<<Noi siamo cittadini e voi forestiere>>: Perceptions of Foreignness in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Florence

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Abstract

Research on the socio-economic element of immigration to late-medieval and Renaissance Florence has cultivated detailed understandings of Florence's economy, but with less interest in more cultural considerations of foreignness. Yet perceptions of foreignness contribute substantially to self-identification. Studying primarily chronicles and diaries, and secondarily *novelle* and poetry, this thesis attempts to examine Florentine perceptions of foreignness, c.1300-c.1520, concentrating on perceptions of non-Florentine Italians.

We first inquire what was foreign to Florentines, analysing where geographically sources indicated when using words translatable as foreign/foreigner(s). We then consider indicators of foreignness. Sources reinforce 'Florentine' by negatively marking perceived national characters, which were thought nurtured through political traditions, materially expressed through clothing styles, and further expressed through language. We detect a Florentine self-confidence, as the Florentine vernacular and republic contemporaneously gained respective pan-Italian and regional primacy. Perceptions of foreignness thus contributed to intersecting Florentine national and socio-political self-identities.

Foreign people were sometimes actively encouraged and could receive privileges unavailable to Florentines. However, anti-immigrant sentiment reflects Florentines reacting against unprecedented thirteenth-century immigration and immigrants' naturalisation. Yet anti-immigrant polemics targeted artisanal and working-class immigrants, and anti-foreigner legislation reflects elite attempts to undermine popular politics. Again, perceptions of foreignness contributed to intersecting class and political identities. Perceptions of foreign soldiers, officials, and displaced persons are also discussed. A trend appears, whereby foreigners are sometimes invited to Florence when Florentines perceive their utility, yet having fulfilled that utility they lose their privileges and sometimes experience local opposition.

Future comparative research between perceptions of foreignness in republican Florence and aristocratic republics or principalities would illuminate late-medieval and Renaissance Italian self-identification. Furthermore, future research might compare how perceptions of foreignness contribute to our own self-identification, for these perceptions affect foreign people's treatment at 'our' hands.

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Note on translation

Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. I have tended towards somewhat more literal translations, to better illustrate sources' word choice, though hopefully not to the detriment of clarity.

In the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, 'straniero' has sixteen definitions; from our sources, I have included mentions of 'straniero' which correspond to definitions one to five.[1] Of the twenty-nine definitions of 'strano', definitions nine to eleven.[2] Of the twelve definitions of 'forestiere', definitions one to six.[3]

[1] *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (2018), xx, pp. 284-6 http://www.gdli.it/sala-lettura/vol-xx/20 [accessed 13 September 2021].
[2] Ibid., pp. 287-90 http://www.gdli.it/sala-lettura/vol-xx/20 [accessed 13 September 2021].
[3] Ibid., vi, pp. 161-2 http://www.gdli.it/sala-lettura/vol-vi/6 [accessed 13 September 2021].

Introduction

From the 1980s, there has been an increased interest in foreign peoples in late-medieval Italy. Most such studies have focused on immigration from socio-economic or juridical perspectives.[1] Regarding Florence, such research has taken particular immigrant groups as case studies. Franco Franceschi examined textile industry immigrants, particularly Lucchese, Venetians, Genoese, and Germans, while Sergio Tognetti also examined these Lucchese immigrants.[2] Similarly, Richard Trexler studied the immigrants that dominated fifteenth-century Florentine prostitution.[3] Samuel Cohn briefly discussed working-class immigration, while Maria Pia Contessa's case study of a fifteenth-century Cypriot immigrant observed how he constructed his new identity.[4] Beyond immigration but retaining a socio-economic predominance, Lucia Sandri investigated Florence's Hospital of San Matteo's fifteenth-century foreign patients, while John Henderson analysed foreigners' access to charity in Florence, and Richard Goldthwaite discussed foreign merchants in the city.[5] Considerations of foreignness have appeared within broader works, such Carole Frick and Jacqueline Herald's respective studies on clothing.[6]

Although having illuminated late-medieval Florentine economy and society, and certain foreign groups within Florence, these studies' discussions on foreignness itself are limited. We thus lack a more cultural understanding of foreignness in late-medieval Florence.

Political theorist Bonnie Honig sees foreignness used 'as a device that gives shape to or threatens existing political communities by marking negatively what "we" are not.'[7]

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[1] For a bibliography, see Maria Pia Contessa, 'La costruzione di un'identità familiare e sociale. Un immigrato cipriota nella Firenze del secondo Quattrocento', *Annali di storia di Firenze* 6 (2009), p. 179, n. 2.
[2] Franco Franceschi, 'I forestieri e l'industria della seta fiorentina fra medioevo e rinascimento', in *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento: Dal baco al drappo*, ed. L. Molà, R. C. Mueller, and C. Zanier (Venice: 2000), pp. 401-22; ibid., *Oltre il "Tumulto": i lavoratori fiorentini dell'Arte della lana fra Tre e Quattrocento* (Florence: 1993); Sergio Tognetti, 'La diaspora dei lucchesi nel Trecento e il primo sviluppo dell'arte della seta a Firenze', *Reti Medievali Rivista* 15 (2014), pp. 41-91.
[3] Richard C. Trexler, 'Florentine Prostitution in the Fifteenth Century: Patrons and Clients', in *Dependence in Context in Renaissance Florence* (Binghamton, N.Y.: 1994), pp. 373-414.
[4] Contessa, pp. 151-92; Samuel K. Cohn, *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York: 1980), pp. 91-113.
[5] Lucia Sandri, 'Stranieri e forestieri nella Firenze del Quattrocento attraverso i libri di ricordi e di entrata e uscita degli ospedali cittadini', in *Forestieri e stranieri nelle città basso-medievali*, Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studio (Florence: 1988), pp. 149-61; John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: 1994); Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: 2008).
[6] Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500* (London: 1981); Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, & Fine Clothing* (Baltimore: 2002).
[7] Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton: 2003), pp. 2-3.

Consequently, foreignness 'gives definition to an identity by marking what it is not.'[8] Honig further proposes that, since classical times, foreignness has been perceived as threatening to 'the stability and identity of the regime,' regime being understood 'in the Straussian and Foucaultian senses, which connote not just government institutions but the widest array of political, cultural, and ethical practices, ways of life, powers, and knowledges that make up the world of citizenship.'[9] In short, foreignness substantially contributes to the construction of identity. Moreover, late-medieval Florence was to a relatively large extent a 'world of citizenship.' Therefore, by examining Florentines' perceptions of foreignness, predominantly in other Italians, we gain substantial insight into Florentine self-identification.

To understand people's perceptions, we should study what they wrote. Our sources are predominantly Florentine chronicles and diaries, then novelle and poetry, ranging temporally from Dante (1265-1321) to Bartolomeo Cerretani (1475-1524).[10] These sources remain unexplored for perceptions of foreignness. For much of our period, chronicles dominated Florentine historiography. Their broad scopes mean they frequently express perceptions not only explicitly, but implicitly or unconsciously. While chronicles were circulated, Vittore Branca considers Florentine diaries 'the richest tradition of private diaries before the French tradition of the late Renaissance onwards,' written largely without literary imprint nor for public consumption, thus dealing with 'the realities and problems of every man of every day, yesterday as today,' experiencing 'these eternal realities of man and of existence not intellectually or literarily, but in the most daily living and acting.'[11] Branca acknowledges that diaries are not always entirely without literary imprint, yet intended readerships remained select and intimate.[12] Lauro Martines, commenting specifically on Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (c.1350), but implicitly on the subsequent novella tradition, notes that Boccaccio 'had to touch [the] everyday doings, ideals, and reveries […] of his primary audience, namely, contemporary urban experience.'[13] Martines thus argues that '[r]eality in poetry and fiction is still the undiscovered country in the study of history.'[14]

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[8] Honig, p. 124, n. 6.
[9] Honig, pp. 1-2; 126, n. 19.
[10] Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. by Charles S. Singleton, 3 vols (Princeton: 1980); Bartolomeo Cerretani, *Ricordi*, ed. Giuliana Berti (Firenze: 1993).
[11] Vittore Branca, ed., *Mercanti scrittori: ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Milan: 1986), pp. IX-XI.
[12] Branca, *Mercanti*, pp. XXXIV-LI., XXIX, LV-LXXI.
[13] Lauro Martines, ed., *An Italian Renaissance Sextet: Six Tales in Historical Context*, translations by Murtha Baca (New York: 1994), pp. 12-3.
[14] Martines, p. 9.

Our sources' principal weakness is that they are predominantly written by middling- or upper-class men, mostly merchants. The most socially humble was the wool shearer Pagnolo di Ser Guido, though he only chronicled specifically the 1378 Ciompi Revolt.[15] Otherwise, our sources do not extend below the petty bourgeoisie. The only female source cited is Lucrezia Tornabuoni's letters. Our sources therefore reflect somewhat limited socio-professional and gendered perspectives.

A word is required on Florentine social classes. I follow John Najemy in using 'elites' to refer to Florence's powerful upper-class families, and in interpreting the 'popolo' as 'the non-elite middle classes,' usually indicating 'the large majority of guildsmen who did not belong to elite families.'[16] Lacking formal distinction, '[t]he line between elite and non-elite was a matter of perception.'[17] I call the *popolo minuto* the 'working classes', which Cohn defines politically as 'those artisans and labourers who were […] outside of the guild system', except for 1378-2, and subjectively as an 'amorphous class, [roughly] the poorest half of working Florentine men and women.'[18] What Cohn identifies as a 'grey area' between working and middling classes I call, for convenience, the 'artisanal classes'.[19]

What did Florentines deem 'foreign'? Historians have left vague or contradictory understandings. Vaguely implying any Italian city, Martines proposes that people 'from outside a city, even if from just beyond its great walls, were legally considered foreigners (*forenses*).'[20] If so, were the *contadini*, inhabitants of the countryside surrounding and under the governance of the city, considered foreigners? Furthermore, Henderson cites a 'contadina' going to Orsanmichele in Florence, yet she was from Pistoia, outwith Florence's contado.[21] Giovanni Aquilecchia identifies Florence's foreign [*forestieri*] officials as 'citizens called from other cities,' while Sandri interprets 'forestieri' as those 'from the other regions [of Italy],' namely, beyond Tuscany, and 'stranieri' as those 'from outwith the [Italian] peninsula.'[22] Do Aquilecchia's 'other cities' therefore mean non-Tuscan Italian cities? What about rural inhabitants? Martines and Sandri used sources not studied for this

[15] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France and Flanders* (Manchester: 2004), pp. 251-2.
[16] John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200-1575* (Malden: 2006), pp. 5-6, 35.
[17] Najemy, p. 38.
[18] Cohn, *Laboring Classes*, pp. 67, 73.
[19] Cohn, *Paradoxes of Inequality in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: 2021), p. 44.
[20] Martines, p. 82.
[21] Henderson, p. 332.
[22] Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols (Parma: 1991), iii, book 12, rubric 94, n. 87; Sandri, p. 150.

thesis, while Sandri possibly applies modern understandings for convenience. Nonetheless, the result is vagueness and contradiction. Chapter One is an attempt at clarification.

To do so, I attempt to analyse the geographic locations to which terms indicating foreignness refer. Those terms are 'straniero', 'strano', and 'forestiere'. Because I examine foreignness in predominantly non-Florentine Italians, I have excluded the term 'oltremontane' from our sample, since it indicates exclusively 'non-Italian'. Each term has several possible meanings. In short, our sample only includes those instances in which our terms indicate geographicly foreign. Sometimes such instances might be translated as words other than 'foreign/foreigner', yet remain within our sample because they nonetheless indicate geographicly from or of outwith Florence. (See Note on translations.)

Our sources sometimes discuss events in places other than Florence. I have excluded such instances from our sample, such as novelle about non-Florentine Italian characters in other Italian cities, or chroniclers' accounts of events elsewhere in Italy. Such instances confuse our analysis. For instance, did mentions of foreignness in accounts regarding Naples or Rome refer respectively to outwith the city of Naples and Rome? Or beyond each city's respective contado? Or beyond respectively the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal States? Whatever the answers, such instances muddy our waters without aiding our analysis regarding Florence. For consistency, I have likewise excluded such instances which assume a non-Florentine Tuscan perspective, such as Franco Sacchetti's Pisan character musing on Siena as a 'straniero luogo', or chroniclers' accounts of Tuscan warfare not involving Florence.[23] This decision eliminates, for instance, most of Matteo Villani and Piero Parenti's numerous respective mentions of 'forestiere', hence their low numbers in our sample.[24]

Most of our sources deal with contemporary life, but some, like Giovanni Villani or Giovanni Cavalcanti, sought to either chronicle Florence's history from origins to present, or trace their respective lineage. I have excluded from our sample those instances which treat events before the author's own lifetime, for including such instances would, again, unhelpfully confuse our task. One might then argue that I should only include instances from

[23] Franco Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. Valerio Marucci (Rome: 1996), novella 16.
[24] Piero Parenti, *Storia fiorentina*, ed. Andrea Matucci, 3 vols (Florence: 1994-2018). Time restrictions prevented examination of volume three of Parenti's three-volume chronicle. Covid restrictions prevented access to Marco Parenti's chronicle.

authors' respective adulthood. However, that would require more abstract and debateable delimitations.

Judging from context, several mentions of 'forestiere' which I have counted as of 'unclear' geographic reference possibly indicate Tuscan, but lacking evidence I have counted them as 'unclear.' When 'forestieri' and 'cittadini' are contrasted but there otherwise lacks geographic indication, I have counted the instance as 'unclear', because 'foreign' obviously indicates outwith the city of Florence in some manner. Contrastingly, I have not counted as 'unclear' instances in which 'forestieri' and 'contadini' are contrasted, because these suggest that 'forestieri' indicates outwith the contado.

Evidently, Chapter One's sample has required much discriminatory decision-making. The results should therefore be interpreted more as general indications than rigid truths.

Chapter Two examines Florentine perceptions of 'national character' in other Italian peoples, and these perceived national characters' expression through clothing styles and language. Our sources use perceptions of these things to contrast 'foreign' with 'Florentine', through which we thus see sources reinforcing Florentine national identity. Sources also often perceive national character as nurtured by a land's political traditions, such as monarchy or various republicanisms. Furthermore, Florentine dominance of the dialectal parody literary tradition reflects Florentine self-confidence, as the Florentine vernacular and republic contemporaneously gained respective pan-Italian and regional primacy. We thus see foreignness contributing to intersecting national and socio-political self-identification.

Chapter Three examines Florentine perceptions of foreign people, including foreign immigrants, officials, soldiers, and displaced persons. Thirteenth-century Florence experienced unprecedented immigration, and another spike occurred after the 1348 Black Death. We see Florentines both encouraging certain immigration they considered utilizable, and reacting against this influx. Yet perceptions of immigrants were rarely based purely on considerations of foreignness, but rather were entwined with class and political identities. As in Chapter Two, we see in Chapter Three foreignness contributing to intersecting native identities. Recalling Honig, never was foreigners' perceived threat to native stability so immediate than in armed foreign, who nonetheless appear routinely in Florence throughout our period. Even more routinely, and despite foreigners' perceived threat, foreign officials were appointed in Florence, and we discuss Florentines' relationship to this contradiction.

Finally, despite changes in Florentine charity, our sources give a consistent impression of sympathy and charity towards foreigners displaced by famine or war.

1 Defining ‘foreign’

This chapter aims to clarify what Florentines considered ‘foreign’. It thus attempts to analyse which geographic locations sources intended when writing ‘straniero’, ‘strano’, and ‘forestiere’.

1.1 Straniero/strano

Our sources rarely use ‘straniero’ to indicate foreignness. More common is ‘strano’, but when indicating foreignness they are interchangeable. Usage of ‘straniero/strano’ is heavily weighted towards three sources: Giovanni Villani, Matteo Villani, and Giovanni Cavalcanti each use ‘straniero/strano’ to indicate foreignness fourteen times, together comprising forty-two of forty-seven instances in our sample (Appendix One). Otherwise, Sacchetti uses it three times, Marchionne di Coppo Stefani and Giovanni Morelli once each, and it is elsewhere absent. Disregarding instances of unclear geographic reference, ‘straniero/strano’ appears twelve times in Giovanni Villani, eleven in Matteo Villani, eight in Cavalcanti, twice in Sacchetti, and still once each in Stefani and Morelli (Appendix Two). Our evidence is therefore heavily weighted towards the Villani, so results must be generalised cautiously.

From our sample, a majority (57%) of uses of ‘straniero/strano’ refer exclusively to non-Italians (Table 1.1). Giovanni Villani, concluding a rubric on the Scottish Wars of Independence, writes: ‘We will leave for now the *strani*, and return to our subject of the events of Florence.’[1] Similarly, Matteo Villani introduces a rubric with: ‘Since we have spoken […] of our lands’ fortunes and troubles, we will say something about *straniere* ones, starting with those of France.’[2] Matteo’s preceding rubrics are on Italian events, involving Florence, Milan, Bologna, Brescia, Cremona, Siena, Pisa, and Perugia, so ‘our lands’ mean Italian lands, while France’s ‘fortunes and troubles’ are *straniere*. Similarly, Cavalcanti has Cosimo de’ Medici declare upon his 1433 exile:

[1] G. Villani, 12.38. Cf. G. Villani, 11.151, 13.15.
[2] Matteo Villani, *Cronica: con la continuazione di Filippo Villani*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 2 vols (Parma: 1995), ii, book 9, rubric 9. Cf. M. Villani, 9.31, 9.52, 4.78, 5.1, 5.2, 5.36, 2.61, 2.38, 5.58.

> Although you have imposed upon me the residence of my exile within the Italic land, if you had sent me to stay among the Arabs […], or among whichever other people more *strani* to our customs, I would have gone there happily.[3]

Nonetheless, a substantial minority (43%) of instances indicate Italian. Some include both Italian and non-Italian (Appendix Three). Stefani, recounting Florence's 'war' on the Ubaldini in 1350, cites the Ubaldini robbing 'strani.'[4] He previously recounts the Ubaldini 'robbing the pilgrims and merchants. Because of this, in France, Lombardy, and Germany, the Florentine merchants were perceived and treated badly.'[5] If Florentine merchants suffered in these places, French, Lombard, and German 'pilgrims and merchants' were presumably among the 'strani' robbed by the Ubaldini. Stefani thus indicates both Italians (Lombards) and non-Italians (Frenchmen and Germans) as 'strani'.[6] Some instances, though, indicate exclusively Italian, even Tuscan. Morelli, recalling his father, Pagolo, pursuing his own father's debtors, narrates Pagolo travelling 'to Arezzo, to Borgo, to Siena, to Pisa, and to other *istrane* places.'[7] Similarly, Sacchetti has a Florentine character desire '*straniero* wine', which he orders from Liguria.[8] Thus, several instances of 'straniero/strano' indicate Italian, either exclusively or alongside non-Italian.

Thus, Sandri's proposal that 'straniero' indicates non-Italian contains some truth, but is ultimately misleading. A majority of uses of 'straniero/strano' (57%) indicate exclusively non-Italian, yet a substantial minority (43%) indicate Italian in some manner. Moreover, around a third (34%) of uses indicate exclusively Italian. Still, two-thirds (66%) of uses thus include non-Italians in some manner (Appendix Three). If we remove the Villani from our sample, Table 1.1's percentages change radically to a substantial majority for 'Italian, whether exclusively or alongside non-Italian' (83:17). Assuming the Villani's generalisability, sources tended to write 'straniero/strano' to indicate non-Italian more often than Italian, but this was not a strict rule.

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[3] Giovanni Cavalcanti, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. Filippo Luigi Polidori, 2 vols (Florence: 1838), i, p. 539. Cf. ibid, *Nuova opera: Chronique florentine inédite du XVe siècle*, ed. Antoine Monti (Paris: 1989), p. 66.
[4] Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, ed. Niccolò Rodolico (Città di Castello: 1903), rubric 641.
[5] Stefani, 639. Cf. G. Villani, 11.60; Cavalcanti, *Istorie*, i, p. 297.
[6] Cf. G. Villani, 13.26, 11.60, 13.48, 13.70, 12.139.
[7] Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, 'Ricordi', in *Mercanti*, ed. Branca, p. 140. Murtha Baca translates 'istrane parti' as 'other places,' while Gene Brucker translates it as 'foreign parts.' See: Branca, ed., *Merchant Writers: Florentine Memoirs from the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, trans. by Murtha Baca (Toronto: 2015), p. 120; Gene Brucker, *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: 1971), p. 14.
[8] Sacchetti, 177. Cf. ibid. 211; Cavalcanti, *Istorie*, i, pp. 75, 82, 435; Cavalcanti, *Nuova*, pp. 53, 93; G. Villani, 11.100.

Table 1.1: ‘Straniero/strano’ geographic indications: Italian and non-Italian

Source	**Italian, whether exclusively or alongside non-Italian**	**Exclusively non-Italian**	**Total**
Giovanni Villani	5	7	**12**
Domenico Lenzi	0	0	**0**
Matteo Villani	0	11	**11**
Giovanni Boccaccio	0	0	**0**
Filippo Villani	0	0	**0**
Marchionne di Coppo Stefani	1	0	**1**
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	0	0	**0**
Alle bocche della piazza	0	0	**0**
Franco Sacchetti	2	0	**2**
Cronica volgare	0	0	**0**
Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli	1	0	**1**
Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo del Corazza	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Cavalcanti	6	2	**8**
Bartolomeo Cederni	0	0	**0**
Francesco di Matteo Castellani	0	0	**0**
Benedetto Dei	0	0	**0**
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0	**0**
Piero Parenti	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo Cerretani	0	0	**0**
Total	**15**	**20**	**35**
%	**42.86%**	**57.14%**	**100.00%**

1.2 Forestiere

Around three-fifths (63%) of uses of ‘forestiere’ indicate Tuscan in some manner (Table 1.2). Again, Giovanni Villani predominates, but even removing him leaves a majority (54%) of instances indicating Tuscan, while also removing the second most dominant, the anonymous diarist, leaves 50% of such instances. Evidently, ‘forestiere’ could indicate Tuscan.

True, ‘forestiere’ rarely explicitly indicates exclusively Tuscan (17% once unclear geographic locations are removed: Appendix Five). Giovanni Villani recounts allies arriving in Florence to help expel Walter of Brienne in 1343. These allies were from Siena, San Miniato, and Prato, in addition to Count Simone da Battifolle and his nephew with 400 soldiers. Florentine contadini later also arrived. Afterwards, the ‘*forestieri* and *contadini*

departed.'[9] These 'forestieri' were therefore all Tuscans.[10] Nevertheless, the same rarity (17%) appears in indications of both Tuscan and non-Tuscan, including non-Italian. In 1454, Barolomeo Cederni receives news of Florence's Saint John festivities, to which 'many *forestieri* came, mostly Perugians, Bolognese, and Sienese.'[11] Some indicate the foreign podestà, almost entirely Italians, both Tuscans and non-Tuscans.[12] The remaining 30% (to reach the 63% in Table 1.2) comes from when Tuscany is *implied*. This occurs predominantly when 'forestiere' and 'contadino' are contrasted, which will be discussed later.

'Forestiere' could also indicate exclusively non-Tuscan Italian or even non-Italian. Morelli narrates his family fleeing from plague to Bologna in 1374. His uncle Gualberto was assigned the household's management. Despite being young, in Bologna only a short time, 'forestiero nella terra,' and inexperienced, Gualberto performed admirably.[13] Gene Brucker translates 'forestiero nella terra' as 'stranger in a foreign land,' while Murtha Baca translates it as 'unfamiliar with the city.'[14] Ultimately, though, a Florentine in Bologna was a 'forestiero'.[15] Meanwhile, around a quarter of mentions of 'forestiere' indicate non-Italian in some manner. Pagnolo di Ser Guido, for instance, a wool shearer chronicling the 1378 Ciompi revolt, recounts that 'a brigade of Flemish foreigners [*forestieri fiamminghi*] gathered by a chapel, went to the quarter of Santo Spirito, and began to rob.'[16] Stefani recounts the same event, also calling them 'forestieri', though he does not note a provenance.[17] Nonetheless, exclusively non-Italians are referred to as 'forestieri'.[18]

Thus, 'forestiere' could indicate anywhere, within or beyond Tuscany, within or beyond Italy. Again, Sandri's proposal contains some truth but is ultimately misleading. 63%

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[9] G. Villani, 13.17. Cf. ibid, 11.25.
[10] Cf. *Alle bocche della piazza: Diario di anonimo fiorentino (1382-1401)*, ed. Anthony Molho and Franek Sznura (Florence: 1986), pp. 48-9, 68, 116, 165; Francesco di Matteo Castellani, *Ricordanze*, ed. Giovanni Ciappelli, 2 vols (Florence: 1992), ii, p. 194.
[11] *Bartolommeo Cederni and his Friends: Letters to an Obscure Florentine*, ed. Gino Corti and F. W. Kent (Florence: 1991), p. 95. Cf. G. Villani, 8.131, 10.302-3, 13.20; Cerretani, p. 134.
[12] Cf. Benedetto Dei, *La Cronica: dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. Roberto Barducci (Florence: 1985), p. 135; Parenti, i, p. 89. For podestà: Chapter Three.
[13] Morelli, p. 148.
[14] Brucker, *Society*, p. 46; Branca, *Merchant*, p. 125.
[15] Cf. G. Villani, 8.89; *Alle bocche*, pp. 62, 132; Sacchetti, 178; Parenti, ii, p. 313; Cerretani, pp. 328, 354.
[16] Translated in Cohn, *Popular Protest*, p. 252. Transcription in Alessandro Stella, *La Révolte des Ciompi: Les hommes, lieux, le travail* (Paris: 1993), pp. 272-5 (272).
[17] Stefani, 792.
[18] Cf. G. Villani, 9.94, 10.300, 11.3, 12.134; M. Villani, 4.56; Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: 1985), day 3, tale 9; F. Villani, 11.76, 11.79; *Alle bocche*, pp. 73, 138; Sacchetti, 183; *Cronica volgare di Anonimo Fiorentino dall'anno 1385 al 1409 già attribuita a Piero di Giovanni Minerbetti*, ed. Elina Bellondi (Città di Castello: 1915), p. 128; Dei, p. 58; Cerretani, p. 291.

of instances indicate Tuscan, whether exclusively or alongside non-Tuscan. Nor did 'forestiere' necessarily indicate Italian, for around a quarter of instances indicate non-Italian, whether exclusively or alongside Italian. Still, that means that around three-quarters *did* indicate exclusively Italian. Considering our conclusions on 'straniero/strano', our sources were around twice as likely to write 'forestiere' than 'straniero/strano' to indicate Italian, and around twice as likely to use 'straniero/strano' than 'forestiere' to indicate non-Italian (Appendix Three and Table 1.2). Again, though, these were not strict rules.

Table 1.2: 'Forestiere' geographic indications: Tuscan and non-Tuscan

Source	**Tuscan, whether exclusively or alongside elsewhere**	**Exclusively non-Tuscan Italian**	**Exclusively non-Italian**	**Both Italian (non-Tuscan only) and non-Italian**	**Total**
Giovanni Villani	16	1	1	1	**19**
Domenico Lenzi	1	0	0	0	**1**
Matteo Villani	0	0	1	0	**1**
Giovanni Boccaccio	0	0	1	0	**1**
Filippo Villani	1	0	2	0	**3**
M. di Coppo Stefani	4	0	1	0	**5**
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	0	0	1	0	**1**
Alle bocche	7	2	2	0	**11**
Franco Sacchetti	1	1	1	0	**3**
Cronica volgare	0	0	1	0	**1**
Giovanni Morelli	0	1	0	0	**1**
Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0	0	0	**0**
B. del Corazza	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Cavalcanti	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo Cederni	1	0	0	0	**1**
Francesco Castellani	1	0	0	0	**1**
Benedetto Dei	1	0	1	0	**2**
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0	0	0	**0**
Piero Parenti	2	1	0	0	**3**
Bartolomeo Cerretani	3	2	1	0	**6**
Total	**38**	**8**	**13**	**1**	**60**
%	**63.33%**	**13.33%**	**21.67%**	**1.67%**	**100.00%**

1.3 Forestieri, cittadini, and contadini

If 'forestiere' could indicate Tuscan, did 'foreign' mean literally outside the city walls? Were Florentine contadini therefore 'foreigners'?

Table 1.3: 'Forestiere' as beyond the city of Florence

Source	**Total**	**Beyond the city of Florence**
Giovanni Villani	**36**	17
Domenico Lenzi	**3**	0
Matteo Villani	**1**	0
Giovanni Boccaccio	**3**	1
Filippo Villani	**3**	0
Marchionne di Coppo Stefani	**8**	1
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	**1**	0
Alle bocche	**23**	12
Franco Sacchetti	**5**	1
Cronica volgare	**5**	2
Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli	**3**	1
Bonaccorso Pitti	**0**	0
Bartolomeo del Corazza	**4**	3
Giovanni Cavalcanti	**0**	0
Bartolomeo Cederni	**1**	0
Francesco di Matteo Castellani	**1**	0
Benedetto Dei	**7**	0
Bernardo Machiavelli	**1**	0
Piero Parenti	**7**	5
Bartolomeo Cerretani	**8**	2
Total	**120**	**45**
%	**100.00%**	**37.50%**

Over a third of our total samples contrast 'forestieri' with inhabitants of the city of Florence (Table 1.3). Most often, this appears in the practically formulaic 'cittadini [citizens] e forestieri', or vice versa. Bartolomeo del Corazza, describing 'a rich and beautiful joust' in 1435, recalls that 'there were twelve jousters, between *cittadini e forestieri*.'[19] This juxtaposition might suggest that who was not cittadino was forestiere. Since not all natives were legal citizens, and considering divergent citizenship laws between cities, our sources probably do not consistently intend cittadini as legal citizens. Indeed, they also occasionally juxtapose 'forestieri' with 'terrazzani', inhabitants of a fortified or besieged town, substituting 'terrazzani' for 'cittadini'.[20] Thus, sources probably more often intended 'cittadino' as 'city-dweller.'

Nevertheless, our sources likewise juxtapose 'forestieri' and 'contadini', again practically formulaically. Disregarding instances of 'forestiere' of unknown geographic

[19] Bartolomeo del Corazza, *Diario fiorentino (1405-1439)*, ed. Roberta Gentile (Anzio: 1991), p. 36.
[20] These always relate to other towns, so are not among our sample: G. Villani, 7.21, 12.128; M. Villani, 2.55, 3.48, 8.70; Stefani, 390, 391; *Alle bocche*, p. 102; Parenti, ii, p. 466.

reference, just under a third of instances signify beyond the Florentine contado (Table 1.4). We mentioned earlier that instances of 'forestiere' which *imply* Tuscany appear most often when 'forestiere' contrasts with 'contadino', and here we see that remaining 30% (Table 1.2). During the 1329 famine, Domenico Lenzi recalls Florentine government instruction that grain be sold under value, and 'to this bread rushed *cittadini* and *contadini* and even some *forestieri*.'[21] At least some (probably most) of these forestieri were undoubtedly Tuscans. Moreover, these juxtapositions present contadini and forestieri as discrete categories, indicating that one was not the other.[22]

Table 1.4: 'Forestiere' as beyond the Florentine contado

Source	**Total**	**Beyond Florentine contado**
Giovanni Villani	19	8
Domenico Lenzi	1	1
Matteo Villani	1	0
Giovanni Boccaccio	1	0
Filippo Villani	3	0
Marchionne di Coppo Stefani	5	4
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	1	0
Alle bocche	11	2
Franco Sacchetti	3	1
Cronica volgare	1	0
Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli	1	0
Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0
Bartolomeo del Corazza	0	0
Giovanni Cavalcanti	0	0
Bartolomeo Cederni	1	0
Francesco di Matteo Castellani	1	0
Benedetto Dei	2	0
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0
Piero Parenti	3	1
Bartolomeo Cerretani	6	1
Total	**60**	**18**
%	**100.00%**	**30.00%**

Furthermore, our sources report three Trecento laws defining forestieri.[23] Giovanni Villani reports a 1346 law declaring that 'no *forestiere* made *cittadino*, whose father and grandfather and he himself had not been born in Florence or in the *contado*,' could hold

[21] Lenzi, p. 323. Cf. Chapter Two.
[22] Cf. G. Villani, 9.68-9, 13.17, 13.20, 13.43, 13.73; Stefani, 792, 807, 818; *Alle bocche*, p. 185; Sacchetti, 231; Parenti, ii, p. 257.
[23] Cf. Chapter Three.

office.[24] Stefani recounts a 1379 law declaring 'that whoever was *forestiere*, who did not pay the *estimo* [direct tax] in the city or in the *contado*,' could not hold office, and 'that who was not born in the city or *contado* of Florence, was understood to be *forestiere*.'[25] Our anonymous diarist likewise recounts a 1382 law declaring 'that no *forestiere*, who himself and whose grandfather and father had not been born in Florence, or in the *contado*, could hold any office.'[26] Each law explicates 'forestiere' as beyond the contado. Moreover, most fourteenth-century immigrants to Florence were Tuscans, so evidently 'forestiere' indicated Tuscan.[27]

However, caution is required in assuming that legal definitions accorded with everyday perceptions, especially since these laws display divergences. Moreover, Stefani notes that in 1379 'it was clarified' what 'the contado' meant, demonstrating a need for clarity. Indeed, Julius Kirshner observes that during debates over this law, legislators disputed 'the contado'. Some argued it should indicate much of Florence's territory, while it was ultimately defined as places then subject to the estimo and the tax on wine sold at retail, yet its precise geographic indication remains unclear.[28] Despite the frequent juxtapositions of 'contadini e forestieri', even to legislators it was unclear what that meant.

This unclarity relates to another, difficultly resolved among our sources. In 1506, Cerretani describes the new Florentine militia, citing the '10,000 infantrymen' as 'all our people, without one *forestieri*,' while he previously notes that these infantrymen were obtained from 'the *contado* and *distrecto*.'[29] This implies that 'forestiere' indicates beyond Florence's district, its territory beyond the contado. In the 1427 Catasto, 'contadini', 'distrettuali', and 'forestieri' all appear as separate categories.[30] Over our period, Florence grew from city commune to regional power. We saw earlier that Giovanni Villani, in 1343, lists people from Prato and San Miniato as 'forestieri'. Then, neither place was within

[24] G. Villani, 13.72.
[25] Stefani, 818.
[26] *Alle bocche*, p. 43.
[27] David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (London: 1985), pp. 110-4; Cohn, *Laboring Classes*, pp. 96-113.
[28] Julius Kirshner, 'Paolo di Castro on Cives ex Privilegio: A Controversy over the Legal Qualifications for Public Office in Early Fifteenth-Century Florence', in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi (Dekalb: 1971), pp. 240-2.
[29] Cerretani, p. 130.
[30] Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, p. 11.

Florentine territory, but, by 1351 and 1369 respectively, they were.[31] Did Florentines' understanding of what was forestiere change over our period?

To date, a satisfactory answer eludes me. However, the following might aid us. In our sample, only two instances clearly indicate 'forestiere' as within the contado. Once unclear geographic references are removed, that means two of sixty (3.33%). Perhaps so few instances may be discardable. But what caused these two sources to go so against the grain?

Our anonymous diarist narrates the first in 1393. A kiln-worker, Barone di Ghino, tells Florence's military captain, Bartolomeo da Prato: 'We are citizens and you are a *forestiere*.'[32] The second is Francesco Castellani's note of payment in 1461 to 'ser Bernardo da Casale, *forestiere* notary.'[33] Casale is in western Prato.

Strikingly, both instances refer to Pratese. Prato and its contado entered Florence's contado in 1351.[34] That is, within Barone's or at least his parents' lifetime, Prato was forestiere, beyond Florence's contado. Did Prato, despite legal changes, remain in collective memory for another generation or so as 'forestiere'? Still, that would not explain Castellani's reference to a Pratese as 'forestiere' over a century after 1351. Another possibility regards Prato's being among the bigger Tuscan towns, not a countryside village or hamlet. Did Prato's size and significance retain for it in Florentine minds its old status as somewhat apart from the rest of Florence's contado, even if legally it had long been subsumed?

Another possibility is that class affected Barone and Castellani's interpretation of these Pratese as forestieri. Barone addressed someone of sufficient standing to be appointed military captain, addressing him with the formal *voi*, while Castellani mentions a notary, a major-guild profession in Florence. Martines sees perceptions of contadini as 'near ethnic' in character. He recasts in contemporary terms a novella's conclusion that '[peasants] "should not be allowed to reside inside the city,"' as 'it isn't right for blacks to live among whites.'[35] I am tempted to interpret it rather in class terms. Time restrictions have limited me in pursuing this, so the following remains unclarified. The term 'contadini' seems to indicate explicitly or implicitly rural working classes. This does not imply that rural and urban working classes shared class identity; indeed, Cohn has argued that little love was lost

[31] Kirshner, p. 229.
[32] *Alle bocche*, p. 165. Cf. Chapter Three.
[33] Francesco Castellani, *Ricordanze*, ed. Giovanni Ciappelli (Firenze: 1992), ii, p. 194.
[34] Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, p. 40.
[35] Martines, p. 68. The *novelliere*, though, is Sienese.

between the two.[36] But I have not encountered 'contadini' indicating non-working-class contado inhabitants. Often the contadini mentioned are not identified, so possibly 'contadini' sometimes indicated non-working-class contado inhabitants. Nonetheless, class might instead explain Barone and Castellani's references to inhabitants of Florence's contado as 'forestiere', for the term 'contadino' might have been improper.

Finally, Barone and Castellani perhaps merely erred. Barone, speaking in person during a tense situation to Bartolomeo da Prato, may have been unaware, or have momentarily forgotten, Bartolomeo's provenance. Castellani was recording private payments, not composing a text for circulation, and indeed previously notes ser Bernardo da Casale without writing 'forestiere'.[37] Moreover, these examples are two of sixty, perhaps further suggesting mere oversight.

All considered, we might infer that, were Florentines asked, 'what is forestiere?' they would probably reply, 'beyond the contado.' If pushed to clarify, they might say, 'beyond the district.' But if pushed for greater specification, responses would likely become hazier.

1.4 Conclusion

Therefore, our sources were twice as likely to use 'straniero/strano' to indicate non-Italian, and twice as likely to use 'forestiere' to indicate Italian. Yet neither term had one exclusive geographic reference. Nor did either term indicate immediately outwith the city walls, for, almost always, 'contadini' and 'forestieri' are discrete categories. We can probably conclude that, for Florentines, contadini were not forestieri, but if Florentines were pushed to define precisely what that meant, there might be some haziness.

We see two further trends. First, despite some exceptions, 'straniero/strano' tends more often than 'forestiere' to indicate more abstract entities. An example is two rubrics of Giovanni Villani's, each framed within a Roman perspective.[38] He first reflects on the ancient Romans, who wrote about events 'of the Romans, and even of the *strani* of the entire

[36] Cohn, 'The Topography of Medieval Popular Protest', *Social History* 44:4 (2019), pp. 406-8; ibid., 'After the Black Death: Labour Legislation and Attitudes Towards Labour in Late-Medieval Western Europe', *The Economic History Review* 60 (2007), p. 476.
[37] Castellani, p. 192.
[38] Thus, not within our sample, yet illustrates the trend outlined.

world.'[39] When he later notes 'gente forestiera', he means those individuals who visited Rome specifically for Louis IV's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in 1328.[40] The first indicates foreign peoples, whoever and wherever they may be, whereas the second indicates visible, tangible individuals in the city. Likewise, 'straniero/strano' often indicates foreign news, foreign lands, foreign customs.[41] This perhaps relates to 'strano' being used often in our sources to mean 'strange, peculiar, unusual', that is, abstract notions. Indeed, this is what renders Parenti, for instance, unusable in our 'strano/straniero' sample, for his eight mentions of 'strano/straniero' all indicate the latter, rather than 'foreign'.[42] 'Forestiere' instead often indicates foreign officials, foreign soldiers, foreign immigrants, or those specifically not from Florence; that is, more tangible, specified, immediate presences.[43] Considering that 'straniero/strano' also more often indicated non-Italian, we see a correlation in 'straniero/strano' indicating further away both from Florence and from tangibility. This perhaps explains the terms' lopsided usage by Cavalcanti and our anonymous diarist: the former contemplated generalities, the latter chronicled daily goings-on (Appendices One and Four).

Second, after Cavalcanti, 'straniero/strano' disappears from our sample, while also from around then 'forestiere' diminishes before a resurgence c.1500 (Appendices One and Four). This coincides with a diminution in Florentine chronicles and with Medicean hegemony. Indeed, Florentine chronicles largely disappear over these decades, being replaced by humanist histories and more private texts.[44] We discuss this further in Chapter Three. In short, after the fourteenth-century chronicle tradition, Medicean hegemony nurtured a climate which discouraged reflection on current affairs, while the chronicle tradition re-emerged following the Medici expulsion in 1494. Discouragement of reflection on current affairs may explain the diminution of 'straniero/strano' and 'forestiere' in our sample and the latter's re-emergence later, for it is in discussions on current affairs in which most instances of each term appear. This does not contradict the preceding paragraph, for, as this chapter's examples indicate, 'straniero/strano' was also usually used regarding current affairs.

[39] G. Villani, 9.36.
[40] Ibid., 11.56.
[41] M. Villani, 5.1, 9.31; Stefani, 558; Cavalcanti, *Istorie*, i, p. 53; Sacchetti, 104.
[42] Parenti, i, p. 296; ii, pp. 136, 139, 267, 311, 340, 402.
[43] Cf. Chapter Three.
[44] Najemy, p. 381.

2 Indicators of foreignness

Around 1380, Sacchetti was in Genoa and, 'in the merchants' place,' found himself alongside 'Genoese, Florentine, Pisan, and Lucchese' merchants.'[1] A Florentine, Carlo Strozzi, stated: 'Undoubtedly you Genoese are the best warriors and most valiant men in the world: we Florentines were made to practise the wool industry and commerce.' Sacchetti, who had just heard a preacher exhorting the Genoese to pursue their war with Venice (1378-81), agrees with Strozzi, proposing that '[o]ur friars, when they preach in Florence, teach us fasting and praying, and that we must forgive, and that we must pursue peace and not wage war. The friars that preach here teach the complete opposite,' and he recounts the sermon, attributing national character at least partially to preachers' choice of sermon.

Like Sacchetti's merchants, our sources perceived various Italian national characters, and sometimes, like Sacchetti, sought explanations.

This chapter investigates Florentines' perceptions of other Italians' national character, and its perceived expression through dress and language. In the Introduction, we saw Honig's proposal that foreignness is often used negatively to shape and reinforce what 'we' are. We encounter this most clearly in the present chapter, as perceptions of foreignness contribute to intersecting Florentine national, political, and class identities.

2.1 National character

Italian peoples who were not traditional rivals of Florence were sometimes portrayed negatively but comically, often misogynistically. A Boccaccian narrator relates another group of merchants, in Paris, agreeing upon their wives' probable infidelity while their husbands were abroad.[2] A Genoese insists upon his wife's fidelity, reflecting what Branca calls 'the famous prudery of Genoese women [of which] much was written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[3] Boccaccio-narrator later describes some of the *brigata* interpreting

[1] Sacchetti, 71.
[2] Bocccaccio, 2.9.
[3] Ibid., n. 20.

a song 'in the Milanese manner, that a good pig was better than a beautiful girl,' indicating the perceived Milanese characteristic of practicality.[4]

Arguably, Boccaccio depicts Sicilian women as deceitful, since two swindle foreign merchants, once in Naples and once in Palermo.[5] However, he implies rather that such women inhabit port cities generally. One narrator begins by explaining how merchants store their merchandise 'in all the maritime lands which have a port.'[6] This practise, 'as in many other places, was in Palermo in Sicily, where there likewise were, and still are,' beautiful deceitful women.[7] It is not that Palermo is particular in this, but port cities generally. Paolo da Certaldo echoes the point, advising that, if in a foreign land a woman invites you home, you 'tell her to come to your house,' for one sees many tricks 'especially in *forestiere* and maritime lands.'[8] Landlocked Florentines perceived port cities as places particularly requiring caution.

Florentines usually perceived traditional rivals more hostilely. The Sienese, writes Matteo Villani, 'who, in their weak spirit, [and] being of a haughty and arrogant nature,' seek only selfish gain, in contrast to the Florentines, who have a 'customary love of toiling to bring peace to their neighbours.'[9] Lenzi similarly portrays Sienese authorities who apparently expelled impoverished forestieri during the 1329 famine, lambasting the 'extremely haughty and contemptible city of Siena, […] decrepit, wicked, tormenting, and mad.'[10] Giuliano Pinto observes Siena's General Council's register of 1329 including no such provision, which the expulsion would have required, while Lenzi's account differs from that of the Sienese chronicler, Agnolo di Tura del Grasso.[11] Nonetheless, Lenzi, like Matteo Villani, contrasts perceived respective Sienese and Florentine natures, for Florentines apparently welcome those foreigners expelled from Siena, illustrated in Lenzi's manuscript (Figure 2.1). Literary sources portray the Sienese as dim-witted, from Boccaccio to Lorenzo

[4] Boccaccio, 3.epilogue.
[5] Boccaccio, 2.5, 8.10. Cf. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, trans by G. H. McWilliam, 2nd edn (Penguin, 2003), pp. 800-1.
[6] Boccaccio, 8.10.
[7] 'La quale usanza, sì come in molti altri luoghi, era in Palermo in Cicilia, dove similemente erano, e ancor sono, […].'
[8] Paolo da Certaldo, 'Libri di buoni costumi', in *Mercanti*, ed. Branca, paragraph 86.
[9] M. Villani, 8.62.
[10] Lenzi, p. 322.
[11] Ibid., pp. 322, n. 4; 321, n. 1.

de' Medici's 1460s novella, *Giacoppo*.[12] The underlying function of depicting the Sienese as arrogant and stupid is to contrast them with what it meant to be Florentine.

Figure 2.1: *La cacciata dei poveri* (c.1340)

Source: 'Domenico Lenzi «Il Biadajolo»', *Conosci Firenze* https://www.conoscifirenze.it/i-vecchi-libri-raccontano/641-Domenico-Lenzi-Il-Biadajolo.html [accessed 10 January 2020].

Florentines similarly depict Pisans, another traditional rival. For Matteo Villani, Pisans have a 'deceitful nature' and 'customary cruelty.'[13] Matteo's outspoken condemnation of Ghibelline Siena and Pisa (and Germany) was possible overcompensation in demonstrating his Guelph fidelity after his 1362 Ghibellinism charges.[14] Elsewhere, a Boccaccian narrator claims that Pisa 'has few [women] who don't look like verminous lizards.'[15] Branca notes that '[i]t seems that the ugliness of Pisan women was scornfully cited like a proverb among Florentines.'[16]

[12] Boccaccio, 7.3, 7.10, 9.4; Lorenzo de' Medici, 'Giaccopo', in Martines, ed., pp. 141-52.
[13] M. Villani, 11.46, 11.16.
[14] Brucker, 'The Ghibelline Trial of Matteo Villani (1362)', Medievalia et Humanistica 13 (1960), pp. 48–55. Cf. M. Villani, 4.78, 5.1, 5.36.
[15] Boccaccio, 2.10.
[16] Ibid., n. 8.

Venetians, long-term commercial rivals, receive similar depictions. One Boccaccian novella is set in 'Venice, welcomer of all scum.'[17] Branca notes 'the stereotype of Venetian corruption, which will become extremely common in the Cinquecento but must already have been alive in the Trecento.'[18] The narrator later describes Venetians as 'vain, heedless chatterboxes [*bergoli*].' When a Venetian character betrays the protagonist, the narrator concludes, 'and this was Venetian loyalty.' Another Venetian protagonist of Boccaccio's, another 'bergolo', is labelled 'the Venetian liar.'[19] The two cities' commercial rivalry probably sharpened Boccaccio's anti-Venetian bitterness, after his employment in the Florentine Bardi company.[20]

A century later, Benedetto Dei contrasted Florentines and Venetians at more fundamental levels. After Dei's 1470s mission to the Ottoman court to expand Florence's commercial influence damaged Turco-Venetian relations, he wrote an open letter responding to Venetian anti-Florentine invectives.[21] The Florentines, Dei declares, 'are of three honourable bloods: one-third Roman, one-third French, and one-third Fiesolan,' while he tells the Venetians: 'first you are Slavonian, the other you are Paduan, of that treacherous blood of Antenor,[22] and the other third you are fishermen from Malamocco and from Chioggia.' Between the two, 'there is the same difference as between French wool and the wool of fat mattresses,' a substantial contrast in quality.[23] Dei further identifies the 'Florentine way' as 'to live popularly,' that is, 'with the *signori* and colleges and *podestà* and foreign captain,' namely, Florence's 'popular' republican institutions, rather than Venice's aristocratic republic of 'gentlemen.'[24] Dei, therefore, negatively portraying the foreign to reinforce the native, perceives the contrast in ethnic make-up and as nurtured through political traditions.

Perceiving political traditions to nurture national character appears elsewhere. Matteo Villani recounts Niccolò Acciaiuoli, a Florentine and Grand Seneschal to the Kingdom of Naples, returning to Florence in 1355 to request military support for Naples.[25] Acciaiuoli's retinue included Neapolitan barons, knights, and extravagantly dressed youths,

[17] Boccaccio, 4.2.
[18] Ibid., n. 13.
[19] Boccaccio, 6.4.
[20] Cf. Parenti, i, p. 92, who considers the Venetians 'cold' by nature.
[21] Dei, p. 129.
[22] Mythological traitor of Troy and founder of Padua.
[23] Dei, p. 133.
[24] Ibid., p. 135.
[25] M. Villani, 4.91.

and he invited young Florentine ladies to banquets. For Matteo, such 'feminine luxuries greatly weakened [Acciaiuoli's] fame in his fatherland.' Florentines apparently protested 'that such times required virtuous and virile acts, not indecent luxuries of women,' blaming King Louis of Naples for Acciaiuoli's transformation. Consequently, they denied his request, and while he 'had been most renowned in nobility of spirit and in many virtues, for his vain feminine luxury this time in his fatherland he evoked in its citizens the memory of the detestable life of Sardanapalus,' the over-indulgent Assyrian king. Similarly, Riccardo Fubini observes that while ducal Milan's courtly pomp excited Milanese courtiers' pride, for Florentines it represented transgression and corruption.[26] During the Milanese court's visit to Florence in 1471, Giovanni di Carlo, a Florentine Dominican friar who, according to Fubini, reflects the popular voice, attributes the basilica of Santo Spirito's fire to courtiers' excesses.[27] Indeed, the visit's unpopularity prompted the May-June Signoria to actively oppose the Medici-backed Milanese; amongst the opposition's main influencers was Jacopo de' Pazzi, a 'good spokesperson of the citizen opinion,' according to Fubini.[28] Foreign courtierism thus clashed with native republicanism. The visit, though, was to promote Milanese support for Lorenzo de' Medici specifically, and the May-June Signoria's alternative was monarchical Naples.[29] As we will consistently see, perceptions of foreignness did not operate alone, but were entwined in other considerations, in this case political. Nonetheless, Matteo Villani depicts an over-luxuriant royal Naples, to reinforce a modest republican Florence, a contrast echoed in 1471, underscoring the perception that national character was nurtured through political traditions.

Also in 1355, Matteo describes popular unrest in Naples. The 'Neapolitans', protesting certain economic issues, 'all in harmony took up arms.' He attributes their acceptance of a minor concession to their 'not wanting to liberate themselves from the ancient custom of their nature, that just as they are full of fury with eager desire, so does little maintain their anger.'[30] Piero Parenti, with two-and-a-half centuries' hindsight on southern Italian dynastic changes, observes a 'custom of the land to often desire a new *signore*.'[31] The underlying perception is possibly that Florence, with its 'popular' republican institutions, experiences greater stability than principalities. The notion is articulated by

[26] Riccardo Fubini, 'In margine all'edizione delle <<Lettere>> di Lorenzo de' Medici', in *Lorenzo de' Medici: studi*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: 1992), pp. 168-9.
[27] Fubini, p. 169-70; Iohannis Caroli, *Libri de temporibus suis*, 3 vols (BAV, MS. Vat. Lat. 5878), iii, f. 119r.
[28] Fubini, p. 177.
[29] Najemy, pp. 345-6.
[30] M. Villani, 5.88.
[31] Parenti, i, p. 212.

Niccolò Machiavelli, c.1515, who argues that republics are stabler than principalities because republican assemblies' rotating personnel renders republics more adaptable.[32] Monarchy nurtured changeable natures; popular republicanism nurtured more stable natures.

However, evidently not all Florentines shared these negative perceptions. Matteo's criticisms of Acciaiuoli indicate that some Florentine women attended the banquets. Similarly, some of Dei's contemporary compatriots aspired to aristocracise Florence's political institutions like Venice's.[33] Moreover, Florentines pursuing careers as jesters actively sought courtly cultures. One such jester, Ribi, writes Sacchetti,

> often attended, as do his peers, the courts of the Lombard and Romagnol lords, because with them he did well, for he would deliver words and receive robes and garments. And when he would come to Florence, unable to earn he would sometimes go to weddings, where he could yet scrounge a meal and earn something.[34]

In Ribi's occuptation, courtly society provided employment opportunities otherwise lacking in Florence.

Foreign political traditions and their cultures were therefore not perceived negatively by all Florentines. Nonetheless, whether perceiving it positively or negatively, our sources use foreign national character to reinforce intersecting Florentine national and political identity.

2.2 Clothing

A perceived material expression of national identity was clothing. Frick observes that 'regional styles' were easily distinguishable, while according to Herald, the clearest fifteenth-century visual indicator of a foreigner was veils, while sleeves also often indicated foreign influence.[35]

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[32] N. Machiavell, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Torino: 2000), book 3, chapter 9. Cf. ibid., 1.58-59, 2.2.
[33] Najemy, pp. 291-2, 300-3.
[34] Sacchetti, 49.
[35] Frick, p. 182; On veils: Herald, pp. 195. On sleeves: Herald, p. 182; Frick, pp. 191-4.

Foreign fashion could represent moral corruption for Florentines. Matteo Villani's critique of Acciaiuoli includes the 'youths adorned with various and peculiar headdresses, and outfits of their cloths, with marvellous paraments of gold and silver, and of precious stones and pearls.'[36] In 1326, after Florentines had elected Charles, Duke of Calabria (d.1328), lord of Florence for ten years, Giovanni Villani recalls Charles' wife, Marie de Valois, obtaining Charles' permission for Florentine women to wear 'thick yellow and white silk braids' in their hair, prohibited by earlier sumptuary laws because such ornamentation 'displeased the Florentines, because it was indecent and unnatural.'[37] Giovanni thoroughly endorses the 1330 sumptuary legislation, condemning Florentines' recourse to such fashions, as, 'because they could not have cut and figured cloth, they wanted multi-coloured and foreign cloths.'[38] Upon Walter of Brienne's installation as lord in 1342, Giovanni again laments a 'deformed novelty of clothing [*mutazione d'abito*]' brought by the French:

> This eccentricity of clothing, neither handsome nor virtuous, was adopted by the young Florentine men and women […], as by nature we vain citizens are disposed to the changes of new clothing styles [*mutazioni de' nuovi abiti*], and foreign imitations beyond the manner of every nation, always to indecency and vanity; and it was not without indication of future alteration [*mutazione*] of the state.[39]

Writing 'mutazione d'abito,' 'mutazione de' nuovi abiti,' and 'mutazione di stato,' Giovanni connects changes of dress to changes of state. Morally corrupting foreign dress could herald political upheaval. The French arrival was, after all, the new lord of Florence's court, perhaps signifying a perceived loss of Florence's republican liberty (even though the Florentine elite had installed Walter). If, though, Giovanni wrote this later, his 'mutazione di stato' may instead anticipate Walter's July 1343 expulsion and September's violence between elite magnates, the popolo, and briefly the popolo minuto, culminating in the 1343-8 guild regime.[40] Whichever he was referring to, Giovanni connects 'novelties' in foreign clothing styles with political upheaval.

Again, Giovanni's distaste was not universal. As with Acciaiuoli's festivities, Giovanni's complaints indicate appetites for foreign fashion among young Florentine men and women with purchasing power. Indeed, sumptuary legislation was regularly challenged,

[36] M. Villani, 5.88.
[37] G. Villani, 11.11.
[38] Ibid., 11.151.
[39] Ibid., 13.4.
[40] Najemy, pp. 137-8.

even by Giovanni's own wife.[41] Sacchetti concludes a novella by lamenting Florentines' fondness for foreign goods:

> But we are eager for foreign things. [Florentines] will sooner take a wife from afar than from nearby. And they will sooner buy a sorrowful horse that the Germans lead from Germany to Rome, than buy one from nearby, despite knowing that it is perfect.[42]

Moreover, sumptuary legislation not always targeted foreignness, for Ronald Rainey also identifies fourteenth-century sumptuary legislation as legislators' prevention of emulation of Florentine magnates.[43] Still, when foreignness was involved, again it (sometimes negatively) marked what Florentines were not: courtiers' elaborate dress was foreign to 'popular', republican Florence.

Sacchetti also, surprisingly, unintentionally reverses the polemic. In one novella, two Florentines, Giovanni Angiolieri and Piero Pantaleoni, are in Verona, 'wearing the gorget [an armoured throat-piece] around their throats, as the Florentines were then accustomed to do,' 'then' presumably being early Trecento or Dugento.[44] According to Sacchetti-narrator, 'those Florentines who were seen throughout the world in the gorget were mocked, and a proverb had even arisen which said: "<<Hey, Lapo, pick that coin up.>> <<I wouldn't pick it up even if it were a *quattrino*>>,"' indicating the difficulty of bending down while wearing it (Lapo was a common Florentine name).[45] Piero berates this fashion, comparing it to a 'toilet drainpipe,' complaining that 'we keep our throats so enchained that we can't even see our feet.' Piero concludes that they abandon it, 'so that we can at least see our feet.' Interestingly, first, the burdensome fashion which causes Florentines to be mocked 'throughout the world' is Florentine, not foreign. Second, it is exposure to foreign fashions that has awakened these Florentines to the fashion's undesirability. Ultimately, exposure to foreign fashions has *liberated* these Florentines. Did any Florentines who travelled (as Sacchetti himself did) similarly experience liberation through exposure to foreign styles?

Sacchetti ends this novella by condemning fluctuating clothing styles generally. He laments 'how many customs [*usanze*], through the paltry resoluteness [*fermezza*] of the

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[41] Frick, pp. 183-6; R. E. Rainey, *Sumptuary legislation in Renaissance Florence*, 2 vols (PhD Thesis, Columbia University, 1985), i, p. 69.
[42] Sacchetti, 219. Sacchetti writes 'i cristiani', but the context implies Florentines.
[43] Rainey, i, p. 198.
[44] Sacchetti, 178.
[45] Ibid., p. 600, n. 3.

living, have in my times changed [*mutate*], especially in my city!'[46] He continues that these changes happen everywhere:

> nowadays it seems to me that the whole world is united in having paltry resoluteness: because the Florentine, Genoese, Venetian, and Catalan men and women, and of all Christendom, go dressed in the same manner, not being able to tell one from the other. And would to God that they would remain resolute [*fermi*], but it is the complete opposite, for if some fool appears with a new fashion, the whole world embraces it.

Finally, this happens across 'the whole world and especially in Italy.' This passage is noteworthy. First, Sacchetti criticises certain changes in women's fashion as 'beyond the medium [*mezzo*],' echoing our suggestion that our sources perceived Florentine national identity as embodying a healthy median. Second, echoing Giovanni Villani's repetition of 'mutazione', Sacchetti here uses the verb 'mutare' six times.[47] Condemning what he perceives as contemporaries' 'paltry resoluteness' for precipitating so many changes in 'usanze', he implores God that 'they would remain resolute.' This is the voice of someone reacting against a quickly changing world, as the Trecento was, at least commercially with new markets opening and communications spreading, circulating more widely and quickly goods and styles. Alongside Sacchetti's assertion that people's provenance was once determinable from their clothing but now everyone appears the same, we have a reaction against early globalisation.

Our fifteenth-century sources continue to contrast conservative Florentine and elaborate foreign dress. Morelli advises 'to not dress excessively, neither silk nor rich wools.'[48] Frick contrasts the Florentine men dressed in plain, simple, black and crimson robes in Domenico Ghirlandaio's 1480s Sassetti and Tornabuoni frescoes with Domenico di Bartolo's Sienese fop (Figures 2.2-4).[49] Some Florentines scorned such ostentatious dress. Leon Battista Alberti has Giannozzo Alberti having 'never liked seeing these slashed garments and embroideries, if not on clowns and trumpeters.'[50] The Florentine men of Ghirlandaio's frescoes also sport no jewellery, unlike the Milanese. Mocking an ambassador who sports numerous gold chains, Poggio Bracciolini has Niccolò Niccoli exclaim, 'those

[46] Ibid, 178.
[47] Five times, plus one 'mutabile.'
[48] Morelli, p. 193.
[49] Frick, pp. 83, 214-6.
[50] Frick, p. 83; Leon Battista Alberti, *I libri della famiglia*, ed. R. Romano and A. Tenenti (Turin: 1969), p. 247.

other fools suffer being tied with one chain, but he is so mad that he is not content with one.'[51] Herald further contrasts Vittore Carpaccio's 1490s depiction of Venetian women's low necklines and tall shoes, with Ghirlandaio's more conservatively dressed Florentine women (Figures 2.5-2.6).[52]

Not everyone condemned foreign styles. In 1434, Francesco de' Medici merely observes ostentation being more acceptable in Venice than Florence, writing, 'everyone dresses very finely, and I often go […] to places where one must cut a distinguished figure, so that at the moment all my usual outer garments are of silk.'[53] Northern Italian fashions intrigued Florentines, as Lucrezia Tornabuoni's 1467 description of a hairstyle appearing as 'a sugarloaf in the Mantuan style and fashion.'[54] Writing again in 1467 on Clarice Orsini, Tornabuoni reports Orsini as 'dressed in the Roman fashion' and later 'wearing a tight skirt in the Roman style,' noting that '[w]e could not see her bust, because it is the custom here to go around all covered up.'[55] Orsini, a redhead, 'is not blonde,' continues Tornabuoni, 'because they are not like that here.'[56] Although 'the Roman fashion/style' is vague, and apparently Roman upper-class women also dressed conservatively, presumably a young upper-class woman without blonde-dyed hair and wearing a tight skirt and high neckline would in 1467 have clearly appeared to Florentines as foreign. In 1492, Parenti contrasts Florentine conservative and foreign elaborate dress when Florence sent an embassy to the new pope Alexander VI. According to Parenti, 'it was noted that Piero de' Medici went with twenty horses, ten youths, and highly sumptuous clothing, even though in Florentine territory he dressed in black.'[57] Parenti further notes 'the great richness of the clothing' of the Neapolitan embassy.[58] Piero de' Medici, despite his pre-eminence, dressed somewhat sombrely in republican Florence; in embassies to foreign courts, more sumptuous dress was necessary.

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[51] Frick, p. 83; Poggio Bracciolini, *Facezie*, ed. Marcello Ciccuto (Milan: 1983), p. 386.
[52] Herald, pp. 204-5.
[53] Translated in Frick, p. 152; Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza V, nos. 697, 700, 699.
[54] Translated in Herald, pp. 193-5; Alessandro Giulini, 'Nozze Borromeo nel Quattrocento', *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 8 (1910), p. 269.
[55] Translated in Lisa Kaborycha, ed., *A Corresponding Renaissance: Letters Written by Italian Women, 1375-1650* (New York: 2016), pp. 106-7; Cesare Guasti, ed., *Tre lettere di Lucrezia Tornabuoni a Piero de' Medici ed altre lettere di vari concernenti al matrimonio di Lorenzo il Magnifico con Clarice Orsini*, (Florence: 1859), p. 9.
[56] Kaborycha, p. 107.
[57] Parenti, i, p. 38.
[58] Ibid., p. 41.

Like the Trecento, early-sixteenth-century socio-political tensions were expressed through clothing, again exacerbated by the French. 'Around twelve Florentine youths of the elites [*Primati*],' writes Parenti, decided to revise their dress.[59] 'This style,' Parenti continues, 'was condemned by many as uncivil and courtly,' for the youths were believed to seek to 'distinguish themselves from the popular citizens. Some sonnets were anonymously published against them. Others commended [its greater comfort].'[60] Echoing fourteenth-century fears of magnates, Parenti and others recognised elite attempts to distinguish their class visibly, contemporaneous to efforts to aristocracise government.[61] In 1506, Cerretani contemplates a trend.[62] According to Cerretani, 'before the king arrived in Italy in 1494, people used to dress less sumptuously.' Cerretani claims that 'too much sumptuosity' had led to sumptuary legislation in 1472 [a reaction against the 1471 Milanese visit?], 'so that, until 1494, regarding clothing, one lived very modestly.' But 'when they [the French] came to Italy in 1494, they had [various elaborate outfits], which made the young ladies and young men go crazy.' These youths adopted similarly elaborate outfits, 'and among other things, the young men had long hair so that, together with these clothes, they looked like brothel women.' Consequently, the 1472 sumptuary legislation was renewed and enlarged. Like in 1326, 1343, 1355, and 1471, Cerretani criticises elaborate foreign styles brought by courtiers. But aside from mere distaste ('cosa brutissima'), Cerretani identifies practical implications. 'Because of this expenditure, many girls were not marrying, because there was no young man who was not content with two-thousand florins as dowry, and three- and four-thousand were given,' while all classes, even 'craftsmen', were likewise 'spending to dress their wives and themselves and decorate their houses.' The increased expenditure in material goods, precipitated by the 1494 French arrival, had caused dowry inflation. Cerretani does not explicate social ramifications, but they included more unmarried women who, without households for support, were more likely to be cloistered or reduced to destitution, while less marriages threatened population stagnation, from which Florence had suffered significantly post-Black Death.[63] Cerretani concludes that, 'between the continual and great tribulations and scant earnings regarding the wars, and the great expenditure and great dowries being given, one realised that, if everyone had had to pay their debts, the city would have been bankrupt.' Elaborate, courtly clothing styles were not just distasteful to some Florentines. In addition to socio-political implications, for a republican government which

[59] Parenti, ii, p. 475.
[60] Ibid., p. 476.
[61] Najemy, pp. 400-7.
[62] For what follows: Cerretani, pp. 126-8.
[63] Cf. Chapter Three.

relied upon taxation and citizen loans, citizens without cash rendered the Commune defunct. Indeed, Rainey identifies sumptuary legislation's emphases changing between Trecento and Cinquecento, becoming less ideologically anti-magnate and more practical.[64] Still, Parenti indicates that ideology remained. Ultimately, behind complaints of foreign clothing styles, numerous Florentines evidently embraced them; but for some, they posed substantial existential threats.

This discussion of clothing has focused on upper-class Florentines. Our sources give little indication of perceptions of lower-class foreign clothing. Herald acknowledges the difficulty in measuring a distinctly 'local style' amongst Italians detached from fashions.[65] Frick notes visual and literary sources suggesting that Florentines usually dressed according to status or occupation, so while elites were identifiable by a certain egalitarian uniform, artisans and shopkeepers were identifiable by their 'belted tunics and haphazardly fitting hose of undistinguished colour.'[66] According to Levi Pisetzky, the Italian poor wore cheap cloth and uncoloured linen and wool, and arranged their clothing simply and practically (Figures 2.7-8).[67] Considering the difficulty in identifying local styles outwith upper-class fashion, and if Florentines usually dressed according to status and occupation, did Florentines not visually distinguish working-class non-Florentine Italians' foreignness very sharply? More research is required.

Thus, our sources contrasted, whether negatively or not, foreign elaborate styles with a conservative Florentine tone of dress, echoing the perception of Florentine national identity grounded in relative modesty, distinguished but avoiding excesses. Frick observes Ghirlandaio's frescos depicting, rather than daily life, Florentine dress highly selectively; that is, Florentines owned and wore the outfits in which they are depicted, but they also owned and wore somewhat elaborate outfits, too.[68] Thus, through deliberate choices to depict Florentines in these particular outfits, we see material expressions of Florentine national and political identity, by implicitly contrasting Florentine conservative dress with foreign elaborate dress. Again, foreignness contributed to various intertwining Florentine identities.

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[64] Rainey, i, p. 198.
[65] Herald, pp. 195-6.
[66] Frick, p. 149. Cf. Boccaccio, 3.3, 3.7, 8.5, 8.9; Sacchetti, 155; Chapter Three.
[67] R. Levi Pisetzky, *La storia del costume in Italia*, 2 vols (Milan: 1964), ii, p. 72.
[68] Frick, pp. 207-17.

Figure 2.2: Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Confirmation of the Rule* (detail) (1483-5)

Source: Wikimedia Commons
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Domenico_Ghirlandaio_-_Confirmation_of_the_Rule_-_WGA08805.jpg [accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 2.3: Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Angel Appearing to Zacharias* (detail) (1486-90)

Source: Wikimedia Commons
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cappella_Tornabuoni,_Angel_Appearing_to_Zacharias_01.jpg [accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 2.4: Domenico di Bartolo, *Extension of the Privileges by Celestine III* (detail) (1442-4)

Source: Wikimedia Commons
https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Domenico_di_bartolo,_Celestino_III_concede_privilegi_di_autonomia_all%27ospedale,_1442-44,_01.jpg [accessed 10 September 2021].

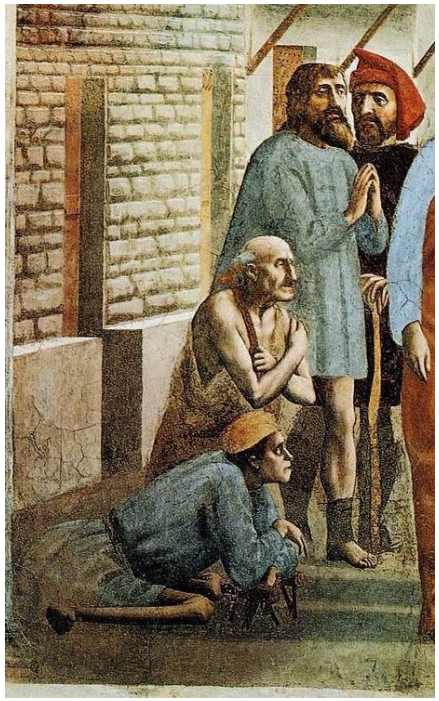
Figure 2.5: Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Resurrection of the Boy* (detail) (1483-5)

Source: Wikimedia Commons
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cappella_Sassetti_Resurrection_of_the_Boy.jpg [accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 2.6: Vittore Carpaccio, *Two Venetian Ladies on a Balcony* (detail) (c.1495-1500)

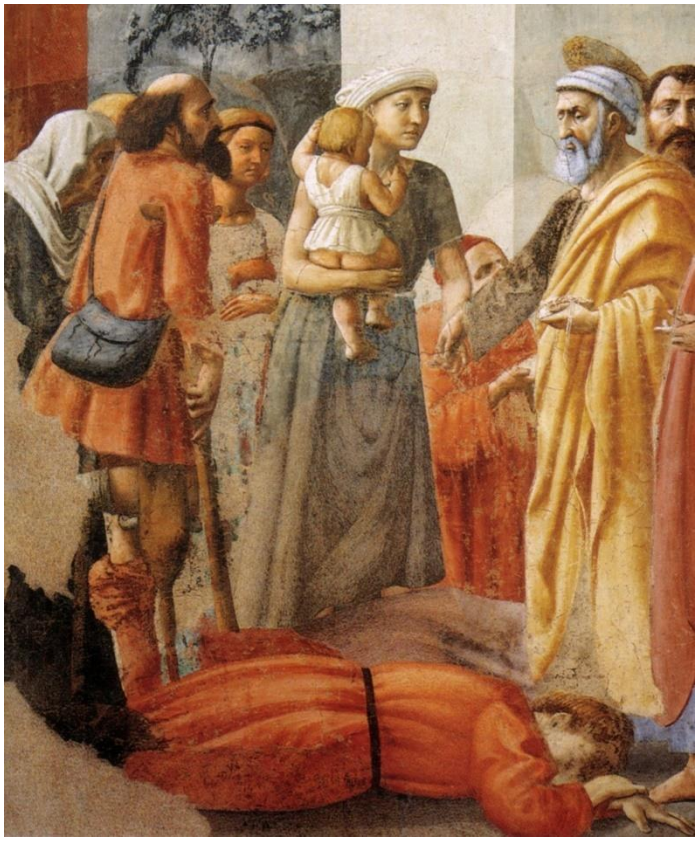
Source: Wikimedia Commons
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vittore_Carpaccio_079.jpg
[accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 2.7: Masaccio, *St Peter Healing the Sick with his Shadow* (detail) (1426-7)



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Masaccio_-_St_Peter_Healing_the_Sick_with_his_Shadow_-_WGA14187.jpg
[accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 2.8: Masaccio, *The Distribution of Alms and the Death of Ananias* (detail) (1426-7)



Source: Wikimedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Distribution_of_Alms_and_Death_of_Ananias_00.jpg [accessed 10 September 2021].

2.3 Language

By our period, the Florentine vernacular had gone from among the most introverted Italian vernaculars, to the pre-eminent Italian literary language, and strengthened that position across our period.[1] Causes included the literary prestige of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, Florence's political dynamism, its central geographic position, and its vernacular being closer to Latin than were most Italian vernaculars.[2] Florence's political expansion also

[1] G. Devoto and M. L. Altieri Biagi, *La lingua italiana: storia e problemi attuali*, 2nd edn (Turin: 1979), pp. 30-3; Devoto, *Profilo di storia linguistica italiana*, 4th edn (Florence: 1964), pp. 64, 258; Bruno Migliorini, *The Italian Language*, trans. by T. Gwynfor Griffith (London: 1984), pp. 139-44, 171-9.
[2] Devoto and Altieri, pp. 33-4.

opened its vernacular to Tuscan influences, rendering it socio-politically stronger but less divergent from other Tuscan vernaculars.[3] Across Italy, the circulation of merchants, podestà, jurists, teachers, and courtiers also contributed to linguistic unity.[4] Ultimately, 'volgare', 'fiorentino', 'toscano', and 'italiano' were often 'interchangeable.'[5] When the Roman Stefano Porcari delivered a speech as Capitano del popolo to Florence's government in 1427, he quoted 1 Kings 10:6-9, wherein the Queen of Sheba praises King Solomon, but swapped Israel for Florence to praise it as the greatest Italian city. Porcari quotes the Latin, then introduces the vernacular with: 'Translated into our language [*nostro idioma materno*].'[6] A Roman, surrounded by Florentines, cites '*our* language.'

Our chronicles give a similar impression. Their single suggestion of linguistic foreignness among Italians is Giovanni Villani quoting Castruccio Castracani's prediction of revolution following his death:

> "I see I am about to die, and once I am dead, you will see *disasseroncato*," in his Lucchese vernacular, which in clearer vernacular means: "You will see *revoluzione*," that is, in the Lucchese meaning: "You will see the world go."[7]

However accurate the quotation, Giovanni supposed his readers required 'disasseroncato' to be translated, and he required two attempts to express the meaning, while the rest of the quotation appears in the same vernacular as his chronicle overall. In 1496, when imperial ambassadors to Florence delivered a speech, Parenti records that '[t]hey spoke in the Italian language.'[8] In 1518, when Lorenzo de' Medici's new French bride arrived in Florence, Cerretani notes that 'she did not want to speak Italian.'[9] The chronicles' impression is of one Italian language.

Literature is more helpful. A long literary tradition, 'in Florence more than elsewhere' according to Gianfranco Folena, was Italian dialectal parody.[10] Our literary

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[3] Ibid., p. 40.
[4] Migliorini, p. 131.
[5] Ibid., p. 169.
[6] Translated in S. U. Baldassare and A. Saiber, eds, *Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected Writings in Literature, History, and Art* (New Haven: 2000), pp. 297-8; Giambattista Giuliari, ed., 'Risposto ad un altro protesto fatto per la signoria di Firenze ai rettori ed officiali fiorentini', in *Prose del giovane Buonaccorso da Montemagno* (Bologna: 1894), p. 98.
[7] G. Villani, 11.87. Cf. M. Villani, 3.30; Castellani, ii, p. 257.
[8] Parenti, ii, p. 36.
[9] Cerretani, p. 354.
[10] Gianfranco Folena, *Il linguaggio del caos: studi sul plurilinguismo rinascimentale* (Turin: 1991), p. 34.

sources used dialectal parody to caricature perceived national characters. It is difficult to capture this in an English-language text, but we may encapsulate the fundamentals.

To caricature Venetian vain, heedless chatterboxes [*bergoli*], Boccaccio inserts Venetian dialect to Venetian characters' speech. One such bergolo is named Chichibio, which Branca identifies as 'perhaps derived from the song and name of the finch, *cicibìo*, an onomatopoeic word widespread in the Veneto.'[11] After a character asks Chichibio something, he 'replies, singing: "*Voi non l'avrì da mi, donna Brunetta, voi non l'avrì da mi*."' Boccaccio inserts 'avrì' instead of 'avrete' to rhyme with 'mi' and thus caricature Chichibio's sing-song speech, further caricaturing the Venetian bergolo (Boccaccio, though, is mistaken, for *avrì* is Veronese, not Venetian).[12] In the novella set in Palermo, Boccaccio similarly inserts Sicilian terms. The Palermitan trickster is called Iancofiore, what Branca calls a 'Sicilian form for *Biancofiore*,' parodying the 'canonical literary exaltations of the chaste and faithful Biancofiore.'[13] Iancofiore tells the Tuscan protagonist, 'tu m'hai miso lo foco all'arma, toscano acanino,' instead of 'tu m'hai messo il fuoco all'anima, toscano acanino.' Again, writes Branca, 'the southern Italian forms […] colour the Sicilian speech,' while 'acanino' is an '[o]ld Sicilian word which perhaps derives from the Arabic *hanin*, meaning *dear*, *beloved*, *sweet*.'[14] Such Mediterranean influences further render the novella more exotic. Elsewhere, Boccaccio similarly caricatures the Pisans and Sienese.[15]

In the 1470s, Luigi Pulci wrote several dialectal parody sonnets, caricaturing the Neapolitan, Milanese, and Sienese. A favourite stereotype were culinary customs. Pulci begins a Milanese parody with: 'These broccoli-, turnip-, and cabbage-eaters,/ of which one child eats enough for three giants,/ so that they themselves become broccolis,' or idiots.[16] The remaining lines further caricature Milanese culinary habits, dim-wittedness, vanity, and pronunciation, while the foods and other terms are written in Milanese vernacular. Similarly, Pulci's Neapolitan parody begins with: 'Whoever would take vegetables, pall-mall [a precursor to croquet], and *loco* [rather than the Florentine *lì*, 'there']/ from these Neapolitan simpletons/ […] would find them like fish out of water.'[17] Again, the perceived Neapolitan characteristics are in Neapolitan vernacular. Later verses depict a dialogue between a

[11] Boccaccio, 6.4, n. 8.
[12] Ibid., nn. 13-4. Cf. ibid., 4.2, n. 57.
[13] Boccaccio, 8.10, n. 19.
[14] Ibid., nn. 32-3.
[15] Boccaccio, 2.10, 7.3, 7.10, 9.4. Cf. Sacchetti, 144.
[16] Luigi Pulci, *Opere minori*, ed. Paolo Orvieto (Milan: 1986), p. 211.
[17] Pulci, *Opere*, p. 207.

Neapolitan and the Florentine Pulci, to satirise the Neapolitan vernacular. After the Neapolitan's first utterance, Pulci responds, 'I have heard dogs bark better!' Pulci then claims that 'all the great merchants are *marrani*,' literally, notes Paolo Orvieto, 'Jews (or Muslims) converted to Christianity […], but by extension "cheater, unfaithful person."'[18] Next, Pulci declares that whoever Neapolitans consider a 'signore' would not value a mere 'cook' in Florence. The Neapolitan asks what Pulci's issue is with 'noble Naples,' and Pulci replies that the most noble thing in Naples is in the 'chamber pots/ […] it seems to me a right pigsty.' The Neapolitan scoffs: 'Ah, these Florentines, great gluttons,/ who all have such refined manners!' Pulci again uses dialogue for another Milanese parody, wherein a Milanese vendor and Pulci-Florentine share most lines in quick-fire dialogue, whereby Pulci-Florentine comically misunderstands everything the vendor says.[19]

Certain stereotypes recur throughout Pulci's parodies, particularly dim-wittedness, while culinary customs were, writes Folena, 'predominant in the popular definition of ethnic characterisations.'[20] Perhaps this contributed to some parodies being set in the marketplace, though it was presumably also where voices of various provenances abounded. We also see particulars. Pulci, in Naples in 1471, depicts a Naples much less refined than other sources' depictions. His claim that 'all the great merchants are *marrani*' reflects Naples' greater cosmopolitanism and Mediterranean connections than Florence's. The Neapolitan's depiction of Florentines as 'great gluttons' with 'refined manners' perhaps reflects real Neapolitan perceptions, but also Florentine self-perceptions. Indeed, Folena notes that dialectal parodies' increasing popularity coincided with the Florentine vernacular's ascension to the Italian literary language.[21] Dialectal parodies therefore reflect Florentine self-confidence, and their comic value thus derives from their othering of foreign Italian vernaculars and peoples.

Pulci's parodies, though, were comic literature, not accurate representations of foreign vernaculars. Folena notes that, in 'These broccoli-, turnip-, and cabbage-eaters', Milanese apocopes are avoided and we see phonic reconstructions and adaptations, while in the dialogue with the Milanese vendor, the word 'verzi' is an artificial reconstruction of the Milanese feminine plural.[22] Orvieto proposes that Pulci tries to create a non-existent language, for 'the complete annulment of the semantic component resulted in many of the

[18] Ibid., n. 7.
[19] Ibid., pp. 208-9. Cf. ibid., pp. 209-14.
[20] Folena, p. 31.
[21] Ibid., p. 34.
[22] Ibid., p. 31.

most successful and acclaimed comic displays.'[23] Parodying the words themselves renders them more bizarre, increasing the surprise.[24] Contrastingly, Benedetto Dei composed a 'documentary' rather than literary Milanese glossary between 1452 and 1482, containing every day terms, mostly culinary, then commercial, then artisanal, and thus probably gathered from Milan's marketplace.[25] Dei's unfamiliarity with Milanese is evident in his transcriptions of unfamiliar sounds which were difficultly represented in his 'normal' alphabet, especially vowels impacted by an umlaut, such as his 'ghiuso' perhaps an attempt to transcribe the Milanese 'gü-', and sibilant and palatal consonants, such as his rendering the Milanese 'š' as 'ce/ci'. But his handwriting is very personal, not traditional, which shows him a very fine perceiver of sounds. He becomes, however, very unreliable when passing from single words to sentences. Indeed, his attempt at a dialectal parody sonnet is simply a list of words.[26] Ultimately, an interested Dei works hard to comprehend another Italian vernacular.

Dialectal parodists apparently presume comprehension among their audience. But Dei evidently found some difficulty, while one of Pulci's Milanese sonnets addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici contains certain words which Pulci felt required translation: 'Note that *cardinali* is a certain dish of several things stewed; *manigoldi*, beetroots; *ferruche* are unpeeled boiled chestnuts.'[27] Again, Giovanni Villani felt obligated to translate Castruccio's quotation and required two attempts, while Boccaccio mistook a Veronese word for Venetian. In a 1429 sermon, San Bernardino da Siena, who preached in both piazzas and churches, claims that in a new place 'I always make myself speak in their words; I have learned and know how to say many things in their manner. *Il fanciullo* becomes "*el mattone*," and *la fanciulla* "*la mattona*."'[28] A 'piece of conventional wisdom,' writes Nigel Vincent, is linguistic unintelligibility between medieval Italians.[29] However, Vincent argues that, while vocabulary varied, late-medieval Italian vernaculars' syntaxes remained remarkably alike.[30] Indeed, each example above relates to individual words requiring clarification. Giacomo Devoto proposes that, for Florentines, southern Italian words generally 'did not sound *straniero*, neither in the phonetic structure nor in the harmony. Towards the north the

[23] Paolo Orvieto, *Pulci medievale: studio sulla poesia volgare fiorentina del Quattrocento* (Roma: 1978), pp. 41-2.
[24] Folena, p. 31.
[25] Ibid., pp. 20, 44-68. For what follows: ibid., pp. 26-9.
[26] Ibid., pp. 39-41.
[27] Pulci, *Morgante e lettere*, ed. Domenico De Robertis (Florence: 1962), p. 988.
[28] Translated in Migliorini, p. 158.
[29] Nigel Vincent, 'Language, geography and history in medieval Italy', *The Italianist* 30 (2010), p. 45.
[30] Vincent, pp. 53-8.

difficulties […] were greater but not insurmountable.'[31] It is perhaps straying too far from our topic to address the extent to which Florentines linguistically comprehended non-Florentine Italians in Florence, in the work- and marketplaces. This task is possibly more the linguist's than the historian's. From our evidence, though, and bearing in mind variations across Italian vernaculars, we might tentatively agree with Devoto that 'difficulties [were] not insurmountable.'

Florentine dialectal parodies reflect Florentine self-confidence, as Florentines' vernacular became Italy's literary language, and as they asserted their regional political primacy. Our sources caricatured perceived national characters through vernaculars. Their humourizing foreign vernaculars and peoples contrasted these with a more dignified Florentine people and vernacular, thereby reinforcing Florentine national identity.

2.4 Conclusion

As per Honig, our sources mark, often but not always negatively, what is foreign to reinforce intersecting native identities. National character was perceived to be nurtured through political traditions and expressed materially through clothing styles. Florence's 'popular' republicanism saw expression through conservative Florentine dress, while courtly or aristocratic foreign clothing styles were embraced by some but feared by others over potential social, political, and/or economic consequences. Perceived national character was also linked to language, such as the apparent Venetian 'bergoli' expressing their nature through sing-song speech. Moreover, caricaturing Italian peoples through dialectal parodies reflected Florentine self-confidence as Florence's republic gained regional primacy, and its vernacular pan-Italian primacy. Given the latter, predominantly well-educated men composed our sources, while Benedetto Dei's attempts to compose a Milanese glossary, San Bernardino da Siena's to make himself understood to foreign popular audiences, and the fact that the marketplace was the source of Dei's vocabulary and the setting for several dialectal parodies, suggest that foreignness was audibly more detectable the further down the social scale one looked. Contrastingly, foreign clothing fashions' restricted availability to those

[31] Devoto, *Il linguaggio d'Italia: storia e strutture linguistiche italiane dalla preistoria ai nostri giorni*, 2nd edn (Milan: 1974), p. 243.

with sufficient purchasing power suggests that foreignness was visually more detectable the further up the social scale one looked.

Ultimately, whether perceiving it positively or negatively, our sources use perceived indicators of foreignness to reinforce Florentine intersecting national and socio-political identities.

3 Foreign people

We now turn to Florentine perceptions of foreign people.

Honig proposes that 'it is often their foreignness itself […] that makes outsiders necessary even if also dangerous to the regimes that receive them,' because they provide something 'specific and much-needed but also potentially dangerous [that natives] cannot provide for themselves.'[1] Particularly for Italian podestà, 'foreignness secures for him the distance and impartiality needed to animate and guarantee a General Will that can neither animate nor guarantee itself.'[2] We will see this idea recurring throughout this chapter.

3.1 Immigrants

Before discussing Florentine perceptions of immigrants, let us touch upon the make-up of immigration to Florence.

Thirteenth-century Florence experienced unprecedented immigration, peaking in the final quarter, as the population 'tripled, or even quadrupled,' to c.120,000.[3] Another spike occurred after the 1348 Black Death had reduced the population to c.40,000-45,000, when Florentine lawmakers encouraged immigration to replenish the workforce.[4] Immigration also changed qualitatively over our period. Thirteenth-century immigrants came predominantly from Florence's contado. As Florentine territory expanded, more immigrants came from across Tuscany, then, particularly to develop Florence's silk industry from the mid-Trecento onwards, from elsewhere in and beyond Italy.[5]

In 1427 Florence, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber identify 992 Tuscan (including Florentine contado) immigrant families, c.100 from elsewhere in Italy, 87 German families, and 24 other non-Italian families, though these only include taxpayers.[6] At least 10% of Florence's families in 1427 were recent immigrants, compared to c.5-6% in other Tuscan towns, and c.20% in Pisa. That year's Catasto, a tax return, suggests that most

[1] Honig, p. 3.
[2] Ibid., pp. 134-5, n. 16.
[3] Najemy, pp. 97-9.
[4] Goldthwaite, p. 549; Kirshner, pp. 234-8. Cf. Cohn, 'After', pp. 473-4.
[5] Cohn, *Laboring Classes*, pp. 91-113.
[6] For what follows: Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, pp. 100-14.

immigrants were men, though there were c.2,500 female servants, mostly from the contado, who received low wages and short tenures.[7] Women more often appear heading migrant than stable households, usually as widows when they assume household leadership and become more administratively visible, and they often emigrated home. Overall, rural Tuscan immigrants were predominantly impoverished contadini or young jobseekers. Cohn suggests that most Trecento working-class immigrants, predominantly Tuscan within and beyond Florence's contado, highly integrated, since 84% married native Florentines.[8]

One Florentine foreign community was Lucchese. Lucca's 1314 sack precipitated an exodus of Lucchese who settled principally in Florence, Bologna, and Venice.[9] The Florentine Mercanzia, motivated both to exploit Lucchese silk expertise and by Guelf solidarity, proposed that Florence's Commune fund accommodation for those Lucchese, and although this was rejected, they received ten years' tax exemptions.[10] Immigration from Lucca continued intermittently until c.1370.[11] These immigrants were men and women, merchants and artisans, among whom the latter were mostly weavers and some dyers. They probably initially remained united, and in 1335 they gained institutional representation, as the Por Santa Maria Guild allowed them to self-organise within the Guild, though they maintained economic relations with Florentines and were not isolated. Such unusual permission was to kick-start Florence's silk industry. Affluent Lucchese immigrant merchants mixed with Florentine counterparts, though those of humbler professions almost always sought loans from affluent compatriots, almost never from Florentines. Some artisans, though, must have fared decently since some attracted apprentices. After c.1330, affluent Lucchese merchants in Florence diminished, some returning to Lucca, some moving elsewhere, particularly to international emporia in Venice, France, and Flanders. During the 1340s, Lucchese workshops appear less often, but forms of cooperation continued. Through the 1350s, Lucchese immigrants appear second and third generation, and they seem a dwindling community. Still, in 1357 they presented a petition to their guild, indicating the community's survival. However, 1371 marks the community's last mention, as Por Santa Maria cancelled all privileges, despite Lucchese workers continuing to immigrate. The 1427 Catasto mentions no Lucchese community. The removal of privileges probably reflects both their integration into the native workforce, and more Florentines entering the silk industry.

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[7] Cf. Goldthwaite, p. 371.
[8] Cohn, *Laboring Classes*, p. 111.
[9] Luca Molà, *La comunità dei lucchesi a Venezia: immigrazione e industria della seta nel tardo Medioevo* (Venice: 1994), pp. 26-7.
[10] Molà, *La comunità*, p. 27; Robert Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols (Florence: 1956-68), vi, p. 155.
[11] For what follows: Tognetti, pp. 41-91; Franceschi, pp. 401-22.

During those decades, the Lucchese probably somewhat monopolised high-quality silk production, and Florentines probably perceived them as masters. Their disappearance contrasts with the enduring Lucchese community in Venice; presumably, it was easier to integrate among fellow Tuscans with closer linguistic, social, and cultural ties. Recalling the single mention of a non-Florentine vernacular in our chronicles as Giovanni Villani's 1328 quotation of Castruccio, it is tempting to infer that this unique direct quotation of another Italian vernacular reflects Giovanni's acquaintance with Lucchese in Florence.[12]

From c.1420, Por Santa Maria actively sought Venetian and Genoese male and female specialist gold and silver thread manufacturers, who remained present in Florence throughout the century.[13] They received high salaries, and biannual contracts which locals rarely obtained, while local workshops competed for them. Little is known of individuals, but Franceschi traces some. Jacopo di Niccolò da Venezia, a goldbeater, immigrated in 1433. Being paid well, he settled permanently, alongside his mother. He married a Florentine, had three children, and received citizenship and tax reliefs for himself and his descendants, renewed ten years later. Such tax reliefs were rare. Among the Genoese, meanwhile, there appears more commuting with Genoa, but a Genoese community, including woolworkers and women, founded a confraternity which met fortnightly for socialising and religious services.[14] Demand for these artisans calmed by the late Quattrocento, when, again, more Florentines knew the craft.

Another foreign community was Florence's sex workers.[15] In 1403, the Florentine government established the 'Office of Decency' to establish a brothel and recruit foreign prostitutes and pimps, to discourage homosexuality and thereby aid the stagnant population. Most such workers were non-Italian, while any Italians were predominantly northern or central Italian, mostly non-Tuscan, and few were southern Italian. A century later, most were northern and central Italian. Unlicensed pimps were forbidden, but many women nonetheless lacked licensed pimps. The main brothel was in the city centre, near the Old Market, as were the hostels, often properties rented from elite families. Antonio Pucci, describing the Old Market in the 1340s, observes prostitutes and pimps frequenting the Market – evidently, it had long been a site for business.[16] Paired prostitutes and pimps usually lived together, in evidently both domestic and professional relationships. Most hostelers were northern Italian.

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[12] See Chapter Two.
[13] For what follows: Franceschi, pp. 410-12.
[14] Cf. Henderson, p. 429.
[15] For what follows: Trexler, pp. 373-414.
[16] Cudini, p. 179.

Clients were also usually foreign, c.20% non-Italian and c.60% northern Italian, of whom 74.2% were non-Florentine and 53.8% non-Tuscan, and were usually petty bourgeoisie, artisans, and labourers. More affluent men probably frequented private courtesans and accessed domestic servants and slaves. The Office of Decency took prostitutes' protection seriously. Indeed, '[t]he gates of justice would be open to the prostitutes as they were to few other women,' though Trexler reiterates that prostitution was built on female exploitation, and that many crimes undoubtedly went unreported.[17] The Decency also enabled prostitutes and pimps to sign mutually binding agreements, affording them some interpersonal stability. Hostelers could matriculate in the hostelers' guild, and pimps had a confraternity at their local parish church. Prostitutes also obtained some institutional identity through the *Convertite*, a convent for repentant prostitutes, both peopled and funded by prostitutes. Despite these openings for stability, most sex workers remained briefly, though why is unclear. Social changes eventually turned natives against prostitutes. By c.1500, the population was recovering, but dowry prices were inflating, leaving more Florentine women unmarried and turning to prostitution.[18] In addition, from at least 1483, women also started becoming pimps. The new opposition therefore arose not just because it 'dragged good women down,' but because it 'raised women up.'[19] Furthermore, prostitutes began wanting to live and work throughout Florence and dress like other women, rather than remain isolated. Consequently, first neighbourhood initiatives, then preachers, then legislators opposed them. In 1511, the first dress code for prostitutes and residence restrictions were imposed.

Silk and sex worker immigrants all supplied Florentine demands. The former supplied economic demands, while Lucchese also offered political solidarity through their Guelfism, about which they remained self-aware, highlighting it in their 1357 petition.[20] Sex workers supplied demographic demands. How might immigrants without such advantages integrate?

Paolo da Certaldo, in the later Trecento, advises on integration abroad. While better not to emigrate,[21] if you must, 'marry a citizen there, not a foreigner [*forestieri*], because

[17] Trexler, p. 398.
[18] Cf. Chapter Two.
[19] Trexler, pp. 412-3.
[20] Franceschi, p. 418, n. 46.
[21] Paolo da Certaldo, 'Libri', 253, 259, 265.

you must live and die there. Nevertheless, if you have many sons and daughters, have some of them marry in your own land, so that you might still return there.'[22] Similarly:

> When you go to stay in a *strana* land, gain as many friends as you can, especially a priest or friar […], and a doctor […], and similarly a jurist; and also try to gain the friendship of one or more great men of the land […]: a kind and wise man, with the little honour that you, being a *forestiere*, do to him, will love and maintain you.[23]

Such 'little honour' involves a couple of gifts per year. Finally, 'be as virtuous and courteous as you can, not in expenditure, but in speaking and in all other manners.'[24]

Paolo's advice for migrants is thus summarised. First, marry into a native family, to attain a kinship network. Second, befriend well-connected natives, to construct a social network. Third, minutely manage your behaviour around those in your immediate ambit. Ultimately, accumulate kin, friends, and neighbours, three fundamental elements of Florentine society.[25] Paolo therefore emphasises adapting to modes of networking. His discouragement of migration reflects pragmatism, for life is simply easier with these networks. Others echo this advice. 'One cannot err,' writes Sacchetti, 'in marrying locally,' for it is easier to ascertain potential spouses' character and history.[26] Around 1460, Giovanni Rucellai advises his sons that 'good friends and good relatives are very useful.'[27] Was such advice practicable for immigrants to Florence?

Contessa's study of an (albeit non-Italian) immigrant's integration suggests so.[28] Giorgio di Baliano Flatro, a Cypriot doctor, probably studied in Florence in the 1460s, before accessing the corporate world through employment in the hospitals of San Matteo then of Bonifazio, where, as with a presumable close relationship with an apothecary, he formed a clientele through personal relations. Giorgio obtained citizenship in 1473, a few days before marrying a native Florentine, Caterina di Antonio de' Bardi. Through the 1470s, he befriended established natives, such as a family of notaries, a solicitor [*procuratore*], and the couple's first landlord, a humanist and friend of Marsilio Ficino. Through the 1480s,

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[22] Ibid., 242.
[23] Ibid., 113.
[24] Ibid., 261.
[25] See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, '"Parenti, amici, e vicini": Il territorio urbano d'una famiglia mercantile nel XV secolo,' *Quaderni storici* 11 (1976), pp. 953-82.
[26] Sacchetti, 16.
[27] *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, ed. Alessandro Perosa, 2 vols (London: 1960), i, p. 9.
[28] For what follows: Contessa, pp. 151-92.

Giorgio continued befriending Florence's cultural and professional elite. By entering the corporate world, marrying a native, befriending influential natives, and living in prestigious neighbourhoods, Giorgio adapted to kinship, friendship, and neighbourhood networking as Paolo da Certaldo had earlier advised.

However, such networks were less accessible to other immigrants. Contessa proposes that Giorgio, of an influential Cypriot family, already knew someone in Florence who helped him settle. She suggests that, by 1473, citizenship was rarely granted, and that few immigrants married into old Florentine families, so Giorgio's increasing socio-professional contacts and esteemed profession must have helped. Indeed, Giorgio fared similarly to other immigrant doctors in Florence, but differed from most immigrants, who suffer 'that air of suspicion' which followed humbly classed foreigners.[29] How could the latter access networks?

Thirteenth-century immigrants could approach the mendicant orders, who were founding churches at the then urban periphery where many immigrants were settling, and provided immigrants with 'community and social services.'[30] Another option was *laudesi* companies, such as Orsanmichele. In winter 1357-8, one-third of Orsanmichele's clientele was from outwith Florence: fourteen non-Tuscan Italian travellers passing through Florence, fifteen Tuscans living outwith Florence, and seventy-one immigrants from Florentine territory.[31] Orsanmichele prioritised the latter, such as 'Monna Giovanna, wife of Tofano, from the parish of Santo Stefano in Pozzolatico; and she is in childbed and her husband is sick; they have six children with them;' and 'Monna Lisa, widow from Pistoia, who lives now in Florence in the parish of San Lorenzo, with two little children.'[32] 'Sickness', rendering clients unemployable, was the main reason cited.[33] Another option was confraternities, whose members assembled regularly for social and religious activities. Confraternities, often founded in neighbourhoods with high immigrant concentrations and by or connected to immigrants, increased from few in the mid-thirteenth century to sixty-eight by 1400.[34] We encountered the Genoese confraternity earlier. Confraternities 'provided community, solidarity, and social services for artisans and women,' and one of them, San

[29] Contessa, p. 177. For immigrant doctors: Katherine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: 1985), pp. 163-7.
[30] Najemy, p. 51.
[31] Henderson, pp. 330-2.
[32] Translated in ibid., pp. 330, 332.
[33] Ibid., p. 333.
[34] Najemy, p. 52.

Giovanni Decollato dei Portatori di Norcia, founded 1297, managed 'a hospice for travellers, and perhaps immigrants,' at the northern urban periphery.[35] Finally, hospitals were another option. Disregarding patients of unknown provenance, c.70% of fifteenth-century deaths in the San Matteo and Santa Maria Nuova hospitals were from outwith Florence.[36] However, Sandri observes negative perceptions of poor foreigners in hospitals, which seemingly determined patients' recovery more than their illness or poverty. Florentines avoided hospitals, for therein frequented slaves, prostitutes, mercenaries, and beggars, so prejudices marginalised foreigners entering hospital; if possible, foreigners sought solutions outwith hospitals.[37]

Poorer immigrants thus accessed networks with difficultly, though some Florentines evidently attempted to provide them. Without networks, immigrants remained isolated and marginalised.

In one novella, Sacchetti indicates immigrants' potential difficulties.[38] A Pratese doctor, Gabbadeo, is persuaded by another Pratese to migrate to Florence for new job opportunities. Gabbadeo is initially reluctant, for 'I could not maintain the expense' of renovating his wardrobe, nor of maintaining a horse and servant. Clothing in Florence was often determined by profession,[39] and this immigrant knows that he lacks the wardrobe to integrate, and that integration requires significant outlay. He nonetheless migrates, but, not knowing certain particularities of life and work in Florence, nor yet having a network there, he relies on whatever advice he can get, namely, his fellow Pratese's, which proves misleading and expensive. In Florence, his colt bolts and wrecks a scrap iron dealer's workshop, leaving Gabbadeo's hat there. The dealer overcharges Gabbadeo for compensation and the hat's return. Furthermore, having followed his fellow Pratese's advice to buy a colt instead of a nag, Gabbadeo returns the colt below value to the Florentine trader. Thus, the vulnerable immigrant faces economic exploitation by canny natives. Not until Gabbadeo eventually contacts a native friend do things settle. It is the latter who knows other doctors' practice in Florence so informs Gabbadeo that a colt is unnecessary, and who also approaches the scrap iron dealer and negotiates a settlement. Only then does Gabbadeo begin

[35] Ibid., p. 53.
[36] Henderson, p. 398.
[37] Sandri, p. 160-1.
[38] Sacchetti, 155.
[39] See Chapter Two.

integrating. Despite his prestigious profession, Gabbadeo's exploitation by natives and lack of reliable guidance suggest the vulnerability of immigrants lacking networks.

3.2 Anti-immigration

Integration, however, could be a double-edged sword, for it sometimes incurred Florentines' rancour. Here, we see foreignness working as political and class identities intersect.

Dante, in the 1310s, places anti-immigrant rhetoric in the mouth of his ancestor, Cacciaguida (1090-1147). Contrasting twelfth-century Florence with Florence c.1300, Cacciaguida complains that 'the citizenship, which is now mixed with Campi, with Certaldo, and with Fegghine [Tuscan villages], saw itself pure down to the humblest artisan;' better to keep such rustics outwith Florence than 'to have them within and to endure the stench' of them.[40] Cacciaguida partly blames the Church's political interference with the Empire, for its financial alliances with Florentine bankers attracted more immigrants to the city seeking enrichment, and partly Florence's territorial expansion, which facilitated immigration. Ultimately, '[t]he intermingling of people was ever the beginning of harm to the city.'[41] Matteo Frescobaldi similarly complained c.1340. Addressing a sonnet to Florence herself, Frescobaldi claims to 'see you led/ by the bad guidance of *strano* counsel […], people unworthy of inhabiting your nest,' while in another he sees Florence 'led/ by false and new and *strani* citizens,/ who […] thought only to destroy' the city.[42] In 1345, Giovanni Villani berated the 'craftsmen and labourers and idiots' governing Florence's 1343-8 popular regime, 'low craftsmen arrived from the *contado*, and *forestieri*, who care little for the republic and know less how to govern it.'[43]

According to Giovanni Cavalcanti, in 1426 Rinaldo degli Albizzi addressed an assembly of elites, though Cavalcanti possibly fabricated the speech. Rinaldo tells his audience that 'we are noble [*gentili*] towards those whom we have made our companions:

[40] Dante, iii, canto 16, lines 49-57.
[41] Ibid., 16.67.
[42] Piero Cudini, ed., *Poesia italiana del Trecento* (Milan: 1978), pp. 12-6.
[43] G. Villani, 13.43. Cf. Filippo Villani, 11.65.

those come from Empoli, from Mugello, to seek employment as servant; yet now we find them as companions in governing the Republic.'[44] Rinaldo, echoing Dante, continues:

> You have mixed here the fields (*campi*) of Figline, of Certaldo, and of other such wretched little places, with utterly useless bloodlines. And, not only to your villagers have you given magistracies, but to barbarous bloodlines. And, having come here with their workshops slung around their necks, they have taken your neighbourhood districts [*gonfalone*].'[45]

Rinaldo pleads that they 'let these newcomers remain at their little crafts to provide the necessary nutriment to feed their families, and be entirely excluded from governing the Republic.'[46] Later, echoing Frescobaldi, Cavalcanti himself addresses Florence to berate 'the *strani*,' because 'these are not your citizens; for neither houses, nor piazzas, nor streets, nor loggias have ever been named after them.'[47] Finally, in a 1440s speech, apparently by Giuliano Davanzati and again echoing Dante, the speaker asks his elite peers: 'Do you not consider, lord citizens, that neither a more *strano* mix [*rimescolamento*] of citizens, nor so many *strani* and diverse souls, has ever been seen in a republic's government than in this government of yours?'[48]

Anti-immigrant sentiment was expressed in four fourteenth-century laws, each barring forestieri from office. Giovanni Villani describes the first in 1346, Stefani the second in 1379, our anonymous diarist the third in 1382 (see Chapter One). The *Cronica volgare* records the fourth, in 1387, stating that 'the fourteen minor guilds' must annually declare 'all the *forestieri*' matriculated in their respective guilds, and that no forestiere could hold office within or outwith the city.[49] Kirshner discusses a similar law in 1404, excluding immigrant notaries from the Jurists and Notaries Guild. In the early Quattrocento, this guild 'waged a vigorous battle' against immigrants who had become citizens.[50] The 1404 legislation declared that, in order to hold office, major guildsmen and rentiers or their fathers, paternal uncles, or brothers had to have paid forced loans (*prestanze*) for thirty years, while for minor guildsmen it was twenty-five years; notaries were exempt for minor notarial

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[44] Cavalcanti, *Istorie*, i, p. 78.
[45] Ibid., p. 83.
[46] Ibid., p. 90.
[47] Ibid., p 435.
[48] Ibid., *Nuova*, p. 72.
[49] *Cronica volgare*, p. 35. Cf. *Alle bocche*, p. 72.
[50] Kirshner, p. 231.

offices, but faced twenty years for major ones.[51] Kirshner relates this to post-Black Death legislation encouraging immigration to Florence from the expanding distretto, expansion which necessitated more lawyers and notaries, for which this guild relaxed its geographic restrictions regarding matriculation.[52] A 'high percentage' of notaries excluded from office were thus first-, second-, and third-generation 'immigrant notaries'.[53] This legislation was legally challenged, and not until 1421 was it confirmed, when office was limited to those 'able to pay *prestanze* for twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years […]. These stringent requirements helped to reduce the influx of new men entering into the ranks of officeholders.'[54]

These polemics and laws somewhat demonstrate foreignness being used to mark negatively what 'we' are not. Additionally, as Sacchetti reacted against early globalisation (see Chapter Two), anti-immigrant polemics perhaps reflect reactions against the same forces which increasingly circulated not just clothing styles but people. Nonetheless, predominant is classism. Dante is perhaps alone in simultaneously lambasting the 'villager,' the *nouveau riche* 'money-changer and trader,' and unruly Florentine elites who originated outwith Florence, such as the Cerchi and Buondelmonti.[55] But Giovanni Villani, of that grey area between popolo and elite but who identified as elite, attributes the 1346 law to the ultra-conservative Guelf Party's undermining of guild power, because of the 'many low craftsmen come from surrounding lands […], who were using their magistracy and rule with greater audacity and gall than did the ancient, original citizens,' while his observation that the law's vehement opposition 'was almost the beginning of an upheaval of the state' indicates that the craftsmen recognised the attack.[56]

Stefani likewise sees the 1379 law targeting the 'craftsmen,' who again comprehended and protested the attack. Moreover, Stefani observes the uproar being somewhat generated by 'malcontents of the regime,' who antagonised the craftsmen by, amongst other things, recalling the 1358-1378 oligarchic law of the 'ammonire'. Similarly, the anonymous diarist and the *Cronica volgare* each place the 1382 and 1387 laws within the broader oligarchic disenfranchisement of the minor guilds. In 1382, minor-guild representation in the nine-man Priorate was reduced from four to three, while the Inquisition

[51] Ibid., pp. 243-4.
[52] Ibid., pp. 234-8.
[53] Ibid., p. 245.
[54] Ibid., pp. 244-63 (263).
[55] Dante, iii, 16.55-7, 61-3, 64-6.
[56] G. Villani, 13.72.

was permitted to suppress the Fraticelli, a Franciscan sect popular among working classes.[57] 'There are many,' our anonymous diarist observes, 'who are discontented.'[58] In 1387, minor-guild representation in the Priorate was again cut from three to two, which again 'many citizens condemned.'[59] Moreover, each law occurred during moments of heightened class tensions: the 1343-8 and 1378-82 guild regimes, and, following the latter's fall, elite re-oligarchising of government. The 1404/1421 legislation likewise had a class element, for notaries were often of the popolo.[60] Morelli, too, labels 'recent immigrants [as] craftsmen and petty bourgeoisie.'[61]

Indeed, Cavalcanti's, of an elite magnate family, speech via Rinaldo is a vitriolic diatribe brimming with class hatred. 'I remind you,' Rinaldo states, 'that always, in all peoples, there is the greatest hatred between noble and manual-working [*meccanici*] citizens.'[62] Rinaldo often references 'manual-working,' 'workshop,' 'little crafts,' 'the *contado* villager.'[63] Recalling the chivalric notion of love as the fundamental indication of nobility, Rinaldo argues:

> [t]here is no difference, from birth to death, between the noble [*gentile*] and the villager: but in their customs, the differences are immeasurable [*disguaglievoli*], most of all as regards love. The noble loves, while the villager fears. I say that, between the villager and the craftsman, there is little difference.[64]

Cavalcanti's Rinaldo depicts class conflict, fought between elite and craftsman, not citizen and forestiere.

Furthermore, Giovanni Villani and the anonymous diarist respectively report the 1346 and 1382 laws defining 'forestiere' as one who had not himself, his father, and his grandfather been born in Florence. This reflects the elite's tradition of glorifying lineage. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber observe Florentine elites adopting family tree construction from the late Dugento, deriving from increasing preoccupations with inheritance and familial strategizing, but also reflecting contemporary social tensions as elites sought to distinguish

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[57] *Alle bocche*, pp. 43-4. For the Fraticelli: Najemy, p. 178.
[58] *Alle bocche*, p. 44.
[59] *Cronica volgare*, p. 35. Cf. *Alle bocche*, p. 72.
[60] Najemy, pp. 46-8.
[61] Morelli, p. 162. Cf. Boccaccio, 7.8.
[62] Cavalcanti, *Istorie*, i, p. 78.
[63] Ibid., pp. 83, 85, 90, 80.
[64] Ibid., p. 80.

themselves from aspiring non-elites.[65] If even elites found difficulty in accumulating details on forebears just a couple of generations earlier,[66] how much more so for non-elites. Thus, as a political weapon, elites recognised lineage's efficacy against non-elites, whether native or immigrant. Beyond politics, Giovanni Villani notes the 1346 law pertaining to every '*forestiere* who has been made a citizen.'[67] Thus, by proclaiming that lineage carried greater weight than even citizenship itself, elites portrayed their own class as 'more Florentine' than any other, whom they portrayed as 'less Florentine.' Ultimately, these laws sought to strip certain Florentine citizens not only of political rights but, by labelling them as 'foreign', of their very national identity. Little wonder there was uproar on each occasion.

How, though, did popular regimes pass the 1346 and 1379 proposals? For 1346, Brucker laments 'no satisfactory explanation,' but proposes a combination of unusually united elites, an unusually high elite presence in the executive, perceived Ghibelline threats from Charles of Bohemia, personal/familial interests, and patron-client relationships.[68]

In July-August 1379, the executive had unusual major-guildsmen majorities. Although alone insufficient, this likely signalled a unique opportunity to undermine the 1378-82 regime (Table 3.1). Patron-client relationships and personal/familial interests also likely contributed. Indeed, the latter contributed during the 1381 dyers' strike, when scabs anticipated Wool Guild support after the strike's defeat.[69] In the councils, there was possibly a combination of the above and, like dyer scabs, bets hedged on the regime falling. Space restricts fuller discussion.

Finally, Najemy describes late-medieval Florentine socio-political struggle as 'triangular': broadly, the middling popolo sought to simultaneously rein in a destructive elite and keep out 'the masses of politically aware but disenfranchised workers and artisans,' while each occasionally allied with one against the other.[70] This context underscores the class element, for immigrants reinforced artisanal and working-class ranks, while the elite must have found sufficient allies within the popolo for passing anti-forestiere legislation.

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[65] Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, pp. 342-60. See also Najemy, pp. 6-11. Cf. Sacchetti, 63.
[66] Najemy, pp. 10-11.
[67] G. Villani, 13.72.
[68] Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society 1343-1378* (Princeton: 1962), pp. 119-20.
[69] Najemy, p. 171.
[70] Najemy, p. 37. Cf. Parenti, ii, p. 97.

Therefore, we again see foreignness contributing to intersecting national, political, and class self-identification.

Table 3.1: Tre maggiori guildsmen, 1378-9[71]

Month	Priorate	Buonomini	Gonfalonieri
Sep	maj: 4 **min: 5**	maj: 4 **min: 8**	maj: 6 **min: 11**
Oct	maj: 4 **min: 5**	maj: 4 **min: 8**	maj: 6 **min: 11**
Nov	maj: 3 **min: 6**	maj: 4 **min: 8**	maj: 6 **min: 11**
Dec	maj: 3 **min: 6**	maj: 5 **min: 7**	maj: 6 **min: 11**
Jan	maj: 4 **min: 5**	maj: 5 **min: 7**	maj: 6 **min: 10**
Feb	maj: 4 **min: 5**	maj: 5 **min: 7**	maj: 6 **min: 10**
Mar	**maj: 5** min: 4	maj: 6 min: 6	maj: 6 **min: 10**
Apr	**maj: 5** min: 4	maj: 6 min: 6	maj: 6 **min: 10**
May	maj: 3 **min: 6**	maj: 6 min: 6	**maj: 9** min: 7
Jun	maj: 3 **min: 6**	maj: 6 min: 6	**maj: 9** min: 7
Jul	**maj: 5** min: 4	maj: 6 min: 6	**maj: 9** min: 7
Aug	**maj: 5** min: 4	maj: 6 min: 6	**maj: 9** min: 7
Sep	maj: 4 **min: 5**	maj: 6 min: 6	maj: 8 min: 8

3.3 Disappearance of anti-immigration polemic

After Cavalcanti's invective, anti-immigrant polemics disappear. I have not encountered them in Cederni, Corrazza, Castellani, Dei, Bernardo Machiavelli, Luca Landucci, Parenti, or Cerretani. If figures like Cederni, Corrazza, Landucci, and Parenti, either non-elites or advocates of popular government, might naturally be disinclined towards anti-immigrant polemics, others from elite families such as Machiavelli and Cerretani might have been

[71] *Florentine Renaissance Resources, Online Tratte of Office Holders, 1282-1532*, ed. Herlihy and others (Providence: 2002) http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/tratte/ [accessed 25 August 2021].

inclined, especially Cerretani who opposed popular government. Through the second half of the Quattrocento, anti-immigrant polemics vanish from our sources. Why? Let us suggest three interconnected reasons.

First, the unprecedented thirteenth-century immigration, which peaked c.1275-1300, was current or recent for Dante (b. 1265), Giovanni Villani (b. c.1280), and Frescobaldi (b. c.1297), as was the post-1348 spike for Cavalcanti (b. 1381) and late-Trecento-to-early-Quattrocento lawmakers. Although immigration steadily increased, for mid-late-Quattrocento Florentines those sudden impacts were further in the past. Moreover, through the Quattrocento, immigrants were coming from further afield, both from within and beyond Italy.[72] Thus, perhaps immigration had less psychological impact on mid-fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Florentines who were more acclimatised to it.

Second, chronicles were predominantly the source to express anti-immigrant sentiment, but chronicles largely disappear during Medicean hegemony.[73] Among our sources, Cederni, Corrazza, Castellani, Machiavelli, and Landucci all wrote limited and private texts.[74] In the historiography, chronicles gave way to humanist histories, highly stylised literary works whose authors 'shied away from contemporary events.'[75] Their authors were also often partisans of their contemporary regime, such as Leonardo Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini who respectively wrote histories of Florence as Florentine Chancellors, effectively directors of Florentine propaganda.[76] Moreover, humanist historiography also changed over these decades. Bruni, who started his *Histories* around 1415,[77] was a product of pre-Medicean hegemony, and was thus relatively freer to extol ideals (however accurate) about a participatory Florentine republic, while Donato Acciaiuoli in 1461 wrote instead a *Life of Charlemagne*, and the humanist chancellor Bartolomeo Scala was busier facilitating Medici interests, abandoning his history of Florence mid-sentence at the year 1268 and similarly lauding Charlemagne.[78] That is, as Medicean hegemony developed, it became less possible to extol participatory republicanism, and princely leadership received increasing

[72] Cohn, *Laboring Classes*, pp. 96-9.
[73] Cf. Chapter One.
[74] Dei's *Cronica* is more *zibaldone* than chronicle. For Marco Parenti: Introduction, n. 24.
[75] Najemy, p. 381.
[76] On chroniclers' estrangement from their respective regimes whilst composing, see: Introduction, nn. 17, 21; Lorenzo Tanzini, 'Marchionne di Coppo Stefani', *Storia di Firenze* https://www.storiadifirenze.org/?storici=stefani-di-coppo-marchionne [accessed 16 September 2021]; Marco Bicchierai, 'Giovanni Cavalcanti', *Storia di Firenze* https://www.storiadifirenze.org/?storici=cavalcanti-giovanni [accessed 16 September 2021].
[77] Najemy, p. 181.
[78] Charles L. Stinger, 'Humanism in Florence', in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. Albert Rabil, Jr. (Philadelphia: 1988), p. 192

adulation. Ultimately, shifts in contemporary historiography and political climate nurtured an environment which discouraged reflection upon current affairs, making immigration an unlikely topic. Moreover, Florence's leading humanists were themselves often non-elite immigrants. Coluccio Salutati was from Buggiano, Poggio Bracciolini from Terranuova, and Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, and Benedetto Accolti all from Arezzo.[79] When chronicles re-appeared c.1500, immigrants were no longer perceived as threatening.

Third, by the mid-Quattrocento, the class conflict with which anti-immigrant polemics and laws were entwined had ended. Put simply, the elite had won, functioning as senior partners to a popolo more removed from the artisanal and working classes since 1378-82.[80] The generation of craftsmen and workers who had experienced the 1378-82 guild republic became less politically active, with their rare attempts at revolt failing miserably over the following decades.[81] Moreover, fundamental to the post-1382 oligarchization was the reduction of the guilds' political function, so that, '[b]y the early fifteenth century, official political discourse made it nearly treasonous to support "the guilds" in any kind of protest against the regime.'[82] With guilds unable to represent collective political interests, individual patron-client relationships instead predominated.[83] Yet immigrants who had previously served in government got there via the guilds, as Giovanni Villani observed mid-1340s and as is suggested of the 1378-82 regime by the post-1382 anti-forestiere laws and undermining of the guilds. Hence Contessa's observation that, by c.1470, citizenship was rarely granted, for previously immigrants could become citizens via their guilds. In the 1490s, Najemy notes a 'middle class reawakened' more actively pursuing their political aspirations;[84] yet craftsmen and workers remained excluded, and guilds had long lost all political meaning. Despite this reawakening, political conflicts no longer developed predominantly along class lines or patronage ties, but rather along factional lines.[85] Therefore, since anti-immigrant polemics and legislation had been entwined with class conflict, and since the political ascendancy of large numbers of immigrants had required guild representation, then that class conflict's resolution and the guilds' political annihilation

[79] Najemy, p. 213.
[80] Ibid., pp. 37-8, 182-6; Cohn, 'Rich and Poor in Western Europe, c. 1375-1475: The Political Paradox of Material Well-Being', in *Approaches to Poverty in Medieval Europe: Complexities, Contradictions, Transformations, c.1100-1500*, ed. Sharon Farmer (Turnhout: 2016), p. 163.
[81] Najemy, p. 176.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., pp. 251-2.
[84] Ibid., p. 386.
[85] Ibid., p. 394.

suggest that immigrants were simply no longer perceived as threats by elites or the affluent popolo.

Ultimately, Florentine government's oligarchization shaped Florentine historiography to reflect less on current affairs, and rendered the elite better insulated from consequences of large numbers of immigrants ascending to government. Contemporaneously, the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Florentine economy no longer generated the earlier unprecedented spikes in immigration. Immigration was therefore unlikelier to occur to our sources as a pressing issue.

3.4 Armed foreigners

If, as Honig proposes, foreigners have been perceived as threatening stability, armed foreigners in Florence did not aid perceptions.

Giovanni Villani, c.1338, conservatively estimates 'around 1,500 foreign men, both wayfarers and soldiers,' in Florence.[86] In 1427, there were c.12,000-19,000 'foreign mercenaries' in Florence.[87] Sandri notes 'many' fifteenth-century foreign male patients at San Matteo being soldiers, and, although predominantly describing non-Italians, she notes that, from at least the late Trecento, policing was performed by both non-Florentine Italians and non-Italians.[88] San Matteo's depositors were also often 30-40-year-old men with scars and grim appearances.[89]

Our sources indeed perceive armed foreigners as destabilising. Particularly illustrative is Giovanni Villani's account of Walter of Brienne's 1343 expulsion.[90] Initially, Giovanni lauds the armed Florentines, observing them 'without any *forestiere* or *contadino*.' Contadini and Tuscan allies later arrived to aid the Florentines. Having expelled Walter, 'the citizens disarmed and dismantled the stockades, and the *forestieri* and the *contadini* departed, and the workshops opened, and each attended to his profession and craft.' Giovanni thus identifies the forestieri and contadini, though Florentine allies, departing as

[86] G. Villani, 12.94. Cf. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, pp. 67-8.
[87] Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, p. 25.
[88] Sandri, p. 153.
[89] Ibid., pp. 157-8.
[90] G. Villani, 13.17.

among the signals of a return to stability, despite the Florentines, whom he praises, having initiated the disorder.

This connection of armed foreigners and instability recurs throughout our sources.[91] Nowhere is it clearer than with our anonymous diarist. Narrating particularly tense moments in Florentine history, such as post-1382 socio-political tensions, the Alberti expulsions of 1387 and 1393, and others, the diarist frequently notes the arrivals of many people, as both government and elite families brought armed forestieri from Florentine territory.[92] He notes three times this foreign presence being legislated against. In 1392, he notes that it was declared

> that no soldier, neither cavalry nor infantry, nor any man-at-arms, nor any citizen or *contadino*, nor any vassal [*accomandato*] or *distrettuale*, nor anyone salaried by the Commune of Florence, can make war or cause injury or commit violence upon any person.[93]

In 1396, he notes it being declared that 'no citizen could keep any *contadino* or *forestiere* infantry […], and that all *forestieri* who had come to Florence at the request of any citizen had to vacate the city.'[94] The diarist's editors note that he consistently desired stability in a particularly unstable period, expressed through the frequently repeated phrase, 'we keep guard day and night.'[95] For non-elites like him, armed foreigners were a menace. Antonio Pucci illustrates their impact on 1340s everyday life. Describing the Old Market, Pucci narrates that when government prepares for war, gangs of armed thugs arrive in the Market, destroying vendors' goods and causing mayhem.[96] Pucci does not call them foreigners, but he calls them 'halberdiers,' and since foreign mercenaries were hired for wars, they were likely foreign. Similarly, in 1379, 'Domenico Pellegrini of Bologna, a cavalryman of the Commune of Florence,' raped and robbed a Florentine woman, Monna Anastasia, and wounded her husband.[97] Non-elites likely dreaded armed foreigners.

Cavalcanti attempts a different spin. Rinaldo tells his 1426 audience:

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[91] Ibid., 9.68-9, 13.20; Stefani, 375, 792; *Cronica volgare*, p. 166; M. Villani, 10.85; Parenti, ii, 257, 424-5.
[92] *Alle bocche*, pp. 25, 51, 67-8, 71-2. Cf. ibid., p. xliii.
[93] Ibid., p. 131.
[94] Ibid., p. 185.
[95] Ibid., pp. xlviii-liii.
[96] Cudini, pp. 179-80.
[97] Translated in Brucker, *Society*, pp. 97-8.

> When there is war, the city is always inhabited by many soldiers, infantrymen and cavalrymen […], who need to buy all their necessities there where the craftsmen stay fat and well-paid off it. Thus […] war is their aggrandisement and enrichment.[98]

More soldiers mean more customers. Interestingly, Cavalcanti too perceives armed foreigners as destabilising, though indirectly, by enriching non-elites and thus enabling them to threaten elite governance. Given the context of this speech and the experiences of the anonymous diarist, Pucci, and Monna Anastasia, Cavalcanti's notion is unlikely, at least for most non-elites.

Elites continued to utilise armed forestieri and contadini, such as the Medici's Milanese and contadini troops to defeat opposition in 1458 and 1466.[99] In 1498, in preparation for Girolamo Savonarola's trial by fire, Parenti records that '[t]he city-gates were kept sealed […] so that *forestieri* soldiers could not enter,' while it was ordered that 'every *forestiero* vacate the land, except the soldiers deputed to keep watch over the Piazza.'[100] Again, during high tensions, armed foreigners arriving to aid citizens was feared. It is difficult to interpret literally Parenti's claim that all forestieri had to leave. Perhaps non-resident forestieri had to leave, though even then, if 1498 figures were similar to 1427, that meant tens of thousands. And what does 'the land [*terra*]' mean? Nonetheless, fears persisted over factions bringing armed foreigners. During the tense years c.1500, elites were frequently suspected of organising foreign intervention to topple the status quo and reinstall Piero de' Medici and/or re-oligarchise government.[101]

Assuming that Pucci, our diarist, and Monna Anastasia's experiences likewise continued, and considering also foreign mercenaries' notorious unreliability (articulated earlier by Bruni, later by Niccolò Machiavelli, and echoed by Cerretani), we sense the elation in 1506 of both elites and non-elites upon the institution of Machiavelli's militia of Florentine contadini and distrettuali.[102] The apothecary-diarist Luca Landucci wrote that 'it was thought to be the finest thing ever organized by the city of Florence.'[103] To Cerretani, 'it seemed a thing of the greatest esteem to be able in three days to be worth ten-thousand

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[98] Cavalcanti, *Istorie*, i, p. 79.
[99] Najemy, pp. 265, 305.
[100] Parenti, ii, p. 160. Cf. ibid., p. 97.
[101] Najemy, chapter 13.
[102] George Holmes, *The Florentine Enlightenment* (Oxford: 1992), pp. 156-7; N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, 1.43, 2.20; Cerretani, p. 118.
[103] Luca Landucci, *Diario fiorentino dal 1450 al 1516: continuato da un anonimo fino al 1542*, ed. I. Del Badia (Florence: 1985), p. 273.

infantrymen and all of our people, without one *forestieri*.'[104] Some elites apparently feared both armed peasants using their weapons to threaten the elite and Piero Soderini using the milita to establish a tyranny, but Cerretani observes that opposition was mere pretext by Soderini's opponents to undermine him.[105] For shopkeepers, artisans, and women of similar classes, a domestic militia likely represented a cessation, or at least diminution, of harassment by armed foreigners.

3.5 Foreign officials

If foreigners posed a perceived threat to stability, is it contradictory that Florentines (like much of northern Italy) routinely appointed foreign officials?

Such offices include those listed by Giovanni Villani c.1338, including the podestà and Capitano del popolo.[106] Florentines also appointed foreigners for specific purposes. When four Florentines, including Stefani, were elected in 1374 to review public finances, they uncovered several indebted citizens, but two Albizzi challenged them via four '*forestieri* doctors [of law].'[107] Amongst Giovanni's c.1338 list was someone to enforce the 1330 sumptuary legislation. Frick notes the undesirability of this office causing the government in 1333 to have the Bishop of Siena appoint the official.[108] Since the 1330 legislation was partially to limit foreign fashions, there is an amusing irony in having a foreigner appoint a foreigner to limit foreignness!

How did Florentines interpret the apparent contradiction? We saw Honig citing the podestà as exemplifying the 'necessary' and 'dangerous' foreigner required 'to animate and guarantee a General Will.' This reflects Florence's experience. Giovanni Villani identifies the first foreign podestà in 1207, when, 'with the city having grown both of people and of vices,' no citizen was permitted to hold the role, 'not by requests, nor through fear,' nor for any other reason.[109] Giovanni believed that Florentines, being an ethnic amalgamation of Romans and Fiesolans, were naturally disposed to internecine conflict.[110] Florentines were thus unable to animate and guarantee a General Will. Even when elites installed a lord, they

[104] Cerretani, p. 130.
[105] Cited in Najemy, pp. 411-2; Cerretani, *Storia fiorentina*, ed. G. Berti (Florence: 1994), p. 343.
[106] G. Villani, 12.93-94.
[107] Stefani, 740. Cf. G. Villani, 11.17, 11.109.
[108] Frick, p. 183.
[109] G. Villani, 6.32.
[110] Ibid., 4.1.

chose foreigners: Charles of Anjou (1267), Charles, Duke of Calabria (1326), and Walter of Brienne (1342). Yet the perceived 'danger' remained, and elites regretted their installation.[111] These foreigners strongly impacted upon Florentine memory. Stefani, after narrating Walter of Brienne's expulsion, castigates domestic discord, for the results of 'discords are *istrani signori*, who take [citizens'] lives and properties.'[112]

Despite no more foreign lords, foreign officials continued. In summer 1494, as Florentines debated political reform, Parenti notes that the 'Podestà forestiere' was retained.[113] Eventually it and the Capitano del Popolo were retired (1502), when elites, believing it to best serve their class interests, succeeded in institutionalising a native head, first Piero Soderini then the Medici (1512).[114] Still, the subsequent planned revolts, the 1527-30 republic, and the terror of 1531 hardly signal the animation and guarantee of a General Will.[115] Florence eventually became an imperial protectorate.[116] Did it take the foreign emperor to animate and guarantee a General Will?

How did non-elites interpret the contradiction? We possibly detect tensions. First, in 1378 the Ciompi demanded 'the abolition of the Wool Guild's hated foreign official.'[117] However, this might be a unique issue. Second, in 1393, Barone di Ghino, a kiln-worker, was among twenty-three minor guildsmen exiled for demanding the guild republic's reinstitution.[118] Barone protested his banishment, telling Bartolomeo da Prato, captain of the men-at-arms: 'Do not bother yourself with our affairs. We are citizens and you are a *forestiere*, and today we want to regain our government [*stato*] and escape the hands of tyrants.'[119] Barone was soon decapitated. If our diarist's quotation is accurate, Barone accuses this forestiere of intruding into domestic affairs. Who were the 'tyrants'? The Florentine elite were then oligarchising government. Did minor guildsmen perceive foreign officials as aiding their suppression? The offices of podestà and Capitano del popolo continued through the 1378-82 regime, and I have not encountered initiatives to remove

[111] Najemy, pp. 75-8, 122-3, 135-7.
[112] Stefani, 585.
[113] Parenti, i, p. 89.
[114] Stefano Ginanneschi, ed., 'Elenchi nominativi dei Podestà del comune di Firenze e dei Capitani del Popolo in carica dal 1343 al 1502', *Archivio di Stato di Firenze* (2002); Najemy, pp. 406-7.
[115] Cerretani, p. 354; Najemy, pp. 426-34, 447-53, 462-3.
[116] Najemy, p. 461.
[117] Ibid., p. 163.
[118] Cf. Chapter One. Barone had been prior, March-April 1391: Herlihy and others, *Tratte*.
[119] *Alle bocche*, p. 165.

them.[120] Perhaps the notion arose post-1382 with the guilds' suppression. Perhaps it simply occurred to Barone in the moment. The incident is difficultly generalised.

Third, a Boccaccian narrator observes many of Florence's mid-fourteenth-century foreign officials being from Le Marche.[121] These Marchigiani were apparently stingy, and the jurists and notaries that accompanied them 'seem to be taken from the plough or the cobbler's rather than the law schools.' One Marchigiano podestà brought 'Niccola da San Lepidio, who appeared a blacksmith more than anything, and he was placed among the other jurists to hear criminal cases.' A Florentine, Maso del Saggio, believed Niccola dressed too shabbily for someone in that esteemed position. After Maso and friends prank Niccola, the podestà confronts them. They respond that they wanted 'to show him that the Florentines knew that, where he should have brought jurists, he had brought idiots in order to save money.' Boccaccio possibly caricatures Marchigiani specifically, but he illustrates another similar prank.[122] Just as others 'arrive from Bologna, whether jurists, physicians, or notaries,' a Bolognese doctor of law, Simone da Villa, 'richer in well-placed relatives than in knowledge,' moves to Florence having studied at Bologna's university. Simone is dim-witted yet pompous, declaring to 'have so much wisdom that I could supply a whole city with it and still remain a sage.' Two Florentines, Bruno and Buffalmacco, prank Simone. 'Thus,' the narrator concludes, 'is wisdom taught to those who have not learned sufficient in Bologna.' These Florentines accept the necessity (or the reality) of foreign officials, but they demand high standards. This attitude perhaps relates to Florence not being a university city, like Bologna, but rather a practical, mercantile city, for the critique transcends foreign officials to the highly educated generally. Sacchetti, too, berates 'those who make themselves master of theology, for no other reason than to be called "maestro"; doctor of law, to be called "doctor"; and likewise of philosophy and medicine, and of all the others.'[123] Cino Rinuccini similarly derides the humanists c.1400, while Martines calls even those humanists 'a down-to-earth lot,' while Pulci satirises the 1470s Ficinian philosophical circle.[124] Ultimately, in Boccaccio we detect a begrudging acceptance of foreign officials.

Finally, foreign officials received short-term appointments, often six- or twelve-month terms, which possibly assuaged Florentines' fears, unlike the three foreign lords, two

[120] Ginanneschi, ed., pp. 20, 51-2.
[121] Boccaccio, 8.5.
[122] Boccaccio, 8.9.
[123] Sacchetti, 7.
[124] Alison Brown, *The Renaissance*, 2nd edn (London: 1999) pp. 105-6; Martines, p. 223; Orvieto, *Pulci medievale,* pp. 222-3.

of whom received ten-year terms, and one life.[125] Furthermore, as with class interests regarding immigration, perhaps for enfranchised Florentines foreigners in temporary authority positions were palatable if sufficiently well-born. If so, socio-political perceptions were again entwined with those of foreignness.

Ultimately, Florence's relationship with foreign officials reflects Honig's proposal of foreigners' perceived necessity and danger.

3.6 Displaced foreigners

Among our sources, displaced persons are perceived sympathetically. Lenzi praises the Commune's 1329 order that grain be sold under value, 'not caring about making a loss, but only about providing for the poor and their poverty [and] to this bread rushed *cittadini* and *contadini* and even some *forestieri*.'[126] Although we might question Lenzi's account, these perceptions are echoed elsewhere. During the 1346 famine, Giovanni Villani recalls many forestieri and contadini begging in Florence. Thanks to Florentine government and people, 'no one was left poor, neither *forestiere* nor *contadino*,' who received alms from citizens whom God would recompense.[127] A century later, Alberti claims that in Tuscany 'any citizen or foreigner would be able to receive treatment.'[128]

Henderson sees a change in attitudes by the late Quattrocento. New was 'the discrimination against beggars who originated from outside Florence and its *contado*.'[129] Yet our sources give another impression. In 1483, Landucci observes famine and war driving families out of Lombardy southward toward Rome. 'One felt great compassion seeing pass so many impoverished souls […], so that whoever saw them barefoot and naked was brought to tears, [thus] no-one would pass without our expense.'[130] Henderson cites Jacopo Nardi's 1550s account of the 1496-7 famine, which states that, because the hospitals were full and people were dying in the streets, all 'forestieri' were expelled.[131] Parenti, however,

[125] See n. 111.
[126] Lenzi, p. 323.
[127] G. Villani, 13.73.
[128] Translated in Henderson, p. 404; Leon Battista Alberti, *L'Architettura (De Re Aedificatoria)*, ed. G. Orlandi and P. Portoghesi, 2 vols (Milan: 1966), i, p. 368.
[129] Henderson, p. 404.
[130] Landucci, p. 46.
[131] Henderson, pp. 403-4; Jacopo Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze*, ed. Lelio Arbib, 2 vols (Rome: 1842), i, p. 115).

chronicling the events, writes that 'contadini' were kept out specifically on Holy Saturday, when a 'large part of the *contado*' arrives for the service in Florence's cathedral, 'both to not amass a crowd [and thus risk popular unrest], and to not make the famine here worse.'[132] Parenti does not divorce the event from the famine, but he does not illustrate 'discrimination against beggars who originated from outside Florence and its *contado*', while he writes that 'contadini' were for one day kept out, not indefinitely kicked out. Indeed, he then describes poor contadini with pity, noting that 'some of them would come here at times,' and that 'the greatest alms were given.'[133] Historians have observed changes in Florentine charity over our period.[134] However, our sources demonstrate a consistently charitable and sympathetic perception of foreigners displaced by famine.

Positive perceptions probably derived from displaced persons' sudden afflictions provoking compassion. Like foreign officials, though, the displaced were expected to remain briefly, until the famine/war ceased and they returned home, or until they departed for their target location, unlike vagabonds, soldiers, or immigrants who had supplied natives' demand, whose departure time nobody knew.

3.7 Conclusion

Several factors contributed to perceptions of foreigners. Most evidently, perceptions of immigrants could not be disentangled from class perceptions. Almost all anti-immigrant polemics in our sources target immigrant workers or craftsmen. Hence the various fourteenth-century, elite-driven, anti-forestiere legislation, for to restrict immigrants from office was to restrict popular politics. Again, foreignness contributed to intersecting class and political identities.

Honig proposed that foreigners are often simultaneously perceived as 'necessary' and 'dangerous'. The foreignness of sex workers, artisans/workers, and officials was likewise perceived. Necessary to tackle population decline, to kick-start the silk industry, to

[132] Parenti, ii, p. 84.
[133] Ibid., p. 85.
[134] Cohn, *Paradoxes*, p. 39.

maintain political functionality. Dangerous to native women's morality, to socio-political stability, and to republican liberty.

This helps explain why all three groups, to varying extents, were initially accommodated and eventually opposed. It is obviously easier to erase offices than peoples, hence the podestà and Capitano del popolo's calm removal. Still, all three had fulfilled their necessity: the population was recovering; natives knew the silk industry; the workforce was replenished; there seemed, at least in 1502, to be agreement on a native figurehead. Consequently, only their 'dangerous' element remained. The indefinite settlement of immigrants helps explain the legislation and polemics against them, while the brief terms of individual foreign officials (as with displaced foreigners) rendered them more palatable. Ultimately, certain foreigners were welcomed when required to animate a native General Will, but encountered opposition – or, like the Lucchese, simply lost their privileges – once it was guaranteed.

Conclusion

When indicating foreignness, our sources were likelier to use ‘straniero/strano’ to indicate non-Italian, and ‘forestiere’ to indicate Italian. However, these were not fixed rules, and we see numerous exceptions. Furthermore, almost two-thirds of instances of ‘forestiere’ indicate Tuscan, whether exclusively or alongside non-Tuscan. Sandri’s interpretation of ‘straniero’ as non-Italian and ‘forestiere’ as non-Tuscan Italian is therefore not entirely misplaced, yet remains misleading. Nor did ‘foreign’ indicate immediately beyond the city walls, for Florentine contadini were practically never described as ‘forestieri’. In addressing what ‘foreign’ was for Florentines, perhaps our analysis is too materialistic. Although important to quantify, future research might benefit from more theoretical considerations of ‘what is foreign?’ We can conclude relatively confidently that contadini were not ‘forestieri’. But were they ‘foreign’?

Perceptions of foreignness shaped and reinforced intersecting Florentine identities. Our sources often negatively depict other Italian peoples’ respective national character, to demonstrate what ‘Florentine’ was not and thereby reinforce Florentine national identity. Moreover, national character was perceived to be nurtured through political traditions, such as monarchy or various republicanisms. Material expressions of national character were seen in clothing styles, and Florentines contrasted conservative Florentine dress, reflecting their ‘popular’ republicanism, with more elaborate aristocratic or courtly dress. Some Florentines (of sufficient purchasing power) embraced foreign elaborate dress, some merely observed it, but others – indeed, most of our sources – feared social, cultural, and/or economic consequences of such influences. Foreign Italian vernaculars were similarly used to reinforce Florentine national identity. Florentine predominance in the dialectal parody literary tradition reflects Florentine self-confidence, as the Florentine vernacular and republic were simultaneously gaining predominance respectively across Italy and Tuscany. This self-confidence is reflected in chronicles’ compositions, for among our chronicle sources there is one single acknowledgement of non-Florentine Italian vernaculars, and chroniclers more often refer to an ‘Italian language’. Moreover, dialectal parodies expressed Florentines’ perceptions of foreign national character, and these caricatures of other Italian peoples demonstrate Florentines using foreignness to mark negatively what is foreign to thereby reinforce what is ‘Florentine’. Finally, predominantly well-educated men composed our sources, while Benedetto Dei’s attempts to compose a Milanese glossary, San Bernardino da Siena’s to make himself understood to various Italian popular audiences, and the fact that the marketplace was the source of Dei’s vocabulary and the setting for several dialectal

parodies suggest that foreignness was audibly more detectable the further down the social scale one looked. Contrastingly, the restricted availability of foreign clothing fashions to those with sufficient purchasing power suggests that foreignness was visually more detectable the further up the social scale one looked. Thus, through perceptions of foreign national character, clothing, and language, foreignness contributed to intersecting Florentine national and socio-political self-identities.

Various factors contributed to perceptions of the various categories of foreign people in Florence. Perceptions of immigrants were intertwined with perceptions of class. Anti-immigrant polemics and anti-forestiere laws were driven by elites and aimed at non-elites, usually craftsmen. Tellingly, when these polemics and laws disappeared through the Quattrocento, the Trecento's class tensions had similarly ended. Again, foreignness contributed to intersecting class and political identities.

In Honig's words, foreigners were perceived as 'necessary' and 'dangerous'. When 'necessary', such as silk experts to initiate Florence's silk industry or sex workers to tackle demographic stagnation, foreigners were well-accommodated. When their utility had ceased, they lost their privileges and sometimes received native backlash. A similar pattern is observable regarding foreign officials and soldiers. Despite fears of foreign rulers, foreign officials were appointed almost throughout our period, because they were deemed necessary to enable Florence to function politically. Hence Boccaccio indicating begrudging acceptance but high standards of foreign officials, and the latter's danger mitigated by short-term appointments. Once it was thought (rightly or wrongly) that a sufficient native political will had been established, the foreign podestà and Capitano del popolo were shelved. Similarly, foreign soldiers were imported when deemed necessary, usually by government or elites, while more than most they presented more immediate dangers to natives, usually non-elites. When both necessary and dangerous, foreigners were accommodated for their utility. Once that utility ceased, only their 'dangerous' element remained. Again, this does not tell the whole story regarding perceptions of foreigners, as the preceding paragraph highlights, nor does it necessarily account for all Florentines, as possibly suggested by the Ciompi's demanded removal of the Wool Guild's foreign official and by the kiln-worker Barone di Ghino's 1393 protest to Bartolomeo da Prato. Nevertheless, it is striking how often this trend re-appears regarding perceptions of various categories of foreigner.

Our sources give few indications of how Florentine perceptions of foreignness translated into daily life for foreigners in Florence. We see from Paolo da Certaldo, Sacchetti's Pratese doctor Gabbadeo, and the Cypriot doctor Giorgio di Baliano Flatro, that networks of kin, friends, and neighbours significantly facilitated immigrants' integration,

and some Florentines attempted to provide immigrants with networks. Those who lacked networks likely remained isolated. We might furthermore infer from Dei's challenges in comprehending the Milanese vernacular, and perhaps from Pulci's dialogues in his dialectal parodies, that Florentines and other Italians found linguistic difficulties which were nonetheless not insurmountable. We can assume that these 'difficulties' were greater the further down the social ladder one descended. Nevertheless, some questions remain unanswered. Sources display degrees of antipathy towards, say, Sienese and Venetians. Did Florentines treat Sienese and Venetians in Florence coldly? Were dialects and accents scorned or mocked? Or was there little such negativity? Did perceptions of class and gender, more than of foreignness, dictate interactions? How was verbal miscommunication navigated? How were female immigrants perceived? Archival research might provide fuller answers.

We saw that Honig discusses foreignness within the 'world of citizenship,'[1] which Florence across our period was to a relatively large extent. So, too, despite significant divergences, were, say, the Perugian, Venetian, and Genoese republics. To what extent would perceptions of foreignness in these worlds of citizenship therefore compare? Moreover, Donna Gabaccia, reviewing Honig, writes that '[p]resumably, then, foreignness would not so much matter nor do so much "work" in political systems founded instead on subjects and their loyalties to sovereigns.'[2] How did perceptions of foreignness therefore compare between the Florentine republic and, say, the Neapolitan kingdom? Comparative studies would therefore greatly benefit further research.

There are numerous similarities between the late-medieval Florentine and the modern or recent example. Just as the Florentine vernacular in late-medieval Italy, so too a south-eastern English dialect has become the predominant British literary language.[3] Similarly, we, too, parody language to caricature perceived national character. Furthermore, as Sacchetti alluded to, modern criticisms of globalisation have included the blurring of distinctions between local and international cultural identities.[4] Meanwhile, as British and European constitutional debates have led and might lead to national and supranational border realignments, not entirely unlike Florence's late-medieval territorial border alterations, will we start more consciously asking 'what is foreign?' One such constitutional debate,

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[1] See Introduction.
[2] Donna Gabaccia, 'Foreigners, Foreignness, and Theories of Democracy', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 10 (2001), p. 393.
[3] Peter Trudgill, *The Dialects of England* (Oxford: 1990), pp. 12-3. Cf. Graeme Armstrong, 'Standard English is oor Second Language, *Literature Alliance Scotland, Caidreabhas Litreachais Alba* (2021) https://literaturealliancescotland.co.uk/literature-talks/graeme-armstrong-standard-english-is-oor-second-language/ [accessed 22 September 2021].
[4] Cf. J. J. Arnett, 'The psychology of globalization', *American Psychologist* 57 (2002), pp. 774–783.

regarding Brexit, also somewhat involved perceptions of foreign officials, namely, 'unelected bureaucrats' in Brussels.[5]

Furthermore, like post-Black Death Florence, post-WWII UK encouraged immigration. Like Florentine late-fourteenth-century anti-forestiere laws and early-sixteenth-century reactions against foreign prostitutes, once Britain's post-WWII immigrants and their descendants had been utilised, and when the political climate was unfavourable, the 'Windrush Scandal' attempted to strip first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants of their identities as Brits.[6] Similarly, just as those Florentine laws declared naturalised immigrants as 'forestieri', so too do twenty-first-century second- and third-generation immigrants to Italy encounter substantial difficulties in obtaining cultural and legal acceptance as citizens.[7] Moreover, perceptions of late-medieval immigrants to Florence were often intertwined with political and class perceptions. In twenty-first-century Britain, the by now clichéd complaint of eastern Europeans 'coming over here and taking our jobs' specifically targets workers, yet similar invective is practically absent regarding eastern European billionaires' integration into British upper-class society.[8] Similarly, 2011 British immigration laws imposed a middle-class minimum salary requirement (£35,800) for immigrants to settle.[9] Evidently, while xenophobia and/or racism are not necessarily absent, twenty-first-century British perceptions of foreignness cannot be disentangled from perceptions of class. 'Our' perceptions of foreignness thus strongly echo those of late-medieval Florentines.

Perceptions of foreignness thus contribute substantially to intersecting identities. Therefore, we will significantly illuminate understandings not only of historical peoples' self-identification but of our own, through comparative research into perceptions of foreign things and people, perceptions which furthermore determine the latter's treatment at 'our' hands.

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[5] 'Does it make sense to refer to EU officials as "unelected bureaucrats"?', *The Economist* (2017) https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2017/07/14/does-it-make-sense-to-refer-to-eu-officials-as-unelected-bureaucrats [accessed 22 September 2021].
[6] Amelia Gentleman, *The Windrush Betrayal: Exposing the Hostile Environment* (London: 2019).
[7] Gabriella Kuruvilla and others, *Pecore nere* (Rome: 2006).
[8] Luke Harding and Rob Davies, 'Moscow-on-Thames: Soviet-born billionaires and their ties to UK's political elite', *The Guardian* (2020) https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/25/moscow-on-thames-russia-billionaires-soviet-donors-conservatives [accessed 22 September 2021].
[9] Mattha Busby, 'Government reduces minimum salary for migrants to settle in UK', *The Guardian* (2020) https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/oct/24/migrants-to-uk-now-need-to-earn-only-20480-after-home-office-climbdown [accessed 7 September 2021].

Appendices

Appendix One: ‘straniero/strano’ geographic indications

Source	**Exclusively Tuscan (beyond Florentine contado)**	**Exclusively non-Tuscan Italian**	**Both Tuscan and non-Tuscan Italian**	**Exclusively non-Italian**	**Both Italian (including Tuscan) and non-Italian**	**Both Italian (non-Tuscan only) and non-Italian**	**Within Florentine contado**	**Beyond Florentine contado**	**Unclear**	**Total**
Giovanni Villani	1	1	1	7	1	1	0	0	2	**14**
Domenico Lenzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Matteo Villani	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	3	**14**
Giovanni Boccaccio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Filippo Villani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
M. di C. Stefani	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Alle bocche della piazza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Franco Sacchetti	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**3**

Cronica volgare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Morelli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo del Corazza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Cavalcanti	2	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	6	**14**
Bartolomeo Cederni	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Francesco Castellani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Benedetto Dei	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Piero Parenti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo Cerretani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**3**	**4**	**3**	**20**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**12**	**47**
%	**6.38%**	**8.51%**	**6.38%**	**42.55%**	**2.13%**	**6.38%**	**0.00%**	**2.13%**	**25.53%**	**100.00%**

Appendix Two: 'straniero/strano' geographic indications with 'unclear' removed

Source	Exclusively Tuscan (beyond Florentine contado)	Exclusively non-Tuscan Italian	Both Tuscan and non-Tuscan Italian	Exclusively non-Italian	Both Italian (including Tuscan) and non-Italian	Both Italian (non-Tuscan only) and non-Italian	Within Florentine contado	Beyond Florentine contado	Total
Giovanni Villani	1	1	1	7	1	1	0	0	**12**
Domenico Lenzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Matteo Villani	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	**11**
Giovanni Boccaccio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Filippo Villani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
M. di C. Stefani	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Alle bocche della piazza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Franco Sacchetti	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	**2**
Cronica volgare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Morelli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**1**

Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo del Corazza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Cavalcanti	2	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	**8**
Bartolomeo Cederni	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Francesco Castellani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Benedetto Dei	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Piero Parenti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo Cerretani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**3**	**4**	**3**	**20**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**35**
%	**8.57%**	**11.43%**	**8.57%**	**57.14%**	**2.86%**	**8.57%**	**0.00%**	**2.86%**	**100.00%**

Appendix Three: 'straniero/strano' geographic indications: Tuscan, Italian, and non-Italian

Source	Tuscan, whether exclusively or alongside elsewhere	Exclusively non-Tuscan Italian	Exclusively non-Italian	Both Italian (non-Tuscan only) and non-Italian	Total
Giovanni Villani	3	1	7	1	**12**
Domenico Lenzi	0	0	0	0	**0**
Matteo Villani	0	0	11	0	**11**
Giovanni Boccaccio	0	0	0	0	**0**
Filippo Villani	0	0	0	0	**0**
M. di C. Stefani	0	0	0	1	**1**
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	0	0	0	0	**0**
Alle bocche della piazza	0	0	0	0	**0**
Franco Sacchetti	0	2	0	0	**2**
Cronica volgare	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Morelli	1	0	0	0	**1**
Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo del Corazza	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Cavalcanti	4	1	2	1	**8**
Bartolomeo Cederni	0	0	0	0	**0**
Francesco Castellani	0	0	0	0	**0**
Benedetto Dei	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0	0	0	**0**
Piero Parenti	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo Cerretani	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**8**	**4**	**20**	**3**	**35**
%	**22.86%**	**11.43%**	**57.14%**	**8.57%**	**100.00%**

Appendix Four: ‘forestiere’ geographic indications

Source	**Exclusively Tuscan (beyond Florentine contado)**	**Exclusively non-Tuscan Italian**	**Both Tuscan and non-Tuscan Italian**	**Exclusively non-Italian**	**Both Italian (including Tuscan) and non-Italian**	**Both Italian (non-Tuscan only) and non-Italian**	**Within Florentine contado**	**Beyond Florentine contado**	**Unclear**	**Total**
Giovanni Villani	2	1	4	1	2	1	0	17	8	**36**
Domenico Lenzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	**3**
Matteo Villani	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Giovanni Boccaccio	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	**3**
Filippo Villani	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	**3**
M. di C. Stefani	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	4	**8**
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Alle bocche della piazza	4	2	0	2	0	0	1	12	2	**23**
Franco Sacchetti	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	**5**
Cronica volgare	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	**5**

Giovanni Morelli	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	**3**
Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo del Corazza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	**4**
Giovanni Cavalcanti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo Cederni	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Francesco Castellani	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
Benedetto Dei	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5	0	**7**
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
Piero Parenti	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	**7**
Bartolomeo Cerretani	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	**8**
Total	**8**	**8**	**8**	**13**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**60**	**18**	**120**
%	**6.67%**	**6.67%**	**6.67%**	**10.83%**	**1.67%**	**0.83%**	**1.67%**	**50.00%**	**15.00%**	**100.00%**

Appendix Five: 'forestiere' geographic indications with 'unclear' removed

Source	**Exclusively Tuscan (beyond Florentine contado)**	**Exclusively non-Tuscan Italian**	**Both Tuscan and non-Tuscan Italian**	**Exclusively non-Italian**	**Both Italian (including Tuscan) and non-Italian**	**Both Italian (non-Tuscan only) and non-Italian**	**Within Florentine contado**	**Beyond Florentine contado**	**Total**
Giovanni Villani	2	1	4	1	2	1	0	8	**19**
Domenico Lenzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
Matteo Villani	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
Giovanni Boccaccio	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
Filippo Villani	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	**3**
M. di C. Stefani	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	**5**
Pagnolo di Ser Guido	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
Alle bocche della piazza	4	2	0	2	0	0	1	2	**11**
Franco Sacchetti	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	**3**
Cronica volgare	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
Giovanni Morelli	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	**1**

Bonaccorso Pitti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo del Corazza	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Giovanni Cavalcanti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Bartolomeo Cederni	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**
Francesco Castellani	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	**1**
Benedetto Dei	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	**2**
Bernardo Machiavelli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Piero Parenti	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	**3**
Bartolomeo Cerretani	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	**6**
Total	**8**	**8**	**8**	**13**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**18**	**60**
%	**13.33%**	**13.33%**	**13.33%**	**21.67%**	**3.33%**	**1.67%**	**3.33%**	**30.00%**	**100.00%**

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