XXX,1 (Città di Castello, 1903), 9 (Rubrica 18).

than by Sulla, as Coluccio Salutati had already argued) or the *novella* of Catiline and Belisea—were to be relegated to the rank of "*vulgares fabulosaeque opiniones.*"[59]

The fact that Catiline-the-villain had his origins in ancient history (or at least historiography) was certainly essential to the survival and success of the classical version. Even in the abridged versions of the early chronicles and in the French adaptations, this image of Catiline had possessed an authority that his shadowy successor of the late medieval romances could never attain. Now, with the humanist return to the sources, the story acquired even greater substance and broader significance. By going back to the accounts of Cicero and Sallust, Bruni placed the conspiracy in the socio-political context of the later Roman Republic, explaining its causes, circumstances, and consequences: an historical perspective that also grew out of his careful reading of the Latin historians, especially Sallust.

Just as important, however, in assuring the success of the classical account of Catiline and his conspiracy was its value in teaching civic lessons. The usefulness of Sallust's monograph as a source of moral and political wisdom had long been recognized in the medieval (and ancient) schools, as was mentioned above, but it was particularly evident in the Latin commentaries and *accessus* which, from the fourteenth century or earlier, had been circulating in Italy. According to the author of one especially popular *accessus*, intent upon communicating his message in the simple, categorical terms of this genre, the purpose of the *Bellum Catilinae* was to condemn those who attacked their country and to praise those who defended it; its utility lay in the examples of Catiline and Cicero and their respective fates:

> *In hoc itaque opere materia Salustii est Catilina inpugnans patriam cum suis fautoribus, et Cicero defendens patriam cum suis co-adiutoribus; ex quorum vitiis et virtutibus constat iste tractatus. Intentio eius est redarguere impugnantes patriam, sed quia materiae impugnationis patriae sunt diversae, alii enim per ambitionem alii per avaritiam patriam impugnant, videndum est quam causam impugnationis auctor iste intendat redarguere. Hic itaque intendit redarguere impugnantes patriam per ambitionem, et e contrario intendit laudare defendentes patriam per bonam considerationem. Causa huius intentionis talis est. Viderat enim auctor iste quosdam sui temporis fraudulentos patriae impugnando sollicitos, ad quorum dehortationem instat proponit historiam. et hoc facit duos inducendo in exemplum: Catilinam id est et Ciceronem. Alter quorum, scilicet Catilina, a nobilitate detrusus est ad ignobilitatem, utpote qui merito factis suis dignum vitae meruit exitum; alter vero Cicero videlicet ab ignobilitate ascendit ad nobilitatem, utpote qui merito de rhetore factus est consul et pater patriae meruit appellari. . . . Utilitas maxima est ut viso quid contigerit Catilinae ex patriae impugnatione, patriam non impugnemus; viso quid contigerit Ciceroni ex patriae defensione, patriam defendimus.*[60]

And thus in this work the subject matter of Sallust is Catiline attacking his country with his supporters and Cicero defending his country with his co-

59. On the controversy over the foundation of Florence and the role of classical sources, see Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, V.22, ed. A. Lanza (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1975), 311. Ronald G. Witt discusses the dispute in his "Coluccio Salutati and the Origins of Florence," *Il pensiero politico* 2 (1969): 161–72.

60. Venice: J. Tacuinus, 1500. On this *accessus* and the accompanying commentary, see Robert Ulery's description of the manuscripts in the forthcoming *Catalogus* article (note 4 above).

> helpers, of whose vices and virtues this particular treatise consists. The intention is to refute those who are attacking their country, but since the subject matters of the attack on the fatherland are different, as some attack their country out of ambition, others out of avarice, it must be seen what cause of attack this author intends to refute. And so here he intends to refute those attacking their country out of ambition, and on the contrary he intends to praise those defending their country out of good consideration. Such is the cause of this intention. For this very author had seen certain deceitful men of his own time busily engaged in attacking their country, to the dissuasion of whom he presses on, puts forward the history. And he does this by bringing forth two men as examples, Catiline, that is, and Cicero. One of them, namely Catiline, has been reduced from nobility to ignominy, inasmuch as his deeds made him especially deserving of a departure worthy of his life; the other, however, Cicero, clearly ascended from ignobility to nobility, inasmuch as he was deservingly raised from orator to consul and deserved to be called father of his country. . . . The greatest utility is that, having seen what happened to Catiline for attacking his country, we not attack our country; having seen what happened to Cicero for defending his country, we defend our country.

In many respects, Bruni's version carried the same basic message, and made use of the same *exempla*, as seen in the other branches of the Latin tradition, whether preserved in the epitomized form of the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, revived in the vernacular adaptations or translations of Sallust's *BC* used by Brunetto Latini and Giovanni Villani, or repeated in the Latin commentaries.[61] Bruni was going back to Sallust himself, to be sure, and also writing with far greater (Ciceronian) elegance, but the moral of the story was essentially the same: the danger that Catiline's conspiracy had posed for the very survival of Florence (and that such an attempt to overthrow established government could present in the future as well):

> *Enim vero hic motus rerum ac belli vicinitas, ut non nihil detrimenti novae urbi incussisse, sic veluti quamdam salutarem disciplinam hominibus attulisse videtur. Per aliena namque pericula, spe novarum dictaturarum praemiorumque, quibus ante vehementius inhiabant, deposita, suis contentos esse rebus oportere tunc primum didicerunt, et spem in turbatione ponere vanum ac periculosum esse. Simul igitur cum animi proposito mutati mores. Terreri alieno aere, sua diligenter circumspicere ac perpendere, parsimoniae ac frugalitati operam dare, sobrietatem colere, disciplinam*

61. On Bruni's political sympathies, and particularly his reinterpretation of Roman republican ideals in defense of the Florentine oligarchy and imperialistic policy, see Hankins, "The 'Baron Thesis' after Forty Years" (note 4 above). Cf. A. La Penna on Bruni's liberal (rather than democratic) political views in his "Il significato di Sallustio nella storiografia e nel pensiero politico di Leonardo Bruni," *Sallustio e la "rivoluzione" romana*, Appendice prima, 409–31, at 417. John Najemy discusses Bruni's political ideas in terms of the shift to consensus politics in his *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280–1400* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982). As he also remarks in his "Dialogue of Power," 283, "the discourse of the *popolo*," which had developed out of the earlier guild republicanism and which emphasized the constitutional basis of power, had become, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, "the elite's second nature."

> *rei domesticae exercere, luxuriam et prodigalitatem viam ad perniciem existimare, haec ipsi facere, haec liberos edocere. Igitur civitas, emendatis moribus, robustius coalescere: et immigrabant frequentes, dulcedine loci amoenitateque pellecti. Surgebant aedificia, soboles augebatur. . . .* [62]
>
> The disturbance and the near proximity of war seems in fact to have done some harm to the city [of Florence — already founded, according to Bruni, by Sulla's veterans] but also to have forced the people to learn a good lesson. From the trials of another, they learned to give up their favorite dream of new dictatorships and new booty. For the first time they realized that they must build on what they had, and that placing their hopes in revolution was both vain and dangerous; and all at once they changed, not only their ideas, but their way of life. What they believed and acted on, and the way they educated their children, changed. Now they feared debt, carefully watched and counted their possessions and cultivated thrift and frugal ways, were sober, limited their spending, and saw luxury and prodigality as the road to ruin. Having mended its ways, the city became prosperous, many people immigrated, attracted by the beauty and charm of the region, and new buildings arose. The population grew.

Frugality, sobriety, industry, discipline, devotion to the *bonum commune*: such were the civic virtues that had made Rome, and the new city of Florence, grow and expand: virtues that for Bruni, as well as for Sallust and Cicero, distinguished (and in turn justified) the elite's control of political affairs. By contrast, it had been the false promises of easy gain and rapid success, with which the popular demagogue Catiline had deceived his followers and incited the population of Fiesole to revolt, that had led to the ruin of Fiesole and had threatened the young community of Florence herself. In the moral-rhetorical tradition of classical historiography, Bruni elaborated upon the story of the Roman conspirator to celebrate, like his predecessors, the Roman heritage of his city and its republican destiny, and to denounce the evils of domestic strife. Catiline-the-villain: this was the image of the Roman conspirator that prevailed over and ultimately eclipsed any chivalric figure of the hero, or anti-hero—with all its feudal associations—and shaped the Renaissance perceptions of political life in the late Roman Republic.

It was this same Catiline who, in the meantime, was also becoming a literary model for portraits of contemporary conspirators: seditious politicians who stirred up revolts against established governments with promises of offices, honors, and wealth.

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62. *Leonardi Bruni Historiarum florentini populi libri XII*, ed. E. Santini, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 2nd ser., XIX,3 (Città di Castello, 1926), 7. The accompanying English version is from *Humanism and Liberty: Writings on Freedom from Fifteenth-Century Florence*, trans. and ed. Renée Neu Watkins (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978), 33. Bruni's preface to the *Historiae* (and other writings) are translated in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni. Selected Texts*. Trans. and Introduction by Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson, Medieval and Renaissance texts and studies 46 = Renaissance texts series 10 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in conjunction with The Renaissance Society of America, 1987). A new translation of books 1–4 by Hankins is in preparation for The I Tatti Renaissance Library series of neo-Latin texts.

When Dino Compagni, writing in the early fourteenth century, compared the Guelf leader Corso Donati to the protagonist of Sallust's monograph, he was in fact inaugurating (or reviving) a rhetorical fashion that would continue throughout and beyond the Renaissance. Compagni knew Sallust well, to judge from the themes and stylistic features that characterized his writing. But the portrait of Donati seemed especially fitting, indeed tailor-made, for the haughty and anarchic head of the *Neri*:

> *Uno cavaliere della somiglianza di Catilina romano, ma più crudele di lui, gentile di sangue, bello di corpo, piacevole parlatore, adorno di belli costumi, sottile d'ingegno, con l'animo sempre intento a malfare, col quale molti masnadieri si raunavano e gran seguito avea, molte arsioni e molte ruberie fece fare, e gran dannaggio a' Cerchi e a' loro amici; molto avere guadagnò, e in grande alteza salì. Costui fu messer Corso Donati, che per sua superbia fu chiamato il Barone; che quando passava per la terra, molti gridavano: "Viva il Barone"; e parea la terra sua. La vanagloria il guidava, e molti servigi facea.*[63]
>
> A knight in the mold of Catiline the Roman, but more cruel; noble of blood, handsome of body, a charming speaker, adorned with good breeding, subtle of intellect, with his mind always set on evildoing; one who gathered many armed men and kept a great entourage, who ordered many arsons and robberies and did great damage to the Cerchi and their friends, who gained many possessions and rose to great heights: such was messer Corso Donati, who because of his pride was called the Baron. When he passed through the city many cried "long live the Baron," and the city seemed to belong to him. He was led by vanity, and bestowed many favors.

Later, in book 3, chapter 19, Compagni recounted Donati's *congiura* of 1308, borrowing motifs and phrases from Sallust's monograph to describe the Guelf leader's efforts to mobilize his faction and lead an attack on the Palazzo dei Signori. Whether or not Donati actually assembled and addressed his followers in the manner described by Compagni, his speech in the *Chronica* echoed Catiline's oration to his accomplices in *BC*, chapter 20. Like the Roman conspirator, Donati was recruiting men of diverse social backgrounds, but here he appealed especially to the *grandi*, who had never forgiven the *popolani* for having instituted the Ordinances of Justice:

> *"Costoro s'appropriano tutti gli onori; e noi altri, che siamo gentili uomini e potenti,*

63. *La Cronica di Dino Compagni*, II.20, with introduction and commentary by Gino Luzzatto (Milan: F. Vallardi, 1905), 100–101. The following translation is taken from *Dino Compagni's Chronicle of Florence*, translated with Introduction and Notes by Daniel E. Bornstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 48–49. Compagni, who (like Dante) was a victim of the Black victory in 1301, narrates the political strife in Florence between 1280 and 1312. A number of authors have remarked on the Sallustian qualities of Compagni's style: "*I pregi della dettatura di Dino sono la purità delle parole, l'eleganza dello stile, la brevità, la forza, la precisione, e la vivacità de' concetti. . . . Il Perticari lo dice* breve, rapido, denso; *e il Giordani*: non è una maraviglia di scrittore Dino Compagni, che per brevità, precisione, vigore, non avrebbe da vergognarsene Sallustio?" Vincenzo Nannucci, *Manuale della letteratura del primo secolo della lingua italiana*, 2 vols. (2nd ed., Florence: Barbera, Bianchi & Comp., 1858), introduction and excerpts, 2: 209ff (at 213). A new critical edition by Davide Cappi has just appeared: *Dino Compagni. Cronica* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000).

> *stiamo come strani: costoro hànno gli scherigli, i quali li seguitano: costoro hànno i falsi popolani, e partonsi il tesoro, del quale noi, come maggiori, dovremmo essere signori."*[64]
>
> "These men appropriate all the offices and the rest of us, although we are noble and powerful men, are treated like strangers. These men have bodyguards who follow them around. These men have the false *popolani*, and they share out the treasure which we, as leading citizens, should control."

The ambivalent features of Catiline's personality, masterfully depicted in the *ritratto paradossale* of Sallust's *BC*, chapter 5, heightened the dramatic effect of the moral and civic lesson.[65] Although a man of exceptional intelligence and physical prowess, he is corrupted by "monstrous vices"; although capable of *virtus*, he is driven by *ingenium malum* to criminal ends. Such negative traits could frustrate any attempt to turn him into a popular hero and defender of liberty, for his reported vices diminished or obscured any gleam of the heroic. Yet the positive qualities—especially his intellectual and physical energy—could, by contrast, set in relief and exaggerate the perverse, criminal elements of his nature, dramatizing the conflict and assuring his fame as a literary model in the centuries ahead.[66]

Guelf connections

It was in predominantly Guelf *ambienti*, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, that the Sallustian (and Ciceronian) story of Catiline's conspiracy, together with the image of the violent, depraved Roman revolutionary, was revived and dif-

64. *Ibid.*, III.19. As Isidoro Del Lungo remarks in his edition *Dino Compagni e la sua cronica*, 2 vols. (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1879), 2: 329, note 23: "*Tutto questo paragone . . . rammenta quel passo del discorso di Catilina ai compagni:* 'Quis mortalium . . . tolerare potest, illis divitias superare . . . , nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse?' (Sallust., *Catilina*, XX)." The English version is from Bornstein's *Dino Compagni's Chronicle of Florence*, 82.

65. On the "paradoxical portrait" of Catilina, see Antonio La Penna, "Il ritratto 'paradossale' da Silla a Petronio, *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, ser. 3, 104 (1976) 270–93, reprinted with additions and corrections in his *Aspetti del pensiero storico latino*, Piccola biblioteca Einaudi 354 (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1978; 2nd, expanded edition, 1983), 193–221 and 223–230, at 212: "*nel tipo catilinario l'energia, l'industria, le grandi o anche eccezionali capacità . . . la resistenza alle privazioni e alle fatiche, il coraggio non sono mai messi a servizio di valori positivi . . . ma sono sempre utilizzati da una volontà perversa a scopi criminali.*"

66. The comparison of Corso Donati to Catiline seems to have been a perfect match: "*Certo [Donati] fu una figura di estrema energia, fondalmentalmente un asociale insofferente di freni, secondo taluno (Davidsohn), un Catilina su misura toscana, che s'impose al rispetto e al timore degli amici e anche dei nemici.*" "Donati, Corso," in *Enciclopedia Dantesca* 2 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana,1970), 558–560, at 560 (Ernesto Sestan). There are other correspondences as well. The concluding words to Compagni's prologue (I. 2), "*ho fatto questo principio per aprire la via a intendere, dove procedette de' Guelfi e Ghibellini: e ritorneremo alle cose che furono nei nostri tempi,*" echo *BC* 5.9. The "*invettiva*" at the beginning of chapter two, denouncing the arrogance and ambition of the rival factions and their leaders, recalls the arguments in *BC* 9–13 and *BI* 4.

fused. In the first place, as we have seen, the alliance with Rome, and particularly with France, created the principal venues for the diffusion of classical texts.[67] Brunetto Latini, a prominent member of the Guelf faction, most likely became acquainted with the adaptation of the classical account in *Li Fait des Romains* during his exile in France in the 1260s. In the first decades of the Trecento, Giovanni Villani, inspired by his visit to Rome and by the reading of classical authors to celebrate the growth of his own city and the achievements of the Parte Guelfa, borrowed even more extensively from its Italian rendering, *I Fatti di Cesare*, as well as (at least in part) from the recent *volgarizzamento* of Sallust by Bartolomeo da San Concordio. This Tuscan version of the monographs had been commissioned in the early 1300s by Nero Cambi, usually identified with a business associate of the Spini by that name, one of the principal agents of the Black Guelfs at the court of Boniface VIII.[68] During the same period, Latin commentaries on Sallust's two monographs were crossing the Alps, finding their way into the libraries of religious orders and into the hands of local schoolmasters and students. In a period in which intense factional conflict made the subject of Sallust's work particularly germane to Florentine politics, the Guelf political network thus facilitated the copying and circulation of the texts, popularizing the account of the ancient conspiracy.

In the second place, the Guelf merchant families, who in the fourteenth century became the core of the Florentine governing class, could find in the Sallustian account the self-image of a politically-committed municipal aristocracy and prudent (Ciceronian) statesmanship, and, in the figure of Catiline, a powerful weapon of political and social propaganda. The image of the Roman rebel, fomenter of disorder and sedition, could be used, it is true, to denounce the ambitions and *prepotenza* of the Guelf magnates who perpetuated the feudal habits of anarchy and aggression. Dino Compagni, member of a *famiglia popolana*, presented a vivid critique of oligarchic violence in his portrait of the Black leader Corso Donati: a new Catiline, spreading terror and destruction throughout the city.[69] But the story of the ancient contest between Cicero and Catiline was also important in reinforcing the claims of the Guelf mercantile community, ennobling the ideals of guild republicanism, as these were gradually transforming the political discourse of the Florentine aristocracy, and, at the same time, strengthening the resistance to new challenges from lower-class movements.[70] The *homines novi* or

67. On the importance of France in the transmission of classical authors and the beginnings of humanism in Italy, see (in addition to the studies mentioned in note 39 above) Charles T. Davis's essays in *Dante's Italy* and Ronald G. Witt, "Medieval *Ars dictaminis* and the Beginnings of Humanism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1985): 1–35 and "Medieval Italian Culture and the Origins of Humanism as a Stylistic Ideal," in *Renaissance Humanism: foundations, forms, and legacy*, ed. A. Rabil, Jr., 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988). 1. *Humanism in Italy*, 29–70.
68. "Bartolomeo da S. Concordio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 6 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1964), 768–770 (Cesare Segre).
69. Najemy states that "Compagni's purpose was of course to highlight the almost gratuitous, and in any case irrational, recourse to violence that characterized the elite families." "Dialogue of Power," 277, n. 19.
70. Cf. note 52 above on the transformation of the Florentine elite and Najemy's comments that by the fourteenth century "members of the elite . . . began to present themselves more as prudent merchants than as valiant fighters." At the same time, corporate ideas of republican government, which also had their origins in the experience of the guilds, were gradu-

gente nuova rising to a position of prominence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century could identify with Cicero, the most respected and admired *homo novus* of Roman antiquity. Like him they embraced the principles of constitutional government, which he himself had defended against the threats of civic violence—whether these signalled a recrudescence of feudal strife among families of the old warrior class or new social and economic pressures from the ranks of the *popolo minuto*. Sallust's account of the Catilinarian conspiracy gave voice to the aspirations for a *regime dell'ordine* that could unite upper class families in a common cause and give further support to what John Najemy has called "consensus politics."[71]

Conclusions

The long and varied reception, or afterlife, of the Roman conspirator Catiline in the chronicles, histories, and *novelle* of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance testifies to the extraordinary vitality of this figure in Florentine literature and to the continuing importance of his story, in different contexts and periods, as a vehicle of Roman political ideas. In the first stages, as seen in the *Gesta Florentinorum* of Sanzanome and the *Chronica de origine civitatis*, he embodied the forces of *external* opposition—of Fiesole, Pistoia, and other towns of Tuscany—to Florentine territorial expansion and political hegemony, represented as part of the city's imperial destiny, the legacy of the "emperor" Julius Caesar to the "second Rome."[72] Later—though briefly enrolled as a "Ghibelline" in the conflict with papal Rome—Catiline reassumed his original role as the antagonist of Cicero and enemy of the Roman Republic. In the historical summaries of Brunetto Latini and Giovanni Villani, as well as in Dino Compagni's literary portrait of Corso Donati, he came to stand for the *internal* forces of opposition, the threats of sedition within the commune. Certainly, other Roman texts, especially Cicero's

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ally assimilated into the political discourse of the elite. "Dialogue of Power," 278. Here, it is argued that the authority of the ancient sources may have helped reinforce and enhance the guild-based ideology, facilitating "the shift in self-perception" of the elite, while furnishing arguments that could also strengthen its opposition to new challenges from the minor guilds.

71. Najemy remarks that "the central aim of the oligarchy in guild politics was to keep the non-elite members of the guilds safely anchored to upper-class consensus" (*Corporatism and Consensus*, 12). Cf. his "Guild Republicanism," 69–70. On the persistence of republican themes into the mid-fifteenth century, see Alison Brown, "The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, *Pater Patriae*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961): 186–221, at 189–90, where she has called attention to the early representations of Cosimo as a patriotic Roman statesman, like Cicero a man of "'gravity, skill and prudence' in governing the republic." Cf. D. Weinstein, "Myth of Florence," 59–60: "The dominance of these themes of civic concord combined with self-assertion abroad coincided remarkably closely with the period of Cosimo de' Medici's leadership, 1436–64." On the legacy of republican thought and the widely-diffused patriotism within the citizen class in the fifteenth century, see also Brown's "City and Citizen: Changing Perceptions in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy* (note 52 above), 93–111, especially 95, where she observes that Sallust's monographs were often cited as a source of ancient examples and especially of the "need for sacrifice and unity."

72. "Florence was a second Rome, it had been founded by Caesar personally . . . ; it had been populated by the best of Roman society, and when destroyed by Totila, it had been re-erected by the mother-town" (Rubinstein, "Beginnings," 208–209). Cf. note 24 above.

rhetorical works and Livy's *Decades*, along with the Latin translations of Aristotle's *Politics*, also shaped the picture of Florence's ancient heritage and the self-image of its governing families.[73] But Sallust's account of Catiline had an exceptionally broad and diversified audience in both the vernacular and the Latin, through epitomes, chronicles and universal histories, school texts and commentaries, adaptations and *volgarizzamenti*. Easily accessible and, at times, it would seem, almost ubiquitous, the text proved extremely versatile and adaptable, offering valuable historical precedents and articulating the claims of rival factions as they contended for control of the commune and direction of foreign and domestic affairs.

The story of Catiline runs indeed like an unbroken thread through the complex web and the changing patterns of Florentine historiography. In particular, it supplied a basic element of continuity in the transition from communal or Guelf patriotism to the more explicitly classical, secular, and republican civic humanism of the early Quattrocento, two movements or eras that many historians have tended to view, on the contrary, as *dis*continuous.[74] The Guelf alliance provided, as we have seen, a network for the diffusion of both French and Tuscan versions of Sallust, and it was also the *ambiente* in which the Latin texts and commentaries were initially copied and increasingly circulated. In the later decades of the fourteenth century, as Florence began to challenge the Papacy as head of the Guelf cause, the defense of the Roman Republic and its communal values—a defense of Ciceronian "liberty" against the "tyranny" of Catiline—offered the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati a basis for redefining his city's mission and asserting its leadership.[75] Finally, as Florentines celebrated their victory over the duchy of Milan at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the ideals of civic patriotism and self-government, which had first found expression in the Guelf chronicles, were reformulated in a properly classical language and, above

73. The role of such authors as Aristotle, Cicero, Livy, and others is treated in many works on early Renaissance humanism, including the studies by Hans Baron, Nicolai Rubinstein, Charles T. Davis, Ronald G. Witt, and Quentin Skinner (cf. note 4 above). For a brief review, with attached bibliography of English studies on the *fortuna* of Roman and Greek historians in the Renaissance, including Livy, see "Historiography, Classical," in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1999), 3: 154–65 (Patricia Osmond and Marianne Pade).

74. Whether historians agree or not on a significant presence, and influence, of Roman republican ideas in Florentine political thought before Leonardo Bruni, the nature and circumstances of the shift from "Guelf patriotism" to the classicizing republican humanism of early fifteenth-century Florence is still a matter of debate. For an important new contribution to the study of the development of humanism, which emphasizes its roots in the study of grammar, see Ronald G. Witt, *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Studies in medieval and Reformation thought 74 (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 2000). Here I would like to call attention to the element of continuity that I believe the use of Sallust's *BC* represents in what are the otherwise complex and changing currents of Renaissance intellectual history.

75. See Osmond, "*Princeps*," 106–07, on Salutati's missive of 6 November, 1377 to the Roman people (with its appeal to republican liberty in words echoing a number of passages in Sallust's *BC*, 7–9), quoted from Ronald G. Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and his Public Letters* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1976), 54. Cf. other passages in the missives to Bologna of 1 and 28 July, 1376 that echo ideas expressed in the introductory chapters of Sallust's monograph. *Ibid.*, 55.

all, in a conceptual framework of republican historiography that Leonardo Bruni derived in its basic elements from Sallust's *BC*, chapters 7–10.[76]

The Sallustian ideal of republican government, founded on the Roman principles of *virtus* and service to the commonwealth, exalted the notion of personal merit. In late medieval Florence, a political philosophy that flattered the *homines novi* appealed, not surprisingly, to the rising merchant and banking families, just as it was later espoused by a new citizen of Florence in the first decades of the fifteenth century, the humanist chancellor Leonardo Bruni. Yet, as we know from Brunetto Latini and Dante (as well as from ancient writers), the theory of merit was hardly an endorsement of democratic government. Moreover, as the *homines novi* consolidated their control of political affairs, such a concept gradually came to resemble the ancestral *imagines* that C. Marius, in Sallust's *BI*, 85, had represented, in ironic tones, as the justification of the governing class to its continued leadership. When Villani spoke of Catiline's opponents in the Roman senate as men of wisdom and wealth, he was misreading, or simply disregarding, Sallust's descriptions of a decadent Roman nobility corrupted by avarice, contrasted with the older Catonian aristocracy that had scorned the accumulation of private wealth. Yet, by projecting back into Sallust's account of the Roman senatorial republic the moral values and social attitudes of an affluent mercantile class, he was suggesting a comparison with the elite of his own day and a suitable, if fictitious, authority for its political dominance. Bruni, celebrating the concept of merit that had fostered the political and cultural achievements of both ancient and 'modern' republics, was tailoring to the interests of an even more exclusive elite the Roman ideals appropriated in the late thirteenth century by the first exponents of the new civic aristocracy of Florence.

The Roman republican ideology that provided the interpretative framework for the story of Catiline and his opponent Cicero was fundamentally conservative, aimed at maintaining the authority and prestige of the senatorial government both at home and abroad, chiefly in the interests of the propertied classes. Although we have learned to be cautious in drawing analogies between the classical city-state and the Italian (or Florentine) commune, one may argue that, if there was any consistent orientation or bias in the assimilation of classical political thought, and if any single aspect of Sallust's *BC* offers insight into the ethos of Florentine republican ideology, it was the fear of *res novae*, of the social subversion that could follow upon prolonged factional strife.[77] This

76. La Penna, "Il significato di Sallustio nella storiografia e nel pensiero politico di Leonardo Bruni." The characteristic theme of *libertas* and *virtus* was not merely a recurrent motif but a compelling argument and conceptual framework that gave meaning and coherence to the course of history. It explained the links between liberty, moral progress and political power — or, *vice versa*, between tyranny, moral corruption, and the decline of a state. Bruni, more clearly than any of his predecessors, also understood the ancient, and particularly Sallustian, connotations of *virtus* as a spiritual or psychological force driving men to compete for honor and glory. "*Più che le concordanze di lessico e di stile importa la concordanza nel concetto fondamentale: il regime tirannico e quello nobiliare deprimono i talenti, hanno paura del loro esplicarsi, il regime repubblicano o popolare pone le condizioni per una gara di virtù, offre l'incentivo alla loro piena manifestazione: il regime di libertà è innanzi tutto il regime dove le capacità dei cittadini possono competere: ecco perché negli stati non monarchici e non aristocratici la civiltà fiorisce meglio*" (*Ibid.*, 412).

77. Alison Brown calls attention not only to "the obvious economic, social, and religious—as well as political—differences between ancient city-states and medieval communes" but also

was the danger that Catiline (and revolutionaries like him) presented to the established classes and to the principles of constitutional government, civic liberties, justice, and concord.

Such a widely shared outlook (or persuasive rhetoric), uniting all "good men" in defense of the social order, seems to have ruled out attempts to cast the Roman revolutionary as the champion of any respectable (or self-respecting) cause. Not only did Catiline fail to provide the Ghibellines with a convincing model, but it would seem that he was shunned by the popular leaders of guild democracy. In his two monographs, Sallust had linked the Roman conspirator to a long series of "demagogues," from the two Gracchi, Tiberius and Gaius, to C. Marius and Julius Caesar, and throughout antiquity writers invoked his name to arouse fears of social upheaval. It is not surprising, therefore, that as a model for moderate reform, Florentine historians would prefer the Roman tribune C. Memmius, who, in his oration in Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 31, had exhorted the people to resist the oppressive domination of the nobility and vindicate their liberties, but had also admonished them to respect the laws and avoid armed conflict.[78] From an early date in the history of the Florentine commune, the story of Catiline had become part of the repertory, or arsenal, of political invective, aimed at vilifying one's enemies and suppressing dissent. As a symbol of lawlessness and violence, the Roman conspirator continued throughout the Renaissance to embody the threat of social subversion, the dangers that the *mos partium et factionum* could pose to the stability, and survival, of an oligarchic republic.

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to the tendency, on the part of those who were recovering and proposing the ancient models, to make "artificial comparisons" and to use the models eclectically. The republican models themselves often contained contradictory messages ("City and Citizen," 102). Sallust's *BC* is a good example, in fact, of the way a text lent itself to different interpretations. Cf. Osmond, "*Princeps*," on the changing uses of his work in the course of the Renaissance.

78. Cf. the oration delivered by Giovanni de' Ricci in the year 1387, which recalls Memmius' speech in *Bellum Iugurthinum* 31, contrasting the vigor and intelligence of the people with the indolence, arrogance, and oppressiveness of the nobility (*Historiae*, IX, ed. Santini, 242–43). At the same time, however, Bruni did not conceal his distrust of the 'ignorant and fickle' masses and the ambitious demagogues who incited them. Again, like Sallust, he tempered his anti-aristocratic stance with an appeal for restraint and respect for law. See La Penna, "Il significato di Sallustio," 420 on Bruni's conservative politics, as well as B. L. Ullman, "Leonardo Bruni and Humanist Historiography," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1946): 45–61 (reprinted in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2nd. ed., Storia e Letteratura. Racolta di studi e testi 51 [Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1973], 321–343) and, more recently, Hankins, "The 'Baron Thesis'" (note 4).