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Writing the Vernacular at the Merchant Court of Florence

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7 Writing the Vernacular at the Merchant Court of Florence

This essay examines how the vernacular was introduced into the records kept by the tribunals of the Florentine guilds over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with particular attention given to the most important commercial tribunal of Florence, the merchant court known as the Mercanzia. The subject first attracted my attention several years ago when I published, in a study of the architect and humanist Leon Battista Alberti and his family, some procedural documents from the Florentine Mercanzia. Most of those texts were in the vernacular, and editing them posed various problems that arose because of their peculiar linguistic status; these problems have since spurred me on toward a deeper understanding of how such documents were produced, and toward a comparison of their features with analogous documents produced during the same period at the other guild-based tribunals. To do this, I have had to tackle the archives of the commercial courts of late medieval Italy, some of the most greatly overlooked sources for historical, as well as linguistic, research.¹

This essay falls into two parts. In the first, after providing a brief sketch of the Florentine Mercanzia, I will examine the trend away from relying on Latin and toward using the vernacular at mercantile courts during the late Middle Ages. The growing use of the vernacular at these institutions is a phenomenon that has been passed over in silence (unjustly so, in my view) in almost all of the principal works on the history of the Italian language. Here my approach will be to set normative texts such as laws and statutes, which have at least in part been published, alongside some of the judicial documentation that has survived but that now lies completely forgotten in the archives. In the second section, my concern is primarily with teasing out the linguistic implications of the movement toward the vernacular at the Florentine

Mercanzia. In particular, I hope to clarify how the procedural acts of the court were generated, and to give some examples of texts that, thanks to this method of production, present a particularly hybrid linguistic appearance (that is, a mix of Florentine and non-Florentine features). From the middle of the fourteenth until the end of the fifteenth century, record-keeping at the Mercanzia depended upon the efforts of hundreds of obscure notaries and copyists, all of them non-Florentine, who came to Florence and remained there only for a few months as members of the retinue (*familia*) of the foreign official (*Ufficiale*) who had been appointed to administer justice and to preside at the tribunal. Doubtless, there is a sort of irony in the fact that the creation of what is still one of the greatest and richest Florentine archives of vernacular texts resulted from the work of these foreign notaries. The notaries from the Marches mocked by Boccaccio in one of the stories of the *Decameron*, where he criticizes officials who 'bring along with them judges and notaries who seem more like men trained behind a plow or a cobbler's bench than men educated in a school of law,' have been granted a nice way to get even with their Florentine critic.²

The Court of the Mercanzia

The Mercanzia will not be unfamiliar to students of Florentine literature of the Trecento and Quattrocento, especially as we have the recently discovered case of the fourteenth-century poet Antonio Pucci, who served as Guardian of the Acts at the Mercanzia in the final years of his career and who compiled a very interesting autograph *Memoriale* of the ceremonies of the court.³ For the fifteenth century, the court of the Mercanzia is one of the settings for the celebrated *Novella del grasso legnaiuolo*;⁴ and we can be sure that the tribunal was present in the literary imagination of fifteenth-century Florentines by the way that some of the better-known message-boys (*messi*) of the court are mentioned in the poetry of Burchiello and Luigi Pulci.⁵

The Florentine Mercanzia was created in 1308 through an association of five of the seven major guilds: the Arte della Lana (the guild of the wool-producers), Arte del Cambio (money-changers), Arte di Calimala (wool-merchants), Arte di Por Santa Maria (silk-makers), and Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali (doctors and apothecaries). Throughout its first century of existence it enjoyed significant political privileges and remarkable autonomy. The Mercanzia expressed the interests of the mercantile elite, who used the court to control the civic guild system, particularly by establishing their precedence over the other, minor

guilds (which only gained the right to participate in the governance of the Mercanzia in the 1370s).⁶ The political power of the court flagged during the last decades of the fourteenth and the first decades of the fifteenth centuries with the creation of the Florentine territorial state, but it is crucial to emphasize that, as a judiciary court designed to regulate economic activity and protect property rights, the Mercanzia never suffered any diminution of its importance.⁷

The citizens of Florence moved with exceptional ease among a constellation of various civic courts. Until the end of the Quattrocento, the courts of the individual guilds maintained an important role, as the guilds regularly looked after the administration of justice within their organizations, tenaciously defending their traditional privileges.⁸ Yet in this same period there also appeared a notable increase in cases brought before the Mercanzia, which extended its competency over a wider and wider range of civil matters and reached into nearly all aspects of life in the commune. The Mercanzia in the Quattrocento thus became the most frequented tribunal among the Florentines, second in its volume of activity only to the court of the Podestà, where matters of criminal and civil law were heard.

The establishment of a merchant court was not original to Florence; in more or less every city of central and northern Italy, and even in many cities elsewhere in Europe, analogous tribunals took on the task of regulating the conduct of economic activities. Compared to other available courts of law, these tribunals offered merchants and guildsmen a less formal and more speedy kind of justice, for they recognized the probative value of records pertinent to industrial and commercial activities, such as account books and private documents.⁹ For this reason, these tribunals were usually more open to accepting evidence in the vernacular, while the ordinary courts – such as the court of the Podestà and the court of the Capitano del Popolo in Florence, not to mention the court of the Archbishop – remained strongholds of Latin.¹⁰ The Florentine Mercanzia also holds a special interest for us because of the fact that its imposing archive is far and away the richest among all of the commercial and guild tribunals of Italy of the period. The *fondo* of the Mercanzia preserved at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze [ASF] in Florence boasts more than 12,000 volumes, covering five centuries of the court's history, from its origins in the Trecento until its suppression in the 1770s.¹¹

In step with what was happening in neighbouring cities, the Mercanzia of Florence was directed by a foreign judge (*Ufficiale*), supported by a small group of counsellors who were Florentine merchants. During the

institution's first century, the number of counsellors varied from five to nine, becoming fixed at six during the Quattrocento. The 'Six of the Mercanzia' (*Sei della Mercanzia*) represented the five major guilds, as well as the fourteen lesser guilds which together had the right to only one representative. The foreign judge, by contrast, was a jurist who usually held office for six months. He was required to bring to Florence, at his own expense, a small retinue (*famiglia*) made up of a few servants and, at first, two notaries who had to be non-Florentines. To these notaries the judge assigned the operation of the 'Ordinary Office' (*ufficio ordinario*) and 'Extraordinary Office' (*ufficio straordinario*) of the court. After 1427, an 'Office of Sentences' (*ufficio delle sentenze*) was added, with an increase from two to three notaries in the service of the foreign judge.¹² It is these notaries who are the true protagonists of the story told in this essay.

The Florentine Guilds and the Vernacular

What language was used at the tribunals of the Florentine guilds over the course of the Trecento, and what were the respective positions held by Latin and the vernacular in this environment? During the first half of the fourteenth century the situation seems to have varied from guild to guild. At the vanguard of the use of the vernacular was the Arte di Calimala, the guild that brought together the great exporters of Florentine wool cloth to foreign markets, the most important merchants of the time.¹³ The guild's statutes of 1339 established 'that, in cases which are and are to come before the court of the Arte di Calimala, procedures of merchant law are to be used, and agreements are to be written in the vernacular, without judges or procurators or notaries, acting more in accordance with proper equity than strict legal reasoning.' Moreover, so that every claimant could better 'understand the statutes and regulations that are done for him and against him,' the statute writers had straight-away determined 'that the statutes of this guild should always be written in vernacular speech, and no statute of the guild should be in Latin.' This last provision is almost revolutionary, having apparently no real analogies at the time.¹⁴

The judicial documentation of the Arte di Calimala has unfortunately not survived, yet there is no reason to doubt such explicit provisions. The lofty situation of the Arte di Calimala, however, does not seem to have set a new norm. The statutes of the other Florentine guilds drawn up in the first half of the Trecento tell us nothing about the language used for procedural documents; in the only two cases for which relevant documents have survived from the Trecento – those of the Arte del

Cambio (the moneychangers' guild) and the Arte del Lana (the wool-producers) – business seem to have been conducted differently:¹⁵ only petitions for obtaining justice from an insolvent debtor were usually transcribed in the vernacular, while all of the other written acts, including sentences, were written strictly in Latin.

On the basis of a few soundings of the surviving documentation from the Arte del Cambio, vernacular petitions appear rather rare in the oldest register of 'Acts and Sentences' (*Atti e sentenze*), dated to 1312, where there are only three petitions not written in Latin.¹⁶ Writing petitions in the vernacular becomes the norm, however, in the next oldest surviving register, for the years 1322–4, and the practice continues through to the end of the century.¹⁷ The same can be said of the Arte della Lana: beginning with the oldest surviving register, from 1335, only the petitions are normally written in the vernacular, as well as extracts from account books, private writings, and letters of exchange presented as evidence.¹⁸ With respect to the other guilds nothing can be stated with certainty, though it seems plausible that throughout the Trecento their practices would have resembled those found at the Arte del Cambio and the Arte della Lana, rather than those (so favourable to the vernacular) initiated by the great merchants of the Calimala.

The Law of 30 July 1355 and the Linguistic Politics of the Mercanzia

What about the court of the Mercanzia? For the first half of the Trecento the procedures of the Mercanzia recorded in the court's registers are completely in Latin. However, matters changed abruptly in the summer of 1355 thanks to a law passed by the Florentine republic on 30 July. Because this legislation has so far escaped the attention of historians of the language, it deserves to be reported here. The law declared that from the subsequent day, 1 August 1355, at the tribunal of the Mercanzia of Florence, no judicial act could be recorded 'in Latin, otherwise referred to as literate or grammatical speech,' but rather that all the cases which would be heard by the court from that time forward, during both the phase of the hearing and the phase in which the sentence was pronounced, 'ought to be written and spoken only in the vernacular, and not in literate, grammatical language [i.e., in Latin].' The motivation behind this provision, stated in the preamble, is of interest: the provision was established 'especially so that those things which have been done or contracted in good faith in the vernacular shall not be drawn into malicious prosecutions through the subtlety of the law and through the method of legal judgments.' The contracts and accounts that served as

the material evidence for controversies brought before the court had all been drawn up in the vernacular, and this legislation expresses the desire to act in such a way that learned law should not deform the transparency of these vernacular documents.¹⁹

The law was applied immediately, as is demonstrated in the acts recorded right after its approval. For example, the first two leaves of a register of 'ordinary' cases (ASF, Mercanzia 1121) reveals the momentous change. On the first leaf is a heading written entirely in the vernacular by the current notary, Franceschino de' Ghisolabelli of Bologna, who was in Florence as part of the *famiglia* of the judge of the Mercanzia, Ricco di Moranno of Modena ('Francischinus filius condam Çamboni de Ghixolabellis') (see figure 7.1). This rather unusual heading is certainly due to the desire of the notary scrupulously to apply the decree of 30 July.²⁰ The register opens with 1 August 1355, exactly when the new law was to enter into force. The first act, a petition recorded under 1 August, is still in Latin, but the next act, dated 4 August (see figure 7.2), passes to the vernacular, and the vernacular will not be abandoned in any of the subsequent volumes of this series (or of the other series recording the acts of cases) until the suppression of the Florentine Mercanzia five centuries later.

Moreover, the fact that the first act in the vernacular in the history of the Mercanzia involves a sentence pronounced in favour of a woman (a certain Fiore, 'daughter of the late Lupero Nucci of Buggiano,' for whom the judge and counsellors of the Mercanzia find in favour against one of her debtors) is a coincidence that is not insignificant: indeed, there could be no clearer sign of the difference already separating the Mercanzia from the other civic courts of the Podestà and the Capitano, where women were not permitted to enter and where they could act only through a procurator. The records of the Mercanzia furnish a picture somewhat different from other sources more frequented by historians, particularly regarding the rights of more vulnerable subjects, such as women, who in this court could in some cases act directly as their own procurators.²¹

What caused this decisive and precocious shift? In light of what was happening more generally in Florence during these months of 1355, this provision should be read alongside other measures taken to lend greater security to the course of economic life in the years following the huge demographic and social upheaval brought about by the Black Plague. The same Signoria that was in government in the two-month period of July–August 1355 lay behind at least two other fundamental measures moving in this same direction. On 10 June it advanced legislation

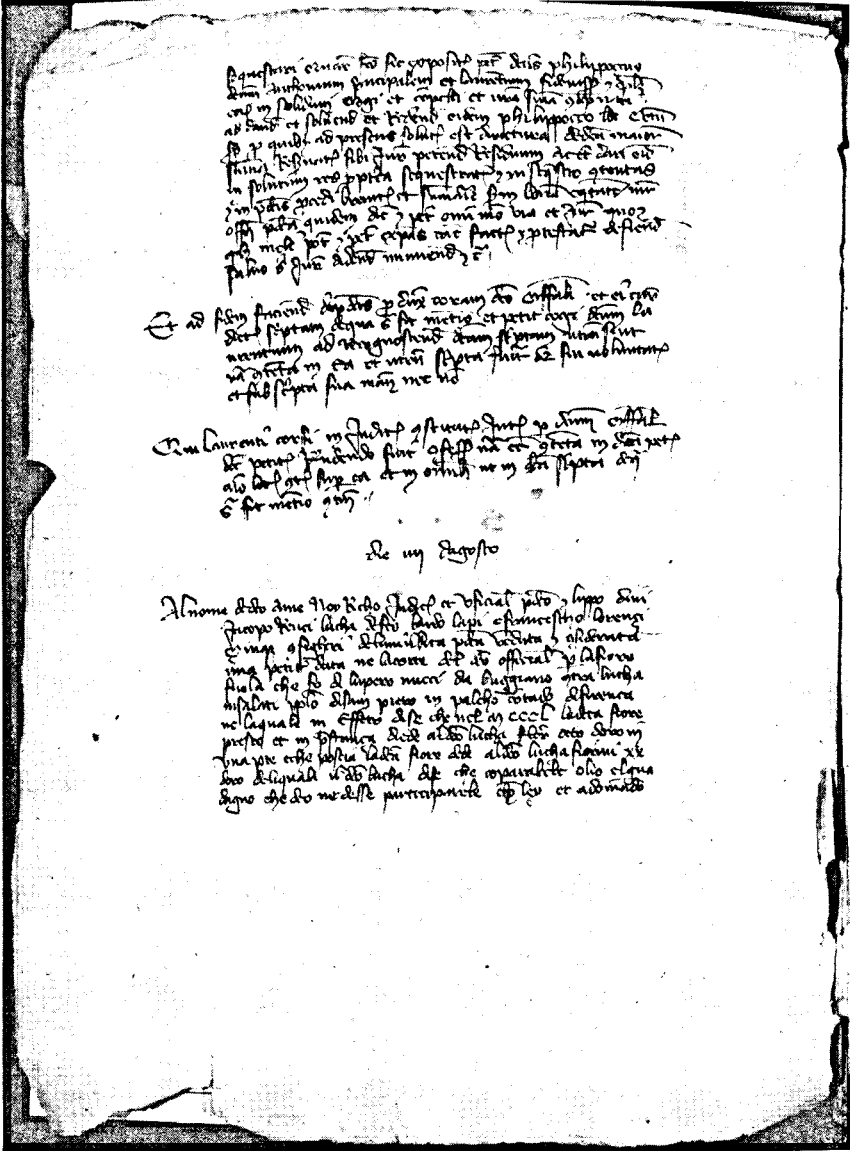


Figure 7.2
The 1355 register of Franceschino de' Ghisolabelli, showing the changeover from Latin to vernacular. Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mercanzia 1121, 4 Aug. 1355. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali; further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

requiring Florentine citizens to inform the foreign judge of the Mercanzia of the coming of age (*emancipazione*) of any child or grandchild, male or female.²² On 3 August it had the councils vote on establishing a *Tavola delle possessioni*, that is a census of all the real estate in the city (this proposal, however, failed, and the idea would not be taken up again until the census of 1427). It is as part of this active struggle against fraud launched by the Signoria of the summer of 1355 that the legislation concerning the Mercanzia is mentioned in the *Istorie fiorentine* of Scipione Ammirato, the only historian to acknowledge this legislation explicitly.²³ But there is also another suggestive link with the cultural context of the time: our legislation coincides almost exactly – and this is unlikely to be by chance – with the laborious program to vernacularize the new communal statutes, set in motion in November of 1355 and begun by the notary Andrea Lancia (a figure well known to Dante studies).²⁴

During the second half of the Trecento this legislation was strictly observed at the Mercanzia. There are several cases where objections were successfully raised against the presentation of Latin documents.²⁵ However, notaries could, in some cases, have the procedural documents copied into Latin, although they had to obtain express permission for this from the court. These provisions were reaffirmed when the statutes of the Mercanzia were revised in 1394. Once again, the statutes made it clear that all procedural documents 'should be conceived and written in the vernacular and not in Latin,' with the sole exception of documents to be sent out 'to other parts of the world.' In that case, if both parties desired and if the judge and the six counsellors granted authorization, such documents could be recorded in Latin in order to facilitate comprehension.²⁶

The Obligatory Introduction of the Vernacular in the Acts of the Guild Courts (27 March 1414)

Until the second decade of the Quattrocento in Florence there existed this one grand tribunal in which all of the guilds had a stake, the Mercanzia, which was characterized by a total adoption of the vernacular, while most of the courts of the individual guilds were characterized instead by an alternation between vernacular and Latin, with a clear predominance of Latin (in which the actual sentences, especially, had to be drawn up). Latin, however, continued to be the norm at the other two principal civic courts – the court of the Capitano del Popolo and that of the Podestà – which had general jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters. This state of affairs was not shaken up until March of 1414,

when a proposal came before the Signoria that, beginning on the first of January, 'all the writings of agreements and sentences that will be done or ought to be done by the Six (*Sei*) or the Judge (*Ufficiale*) of the Mercanzia, or in their court, or in the courts of the guilds of the city of Florence, or in any of these guilds, ought to be done and written in the vernacular, and not otherwise.'²⁷ The proposal was approved by the Councils, and the new law entered into force at the appointed time in all the guild courts, as can be confirmed by looking at the court records of the Arte del Cambio and the Arte della Lana.²⁸

Of all the documents pertaining to my topic, this provision of 1414 is the only one that has been featured in studies of the history of the Italian language. Developing a suggestion made by nineteenth-century historians, Paul Oscar Kristeller in 1946 adduced the 1414 legislation when he asserted that 'the fifteenth century also shows a marked increase in the use of the vernacular in public documents of domestic nature.'²⁹ This cue from Kristeller was taken up a few years later by Giacomo Devoto in his 1953 *Profilo di storia linguistica italiana*³⁰ and then in 1960 by Bruno Migliorini in the chapter on the Quattrocento in his *Storia della lingua italiana* where he extensively cites the relevant passages of the provision.³¹ In 1974 Devoto turned again to the provision of 1414 in a page of his *Il linguaggio d'Italia*, highlighting the 'fundamental sociological import' of a law of this kind, and indeed, while statutory laws are a direct expression of the will of the ruling elites, the acts of a guild tribunal with general competency, such as the Mercanzia, to some degree expressed the will of all sectors of the society, thanks to the massive participation of minor guildsmen and otherwise underprivileged groups who probably actually had little say in the decision about what the normative language should be.³²

The subject of the language used at the Florentine courts – a phenomenon that seemed so important to Devoto – has subsequently passed out of sight, and it is now absent from the numerous surveys of the history of the language that have appeared over the last two decades. This is true even of the wide-ranging study of the language of Tuscany by Teresa Poggi Salani, in which linguistic hypotheses are joined to the history of the region,³³ as well as the fundamental studies that Piero Fiorelli has dedicated to legal language, in which the riches of statutory law have been privileged.³⁴ It goes without saying that the way these topics are treated in our histories of the language reflects the historical research being done in the area. And as long as studies and editions of the relevant documents are lacking, even the best linguistic historians

will remain silent about a sector of legal language that, nevertheless, is documented in an enviable manner (as the hundreds of registers conserved in the archive of the Florentine Mercanzia demonstrate superbly).³⁵

The Wider Italian Scene

It is crucial to repeat that the wholesale move toward the vernacular at the Mercanzia occurred in 1355 and not in 1414 (which is still asserted, thanks to repeated reliance on the information gathered by nineteenth-century researchers). It is also crucial to highlight just how precocious this shift was with respect to the wider Italian scene. In fact, if we glance at the various other merchant courts for which enough judiciary documentation has survived, we see that not one of these courts seems to have preceded Florence in adopting the vernacular.

This is certainly true, for example, with respect to the Foro dei Mercanti in Bologna, which has left us one of the most complete archives of this kind, with a sizable number of registers of proceedings from the Quattrocento. Bologna's Foro dei Mercanti, established in the 1380s by the twelve major guilds of the city as a *Universitas mercatorum camporum et artificum*, had still not given up on Latin in the middle of the Quattrocento, at least for recording its cases. Its oldest statutes, written in the vernacular in the year 1400, insist on 'the requirement that proceedings be conducted in the vernacular language'; nevertheless, the recording of the proceedings was always in Latin, 'except when reporting a written declaration of settlement, the text of a letter of exchange, or a promise of payment.'³⁶ The documents from the Corte dei Mercanti in Lucca (for which case records are extant from 1366 onwards, albeit with many gaps) reveal that the vernacular does not predominate until late in the Quattrocento, being mostly limited until then to the texts of petitions, while the notaries still continued to summarize the other stages of cases in Latin.³⁷ Many mercantile courts have not left us any medieval documentation, yet their statutes give us no reason to believe that things were handled much differently.³⁸ It is especially unfortunate that for the two major centres of Milan and Genoa no Quattrocento documentation survives of the acts of the relevant tribunals. For Venice, too, the Quattrocento records of the Consoli dei Mercanti and of the Giudici del Forestier are lost; by the fifteenth century, however, the local dialect was used normally in the co-presence of Latin at the Curia di Petizion, which was 'undoubtedly the most important Venetian civil tribunal of first

resort, with wide competencies,' including wide-ranging jurisdiction over commercial activities.³⁹

Around the middle of the Quattrocento, in the main commercial centres the situation was about to change in favour of the vernacular, as is indicated by a provision of the Mercanzia of Siena dating from 1442. This addition to the tribunal's own statutes decreed that the written proceedings of the court records be recorded now in the vernacular, the reason being that such was already the practice in the most significant merchant courts in Italy: 'And this is done,' argued the officials of the Sienese court, 'because they recognize that such is the custom in the other good cities regarding the office of the Mercanzia.'⁴⁰ This comment deserves special attention because it comes from Siena, which had been in the vanguard of vernacularizing communal statutes and laws in Tuscany, but which during the Quattrocento had apparently fallen slightly behind more dynamic urban centres on the peninsula.⁴¹

While the picture traced here is far from being complete, this partial gathering of evidence suggests that Florence first opened the way for using the vernacular in the records of its guild and merchant courts. In this manner it probably set an important example also for nearby cities and demonstrated the maturity of its mercantile culture. Pride was not a negligible factor for a Florentine merchant class that had attained such a high grade of self-consciousness, if we take seriously the words of Goro Dati, the Florentine silk-merchant and chronicler, regarding the Mercanzia court of his own city, which he describes as the greatest merchant court in all of Italy, and whose 'wonderful judgements' and 'noteworthy decisions' he praises.⁴²

The Mercanzia and Its Foreign Notaries, 1355–1496

The second part of this essay addresses these questions: How were the new legislative provisions concerning the vernacular put into documentary practice at the Florentine Mercanzia after the middle of the Trecento? And, what kind of effect did this shift from Latin to the vernacular have on the language of the documents produced by the notaries who worked there? The topic is an interesting one thanks to the somewhat paradoxical situation discussed above: the proceedings of the Mercanzia constitute one of the most complete Florentine archives in the vernacular that has come down to us from before the grand census of the Florentine Catasto of 1427,⁴³ and yet this body of documentation does not transmit a written linguistic form (a *scripta*) close to the

Florentine vernacular, but rather it presents a hybrid language, where features from various dialects of central and northern Italy rest upon a general Latinate base derived from the usual formulas of civil proceedings (and this hybridity increased as the Quattrocento approached).

This circumstance is easily explained, once we recognize how the documents were produced and archived at the Mercanzia by the foreign notaries who formed part of the retinue of the non-Florentine *Ufficiale*. What did the work of these notaries involve? The first thing to bear in mind is that litigants who had recourse to the tribunal did not write their petitions and documents in their own handwriting, but instead had them redacted by Florentine notary-procurators who worked in the service of the court and who knew well the style of the court (*stilus curiae*). These local notaries wrote their documents in loose leaves, usually bifolia, and when these writings were ready they were brought, either by the notary or by the client, to the bench of deliberation (*banco della ragione*) of the court; here the documents were accepted by the foreign notaries, and sorted according to the relevant office to which they pertained. The foreign notaries performed two fundamental duties. The first was to file all of the pertinent documents presented by the litigants, assigning to them the date on which they were presented. The second was to ensure that every one of these documents was recopied into the official registers of the court. When the notary finished his term of service, the registers of the office to which he had been assigned, and which were transcribed in his own hand, were consigned to the Guardians of the Acts of the Mercanzia and entered into the court's archive. In fact, the registers generated by these three offices now constitute the most complete sets of documentation within the Mercanzia records at the Florentine state archives, where they are duly catalogued as the 'Acts in ordinary cases' (*Atti in cause ordinarie*), 'Acts in extraordinary and executive cases' (*Atti in cause straordinarie ed esecutive*), and 'Sentences' (*Sentenze*).⁴⁴

Procedures seem to have differed significantly at the merchant courts in neighbouring cities, where the registration of the acts was carried out for the most part by citizen chancellors and notaries, not by foreign notaries. There is no doubt that when the decision was taken to move from Latin to the vernacular in Florence in the middle of the Trecento, the work of these notaries became much more complicated. Although it is a much-repeated truth that 'the notarial environment even in Tuscany was essential for the development of the vernacular,' nevertheless it is equally true that 'among the vast array of practical activities, one of the

points where the writing of Latin offered resistance [was constituted] by the daily working habits of notaries and chancellors,' such that the move toward the vernacular was something that could have generated considerable annoyance even among the native Florentine notaries.⁴⁵ We can imagine that the prospect of copying judiciary documents in the vernacular must have been, at least at first, even more perplexing for the notaries who came from lands located well outside the Florentine dominion and thus from different linguistic environments.

An initial difficulty would have arisen from the fact that the documents delivered over to the foreign notaries were products of different Florentine writers, each one furnished with his own particular handwriting. Moreover, the texts to be copied were often full of corrections inserted in the margins in a tiny script, as is shown in the few files that have come down to us. There were, however, greater difficulties of an interpretive and linguistic nature. The names of persons and the professional titles that appear in the vernacular in these acts, perfectly familiar to anyone who knew the geography and social reality of the Florentine territory, could present major difficulties for somebody sojourning in Florence for only a short time. Moreover, the Florentine vernacular itself, especially for written prose of a practical character, was far from homogenous either grammatically or linguistically. It is well known how in the century following the plague of 1348 the language of the city was profoundly transformed by heavy immigration from various Florentine-controlled parts of Tuscany. As a final complication, the writings to be copied in a large court like the Mercanzia were numerous, and the number grew ever more massive throughout the first decades of the fifteenth century, forcing the foreign notaries into ever more intense rhythms of labour.⁴⁶

Given these conditions, it is understandable that many notaries, as they made copies, reproduced the phonetic and morphological characteristics of their own native dialects (indeed, such 'interference' is a phenomenon that regularly occurs when scribes are operating in linguistic environments different from their own place of origin). It should be noted, however, that this linguistic interference usually diminished as work progressed, as if such intense work, combined with an extended stay in the city, functioned like an immersion course in the characteristic features of the Florentine vernacular. As the weeks passed, after what were probably a first few days of bafflement, the foreign notaries usually adopted a written form (*scripta*) that included more and more 'Tuscan' features.

These considerations will become clearer with some concrete examples. It is obvious that if we wish fully to understand the work of our notaries we need to be able to compare the actual documents that they received from the Florentine notary-procurators with the registers into which they copied them. Because of the contingencies affecting the survival of the archive of the Mercanzia, however, comparisons of this sort are very difficult.

As a rule, only the official registers have been carefully preserved. The fate of the files (*filze*) of the documents prepared by the native Florentine notaries has been much more problematic. Initially, these were also kept, but eventually reasons of space and practical usefulness led to decisions to get rid of them. Already during the Quattrocento these files were subject to drastic culling. In 1452, for example, the leaders of the court decided to eliminate all the files prior to 1400, because they found they were in a poor state of conservation.⁴⁷ And likewise, at another early date, elimination of files from the years between 1400 and 1450 seems to have occurred. The remaining files for the period from 1450 to 1496 (the year when copying by the foreign notaries ceased) were part of a general culling of the Mercanzia and other Tuscan archives that occurred between 1773 and 1779, when the files were not kept unless they served to fill in gaps in the series of registers. Obviously, if this task had been accomplished without any mistakes it would be impossible for us today to compare any of the registers copied by the foreign notaries with the files that served as their exemplars.⁴⁸ Fortunately for us, a direct examination of the archive reveals at least one case of the mistaken preservation of two files (both containing documents delivered to the 'Extraordinary Office' by various Florentine notary-procurators) and one register (containing transcriptions by the foreign notary) that cover the same chronological period. As a result, we have an opportunity to place the files and the register side by side.

A Case Study: The Notary Zaccaria di Giovanni de' Pierleoni from Rome

As it turns out, the foreign notary in question came from Rome. He was called Ser Zaccaria di Giovanni de' Pierleoni, and he belonged to a noble family of that city.⁴⁹ He was one of the three notaries in the retinue of the Doctor of Laws Messer Simone de' Pierleoni (who was in fact his brother), who began his six-month term as the foreign judge (*Ufficiale*) of the Mercanzia on 12 November 1450. From his first days on the job,

Ser Zaccaria was entrusted with the 'Extraordinary Office' of the court, an office which primarily took charge of cases arising when the litigants presented documents endowed with executive authority (for instance, notarial deeds, or sentences handed down either by other courts or by the Mercanzia itself).⁵⁰ The documents consigned to Ser Zaccaria are still preserved in two files kept among the acts of the 'Extraordinary Office,' one covering the three-month period from mid-November 1450 to mid-February 1451 (ASF, Mercanzia 4420),⁵¹ and the next covering the following three months up to the end of the judge's term (ASF, Mercanzia 4421).⁵² The files were assembled by Ser Zaccaria, who dated all of the documents consigned to him and then recopied them in his own hand in the register; at the end of his six-month term, the register for the whole six-month period from 16 November 1450 to 14 May 1451 was bound and handed over to the court's Guardians of the Acts (ASF, Mercanzia 4417).⁵³

Comparison of a randomly chosen leaf chosen from the first file – a case document produced by one of the Florentine notary-procurators active at the Mercanzia, describing the summons of a certain Agnolo, son of the late barber Bartolomeo di Agnolo (see figure 7.3) – with the corresponding leaf from register kept by Ser Zaccaria (see figure 7.4), gives us a good idea of what these documents were like. First of all, we see the date that Ser Zaccaria wrote upon the document, 'die xviii dicembris,' and the cross-reference that he added at the top left, 'c. 42,' which signified that he had transcribed this document onto leaf 42 of his register. On the document Ser Zaccaria also wrote the abbreviation 'R^{ia}', meaning 'registrata' (registered), signifying that it had been transcribed. In this case, the script of the Florentine notary is very clear and orderly (often the handwriting could be much sloppier, making things more difficult for Ser Zaccaria, who had to copy texts in the vernacular rather than in Latin).⁵⁴ The document corresponds to the third item transcribed by Ser Zaccaria on fol. 42r of his register, the foliation of which is visible at the top right.⁵⁵

As for the linguistic effects of these procedures, examples of interference of the Roman dialect can be spotted easily, as is especially frequent in the earlier documents copied out by Ser Zaccaria. The following transcription presents the text of the first document consigned to Ser Zaccaria on his first day of work, 16 November 1450 (text 1A), alongside the copy he made in his register (text 1B); the case involves bringing to judgment a man named Biagio di Niccolò.⁵⁶

[illegible]

die do

Dopo di avere fatto le massime con tutti gli stadi di ordine sono stati
 voluti di nuovo in ogni di dei mesi. Rapporti di tutti i fatti sono stati
 (che parve di dei uffici) con tutti i fatti. Rapporti di tutti i fatti sono stati
 dei catene maggiori alla maniera di quanto si poteva. In genere ad
 unione con tutti i fatti di quanto si poteva. In genere ad
 ita dei mesi tutti i fatti di quanto si poteva. In genere ad
 ha del dei uffici tutti i fatti di quanto si poteva. In genere ad
 aggravi o vantaggi dei progetti di quanto si poteva. In genere ad
 te quasi tutti i fatti di quanto si poteva. In genere ad
 te tutti i fatti di quanto si poteva. In genere ad
 fu fatto dei

der ybung derst

(0-parti d'ha), al det myff offig 2007

[illegible]

The same summons as recorded in the register of Ser Zaccaria de' Pierleoni (item at the bottom of the page). Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mercanzia 4417, fol. 42r. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali; further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

1A. ASF, Mercanzia 4420
(unpaginated)

die 16 novembris

Constituto personalmente in iudicio dinanzi al *decto ufficiale et corte et a me notaio* / Biagio di Niccolò per cagione della presura di lui indebitamente / *facta in decda corte ad petitione di Giovanni di Benozo per lire viij.* / Et *salve et riservate al decdo Biagio tucte sue ragioni, exceptioni / et difese.* Promise etc., stare fermo a ragione in *decda corte con / decdo Giovanni et pagare il giudicato che contro gli venisse / insino in decda quantittà et ristituire le spese et ubidire a' mandati / di decdo ufficiale in tucto et per tucto, secondo la forma delli statuti di decda / corte.* Et però osservare. Obligò etc. Rinunziò etc. Soctomisesi etc. / Et per lui et a suoi prieghi et mandati sodò et stecte mallevadore / in tucte le *soprascritte cose:* / Antonio di Bartolomeo calzolaio et a *decda arte matricolato.* / Il quale promise etc. Obligò etc. Rinunziò etc. Soctomisesi etc. / Approvato fu *decto mallevadore per Boninsegna Attavanti / guardiano etc.*

1B. ASF, Mercanzia 4417, fol. 2r.

1450 die 16 novembris

Custituto personalmente in iudicio denassi <allo> a *dicto hofficiale / et corte et a mi notaio* / Biascio de Nicolò per cascione della presura de lui indebitamente *facta / in dicta corte ad petitione de Ioanni de Benozo per libre 8.* Salvi [et] resavati a dicto / Biascio tucti soi rascioni, *exceptioni et difese.* Promise etc., sta[re] fermo a rascione / in *dicta corte con dicto Ioanni et pacare lo iudicato che contro li venisse insino in dicta / quattità et restituire le spese et hubidire a' mandati di dicto hofficiale in tucto et per tucto, / secondo la forma delli statuti de dicta corte.* Et però hosservare obligò etc. Rinunziò etc. / Socto[misesi] etc. Et per lui et a' soi pregi et mandati sodò et stecte malevatore / de tucte le *soprascritte coxe:* / Antonio de Bartolomeo calzolaro et a *dicto arte matricolato lo quale li promise etc. / Obligò etc. Rinunziò etc.* Socto[misesi] etc. Aprovato fo *dicto malevatore per Boni- / insegni <Ate> Atavacti guardiano etc.*

Recently much material has been brought to light regarding the Roman dialect of the second half of the Quattrocento, with practical documents expressing the interests of writers from almost every social level.⁵⁷ Almost all of the features that stand out in the writing of Ser Zaccaria and that distance it from its Florentine model find precise correspondences in the *scripta* of his fellow Romans. A few examples should suffice to make this clear. First of all, there is the presence, in Ser Zaccaria's transcription, of the accented personal pronoun *mi*, functioning as a complement in the expression 'a mi notaio' (this shows no pressure from the corresponding Latin formula 'coram me notario,' which Ser Zaccaria certainly had in mind).⁵⁸

The presence of Roman dialect (or at least of features typical of the dialects of central Italy) is indisputable when Ser Zaccaria writes *Biascio* (from the Latin *BLASIUM*) e *chascione* (from the Latin *OCCASIONEM*), where the unvoiced palatal sibilant replaces the voiced palatal sibilant used by the Tuscan notary in the forms *Biagio* and *cagione*;⁵⁹ the same is true where Ser Zaccaria writes *rascione* and *rascioni* (from the Latin *RATIO*) in place of the forms *ragione* and *ragioni* used by the Tuscan notary.⁶⁰ Equally revealing is the fact that the writing of the Roman dialect during the Quattrocento strongly tended toward keeping occlusive consonants unvoiced between vowels, which Ser Zaccaria does when he writes *pacare* instead of *paghare*.⁶¹ Because of the pressure exerted by Latin, the forms *Ioanni* and *iudicato* might seem less conclusive, yet these forms differ from the way the local notary wrote *Giovanni* and *giudicato*, and the contrast between the Florentine notary's *paghare il giudicato* and Ser Zaccaria's *pacare lo iudicato* seems pretty indicative on its own.⁶² Equally illuminating is the form *calzolaro* instead of *calzolaio*, with the reduction of -RJ- to -R-; the same is true for the numerous cases of unaccented *e* instead of *i*, in the preposition *de* in the place of *di*, and *denassi* in the place of *dinanzi* (the reduction of Latin -RJ- to -R-, and of unaccented, non-final -E- to -I-, are features still alive and well in Roman speech today).⁶³

A second example, likewise from the earliest phase of Ser Zaccaria's work, pits another document written by a Florentine notary (2A) against its copy in the register (2B). Dated 18 November, this act involves the summons of an inhabitant of the Florentine countryside, Biagio d'Antonio dello Spiccia da Montughi.⁶⁴

2A. ASF, Mercanzia 4420
(unpaginated)

die 18 novembris

Conpari dinançi al detto messere ufficiale et sua corte / Biagio d'Antonio dello Spiccia da Montughi contado di Firençe / per cagione della presura facta in detta corte ad sua petitione di / Filippo di Giovanni Dini borsaio da Firençe. Et volendo detto / Biagio giustificare detta captura et dire proporre et dichiarare / la ragione cagione chosa

2B. ASF, Mercanzia 4417, fols 5v-6r

die xviii novembris

Compari [dinanzi] al dicto misser ufficiale et sua corte Biascio de Antonio dello Spitica de Mott- / huchi contado de Fioreza per cascione della presura fatta in dicta corte a sua petitione / de Filippo de Ioanni Dini borsaio de Fioreze. Et volenno dicto Biascio iustificare dicta cattura, / et dire et perponere et dichiarare la rascione et chascione, coxe et quattità, perché à fatta fare / dicta presura et

et quantità perché à facto fare *detta* presura / et ditene in *detta* corte detto Filippo, disse et giustificando propuose / averlo facto pigliare et ditene per fiorini otto d'oro et lire / venti piccioli, riservandosi ongni altra sua ragione, nome et actione / avesse contro a detto Filippo, perché egli è certa chosa che dell'anno / 1448, essendo certa differentia tra detto Biagio da una parte et / detto Filippo dall'altra di più chose et masseritie che detto Filippo / aveva avute di quelle di detto Biagio, detto Biagio da una parte et / detto Filippo dall'altra di ciò feciono nella presente corte commissione / insieme per meççanità de' Sei consiglieri che allora erano in officio / nella presente corte nel provido huomo Filippo del Migliore tavolo- / liere et cittadino, che allora era del numero de' Sei di *detta* corte / sì come in loro arbitro et arbitratore [...]

<dicta> detenere dicto Filippo in dicta corte, dixit et iustificando et propuse / averlo facto pigliare per fiorini 8 d'oro et libre 20 <perp> piccioli, reservanose ugne altra sua / rascione, nome et attione avessi contro dicto Filippo perché gli [è] cierta cosa che dell'anni 1448 / [fol. 6r] essenno certa diffirettia tra dicto Biascio d'una parte et dicto Filippo dall'atra / de più coxe et massaritie che dicto Filippo avea auto de dicto Biasco, dicto Biasco d'una / parte et dicto Filippo dall'atra de ciò feciero nella presette corte commissione insieme per / mezanità delli Sei consiglieri che allora erano in officio della presette corte nel provido / <h° fil> homo Filippo del Miiore, cavaliere et cittadino che allora era del numaro delli Sei / de dicta corte sì come el loro arbitro et arbitratore [...]

Ser Zaccaria's transcription here allows us to see another typical feature of south-central dialects, namely the assimilation of the Latin consonantal blend -ND- into -nn-, apparent in the forms *volenno*, *reservanose*, and *essenno* where the Florentine notary had written *volendo*, *reservandosi*, and *essendo* (this is another feature of the Roman dialect that resisted the general process of 'Tuscanization' during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries).⁶⁵ We can also spot a typical misunderstanding of professional titles, as Ser Zaccaria alters *Filippo del Migliore tavoliere* (money-changer) into *Filippo del Miiore cavaliere* (knight), and in this case we also see the typical reduction in southern dialects of -LJ- to a simple -L-. Such features continue to appear in the texts that Ser Zaccaria copied over the subsequent weeks.

Nevertheless, Ser Zaccaria learned from these first exercises in writing the Florentine vernacular: his ability to interpret correctly the texts and the handwriting of Florentine notaries demonstrably increased with the passing of his weeks in office, and his *scripta* approached closer and

closer to that of his models. This process can be exemplified if we jump directly to one of the acts that Ser Zaccaria transcribed on 11 May 1451, just a few days before he left office, and thus after having worked for six months copying vernacular texts at the Mercanzia. This act brings to justice Antonio di Giovanni da Prato, the chaplain of the church of San Iacopo tra le fosse in Florence. When comparing the text written by the Florentine notary (3A) with Ser Zaccaria's transcription (3B), it is fairly self-evident that he is now very faithfully following his model even with respect to its linguistic aspect.⁶⁶

3A. ASF, Mercanzia 4421
(unpaginated)

die xi madii

Constituto personalmente in iudicio
dinanzi al decto ufficiale et corte /
prete Antonio di Giovanni da Prato
cappellano in San Iacopo tra lle /
fosse per cagione <della> d'una lite
et questione che egli intende / in
dicta corte muovere contro a monna
Tancia donna di Simone di / Bartolo
fabro in San Romeo, et un'altra che
egli intende muovere di per sé contro
al decto Simone. Et acciò che le
ragioni / sue contro di loro gli sieno
admesse, protestatione premessa etc.
/ promisse etc. di stare a ragione in
dicta corte co' decti monna Tancia et
/ Simone et con ciascuno di loro di
per sé in causa et caso di convention
/ et riconvention et pagare il giudica-
to et ristituire le spese et ubi- /
dire a' comandamenti del decto uffi-
ciale. Et però osservare obligò etc. /
Rinunziò etc. Soctomisesi etc. / Et per
lo quale ser Antonio et a' suoi /
prieghi et mandato in tucte le pre-
dicta cose sodò et stecte / malleva-
dore / Giannoço di Giovanni di Gio-
vanni degli Stroçi matricolato

3B. ASF, Mercanzia 4417, fol. 348v

die xj madii

Constituto personalmente in iudicio
dinanzi al dicto ufficiale et corte /
prete Antonio di Ioanni da Prato
capellano in San Iacopo tra lle fosse
/ per cagione d'una lite et questione
che egli intende in dicta corte /
muovere contro a monna Tancia donna
di Simone di Bartolo fabro in / San
Romeo et un'altra che egli intende
muovere di per sé contro / al dicto
Simone. Et acciò che le <ragioni ch
contro di loro> ragioni sue / contro
di loro gli siano admesse, protesta-
tione premessa etc., promixe etc., / di
stare a ragione in dicta corte con dicta
monna Tancia et Simone et con /
ciascheuno di loro di per sé in <ca-
so> causa et caso di convectione et /
riconvectione, et pagare il iudicato et
ristituire le spese et ubidire / a'
comandamenti del dicto ufficiale. Et
però osservare obligò etc. / Rinunziò
etc. Soctomisesi etc. / Et per lo quale
ser Antonio et a' suoi pregi et madati
in tucte le predicta / cose sodò et
stecte mallevadore: / Gianozzo di
Ioanni di Ioanni delli Strozi matrico-
lato all'arte di / <Kala> Kalimala

all'arte / di *Kalimala* della città di
Firenze *et* manceppato come disse /
carta per mano di *ser* Bartolomeo di
ser Simone Berti notaio / fiorentino.
Et promisse etc. *Obligò* etc. *Rinunziò*
etc. *Soctomisesi* etc.

della città di Firenze *et* mancipato
come / disse, carta per mano di *ser*
Bartolomeo di *ser* Simone Berti notaio
/ fiorentino. *Et promixe* etc. *Obligò*
etc. *Rinunziò* etc. *Sottomisesi* etc.

Final Considerations

It is possible, from what has been presented above, to draw a few conclusions. In the first place, one should point out the degree of tolerance shown by Florentines of the Trecento and Quattrocento, who allowed the documents of their private lawsuits to be recorded in registers made up in an artificial language, a *scripta* in many cases far removed from the vernacular used by themselves in their own books of accounts and records. These official books contained not only foreign linguistic features, but also frequent errors of fact and intermittent manglings of place names, personal names, and job titles. Undoubtedly, all of this reflects the unstandardized state of the vernacular language of the Quattrocento. It is interesting that the persons in charge of the Florentine Mercanzia decided to begin abandoning having the foreign notaries copy and register the court's acts, resolving to preserve only the files of the documents prepared by the Florentine notary-procurators. In June of 1476 this became the case for the series of 'Sentences,' and then in 1496 it was decided that a 'faithful and diligent notary who is a Florentine citizen' should replace the two foreign notaries in charge of the 'Ordinary Office' and the 'Extraordinary Office.'⁶⁷ It is true that this change can be explained by the decrease in the role of itinerant justices throughout Italy, but at the same time it seems a curious coincidence that this dissatisfaction with the work of these notaries, and this abandonment of their hybrid *scripta*, should occur just when Florence experienced a huge growth of vernacular humanism as well as Lorenzo the Magnificent's project, largely political, to promote the Florentine language.

In the second place, we should stress the value that this hybrid *scripta* holds for us, for it allows us to discover something about the linguistic babel that characterized the commercial milieu of late medieval Italy. In the registers of our notaries we eavesdrop upon an environment in which a *lingua franca* based on the Tuscan dialect dominates, but which is also inflected by the different accents of merchants from the Italian peninsula and from various Mediterranean countries. The commercial

courts, together with markets and fairs, provided the ideal stage for this drama, which might be described as a sort of 'comedy of languages.' It is no accident that a novella by Franco Sacchetti shows a Florentine protagonist, Massaleo degli Albizzi, meeting up in the Florentine prison with a 'clear and clean' but irremediably naive judge of the Mercanzia, who speaks to the wise Florentine with an unmistakable accent of the Veneto.⁶⁸ This novella belongs to that strain of the 'satire of pedantry' in which foreign judges are targeted, which begins with the judge from the Marches portrayed in the Boccaccian novella mentioned earlier; in this case, however, Sacchetti's novella urges us to think about the linguistic world of the Florentine Mercanzia. With litigants from various parts of the Florentine countryside and territory, as well as from far-off lands, and with the judge and his *familia* always foreigners, the sessions at the Mercanzia must have been animated by the sounds of the most diverse voices and accents, of which the registers that our notaries have left us are partial witnesses.

By way of a final conclusion, I want to highlight what is perhaps the most important aspect of this evidence if we look at it from the perspective of the foreign notaries? Might not this thankless work of copying have had some kind of lasting effect on the language and culture of our notaries. What might it have meant for these men to come to Florence from the shores of the Adriatic, from Venetian or Lombard territories, from Lazio, from Umbria, from the area around Bologna, and even from Naples and Sicily (especially during the Quattrocento, when the catchment area for the foreign judges and their entourages took in almost the entire peninsula), only to discover that instead of copying Latin documents, as they would have been expected to do in just about every other Italian city, they were called on to transcribe Florentine and Tuscan texts? We should not rule out the likelihood that this unique apprenticeship in the Florentine vernacular *scripta* would have added to the notaries' linguistic range. As a professional category, notaries in general made fundamental contributions to Italian literature, and perhaps the work of the foreign notaries at the Florentine Mercanzia copying texts that were not of a literary nature might have served as a formative experience, after which they may have looked at other more literary kinds of Tuscan prose with different eyes. In any event, their experience in Florence led nearly all of them to adopt a particular sort of vernacular for juridical and documentary texts, as the case of Ser Zaccaria makes visible.

From this perspective, it would be useful to have a list of the names of the more than six hundred foreign notaries who, from 1355 until the end

of the Quattrocento, passed through the offices of the Florentine Mercanzia, copying out vernacular documents. Unfortunately, no volumes preserve the names of the *Ufficiali* and their *familiae*. An examination of the registers of *Emancipazioni* (Emancipations) which were also maintained by the foreign notaries of the Mercanzia (generally by those assigned to the 'Extraordinary Office'), makes it possible to know the names of almost three hundred (the list of these names is published below as an Appendix). It would be worth having, some day, a complete picture of the holders of this office that played an important role in Florentine judicial and cultural life, an office that also had some important implications for the diffusion of the Florentine vernacular into various parts of the peninsula. Certainly, many of the anonymous notaries who, like Ser Zaccaria, passed through the Mercanzia did not leave any great marks on the cultural history of the period. Alongside these, however, are bound to be others who made significant contributions to the history of the Renaissance.⁶⁹

One such figure is the notary who presided over the court's Office of the Sentences between December 1465 and June 1466 and whose register is still extant. This notary was a Frenchman from Mezières, Hugo Commineau (Ugo Comminelli, or, in Latin, Hugo Nicolai de Comminelis), who came to the Mercanzia of Florence in the retinue of the judge Sigismondo degli Arcolani of Forlì.⁷⁰ His registry is written out in a staid, professional hand, but the pen-trials and drawings placed in the margins around the writing area are rather elegant and indicate something of the personality of this notary (see figure 7.5).

Ugo Comminelli is one of the most polished copyists of the second half of the Quattrocento. At Florence he worked with Vespasiano degli Bisticci, as has been recognized by Albinia de la Mare, who assigned his Florentine stay to between 1469 and 1482; his presence at the Mercanzia now allows us to move that date forward by a few years. Comminelli was again employed for another stint at the Florentine Mercanzia in the opening months of 1479, arriving in the entourage of the judge Roberto Orsini of Rimini, himself a figure close to Lorenzo the Magnificent.⁷¹ Numerous copies of Ptolemy's *Geografia* were copied by Ugo Comminelli, all of them works of especially graceful craftsmanship. He also copied books in the vernacular, such as the geographical poetry of Francesco Berlinghieri, but he is best known as the scribe of the Bible of Federico da Montefeltro, a work of two volumes (now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinate latino 1 and Urbinate latino 2), which is one of the most famous manuscripts of the Quattrocento thanks to its extraordinary decoration. 'The superb two-volume Bible,' writes de la



Figure 7.5

Marginal drawings in the register of Ugo Comminelli (1465). Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mercanzia 7702, fol. 2r. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali; further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

Mare, 'is remarkable not only for its illumination, executed by some of the finest Florentine illuminators of the day ... but also because it is written in a fine, large regular humanistic hand, rather than the gothic script which was still usual for books of this kind.'⁷² Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his *Commentario della Vita di Federico, Duca d'Urbino*, considered this Bible to be his masterpiece: 'He had an edition of the Bible made in two most beautiful volumes, illustrated in the finest possible manner and bound in gold brocade with rich silver fittings. It was given this rich form as the chief of all writings.'⁷³

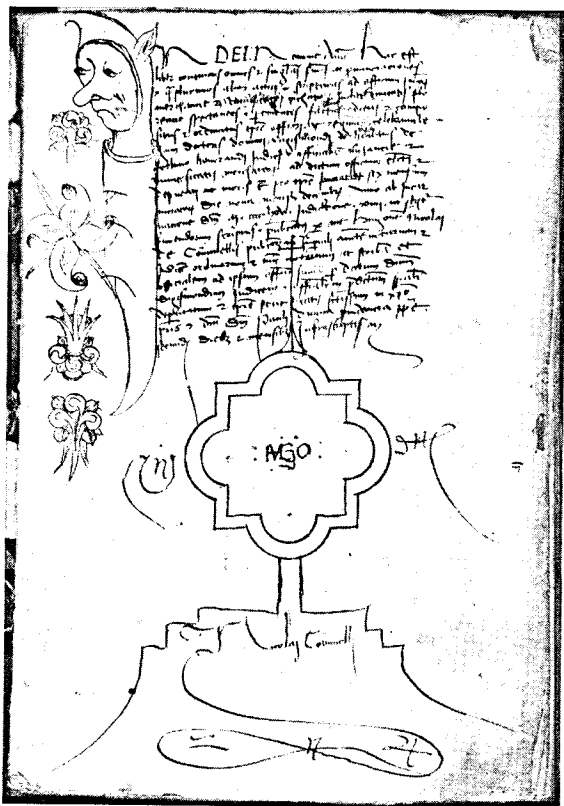


Figure 7.5

Marginal drawings in the register of Ugo Comminelli (1465). Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mercanzia 7702, fol. 2r. Reproduced with permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali; further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

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In sum, the Mercanzia (as well as the other great Florentine courts of the Podestà and the Capitano) served as a place of employment for sojourning foreign notaries, some of whom were, like Ugo Comminelli, expert copyists well suited to collaborating in the city's humanist milieu. It is hard to say how many persons of this sort are hiding in the list of the notaries of the Mercanzia; more far-reaching surveys would be useful at least to bring their names out of the shadows. Constrained to abandon their professional language of Latin, and asked instead to write in a vernacular that was not their own, at a time when vernacular Italian was far from having fixed norms, these men served as protagonists in a unique experiment that lasted for a century and a half. It is not without irony that this experience in vernacularization occurred in the very city that at that very time was witnessing a triumph of Latin and humanistic studies.

NOTES

Translated by William Robins.

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- 1 Various different fifteenth-century procedural documents from the Mercanzia archive have been edited in the appendix of Luca Boschetto, *Leon Battista Alberti e Firenze: Biografia, storia, letteratura* (Florence:

- Olschki, 2000). Both the official acts of the civil courts of medieval cities and the procedural documents relating to the medieval guilds have fallen into scholarly oblivion, as is pointedly mentioned in Paolo Cammarosano, *Italia medievale: Struttura e geografia delle fonti scritte* (Rome: La Nuova Italia scientifica, 1991), 166–74, 205–10.
- 2 'Come voi tutte potete avere udito, nella nostra città vegnono molto spesso rettori marchigiani, li quali ... menan seco e giudici e notari che paiono uomini levati più tosto dall'aratro o tratti dalla calzoleria, che delle scuole delle leggi.' Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca, vol. 4 of *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: Mondadori, 1976), 698 (novella 8.5); translation from Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York: Norton, 1982), 495.
 - 3 William Robins, 'Antonio Pucci, Guardiano degli Atti della Mercanzia,' *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 61 (2000): 29–70.
 - 4 Antonio Manetti, 'The Fat Woodcarver,' trans. Murtha Baca, in Lauro Martines, *An Italian Renaissance Sextet: Six Tales in Historical Context* (New York: Marsilio, 1994), 171–241.
 - 5 For example, in Burchiello's poetry appear the names of message-boys of the Mercanzia active during the 1430s, Caporosso, Lisa (or Lisca), and Fallalbacchio; see *I sonetti del Burchiello*, ed. Michelangelo Zaccarello (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), 80–1 (sonnet 57), 87–8 (sonnet 62), 101–2 (sonnet 72); Fallalbacchio's name was bestowed upon one of the giants in cantare 24 of Luigi Pulci's *Morgante*.
 - 6 For the political role played by the Mercanzia during the Trecento and for its ties with the guilds, see John Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280–1400* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Antonella Astorri, *La Mercanzia a Firenze nella prima metà del Trecento: Il potere dei grandi mercanti* (Florence: Olschki, 1998); and Antonella Astorri and David Friedman, 'The Florentine Mercanzia and Its Palace,' *I Tatti Studies* 10 (2005): 11–68.
 - 7 The history of the Merchant Court in the fifteenth century remains to be written, but the importance of the institution during this period has been emphasized by Lauro Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 130–45. On the Mercanzia during the age of Lorenzo the Magnificent, see Antonella Astorri, 'Note sulla Mercanzia fiorentina sotto Lorenzo de' Medici: Aspetti istituzionali e politici,' *Archivio storico italiano* 110 (1992): 965–93.
 - 8 On the Florentine guild system, still fundamental is Alfred Doren, *Le arti fiorentine*, trans. G.B. Klein, 2 vols (Florence: Le Monnier, 1940). See also the recent and supple synthesis in Franco Franceschi, 'La parabola

- delle corporazioni nella Firenze del tardo Medioevo,' in *Arti fiorentine: La grande storia dell'artigianato*, vol. 1, *Il Medioevo*, ed. Gloria Fossi et al. (Florence: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1998), 77–101.
- 9 On the role played by merchant courts like the Mercanzia in the regulation of economic activity, see the observations of Carlo Marco Belfanti, 'Le regole e i privilegi: L'Università Maggiore e l'economia mantovana (secoli XIII–XVII),' in *Gli statuti dell'Università Maggiore dei Mercanti di Mantova (secoli XV–XVIII): Radici storiche del rapporto tra economia cultura e istituzioni mantovane*, ed. Daniela Ferrari (Mantua: Camera di commercio, 1998), 11–29. Belfanti's study is based primarily on the approach of the New Institutional Economics school (which, however, in the case of Mantua, cannot be checked against actual practice, given the almost complete loss of the judicial documents produced by the court there).
 - 10 On the centrality of these two tribunals in the administering of penal justice, see the studies of Andrea Zorzi, *L'amministrazione della giustizia penale nella Repubblica fiorentina: Aspetti e problemi* (Florence: Olschki, 1988); and Laura Ikins Stern, *The Criminal Law System of Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). The civil jurisdiction of the Podestà and the Capitano, by contrast, remains practically unexplored, thanks to major gaps in the documentation, especially in the archive of the court of the Podestà. A comparison between the procedures followed in civil cases at the court of the Podestà in the middle of the Trecento with the procedures followed at the court of the Mercanzia, which reveals some strong similarities, has recently been completed by Vincenzo Colli, 'Acta civilia in curia potestatis: Firenze 1344,' in *Praxis der Gerichtsbarkeit in europäischen Städten des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Franz-Josef Arlinghaus et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2006), 271–303.
 - 11 On the archival *fondo* of the Mercanzia, see Piero D'Angiolini and Claudio Pavone, eds, *Guida generale degli archivi di stato italiani*, 4 vols (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali – Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 1981–94), 2:60–1, 75 (with bibliography).
 - 12 It is impossible in this setting to provide a picture of the entire operations of the court of the Mercanzia (whose salaried personnel never amounted to more than thirty persons). It should be mentioned, however, that, unlike the other major civic tribunals which relied upon the commune to carry their costs, the Mercanzia paid the salaries of its employees and covered all of their other costs (including the enormous costs related to bringing in the foreign judges), having recourse solely to the income from dues and from the procedural fees paid by the litigants. Its financial autonomy from the commune ceased only at the start

of the age of Lorenzo, with the reforms of the early 1470s. A particularly important change in the organization of labour at the court was the creation of a chancellor, whose position had already been outlined (book 1, rubric 2) in the new redaction of the statutes completed in 1394 (ASF, Mercanzia 5, fol. 8v), and whose tasks were definitively set out in a deliberation of the six counsellors in September of the same year (ASF, Mercanzia 224, 18 Sept. 1394).

- 13 On the activities of the merchants of the Calimala during this period, see Richard A. Goldthwaite, Enzo Settesoldi, and Marco Spallanzani, eds, *Due libri mastri degli Alberti: Una grande compagnia di Calimala 1348–1358*, 2 vols (Florence: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1995).
- 14 'Perciò che nele questioni che sono e che si fanno nella corte dell'Arte di Calamala mercantilmente si procede, e ' piati si scrivono volgarmente, sança iudici o procuratori o notari, più di buona equità che di stretta ragione procedendo, e acciò che ciascuno litigante possa e sappia vedere e intendere gli statuti e capitoli che fanno per lui e contra lui, proveduto è che lo statuto di questa Arte sempre sia e stea scritto in volgare sermone e niuno statuto sia nella decta Arte in grammatica.' The text is in book 3, rubric 25 (entitled *Che llo statuto della decta arte sempre stea scripto in volgare sermone*) of the statutes of the Arte di Calimala (ASF, Arte di Calimala 5, fol. 54v). This statute is traditionally assigned to 1339.
- 15 On the production of normative legislation at the Florentine guilds, see the exhaustive study by Andrea Zorzi, 'Le fonti normative a Firenze nel tardo Medioevo: Un bilancio delle edizioni e degli studi,' in *Statuti della Repubblica fiorentina*, ed. Romolo Caggese, new ed., ed. Giuliano Pinto, Francesco Salvestrini, and Andrea Zorzi, 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1999), 1:liii–ci.
- 16 ASF, Arte del Cambio 54 (14 July 1312–4 Jan. 1313/14, unpaginated). The three brief items in vernacular were all presented on 25 August 1312; to give just one example, the first item reads: 'Die xxv augusti. Dinanzi da voi sengnori consoli dell'arte del cambio, Cherichino del Chericho si richiama del Trincia di messer Albizzo Corbinelli di settanta fiorini d'oro in una parte et di quindici in una altra, i quali debbo avere da llui per saldo d'una ragione d'ariento ch'ebbe da me.'
- 17 ASF, Arte del Cambio 55 (7 Jan. 1322/3–20 July 1324). Compare the vernacular petitions on fols 2v, 6r, 8v, 11r, 19r, 29r, 34r, 36r, 38r, 41r, 51r, 52r, 63r, 64v, 65r, 70v, 77v, 81r, 86r. The same thing occurs in ASF, Arte del Cambio 59 (6 May 1355–27 Aug. 1358), and then in ASF, Arte del Cambio 65 (2 Sept. 1409–29 Dec. 1414).
- 18 ASF, Arte della Lana 71 (4 May 1355–22 Aug. 1335). This volume, now the second in the inventory, is the first in the series *Partiti, atti e sentenze*.

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As with the *Arte del Cambio*, here the only items in the vernacular are the petitions addressed to the consuls of the guild; all other items in the various stages of a case are recorded in Latin. The same thing occurs, for example, also in ASF, *Arte della Lana* 324 (2 Jan. 1394/5–30 Apr. 1395), the first volume in the series of *Cause civili*. For a study that makes good use of the case documents in this archive, see Franco Franceschi, *Oltre il 'Tumulto': I lavoratori fiorentini dell'Arte della Lana fra Tre e Quattrocento* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 156 and n. 34.

- 19 ASF, *Provvisioni Registri* 42, fol. 96r–v (30 July 1355). In the margin: 'Quod in Curia Universitatis Mercantie vulgariter causetur.' The legislation decreed, 'ut presertim que bona fide fiunt seu vulgariter contrauntur per iuris subtilitatem et iudicarium ordinem in calupniam non trahantur,' that from then on, 'in Curia Universitatis Mercantie seu Mercatorum civitatis Florentie nulla petitio, libellus seu querimonia, nullaque exceptio, replicatio seu dupplicatio, nullaque interrogatio, positio, articulus seu responsio, nullaque allegatio, nec aliquis actus iudiciarius, possit offerri, porrigi, dari, fieri seu scribi in latino seu licterali vel gramaticali sermone. Sed omnia que in dicta Curia attitabuntur seu fient, et tam in procedendo quam in pronumptiando seu sententiando, fiant, dicantur et fieri scribi et dici debeant solummodo vulgariter, et non licteraliter seu gramaticaliter. Et quod secus fieret sit ipso iure nullum.' The English translation used here is taken, with slight modifications, from William Robins, 'Vernacular Textualities in Fourteenth-Century Florence,' in *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 112–31 at 112.
- 20 ASF, *Mercanzia* 1121 (1 Aug. 1355–26 Nov. 1355, unpaginated). The *titulus* reads: 'Al nome de Deo, ame. Questo sì è lo libro overo quaterno che contiene in si petitione <relatione> overo libelli, citatione, commissione citatorie e relatorie, comparitione, responsione, contestatione de piati, positione, capituli, intentione, iuramento de testimonii, compromissione, laudi, sententie, bandi e multe varie e diverse scripture overo acti editi fatti e composti a petitione et instantia deli infrascripti homini e persone e contra li infrascripti homini e persone e per le infrascripte casone al tempo del'ofitio et suto l'axaminamento del savio e discreto homo miser Richo da Morrano da Modena excelentissimo <do> doctore de leççe honorevele iudice et offitiale al'ofitio del'università de merchatanti e dela merchadandia dela città de Fiorença e scripto e exemplato per mi Franceschino de Coçaindrè de miser Çambono de Gixilabelli da Bologna publiccho e per imperiale auctorità nodaro e mo' nodaro offitiale e scrivano del decto miser Richo iudece et offitiale ac etiamdeco del'università predicta suto li anni da l'incharnatione del

nostro signore miser Yhesu Christo milletrecentoçinquantaçinque, indictione octava ai die et ai mesi si chomo de soto per ordene se contiene.' In the rest of the register, the hands of the other two foreign notaries alternate with Franceschino's. The same notary also drafted the *titulus* of the register ASF, Mercanzia 165 (unpaginated), in the series of *Deliberazioni, riformagioni, provvisioni e partiti dell'Uffiziale forestiero*, that opens on 7 August 1355. In the next registers in both series, the *titulus* is again written in Latin, even if the contents of the acts are entirely in the vernacular.

- 21 On the general legal condition of women in Florentine society at the time, see Thomas Kuehn, 'Figlie, madri, mogli e vedove: Donne come persone giuridiche,' in *Tempi e spazi di vita femminile tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Silvana Seidel Menchi, Anne Jacobson Schutte, and Thomas Kuehn (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1999), 431–60.
- 22 On this law, and on the tasks assigned to the Mercanzia with respect to recording these emancipations, see Thomas Kuehn, *Emancipation in Late Medieval Florence* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1982), 37–9.
- 23 'Pur per ovviare a gli inganni,' as Ammirato succinctly put it, 'fu provisto: Che nell'università della mercanzia di Firenze non si potesse fare alcun atto che in lingua vulgare.' *'Istorie fiorentine' di Scipione Ammirato ... con l'aggiunte di Scipione Ammirato il Giovane*, vol. 1, tom. 1 (Florence: Stamperia d'Amador Massi ad istanza di G. B. Landini, 1647), 576a–c.
- 24 On this, and on the role played throughout the Trecento by bilingual notaries in recovering the classical tradition through translations, see Luca Azzetta, 'Introduzione,' in *Ordinamenti, provvisioni e riformagioni del Comune di Firenze volgarizzati da Andrea Lancia (1355–1357)*, ed. Luca Azzetta (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2001), 9–125, esp. 40–9.
- 25 A good example is the objection presented in February 1381 by an innkeeper from Dicomano, Niccolò di Michele, against the deposition of witnesses produced by the opposing party, the carter Galigaro di Guido da Forlì, in so far as they had deposed 'sopra una intencione e capitoli in latino e literalmente, la quale né mai si diede né dare si poteva nella decta corte, né data varrebbe né vale,' in particular because 'gli atti e scripture che ssi fanno e dannosi nella decta corte e ne' piati e questioni di quella si debbono dare e scriversi per volgare e non per letera né in latino secondo la riformagione e ordine dela decta corte e del Comune di Firenze. Et quello atto che altrimenti si facesse di ragione non vale e non tienne'; ASF, Mercanzia 1181, fols 126v–8r (18 Feb. 1380/1), citation from

fol. 127r). I thank Antonella Astorri for generously pointing out this document to me.

- 26 ASF, Mercanzia 5, fol. 18r (book 2, rubric 1, *De offitio et balia dicti officialis Mercantie in causis et casibus infrascriptis*): 'Item quod omnes et singule scripture quorumcumque actorum fiendorum coram dicto officiali vel in eius curia in causis et questionibus quibuscumque aut circa causas et questiones quascumque, et ipsa omnia acta et gesta, fieri, concipi et scribi debeant in vulgari sermone et non <in> gramaticali, et quidquid secus fieret vel scriberetur sit irritum et inane et nullius momenti. Salvo quod si aliquae scripture vel aliqua gesta dicte curie venirent transmittenda ad aliquas mundi partes. Tunc, si partes litigantes voluerint, vel si dicto officiali et offitio Sex consiliariorum videretur, etiam in quocumque casu pro faciliiori intelligentia talium scripturarum et gestarum, possint et debeant huiusmodi scripture latina seu gramaticali lingua concipi et describi, et in actis et libris dicte curie poni et registrari, non obstantibus supradictis.'
- 27 ASF, Provvisioni Registri 103, fol. 2v. Significantly, the text of the petition was copied in the vernacular, and it was recorded thus in the registers of the Republic. The petition was approved in the Consiglio del Popolo on 27 March with 186 votes in favour and 28 opposed; the next day it was passed by the Consiglio del Comune with 160 in favour and 17 opposed (fol. 3v). The text of this petition was first published by Alessandro Gherardi, 'Il volgare nelle scritture delle Arti Fiorentine,' *Miscellanea fiorentina di erudizione e storia* 1 (1886): 28–9.
- 28 For example, see the volume ASF, Arte della Lana 319, fol. 57r–v (18 Jan. 1414/15). On the switch from Latin to the vernacular in the acts of the Arte della Lana, coinciding perfectly with the new law entering into force, see also Franco Franceschi, 'Il linguaggio della memoria: Le deposizioni dei testimoni in un tribunale corporativo fiorentino fra xiv e xv secolo,' in *La parola all'accusato*, ed. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Palermo: Sellerio, 1991), 213–32, esp. 221.
- 29 Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The Origin and Development of the Language of Italian Prose,' *Word* 2 (1946): 50–65, cited from *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956), 473–93, esp. 485 and n. 37: 'The use of the vernacular was made mandatory for the courts of trades and crafts in Florence through a decree of 1414.' Kristeller obtained this information from Girolamo Mancini, 'Un nuovo documento sul certame coronario di Firenze del 1441,' *Archivio storico italiano*, 5th ser., 9 (1892): 326–46, 334, who in turn relied upon the notice provided a few years before by Gherardi, 'Il volgare nelle scritture.'

- 30 Giacomo Devoto, *Profilo di storia linguistica italiana* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1953), 71.
- 31 Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana* (Florence: Sansoni, 1960), 254.
- 32 Giacomo Devoto, *Il linguaggio d'Italia: Storia e strutture linguistiche italiane dalla preistoria ai nostri giorni* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1974), 279: 'Ma nel frattempo si era compiuto in Toscana un avvenimento di portata sociolinguistica fondamentale: non già la pubblicazione di un testo nella lingua normalizzata, a cui la Toscana era arrivata con forze proprie, ma un riconoscimento come l'uso reso obbligatorio del volgare nei tribunali commerciali (1414).'
- 33 Teresa Poggi Salani, 'La Toscana,' in *L'italiano nelle regioni: Lingua nazionale e identità regionali*, ed. Francesco Bruni (Turin: UTET, 1992), 402–61. The same is also true for the important study of Paola Manni, 'Toscana,' in *Storia della lingua italiana*, ed. Luca Serianni and Pietro Trifone, 3 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1994), 3:294–329; and for the surveys in the series 'Storia della lingua italiana' edited by Francesco Bruni, namely Paola Manni, *Il Trecento toscano: La lingua di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), and Mirko Tavoni, *Il Quattrocento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992).
- 34 In fact, studies of the history of the language have traditionally illustrated the sphere of juridical language principally through examples of communal and guild statutes; see the recent overview by Piero Fiorelli, 'La lingua del diritto e dell'amministrazione,' in *Storia della lingua italiana*, ed. Serianni and Trifone, 2:553–97; as well as Fiorelli's introduction to Giovan Battista De Luca, *Se sia bene trattare la legge in lingua volgare*, ed. Piero Fiorelli (Florence: CLUSF cooperativa editrice universitaria, 1980), 5–20; and his 'Gli "Ordinamenti di giustizia" di latino in volgare,' in *Ordinamenti di giustizia fiorentini: Studi in occasione del VII centenario*, ed. Vanna Arrighi (Florence: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, 1995), 65–103. The situation is obviously different when it comes to the documentation of criminal cases (and for the Venetian territories perhaps also for the documentation emerging from some civic courts); one thinks of the celebrated records of the Podestà of Lio Mazor: *Atti del podestà di Lio Mazor*, ed. Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1999); and, for instances of slander, of the *Ingiurie, impropri, contumelie ecc.: Saggio di lingua parlata del Trecento cavato dai libri criminali di Lucca per opera di Salvatore Bonghi*, new ed., ed. Daniela Marcheschi (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1983). See also the recent study on the typology of these texts, with up-to-date bibliography, in Pär Larson, 'Ingiurie e

villanie dagli Atti podestarili pistoiesi del 1295,' *Bollettino dell'Opera del vocabolario italiano* 9 (2004): 349–54.

- 35 The case documents of the court of the Florentine Mercanzia are represented by only two items in the huge *corpus* of the *Tesoro della lingua italiana delle origini*, based on edited Italian texts from before 1375; see *Bibliografia dei testi in volgare fino al 1375 preparati per lo spoglio lessicale* (Florence: Opera del vocabolario italiano – Centro di studi del Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche presso l'Accademia della Crusca, 1992), items 1583, 1910.
- 36 Cf. Francesca Boris, 'L'archivio del Foro dei Mercanti di Bologna: Problemi di riordinamento e prospettive di ricerca,' *Archivi per la storia* 4 (1991): 279–89 at 285, which is also useful for a general description of the magistracy and of the substantial archive of documents that it left behind, containing about 750 items covering the period 1426–1796. For the first phase of this institution, see also Francesca Boris, 'Il Foro dei Mercanti: L'autocoscienza di un ceto,' *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna* 43 (1992): 317–31. The draft of the statutes from 1400 is preserved in Bologna, Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Codici miniati 30 (*Statuti del Foro dei Mercanti*, 1400). On the retention of Latin in the acts of the court of Bologna until at least the beginnings of the 1440s, see Luca Boschetto, 'Nuovi documenti su Carlo di Lorenzo degli Alberti e una proposta per la datazione del "De commodis litterarum atque incommotis,"' *Albertiana* 1 (1998): 43–60.
- 37 On the history of Lucca's Corte dei Mercanti, see Augusto Mancini, Umberto Dorini, and Eugenio Lazzareschi, eds, *Lo statuto della Corte dei Mercanti in Lucca del 1376* (Florence: Olschki, 1927). A detailed sketch of this archive is found in Salvatore Bongi, *Inventario: Archivio di Stato in Lucca: Strumenti per la ricerca*, vol. 5.2 (1872; Lucca: Istituto storico lucchese, 1999), 233–44. The earliest surviving register of the series of civil cases, dating to 1366, contains only a single petition in the vernacular (Lucca, Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Corte de' Mercanti 136, fol. 175r, 12 June 1366); also in the vernacular is another document related to this case (fol. 176r–v, 3 July 1366). Even if there was more room for the vernacular in subsequent decades, a check of a few registers of this series makes it clear that the choice of language in which the acts were to be written was left to the discretion of the parties, so that the alternation between Latin and vernacular did not cease even in the second half of the Quattrocento; see, for example, Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Corte de' Mercanti 145 (from the second half of 1415), and Corte de' Mercanti 155 (from 1475).

- 38 This issue is not addressed in the comparative study by Alessandro Lattes, *Il diritto commerciale nella legislazione statutaria delle città italiane* (Milan: Hoepli, 1882).
- 39 Karin Nehlsen-von Stryk, *L'assicurazione marittima a Venezia nel xv secolo* (Rome: Il Veltro, 1988), 39, 45. See also, for its interesting observations on the language used in this court's Trecento registers of *Sentenze a giustizia*, Lorenzo Tomasin, *Il volgare e la legge: Storia linguistica del diritto veneziano (secoli XIII-XVIII)* (Padua: Esedra, 2001), 223-33.
- 40 See the addition numbered 238, 22 March 1442 (*Della pena del notaio se scrivesse per lectera*): 'Item perché el più delle volte gli Officiali della Mercantia non intendono per lectera et contentarebbersi alle volte tucti insieme o di per sé prima che dessero alcuna sententia esaminare tucti gli atti facti senza farsegli leggere al notaio, providero et ordinaro che tucte le scripture che in decta casa si faranno, così per lo notaio come per lo Camarlingho, si faccino tucte per vulgare, alla pena di lire dieci per ciascuno di loro et per ciaschuna volta che contra facessero. Et questo si fa perché ànno notitia che così si costuma nelle altre buone ciptà all'offitio della Mercantia. Con questo inteso, che se alcuno volesse dal notaio sententie, lodi o protesti o altri acti che in decta casa si fussero facti, el notaio gli possa fare et publicare in latino, al modo che al presente si costuma.' Monica Chiantini, *La Mercanzia di Siena nel Rinascimento: La normativa dei secoli XIV-XVI* (Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli, 1996), 155.
- 41 *Il costituito del comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX*, ed. Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, 4 vols (Siena: Fondazione Monte dei Paschi di Siena, 2002).
- 42 Gregorio Dati, *L'Istoria di Firenze di Gregorio Dati dal 1380 al 1405* (Norcia: T. Cesare, 1902), 157.
- 43 See David Herlihy and Christane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
- 44 The series of *Atti in cause ordinarie* for the period from 1355 to 1500 consists of 452 volumes, of which 50 pertain to the years 1355-75 (ASF, Mercanzia 1121-1573). The series of *Atti in cause straordinarie ed esecutive*, in the same period consists of 324 volumes, 47 from 1355-75 (ASF, Mercanzia 4203-527). The series of *Sentenze*, for the period from 1427 to 1500 consists of 224 volumes (ASF, Mercanzia 7114bis-338).
- 45 Poggi Salani, 'La Toscana,' 412-14.
- 46 On the transformations of the Florentine language in the later Trecento and in the Quattrocento, see Manni, 'Toscana,' 321-9; and also, especially for the attention given to the links between linguistic and demographic phenomena, Massimo Palermo, 'Sull'evoluzione del fiorentino

nel Tre-Quattrocento,' *Nuovi Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Messina* 8–10 (1990–2): 131–56.

- 47 ASF, Mercanzia 283, 18 Feb. 1451/2 (unpaginated). The six counsellors, seeing 'quod super palcho et solario posito in domo dicte universitatis super sala maiori terrena dicte universitatis, super quo palcho in presenti sunt multi libri et filze et scripture actitatorum in dicta curia temporibus preteritis; et quod inter cetera sunt multe filze huiusmodi actorum infilzate et sfilzate in malo ordine, et occupant totum locum sine aliquo fructu, maxime quia sunt libri in quibus sunt registrate dicte filze,' decided that the Guardians of the Acts must 'huiusmodi filzas actorum, videlicet illas que sunt ab anno millesimo quadringentesimo retro inclusive, et etiam alias ab ipso anno citra existentes ruptas et seu exfilzatas et disordinatas, prout eorum discretioni videbitur, vendere et alienare cum meliori utilitate quam poterint, ad utilitatem dicte universitatis.'
- 48 The status of the Mercanzia archive just before the culling is described in a missive sent to Grandduke Pietro Leopoldo on 5 August, 1773, by the historian Giovanni Francesco Pagnini, director of the palace archive, and assigned to preside over the reordering of the archive of the Mercanzia court (ASF, Auditore poi Segretario delle Riformagioni 111, fols 350r–2v). Pagnini's opinion on the uselessness of the 'duplicati de' giornali, le filze degli atti, e delle giustificazioni di quelle sentenze' (fol. 351r–v) led to the dispersal of 202 files of *Sentenze* (the period from 1427 to 1477), 157 files of *Atti in cause esecutive* (from 1450 to 1495), and 264 files of *Atti in cause ordinarie* (from 1450 to 1495), as was recorded in the inventory compiled in 1779 (ASF, Vecchi Inventari 686, pp. 261–99).
- 49 On the Pierleoni family, see the bibliography given in Maurizio Trifone, *Lingua e società nella Roma rinascimentale*, vol. 1, *Testi e scriventi* (Florence: F. Cesati, 1999), 91–2, 203.
- 50 The nature of the writings that were deposited with the notary of the Extraordinary Office (arising from decisions relating to the work of the court, and not formalized by statute) is recoverable not only from examining the actual files, but also from the list of their own tasks that several notaries prepared for their own purposes and that sometimes are preserved on the flyleaves of the registers (e.g., ASF, Mercanzia 7177).
- 51 ASF, Mercanzia 4420 (16 Nov. 1450–13 Feb. 1450/1, unpaginated). This file is composed of fascicles of various size, later bound together, totalling about six hundred paper leaves (the inventory of the archive erroneously indicates the dates as Nov. 1451 to Feb. 1451/2); the front cover carries the title: 'FILÇA STRAORDINARIA PRIMA / DI MESERE SIMONE DA ROMA'; the *titulus* reads: 'In Christi nomine, amen. Hic est liber quaternus continens omnes et singulos actus extraordinarios factus et

compositus tempore officii egregii legum doctoris domini Simonis de Perleonibus de Roma officialis Mercantie et Universitatis Mercatorum civitatis Florentie, rogatus per me Zacchariam de Perleonibus notarium et officialem ad dictum officium extraordinariorum per dictum dominum officialem inter alia deputatum, sub anis domini nostri Yhesu Christi mccccl et partim 1451, diebus et mensibus infrascriptis.'

- 52 ASF, Mercanzia 4421 (14 Feb. 1450/1–15 May 1451, unpaginated). This file is composed of fascicles of various size, later bound together, totalling about six hundred paper leaves (the inventory erroneously indicates the dates as Feb. 1451/2 to May 1452); the front cover carries the title: 'FILÇA STRAORDINARIA SECONDA DI MESER / SIMONE DA ROMA M^oCCCCLI'; the *titulus* reads: 'In Christi nomine, amen. Hic est liber sive quaternus continens in se omnes et singulos actus extraordinarios factus et compositus tempore <offit> officii egregii et eximii <ll> legum doctoris domini Simonis de Perleonibus de Roma officialis Mercantie et Universitatis Mercatorum civitatis Florentie, <per> rogatus per me Zacchariam de Perleonibus de Roma notarium et ofitiale ad dictum officium extraordinariorum per dictum dominum offitiale inter alia deputatum sub anis domini nostri Yhesu Christi mccccl et partim 1451, diebus et mensibus infrascriptis.'
- 53 ASF, Mercanzia 4417. This register consists of 360 paper leaves (the first 356 are numbered). The *titulus*, on fol. 1r, reads: 'Hic est liber sive quaternus in se continens omnes et singulas sequestrationes, hubricationes, fideguiones, cexiones, rella<lla>tiones stagimentorum et quamplures alios varios et diversos actus et inscripturas spectantes et pertinentes ad hofficium extraordinarium Mercantie et Universitatis Mercatorum inclite ac magnifice civitatis Florentie, factus edictus et compositus tempore egregii et exsimii legum doctoris domini Simonis Iohannis domini Georgii de Perleonibus de Roma, dignissimi officialis prefate Mercantie dicte magnifice civitatis Florentie per sex menssibus infrascriptis, scriptus et plubicatus per me Zacchariam Iohannis domini Georgii de Perleonibus de Roma notarium plubicum et nunc notarium depotatum per dictum dominum officialem supradictum ad dictum officium extraordinariorum per sex mensibus <icta> i[ni]ciatis die xv mensis novembris 1450 indictione xiiii^a tempore sactissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Nicolai divina providectia pape quitti.'
- 54 The surprising thing about the writings by Florentine notaries contained in these files is the almost complete lack of abbreviations, an unusual phenomenon in comparison with the notaries' Latin writings, and one that is perhaps connected not only to a desire to allow litigants to oversee the contents of the documents drafted on their behalf, but

also, as Susanne Lepsius has pointed out to me, to the fact that the notaries were paid on the basis of the length of the document they wrote out.

- 55 In both the file and the register, the text of this summons continued naturally onto the next pages, with a long list of equipment and belongings in the workshop of the deceased barber. The first line of this list, which in the file reads as 'secte bacini d'octone da barbieri tra buoni et cattivi,' was transcribed by Ser Zaccaria as '7 bacini d'atone da barbieri tra boni e gattivì' (fol. 42r).
- 56 This act, a guarantee, can be summarized thus: Biagio di Niccolò, imprisoned at the court of the Mercanzia on a charge from Giovanni di Benozzo for a debt of 8 lire, promises to appear for judgment, to pay the sum determined there, and to obey the decisions of the foreign judge; Antonio di Bartolomeo, cobbler, swears to serve as his guarantor.
- 57 I refer in particular to the linguistic commentary on the material gathered in Maurizio Trifone, *Le carte di Battista Frangipane (1471-1500), nobile romano e 'mercante di campagna'* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1998). More generally, for a recent profile of the Roman language of the Quattrocento, which was subject to a thoroughgoing process of Tuscanization that continued with even more force in the subsequent century, see Pietro Trifone, 'Roma e il Lazio,' in *L'italiano nelle regioni: Lingua nazionale e identità regionali*, ed. Francesco Bruni (Turin: UTET, 1992), 540-93, esp. 553-66.
- 58 Cf. Trifone, *Le carte di Battista Frangipane*, 155 (§ 70, pronomi). Trifone notes that, among the accented pronouns functioning as a verbal complement, 'per la prima persona singolare l'uso sistematico di *mi* e della forma epitetica *mine*.' In the rest of the register, while the formula *a me notaio* is clearly more common, there are still other occurrences of *mi notaio* (e.g., ASF, Mercanzia 4417, fols 10v, 24v).
- 59 Trifone, *Le carte di Battista Frangipane*, 135-6, (§ 56, -sj-, -ssj-); in the Frangipane documents, one encounters 'sia l'esito in sibilante palatale, condiviso anche dal toscano e dovuto a influssi letterari, sia l'originario esito indigeno in -s- sorda, proprio in generale dell'area meridionale.'
- 60 Ibid., 137, (§ 57, -tj-).
- 61 Ibid., 116-18 (§ 40, occlusive sorde e sonore).
- 62 Ibid., 108-11 (§ 33, esiti di J e G + vocale palatale).
- 63 Ibid., 91-3 (§ 25, trattamento di e atona non finale).
- 64 The entire act can be summarized as follows: Biagio d'Antonio dello Spiccia, from Montughi in the territory of Florence, justifies the seizure that was performed by the Mercanzia at his instigation of Filippo di Giovanni Dini, purse-maker, affirming that he had this done because of

a debt equal to 8 gold florins and 20 small lire; in particular, he recalls how in 1448, through the solicitations of the six counsellors of the Mercanzia, the parties had made a compromise in their controversy, choosing as arbitrator Filippo del Migliore, tavoliere, who at that time was one of the six counsellors.

- 65 Cf. Trifone, *Le carte di Battista Frangipane*, 122–5, (§ 43, -MB-, -ND-, -LD-). In the Frangipane documents, however, this ending is not constant, ‘per la pressione congiunta del latino e del toscano,’ and also because ‘nel romanesco del Quattro-Cinquecento il fenomeno assimilatorio sembra essere fortemente marcato dal punto di vista sociolinguistico,’ and it seems that this feature ‘rientri non tanto nella varietà “media”, quanto piuttosto in quella “bassa.”’
- 66 ASF, Mercanzia 4421, 11 May 1451 (unpaginated). This act, another guarantee, can be summarized as follows: Antonio di Giovanni da Prato, chaplain of S. Iacopo tra le Fosse, presents himself for judgment regarding two cases that he intends to present at the court of the Mercanzia, respectively against Tancia, wife of Simone di Bartolo, builder, and against Simone himself; until he can be heard by the court, he promises to appear for judgment, to pay the sum determined there, and to obey the decisions of the foreign judge; Giannozzo di Giovanni di Giovanni Strozzi, member of the Arte di Calimala, swears to serve as his guarantor.
- 67 The reform regarding the *Sentenze* was adopted on 14 May 1476 by a decision of the statutory office-holders (ASF, Mercanzia 5, fols 87r–8v). The substitution of a single Florentine notary for the ‘dua notai forestieri che rigistravano gli acti publici della presente corte,’ justified by the aims to ‘obviare a molti inconvenienti et disordini che ogni dì seghuivono et multiplicavano in dicta corte’ and to follow ‘anchora in questa parte le buone et laudabili consuetudini et observantie dell’altre corti,’ was sanctioned in the new draft of the statutes in 1496, to go into effect the following September (ASF, Mercanzia 9, fols 2v–3r).
- 68 Franco Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. Valerio Marucci (Rome: Salerno, 1996), 423–4 (Novella 139): ‘Uno Massaleo da Firenze, essendo in prigione con uno iudice stato della Mercatantia con una strana piacevolezza usata nel iudice si mostra avere errato.’
- 69 On the difficulty of reconstructing the retinues of the foreign judges (albeit for a period earlier than ours), see the observations preceding the prosopographical study coordinated by Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *I podestà dell’Italia comunale*, vol. 1, *Reclutamento e circolazione degli ufficiali forestieri (fine XII sec.–metà XIV sec.)* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000), 4. There is, however, one striking exception, pre-

sented in Vittorio Giorgetti, *Podestà, capitani del popolo e loro ufficiali a Perugia (1195-1500)* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1993).

- 70 ASF, Mercanzia 7702 (9 Dec. 1465-20 June 1466). This register contains 630 paper leaves; a title on the front cover reads: 'SENTENÇIE.' The existence of this register was generously communicated to me by Lorenz Boeninger, whom I wish to thank.
- 71 Comminelli's second term of service, which leaves a trace in the appearance of his hand in a register of *Emancipazioni* (ASF, Mercanzia 10822, fols 80r-3v, where he records the emancipations from 11 Jan. 1478/9 to 24 Apr. 1479), is documented by the register of Extraordinary Acts that he compiled from 17 Jan. 1478/9 to 24 Apr. 1479, written, as it states in the *titulus*, 'per me Ugonem Nicolai de Comminellis notarium publicum deputatum ad officium capse Curie Mercantie' (ASF, Mercanzia 4486). On 1 April 1479, Lorenzo de' Medici recommended Roberto Orsini, who had taken up a one-year term as judge of the Mercanzia, to Federigo Gonzaga, the Marquis of Mantua, describing him as 'doctor di legge, mio carissimo, stato qui ufficiale de la Mercatantia nostra, dove si è portato con tanta iustitia, integrità et modestia, che ne riporta la gratia di tutta questa città'; Lorenzo de' Medici, *Lettere* 4 (1479-1480), ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (Florence: Giunti-Barbèra, 1981), 47-8.
- 72 Albinia de la Mare, 'New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence,' in *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440-1525: Un primo censimento*, ed. Annarosa Garzelli, 2 vols (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1985), 1:393-600 at 450. On the Bible of Federico, see also Annarosa Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro: Un'officina libraria fiorentina, 1476-1478* (Rome: Multigrafica, 1977); and *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro: Codici Urbinati latini 1-2, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana* (Modena: Panini; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2003-5).
- 73 'La Bibia, libro eccellentissimo, hallo facto in dua volumi istoriati, tanto ricco et degno quanto dire si potessi, coperto di brocato d'oro, fornita d'ariento richissimamente, et questa ha facta così rica, come capo di tutti gli scrittori'; Vespasiano da Bisticci, 'Comentario de la vita del signore Federico, duca d'Urbino,' in Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ed. Aulo Greco, 2 vols (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul rinascimento, 1970-6), 1:355-416 at 390; translation from Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the xvth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters, introduction by Myron P. Gilmore (New York, Harper & Row, 1963), 103.

APPENDIX

Foreign Notaries of the Court of the Mercanzia,
1355-1480 (A Partial List Gathered out of the
Registers of Emancipations)

Sources: Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mercanzia 10819bis (Emancipations from 1355 to 1381); Mercanzia 10819ter (Emancipations from 1381 to 1399); Mercanzia 10820 (Emancipations from 1400 to 1417); Mercanzia 10820bis (Emancipations from 1417 to 1451); Mercanzia 10821 (Emancipations from 1453 to 1474); Mercanzia 10822 (Emancipations from 1474 to 1499).

1355-60

Iohannes ser Cichini de Macreto de
Mutina
Nerius Pieri de Castro Citerne
Stefanus ser Nerii de Montecornario
Nicolaus ser Lippi Bettini de Arimino
Bartholomeus Galducci de Castro
Chiuslini
Petrus Nardi de Graffignano
Angelus domini Francisci de Sancto
Angelo in Vado
Ludovichus Rusteghi de Celaia

1361-70

Franciscus Angelutii de Eugubio
Iustus ser Gualfredi de Vulterra
Lucas Iohannis de Vulterra
Facijs ser Malgarucii de Tauxignano
(comitatus Imole)
Thomas Acci de Regio
Bartholus Niccolai ser Gualteri de
Gualterolis de Imola
Bartolomeus ser Martini de Bicionio
Tebonus Nerii Teboni de Sancto Angelo
in Vado
Bondus Guidonis Bondi de Civitate
Castelli
Orius domini Iacobi de Barateriis de
Bononia
Simon Severii de Captaneis del Prato de
Tredoio

Iohannes ser Baroncelli de Querceto de
Mutina
Franciscus Boni de Buralibus de Mutina
Franciscus Pauli de Frassineto
(comitatus Aretii)
Antolinus Ciucii de Roccha Sancti
Cassiani in Cassaticho
Anthonius ser Cinoli de Capuciis de
Imola
Bartolus Ciani Gratiani de Civitate
Castelli
Rigus Tebaldini de Lendenaria
Almenardus Francisci magistri
Almenardi medici de Montagnana
(Paduane diocesis)

1371-80

Marsilius Spini de Faventia
Tadeus domini Coradi de Rigoglosiis de
Imola
Antonius Henrici de Urbeveteri
Benignus Cole de Aquapendente
Petrus Vannis Petri de Colistaciario
(comitatus Eugubii)
Moschatus Rustichutii Seghi de Tuderto
Martinus Notti Bigotti de Casulis
Guido domini Prosdociami de Guaiardis
de Citadella (comitatus Padue)
Diosius ser Iohannis de Capuciis de
Imola

Sanctus condam ser Ciuchii de Civitate
Castelli
Brocholutus Iohannis de Panichale
Hostexanus Guidoncini de Plantavignis
de Bononia
Aymerichus Bernardini de Vivollis de
Faventia
Christofanus ser Iacopi
Cola Angeli de Racaneto
Iohannes Tedeschi de Angna
Iohannes Petri Gratioli de Montecchio
Monte domini Gori ser Vannis de
Civitate Castelli
Barontus magistri Iuliani de Mondavio
Franciscus Nardi de Callio
Dosius ser Iohannis de Capucii de Imola

1381-90

Iacobus Dadioli de Montevetularum
Baldassinus
Blasius Iohannis de Monte Viridi
Anthonius Michaelis de Vulterra
Antonius Roberti de Urbeveteri
Laurentius Covetti de Urbeveteri
Paulus ser Iohannis de Interamne
Petrus Iohannis de Botiis de Urbeveteri.
Hericus Cholani de Arbona
Paulinus condam Bonvisini de Forlivio
Angelus Petri de Castro Citerne
Petrus Nicholai de Chapelinis de
Ferraria
Iohannes Obigonis de Griffonibus de
Ferraria
Paulus Bartoli de Civitate Castelli
Iohannes Iacobi de Pedemontium
Iohannes Bonzanini de Varenana
(comitatus Bononie)
Iacobus ser Antonii Ugolini de Castro
Durante
Lucas ser Simeonis Nicolai de Interamne
Ludovicus magistri Anthonii de Callio
Iohannes Bianchelli de Fulgineo
Amator ser Donini de Grossis de Parma
Thomas Andree domini Francisci de
Interamne

1391-1400

Nicholaus ser Leonardi ser Guidonis de
Turisella de Cesena

Filippus magistri Iacobi de Castagnolis
de Bononia
Paulus Iohannis de Oddofredis de
Bononia
Nicolaus Nicole de Bonaziis de Perusio
Andreas Simonis Colutii de Fulgineo
Iulianus Bectoli de Perusio
Tomas Antonii de Fulgineo
Vannes Pieri de Castillione Aretino
Petrus Anthonii de Esculo
Franciscus Octaviani de Roccha Sancti
Zenonis de Interamne
Princivalle Petri de Pergula
Angelus Vannis Paulutii Perusinelli de
Perusio
Çenobius ser Peri de Civitate Castelli
Angelus Nicolai Poni de Monte Sancto
Andreas Simonis Colutii de Fulgineo
Antonius de Sernano
Iohannesphilippus Anthonii de Castaldis
de Ferraria
Lodovicus ser Michaelis de Avenantibus
de Ferraria
Iacobus Bucii de Pascis de Sancto
Martino de Aprutio
Petruspaulus magistri Iohannis de
Fulgineo
Petrus Iohannis de Urbeveteri
Iohannes Fredelli de Bictonio
Bartolomeus ser Angeli de Neapoli
Georgius ser Iohannis de Capucii de
Imola
Iacobus Mathei de Savorris de Faventia

1401-10

Petrus Iohannis Cole de Guerrettis de
Interamne
Iohannes ser Moscati Iohannis de
Tuderto
Cola Colutii de Ripatransone
Iohannes Thome de Montefiliorum
Iohannes Ventoruccii de Eugubio
Thomas ser Matthei de Interamne
Renovatus Baldassare de Altiburgis de
Casali Flumanensi (comitatus Imole)
Paulus Petri de Urbeveteri
Paulus Fratrís Sanctini de Marchonibus
de Cluxunia

Petrus Iohannis Cole de Guerrettis de
Interamne
Gabriel ser Andree de Parma
Iohannes ser Anthonii de Sancta Victoria
Meglior Blaxii de Spinetulo (comitatus
Eschuli)
Guido Dominici de Civitate Castelli
Baptista ser Angeli de Civitate Castelli
Iohannes ser Gervasini de Musachis de
Parma
Cesar Iohannis de Parma
Angelus Mathei ser Angelis de Apiliatiis
de Interamne
Guilielmus Constantini de Capua
Petrus ser Iohannis de Mercatello
Iohannes Guidonis de Parma
Vannes Pieri Nestasani de Castillione
Aretino
Iohannes Greppiuioli de Castillione
Aretino
Dominicus Mactei de Castillione
Florentino
Petrus Iohannis Cole de Interamne
Nicholaus ser Iohannis de Macerata
Iohannes ser Antonii de Paulis de Lugo

1411-20

Iohannes Simonis de Faventia
Franciscus magistri Zuffoli de Roncho
de Faventia
Beltramus Guilielmi de Gixleriis de
Terdona
Agnelus Vannis de Camereno
Iacobus Butii ser Franchi de Orto
Geronimus Iohannis Francisci de Nursia
Nicholaus ser Iuliani de Luchinis de
Urbino
Beltramus Guilielmi de Gixleriis de
Terdona
Thomasius Petri de Ciramallis de
Priverno
Lodovicus ser Iohannis de Morellis de
Argenta
Vangelista Putii de Firmo
Antonius Pallatinus ser Nicolai Pallatini
Franciscus domini Iacobi de Caputiis de
Imola
Iohannes Nicholai de Gandano
Simon Brunatii de Monteleone

Antonius domini Iohannis de Nicolitis
de Argenta
Paulus Iacobi ser Pauli de Arziliano
Iohannes ser Petri de Corneto
Paulus Iacobi ser Pauli de Arziliano
Iacobus ser Andree de Orto
Ieronimus ser Tadei de Zandoriis de
Mutina
Iohannes Francisci Lucii de Esculo
Franciscus Bartholomei de Ferrariis
dictus de Corvis

1421-30

Nicholaus ser Georgii Massii de
Rocchacontrata
Iohannes Egie de Fossanbruno
Iohannes Ventoruccii de Eugubio
Rodulfus Francisci de Cassia
Leonardus Antoni de Sartiano
Iohannes domini Anthonii de Paganis de
Regio
Guilielmus Antonii de Perusia
Nicholaus Francisci de Fulgineo
Christoforus ser Ture ser Iohannis de
Barzeliniis de Bononia
Franciscus Petri Iacopi de Rolandis de
Bononia
Bonçilius Antonii domini Bonzili de
Vello de Vincentia
Simon Colucii de Esculo
Domenichus Negrini Stefani de Casa
Nova de Fivizzano
Matricianus ser Iohannis de Toscanellis
de Interamne
Augustinus ser Nichole de Serra Santi
Quirici
Marinus Iacobi Iacobuctii de Firmo
Arcangelus Antonii ser Bartolomei de
Urbino
Antonius Laurentii de Castropieri
Vannutius Angelecti de Civitanova de
Marchia Ancone
Iacobus ser Alidesii de Castro Francho
(comitatus Tervisii)

1431-40

Gabriel Iohannis de Gualdo
Alexandrus ser Luce de Benamatis de
Cantiano

Antonius Donini de Cantiano
 Petrus Braussi de Visso
 Boetius domini Ambrosii de Visso
 Ventura ser Barnabei de Visso
 Antonius Francisci de Traversariis de
 Monticulo Vallis Amonis
 Antonius Guiducci domini Iohannis de
 Vulterra
 Pasquinus Margheriti de Narnea
 Iohannes Bisoncii Pavi de Aureo Campo
 Rainaldus Anselmi de Civitate Castelli
 Floravante de Heritiis de Padua
 Petrus Barnabe de Interamne
 Pasquinus domini Antonii de Interamne
 Laurentius ser Iuliani de Mercatantibus
 de Cesena
 Petrus Bartolamei de Ambrosiis de
 Ferraria
 Iacobus Antonelli de Castignano
 Galeoctus Rosati de Nursia
 Tarsilius Leonis de Cividato Belluni
 Ambrosius domini Guilielmi della Pigna
 Veronensis
 Alexandrus Cesarii de Eugubio
 Sansonectus Nataddey de Panniollis de
 Terra Gualdi
 Cicutius Peri de Sancto Severeno de
 Marchia Ancone
 Silvester ser Philippini de Cochapanis de
 Carpo
 Ascensius ser Dominici de Sancta
 Victoria

1441-50

Berardinus Francisci de Burgo Sancti
 Sepulcri
 Fabritius domini Iacobi de Urbe
 Nicholaus Boninchontri de Brazoduris
 de Vincentia
 Antonius magistri Francisci de Roma
 Iohannes Lodovici de Cingulo
 Laurentius ser Überti de Novaria
 Nicolaus Gasparis de Vincentia
 Iacobus Martini de Nissa de Alamagnia
 Iacobus Bartolomei Bencivennis de
 Pensauro
 Paradisus de Paradisus de Interasse
 Christoforus Marini Casutii de
 Fulgineo

Felix Antonii de Munaldis de Tuderto
 Vannutius Marchi de Montesanto
 Andriotius ser Iohannis de Callio
 Iacobus Antonii Iohannis de Pretella
 Paulus ser Francisci Pauli de Rayneriis de
 Interamne
 Ugolinus magistri Dominici de Pisauro
 Constantinus domini Iohannis de
 Caprinis de Viterbio
 Nicolaus Bernardini de Lupis de
 Monticulo, civis Faventinus
 Iob domini Zanardi de Mirachis de Papia
 Laurentius Iacobi de Castaneis de
 Neapoli
 Çaccharias Iohannis domini Georgii de
 Perleonibus de Roma

1451-60

Rosatus Mathei de Faris de Viterbio
 Lodevicus Iacobi de Nobilibus de
 Belforti
 Andreas Guilielmi de Sancto Genexio
 Gaspar Iohannis de Monte
 Galeoctus Iohannis de Monterubiano
 Leonorus Petri de Interamne
 Iulianus Bartolomei de Carsedoneis de
 Castello
 Conradus Lodovici Conradi de Sancta
 Cruce de Fabriano
 Periacobus Pauli de Spoleto
 Ambroxius ser Iannini de Ponzano
 Franciscus ser Iohannis de Urbeveteri
 Iohannes Baptista Petripauli de Spada de
 Interamne
 Bartholomeus ser Anthonii de Monte
 Sancte Marie in Georgio
 Gabriel ser Honofrii de Spoleto
 Bactista ser Vannis de Cosignano
 Nicolaus Bernardini de Faventia
 Bernardus Christofori ser Iacobi domini
 Andree de Casali de Faventia

1461-70

Iacobus ser Antoni de Monteulmi
 Laurentius Iacobi Simonis de Anticis de
 Recaneto
 Nicolaus de Faventia
 Bernardus Christofori ser Iacobi domini
 Andree de Casali de Faventia

Dominicus Antonius Dominici de Pretis
Iohannes Maria ser Andree Petri de
Seraptis de Pontremulo

Simon Petri Pauli de Sanctis de Fulgineo
Petrus ser Lazari de Pellizzaris de
Pontremulo

Aurelius domini Iohannis pauli de
Corbolis de Urbino

Franciscus Iohannis Petruccii a Piscibus
de Forlivio

Iohannes Iacobus domini Iohannis de
Tortis de Pontremulo

Franciscus Iohannis Petruccii a Piscibus
de Forlivio

Alexander Trottus Nicolai Trotti de
Ferraria

Ambroxius ser Bartolomei de Vigliarana
Christoforus Frolidi de Capucciis de
Civitate Castelli

Arcangelus Ansovini de Camerino
Fusco de Fusconibus de Nursia

Petrus Paulus Francisci de
Monteprandone

Dominicus Antonii de Cruce (comitatus
Esculi)

Antonius ser Simonis de Vannis de
Urbino

Arcangelus ser Ludovici de Saffaritiis de
Lugnano

Petrus Antoninus magistri Bartolomei de
Chochis de Tauxignano (comitatus
Imole)

Iulianus de Terentiis de Arimino

Iulianus de Terentiis de Arimino

1471-80

Dominicus Luce de Cruce (comitatus
Asculi)

Gaspar Francisci Gasparis de Fabriano
Alexandrus Iohannis de Mazonibus de
Castro Casalis Flumanensis (comitatus
Imole)

Iohannes magistri Cristofori de Merlo de
Imola

Iohannes Franciscus ser Iohannis de
Braidia de Mantua

Bernardinus ser Iohannini de Mascopis
de Mantua

Antonius ser Guasparis de Candelibus
de Bertenorio

Bernardinus Pauli de Canthiana

Antonius Gasparis de Cardenalibus de
Bertenorio

Tadeus Andree de Cartariis de Regio
Laurentius Iacobi de Madalais de
Bononia

Lazarus Iacobi de San Romano, civis
Regii

Iohannes ser Nicolai Iuffredi de Moronis
de Petrasancta

Luchinus ser Nicolai domini Francisci
domini Luchoti de Burgo de Cremona

Andreas Francisci de Mediolano

Iohannes Ottoboni dela Spata de Regio
Iacobus Antonius Georgii de
Multisdenariis de Cremona

Ricardus Iohannis Nannis de Arimino

Ugo Nicolai de Cominellis de Francia

Bernardinus de Pastis de Ferrara

David Bartolomei Laurentii de Bandutiis

Tomas Alexandri de Canellis de Faventia

Tomas Alexandri de Canellis de Faventia

1481-96

Alexander ser Mathei de Collenuciis de
Saxoferato, civis Pisaurensis

Antonaccius Pauli Ioannis Petri ser Pauli
de Leoninis de Ameria

Apolonius de Angussolis de Regio

Andreas Iacobi de Bononia

Christoforus Benedicti de Petrolinis de
Civitate Castelli

Iohannes Pauli de Alexandria

Mattheus Fantegutius de Faventia

Leonardus Mathei de Vitorclano

Iulianus domini Andree de Vavasoribus
de Taliano

Petrus Antonius ser Francisci ser
Cristofori de Carolis de Brisighella

Marioctus Dominici de Rotella

Franciscus Leonardi de Pontemulo